

REPORT ON GUATEMALA -- ONE YEAR AFTER

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Dock Strikers In Britain Solid After One Month

By John White

LONDON, June 19 — The strike of over 20,000 British dockers will enter its fifth week tomorrow. Seventeen thousand members of the militant National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union are demanding negotiating rights. Thousands of portworkers who belong to the Transport and General Workers Union — whose leadership is viciously fighting this strike — are out in sympathy with them.

The ports of Liverpool, Birkhead, Manchester and Hull are completely paralyzed. Less than half the normal traffic is being turned round in the port of London. The NASDU has in its rank the cream of dock militants who have remained absolutely solid despite difficulties, attacks and official treachery unprecedented in any previous dock strike.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE

These men receive no strike pay and are now experiencing real hardship. Lined up against them from the beginning, has been an unholy alliance of employers, trade union bosses, the Communist Party and a section of their own leadership whose aim has been to return them to work at all costs.

A month ago the leadership of the Transport and General Workers

Union declared they were prepared to spend millions of dollars to break the strike. The campaign which they launched has completely failed. Officials who boasted they would lead men back to work have walked through the dock gates — alone. When national officers of the TGWU called their members to a meeting in Liverpool, two thousand dockers gave them such a rough handling that they had to call for a police escort before they could leave the meeting. As they left they were pelted with crusts of bread — a reply to a threat of one of them that the strikers would be forced to eat crusts before long.

STALINIST TREACHERY

More insidious have been the attempts of the Stalinists to undermine the strike. In the months previous to the strike the Stalinists opposed the growth of the NASDU. They proposed a policy of "democratizing" the monster, bureaucratic Transport and General Workers Union. They set up an unofficial "Liaison Com-

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"Outlaw" Strikes Win Cash Gains from GM

DETROIT, June 27 — The unauthorized strikes that shut down many General Motors plants after the UAW reached a contract agreement with GM apparently won bigger cash increases than they had received from the national settlement.

Terms on which the local strikes were settled were deliberately not publicized by the corporation. GM officials figured that the less said about the terms, the less chance there was that new walkouts would take place. But some of the details have become known, and they show something of what the workers could have won this year if they had had a different international leadership.

WON BY FIGHTING

In Flint, for example, the unauthorized strike by UAW Local 651 at the AC Sparkplug plant won a ten cents an hour wage increase for all woman production workers, who constitute 75% of the working force. Skilled workers won a minimum of five cents an hour above the national increase, and other gains were recorded in seniority, safety and working conditions.

At the Cadillac plant in Detroit, a strike by Local 22 won wage adjustments for workers in 15 classifications, ranging from five to 15 cents an hour, plus company-paid clothing to certain workers, and seniority improvements.

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Jim Crow Universal Military Training Pushed in Congress

Revolutionary China Haunts UN Fete

By Myra Tanner

By common agreement the delegates to the Tenth Anniversary celebration of the United Nations in San Francisco last week attempted to moderate the tones of cold war hostilities in their ceremonial speeches in order to foster the illusions of peace that have been aroused by the projected Big Four negotiations.

Dr. George K. C. Yeh, the foreign Minister of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Formosa, however, disturbed the atmosphere of official harmony. On June 23, he unleashed a vitriolic attack on China. "This Chinese Communist regime on the mainland," he shrieked, "is not based on peace but war. Its whole structure and philosophy are designed for conflict. Its daily slogan is 'struggle' — struggle between classes and struggle between nations."

The Chairman of the Anniversary sessions, Dr. Elco N. van Kleeffens interrupted Dr. Yeh with his gavel and asked him not to "stray" from the purposes of the meetings. Chiang's representative protested but continued with a "moderated" speech.

This incident had considerable symbolic significance.

When the United Nations was founded ten years ago, the Security Council was set up as its ruling body. The Council, according to the charter of the U. N., was to be composed of five permanent members representing the Big Five: the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. Six other members of the Security Council were to be elected from time to time from the General Assembly of the United Nations.

FAKE REPRESENTATIVES

Today, ten years later, China is still listed as one of the Five Powers that enjoys permanent representation on the Security Council. The difference lies in the fact that the "representative from China" no longer represents China in any conceivable way. The permanent Chinese seat in the Security Council is occupied by a stooge of the small clique of warlords and feudal landowners who were thrown out of China in the course of a great revolution.

Although the real China was not present in San Francisco last week, the Chinese question dominated the scene. The victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 over the Chiang dictatorship has been the main obstacle to world capitalist plans to transform the cold war into a World War III against the Soviet Union.

The richest prize of World War II was to be China. The U.S. imperialists did not go to war with

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Early Edition of 'Subversive' List



Civil Liberties Victory Won in Passport Case

Another important victory in the fight against the witch hunt was registered on June 23 when the U. S. Court of Appeals ruled that Max Shachtman, chairman of the Independent Socialist League, had been illegally denied a passport by the State Department.

In a unanimous ruling, the three-judge court, declared that the right to travel is a "natural right" of all citizens and is therefore guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment, which declares that no citizen shall "be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Refusal to grant Shachtman a passport solely on the grounds that he headed an organization on the U. S. Attorney General's blacklist, the court said, violated due process of law.

The court noted that the Independent Socialist League had been trying for six years to get a hearing to prove that it was not subversive. All attempts to get such a hearing were rejected by the Attorney General.

The decision does not mean that Shachtman will now get his passport. This was not the legal point at issue. Shachtman simply maintained that he had been refused a passport on illegal grounds — namely, that

the ISL had been blacklisted by the Attorney General. The court upheld this contention and now the McCarthy-controlled passport section of the State Department has the choice of trying to muster some legal reasons for refusing the passport or of capitulating and granting it.

Early this month this same court ordered the passport bureau, which had arbitrarily refused a passport to Dr. Otto Nathan, the executor of Einstein's estate, to grant Nathan a hearing on whether or not he should be allowed to travel to Europe. Rather than have such a hearing the State Department gave Nathan a passport without further ado.

The most significant aspect of the Shachtman case may be the separate concurring opinion of Chief Justice Henry W. Edgerton. He said: "The premise that a man is not fit to work for the government does not support the conclusion that he is not fit to go to Europe. The Attorney General's list was prepared for screening government employees, not passport applicants."

The importance of this principle, if it is upheld by the Supreme Court, is that it would

make illegal the thousands of "subversive" list firings of workers in defense plants, non-defense plants and in every other conceivable kind of job.

One of the most vicious aspects of the witch hunt has been the utilization of the Attorney General's political blacklist to deprive thousands of the right to earn a livelihood. Actual or suspected, present or former membership of workers in any of the blacklisted organizations has been the employers' grounds for firings. In many cases merely being related to, or once associated with, alleged members of the listed organizations has sufficed for "security" firings from factories.

In some places the Attorney General's list has been used to screen people off unemployment compensation. At present in many parts of the country people have been ordered evicted from their homes in federal housing projects because some member of the family allegedly is connected with one of the many organizations blacklisted without a hearing.

Thus the ISL's persistent fight involved more than Shachtman's passport. It may have an important bearing on the witch hunt in the factories.

Administration Stand Shows Kind of Army Big Business Wants

By C. R. Hubbard

JUNE 30 — On the eve of the Big Four Conference and in the wake of the UN tenth anniversary orations about "peaceful coexistence," the Eisenhower administration is ramming through Congress a big chunk of its program for the total militarization of the American youth.

On June 28 another four-year extension of the draft and a two-year extension for doctors was passed in the House of Representatives by a vote of 388 to 5. The Senate passed the draft extensions within 15 minutes of the House and sent it to Eisenhower.

Four hours earlier the House Armed Services Committee passed

Eisenhower's Military Reserve

program by a vote of 29 to 1 after three Committee members dropped their previous fight against the measure. This legislation would increase ready reserve forces from 700,000 to 2,900,000 by 1960. It is now before the House for debate.

The kind of military life the Big Business government is trying to foist on the youth is clearly revealed by the fight. Eisenhower and the Southern Democrats are waging against any amendments to the Military Reserve bill that would ban segregation.

Representative Adam Clayton Powell some months ago introduced an anti-segregation amendment to the Reserve bill. Eisenhower denounced this action as "extraneous" and "erroneous." He made an arrogant personal request to Powell to drop the fight. Powell refused.

Moreover, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP told Eisenhower that his Reserve forces plan would be "a gross violation of the civil rights of colored people." The recent NAACP convention backed Powell in his fight.

Rep. Powell and the NAACP leaders are supporters of the foreign policy of both capitalist parties. Nevertheless as representatives of the Negro people they cannot help but protest the brazen plan to build the vast extension of the military establishment on the Southern Jim Crow model.

There is a reason why Eisenhower blames the Negro representatives instead of the Jim Crow Democrats for the obstruction of the reserve force legislation. Big Business, despite all its peace talk is bent on preparation for World War III. It wants the total militarization of all of American life — dominated by a Prussian-like regimentation from cradle to grave.

Big Business wants a militarization program that will be firmly under their control. For this they need an officer caste which owes its first allegiance to the billionaire rulers, an officer caste that is anti-labor and racist to the bone.

For the American working class and the Negro people such a militarization program is fraught with danger and sinister implications.

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Migratory Farm Workers' Plight In the Mid-South

By Farrell Dobbs

National Secretary
Socialist Workers Party

ST. LOUIS — While exploring the seamy side of this city I came upon a tale of human misery from which a good novelist could create a modern "Grapes of Wrath." It is a tale of the migratory farm workers, today's version of the "Okies" in John Steinbeck's famous novel.

Locally some migratory workers form a labor pool from which large-scale farms draw seasonal help. In May they head for Southeast Missouri to chop cotton (cut weeds from around the cotton with a hoe). During the summer they go to Michigan for the fruit and vegetable harvest.

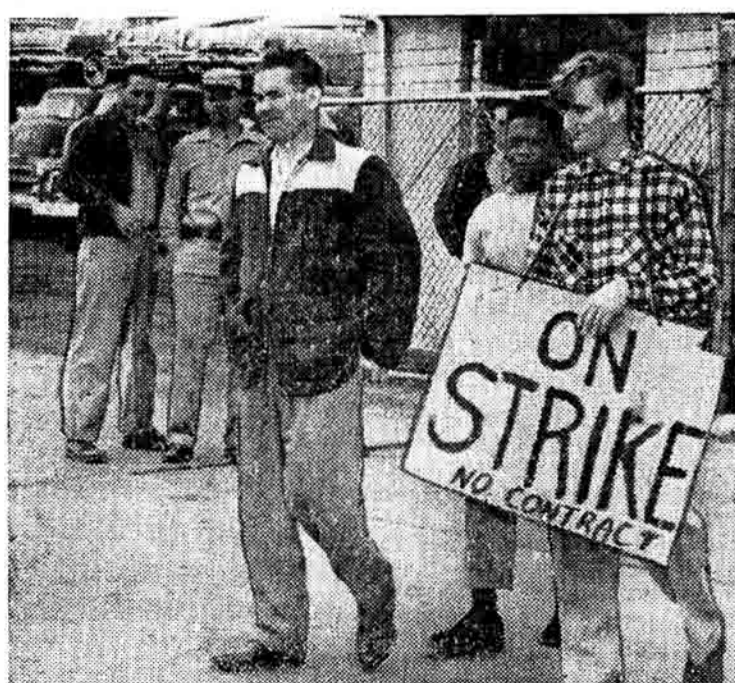
September finds many back on the plantations to pick cotton, a few faring as far west as Arizona.

Wherever these workers go, whole families usually travel in dilapidated trucks. The dangers they face can be seen from a recent accident near Denver. An open-body truck, into which 55 Mexican men, women and children were jammed, skidded off the road. A baby was killed and several others badly injured.

On the farms they are herded together in shacks with scant attention to their sanitation and health needs. Babies are often carried into the field so the mother can work. Children also labor under the hard rule, "If they can walk, they can help," forced upon the family by the



Authorized by Rank and File



Shown picketing are GM workers at the Linden, N. J., assembly plant during the recent negotiations of the CIO auto union with the corporation. Workers in this and many other plants walked out in protest against their grievances being ignored by negotiators. Reuther attacked the strikes as "unauthorized."

Nixon's "Charm" Flops at NAACP Convention

By George Lavan

At its recent convention in Atlantic City, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made its sharpest criticism to date of President Eisenhower. At the last minute Vice-President Nixon scurried down to Atlantic City to smooth things over. But even this proved fruitless.

The NAACP convention opened June 21 on the heels of Eisenhower's televised press-conference denunciation of the anti-Jim Crow amendment to his Universal Military Training bill. Moreover, the convention's opening session was greeted with a telegram from the White House urging "patience" for "the decade ahead."

In his speech on school desegregation, Thurgood Marshall went out of his way to take up this "patience" plea. Referring to the public and private advice the NAACP was getting from "alleged friends" urging us not to be impatient, not to rock the boat, not to push ahead too

rapidly," Marshall replied, "Negroes are impatient. They are impatient. They are determined to get their rights as rapidly as possible."

AT BOTH ENDS

In his report on political action, Clarence Mitchell, Director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, specifically linked Eisenhower with the "bi-partisan program of smothering civil rights legislation." At one end of Pennsylvania Avenue the Democratic Majority leader of the Senate killed all anti-Jim Crow bills, he said. "At the other end, the President maintains complete silence on much-needed civil rights bills, but becomes very vocal in opposing vital civil rights amendments."

This marks a new stage in the NAACP's attitude to Eisenhower. Heretofore the official line has been to separate Eisenhower personally from the Republican party. Thus the NAACP commended him for his stand "against racial discrimination" and credit-

ed certain gains made (as in Washington, D. C.) to him. They helped absolve him of criticism from the Negro people by accusing his subordinates of "impeding" and even "sabotaging" the president's good intentions. This fitted quite well with Republican strategy for the 1956 election which depends not so much on the Republican Party's popularity,

as on the personal popularity of Eisenhower.

The president's condemnation of Harlem Congressman Powell's amendment to end Jim Crow national guards, however, made NAACP continuation of this line on Eisenhower impossible.

On the third day of the convention the following "emergency" resolution was passed: "We

Randolph Criticizes School Decision

A. Philip Randolph, President of the AFL Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a vice-president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, officially expressed his union's "concern and disappointment over the failure of the U.S. Supreme Court to be more positive" in its recent implementation ruling on school desegregation.

The June issue of the union's

official paper, The Black Worker, reports: "It had been hoped by officials of the BSCP that the court would set a date toward which all could aim to bring about a quick desegregation of the nation's Jim Crow schools." After specifying the decision's shortcomings, the Negro labor leader pledged that his union would work "unceasingly" along with such organizations as the NAACP to bring about desegregation as rapidly as possible.

condemn all effort to force withdrawal or to circumvent this amendment, whether by President Eisenhower, in his denunciation of this so-called 'rider,' or by Congressman Vinson [D-Ga., chairman of the House Armed Services Committee] in his efforts to substitute a new bill, or the efforts of any other Congressman or administrative official."

In an effort to placate Negro opinion, the White House sent its chief errand boy, Vice-President Nixon, to the NAACP convention. This was a bit embarrassing since Nixon had already turned down an invitation to the convention on the grounds of "a previous engagement."

Before going to Atlantic City Nixon tried to temper Negro anger against the administration by making a hastily-arranged good-will tour of Harlem. The Vice-President put the best face he could on the Administration's civil rights record and urged Negro leaders to take a "statesman-like and temperate attitude" towards the fight against Jim Crow.

Then, in his unheralded tour of Harlem he popped in and out of a number of business concerns to the bewilderment of the employees. Figuring the Negro people were now compensated for Eisenhower's denunciation of the Powell amendment, Nixon headed to Atlantic City.

On Sunday, June 26, the convention's last day, Nixon turned all his synthetic charm on the NAACP. It didn't work, however. The delegates gave him only the minimum applause courtesy demanded.

Indeed, before he had left the hall the collection speaker was at the microphone and his opening words gave the lie to Nixon's principle theme — how much the administration had done for the Negro people. "We don't owe anything to either the Democratic or Republican parties — or the Communist Party," this speaker shouted, "any gains that we've made, we've done ourselves." This statement brought a thunder of applause that followed Nixon all the way out to his limousine.

20 YEARS OF THE CIO — IX

Roosevelt "Recession" and First CIO Retreat

By Art Preis

By September 1937, the heroic days of the CIO were over. In the following two years, the CIO added only 400,000 to the 3,700,000 membership reached in its first 22 months. The strike statistics clearly indicate a period of retreat. The monthly average of strikes fell more than half between 1937 and 1939, as follows:

Year	Monthly Avg. No. of Strikes
1937	395
1938	231
1939	192

Economic conditions were the principal basis for this retreat. The CIO's rise had coincided with a favorable economic upturn from June 1935 to August 1937. Physical volume of industrial production had fallen from 110 points on the index in 1929 to 58 in 1932. By increasing government spending from \$4.6 billion in 1932 to \$9.7 billion in 1935 and by inflating the government debt from \$36 billion to \$50 billion in the same period, Roosevelt had managed to jack up production to 87 points in 1935, to 103 in 1936 and to 113 in August 1937 — higher than in 1929. Roosevelt publicly boasted: "We planned it that way."

In late August, Roosevelt's "prosperity" bubble burst. Within three months, the industrial production index dropped 27%. In fact, the Roosevelt "recession" was the most precipitate the country had ever known — the decline in four months was

three times as great as the drop during the first five months after the October 1929 stock market crash. Not until after the outbreak of World War II in September 1939 and after Roosevelt had launched the greatest arms budget in U. S. peacetime history was the depression to be liquidated in 1941 and 1942.

The pro-Roosevelt labor leaders and the Stalinists have gone to extravagant lengths to bury the fact that Roosevelt failed utterly to solve the problem of capitalist crisis and depression within a peacetime economy. Yet the figures of mass unemployment during Roosevelt's first two terms, according to the official estimates of both the CIO and AFL, are the single most damning refutation of the Roosevelt myth. Unemployment never fell below 8 million during the entire "New Deal" — the government's own special census reported "8½ million to 11 million" jobless at the August 1937 "prosperity" peak. In 1940, a year after the war had started in Europe, the CIO reported more than 10 million unemployed. Here are the unemployment statistics from 1933 through 1940:

Year	CIO Estimate	AFL Estimate
1933	12,643,000	13,271,000
1934	10,845,000	11,424,000
1935	10,050,000	10,652,000
1936	8,756,000	9,395,000
1937	8,109,000	8,282,000
1938	11,030,000	9,979,000
1940	10,276,000	9,104,000

'New Deal' Becomes 'War Deal'

The "New Deal" proved to be a brief, ephemeral period of mild reforms granted under pressure of militant mass action by the organized workers, both unemployed and employed. By late 1937, Roosevelt had adopted the policy of propping up basic industry with government war orders, while cutting relief expenditures even as unemployment rose. The "New Deal" became the "War Deal."

The shift of policy was publicly proclaimed in Roosevelt's notorious "Quarantine the Aggressors" radio speech of October 5, 1937. This belligerent speech urged a policy of building big military forces. In this very speech, Roosevelt also announced that "the Federal Government with the return of prosperity must more and more narrow the circle of its relief activities and reduce the amount of Federal revenue to be expended in the amelioration of human want and distress . . ."

This "return to prosperity" was a lie. Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes noted in his diary on January 1, 1938: "It is clear that the budget will not be balanced for the next fiscal year and this does not surprise me. Unemployment is increasing rapidly. Only a few days ago, President Knudsen, of General Motors, announced that 30,000 more men would be laid off Jan. 1, this in spite of very large earnings by GM last year." (The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes — The Inner Struggle, Vol. II.)

In 1938, however, Roosevelt cut relief and work relief expenditures to \$2,176,000,000 from the peak \$2,944,000,000 of 1937 and the 1935 sum of \$2,321,000,000.

At the same time, war spending rose steadily, as follows:

Year	Fed. War Spending
1935	\$ 689,000,000
1936	900,000,000
1937	929,000,000
1938	1,029,000,000
1939	1,206,000,000
1940	1,657,000,000
1941	6,301,000,000

In the spring of 1939, Roosevelt called for the firing of 1,500,000 unemployed from WPA work relief rolls. By 1940, some 2,000,000 had been fired. WPA strikes and unemployed demonstrations had led to mass arrests throughout the country. FBI agents were used to spy on the jobless and as agents provocateur. In Minneapolis, 25 unemployed were sent to jail on FBI testimony, after Roosevelt had proclaimed: "You can't strike against the government."

The legend now fostered depicts the Roosevelt of that period as a shining humanitarian. Actually, the records of the time reveal deep disquiet among Roosevelt's liberal and labor admirers. Only the Stalinists appear to have covered up completely for Roosevelt, as they were the first to push for a Roosevelt third term.

Even Sidney Hillman, an obsequious supporter of Roosevelt, had to complain about the President's relief budget slashes before the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention on May 9, 1938: "As far as labor is concerned, as far as the progressive forces of the country are concerned, we will not permit budget balancing at the expense of hungry, starving men and women and children."

The link between war spending and relief cuts was pointed out by none other than Vice President Philip Murray of the United Mine Workers. Murray, who was to succeed Lewis as head of the CIO the following November, told the UMW convention in January 1940 he preferred to see the government spend ten billion dollars "to put the idle to work rather than to spend one dollar for American-made bullets to be used to kill someone."

Long before this, the "New Deal" had been laid to rest. On March 1, 1938, the N. Y. World-Telegram, chief newspaper of the Scripps-Howard chain, had reported that "President Roosevelt has declared a quiet armistice on new reforms." This "armistice" was to last a long time. Five years after Roosevelt's death in 1945, Murray was to complain in his article in the March 27, 1950, NEW REPUBLIC: "Since 1938, Congress has taken a leave of absence from social welfare legislation." Not only were social reforms at an end, but Roosevelt sought more and more openly after August 1937, to appease Big Business. Arthur Krock, the authoritative Washington commentator of the N. Y. Times, observed on November 21, 1937, that "for the first time since 1933, the President (has) accepted the idea of aiding industry on its own terms . . ."

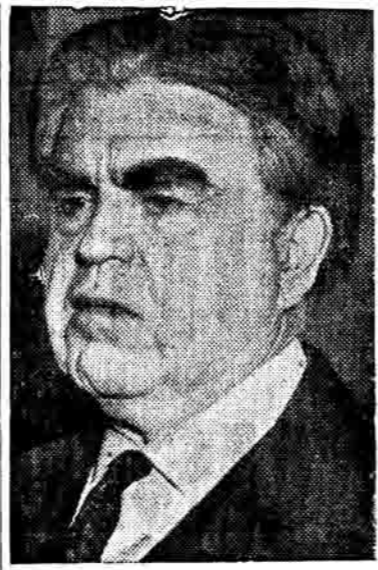
The impact of war on the depression is described in Price Administrator Leon Henderson's First Quarterly Report, U. S. Office of Price Administration, April 30, 1942. Henderson, Roosevelt's chief economic advisor, testified:

"The impact [of war in Europe] upon American markets was immediate. Memories of the first World War — memories of insatiable demand, of shortages, of inflation — were rekindled and there was an immediate and sharp increase in buying. The businessman who customarily bought one carload put in an order for three. Prices rose precipitately, basic commodities and basic raw materials both jumping about 25 percent in the single month of September [1937]. The rise of prices itself evoked widespread accumulation of inventories that further fed the streams of buying. A speculative boom was on. . . ."

"Employment in manufacturing increased almost 10 per cent by the end of the year. Pay rolls rose 16 per cent. The Federal Reserve index of industrial production, which stood at 106 per cent of the 1935-39 average in August, rose to 125 in December. This was an all-time high . . ."

But war in Europe did not, of itself, turn the trick. Economic conditions in the U. S. returned to their former condition of slump during the so-called "Sitz-krieg" or "phony war." The invasion of the Low Countries and France in April and May 1940 was the signal for Roosevelt to call for all-out U. S. war preparations. In July, Congress appropriated \$12 billion for military spending and by March 1941 the total surpassed the \$35 billion expenditure for all of World War I.

The CIO's retreat under unfavorable economic conditions and Roosevelt's pro-war campaign is reflected in the events



John L. Lewis (left) and the late Sidney Hillman. The latter intrigued with the late President Roosevelt against Lewis and organized the opposition to Lewis inside the CIO. The conflict came to a head at the November 1940 convention of the CIO.



within the most democratic and dynamic CIO union, the United Automobile Workers. At the third annual UAW convention, held in Milwaukee late in August, 1937, there began the intense factional struggle between top leadership cliques for control of the union. Heading one faction was Homer Martin, whose specialty was red-baiting. The other faction — self-styled the "Unity" caucus — included the Stalinists and Walter Reuther. The Stalinists at this stage proposed to ban all caucuses in the UAW. This convention ended up with a "compromise" division of posts.

In September, 1937, the UAW National Executive Board, including the Stalinists and Reuther, voted unanimously to ban all local newspapers, to subject all local printed matter to NEB censorship. At the same time, they voted to inform General Motors it could fire any workers engaged in "unauthorized" strikes. Reuther and the Stalinists joined in signing a letter to this effect sent to GM.

The power fight between the Martin and the Unity factions came to a head in early 1939 after Martin suspended the majority of the Executive Board. He then tried to drag the UAW back into the AFL. Split conventions were held, but the pro-CIO convention in Cleveland won the overwhelming support of the auto workers. Reuther worked with the Stalinists until 1939, although his first break with them came in 1938 in a squabble over a post for his brother Victor in the Michigan CIO.

In June 1940, the UAW signed the worst GM contract ever, without providing for proper grievance machinery, and with weakened seniority. At this time, the Stalinists took the lead in getting GM locals to rescind previous resolutions for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Reuther, in charge of the union's GM division, helped ram the contract, giving only a 1½% pay increase, down the GM workers' throats, using the "national emergency" as a ramrod. He said that "now we must accept even a bad agreement for the good of the country."

At the July 1941 UAW convention, Reuther, heading the then most conservative wing of the UAW, shoved through the first anti-democratic amendment to the UAW constitution, a dis-

criminatory amendment barring "communists" from elective or appointive offices in the international.

The CIO retreat was reflected in virtually every one of its affiliates. At a national SWOC conference in December 1937, the question of setting up a steel international with elected officers was shunted aside. No analysis was made of the reasons for the Little Steel defeat. Philip Murray assumed absolute and unlimited powers. By February 1938, both the steel and textile organizing drives were brought to a halt, with their organizing staffs reduced to a quarter of their original size. Two years later, at the May, 1940, SWOC conference, Murray's eagerness to aid Roosevelt's third-term campaign led him to invite

criminating amendment barring "communists" from elective or appointive offices in the international.

The Stalinist Strikebreakers

The Stalinists were then calling for "collective security" by a military alliance of the Soviet Union and the "Western democracies" — that is, the capitalist imperialist countries lined up against the Axis imperialist powers, Germany, Italy and Japan. The inducement the Stalinists offered Wall Street for a war pact was the use of the American Communist Party to stifle the class struggle in this country. In the UAW, the Stalinists on the GEB signed the GM "disciplinary" letter and the October 1937 Communist magazine declared that the Communist Party was "against unauthorized strikes."

In April 1938, during a jurisdictional fight with the then independent Sailors Union of the Pacific, which was defying an NLRB ruling, Harry Bridges appeared as an open strikebreaker with the slogan, "You can't strike against the government." Later, Roosevelt and Truman used this same slogan when they seized railroads and plants to break strikes. Bridges introduced in February 1940 a "five-year peace plan" offering a no-strike guarantee for five years in the maritime industry in return for a compulsory arbitration set-up.

The Stalinists scored another "first" in treachery toward American labor by initiating the campaign for a third term for Roosevelt. They introduced a resolution to this effect at the November 1938 CIO convention. Lewis, as chairman, ruled the

Mayor Kelly, whose cops had killed ten steel workers in the 1937 Memorial Day Massacre, to address the gathering. The Republic Steel delegates walked out in a body when Murray introduced Chicago's New Deal mayor.

Almost forgotten today is the alliance of the Stalinists with the CIO leadership in that period and the treacherous class-collaborationist role the followers of the Communist Party line followed. Those who recall the strikebreaking, speed-up, incentive pay policies of the Stalinists during World War II may forget that this was the continuation of the line the Stalinists pushed before the war, interrupted briefly only during the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. Every section of the top CIO leadership played ball consciously, at one time or another, with the Stalinists. Indeed, the Stalinists, by virtue of their false label of "communists," were able to deceive and disorient union militants who would not trust the old-line union leaders. They were invaluable to the CIO leadership in helping to bureaucratize the CIO and harness its native militancy.

With the consent of Lewis, Hillman, Murray, etc., the Stalinists moved in to take over leading city and state CIO councils. Joseph Curran of the CIO National Maritime Union, Michael Quill of the Transport Workers, and Harry Bridges of the West Coast Longshoremen faithfully followed every twist and turn of the Stalinist line. The Stalinists were a powerful force in the steel, rubber, auto and electrical unions. Lewis appointed Bridges the West Coast CIO director in October 1937.

resolution out of order. However, the CIO National Executive Board of 42 contained 15 Stalinists or Stalinist sympathizers.

Even after the Stalin-Hitler pact in August 1939, the Stalinists continued to give "qualified" support to the Roosevelt third term. In November 1939 all Stalinist delegates voted for third-term resolutions at the New York and New Jersey state CIO conventions. Quill said at the New York CIO convention: "We believe that endorsing a third term at this time is correct." But he warned the labor movement to "see that President Roosevelt and any official of the American government should never attempt to drive the American people into war."

The Stalinists withdrew their support from Roosevelt in 1940 and gave undercover backing to the Republican Willkie. But after the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, June 22, 1941, Quill, Curran, Bridges and the rest of the Stalinist followers in the CIO again became rabid supporters of Roosevelt and the capitalist war.

Politics dominated the developments in the CIO during this period and led to the first serious internal conflict among the top CIO leaders. This struggle revolved around the growing enmity between Lewis and Roosevelt.

During the General Motors strike, and even more sharply during the Little Steel strike,

Lewis had clashed with Roosevelt over the latter's anti-union acts. In fact, as early as February 1, 1937, Lewis spoke in favor of a third party, based on a combination of labor and the farmers, at a dinner meeting

Lewis Breaks with Roosevelt

But, unfortunately, Lewis never seriously pressed the idea of a labor party. Instead, he kept his resentment against Roosevelt to himself and his intimates and did not take the CIO membership into his confidence. He continued after the Little Steel rebuff from Roosevelt to try to patch up their political alliance. During the 1938 elections, at Roosevelt's personal request, Lewis again contributed large sums of United Mine Workers' money to the Democrats. A big share of this money was spent to aid the Roosevelt-Democratic faction in Maryland. A leader of this faction was Congressman Allen E. Goldsborough, later awarded a judgeship by Roosevelt. Nine years later Federal Judge Goldsborough was to repay Lewis for his political help by fining him and the UMW three and a half million dollars for violating an injunction. Roosevelt likewise personally solicited and obtained funds from Lewis for Senator Alben Barkley's campaign in Kentucky. Barkley, too, repaid this political debt by snarling attacks on the later mine strikes.

As late as the November 1939 CIO convention, Lewis took no open stand against a third term for Roosevelt. Lewis held the position of a "neutral," voicing the hope for a "progressive" candidate for president. At this time, Lewis spoke sharply against any drive toward war, but also backed Roosevelt's "neutrality" measures, which were a smokescreen for the war drive. Hillman, however, was the author of the "neutrality" resolution and was working hand-in-glove with Roosevelt against Lewis and seeking to undermine Lewis in the CIO.

When Roosevelt, without consulting Lewis, appointed Hillman to the National Defense Advisory Committee, Lewis felt that the President was deliberately trying to win over CIO leaders with favors and appointments and to build a faction inside the CIO to destroy Lewis. It was this that brought Lewis to an open break with Roosevelt.

That Lewis was correct in his assumption has only recently been affirmed by Matthew Josephson in his laudatory biography of Hillman. Josephson tells how Roosevelt entertained the highly flattered Hillman at the President's Hyde Park estate in the summer of 1939: "Roosevelt feared greatly that the CIO, which had given him such mighty aid in the campaign of 1936, might be turned against him through the enormous influence of Lewis," reveals Josephson. "In his dilemma, Franklin Roosevelt, with keen intuition, turned to Sidney Hillman for help. In Hillman the President sensed a rival force within the CIO, one that might be used to divide the growing opposition in the labor movement or wear it away from Lewis. Hence the marked personal attentions shown to Hillman at Hyde Park and elsewhere."

On Jan. 24, 1940, at the 50th Anniversary convention of the United Mine Workers, Lewis proclaimed his political break with the Democrats and Roosevelt. He declared that "the Democratic Party is in default to the American people" on every major domestic and international issue. He charged that Roosevelt had "broken faith" with the American workers. "In the Congress, the unrestrained baiting and defaming of labor by the Democratic majority has become a pastime, never subject to rebuke by the titular or actual leaders of the party." He added that Roosevelt's candidacy "would result in ignominious defeat."

Immediately, other CIO leaders, including Hillman, Rieve of the United Textile Workers and Dubinsky, repudiated Lewis's statement and declared themselves in support of a third term for Roosevelt. On Feb. 11, 1940, Lewis issued another blast at Roosevelt, when the latter hit a youth convention which had passed an anti-war resolution protesting loans to Finland in the Soviet-Finnish war. Lewis reminded Roosevelt that the 2,400 delegates at the UMW convention had also voted against loans to Finland and "after all, who has a bigger, greater right to protest against war, or any part of war, or the diplomatic intrigues of war, or the subtle politics preceding war, than the young men who, in the event of war, would become cannon fodder?"

Roosevelt had already made plain that "national defense"

was designed to put handcuffs on labor, to prevent strikes and freeze wages. On May 21, 1940, he told a press conference: "Labor will not attempt to take advantage of its collective power to foment strikes and interfere with the national defense program to squeeze higher wages from employers in the so-called war industries." At an early conference of his newly-appointed NDAC, Roosevelt made plain to Hillman, his labor captive, what was expected of him: "Sidney, I expect you to keep labor in step."

In August 1940, Lewis told a cheering convention of the United Auto Workers in St. Louis: "Some day in this country the people are going to lose confidence in the existing political parties to a degree that they will form their own party." With Lewis beginning to voice such independent sentiments, it was no wonder that an estimated 25,000,000 to 30,000,000 people tuned in on the evening of October 25, 1940, to hear a political statement by America's most popular labor leader.

For most of his speech, his audience, including virtually every member of organized labor, heard a devastating attack on the Roosevelt war program and Roosevelt's assumption of executive powers. " . . . Those who hear these words, and who have studied the public addresses of the President, from his Chicago 'quarantine speech' to his Charlottesville 'stab in the back' address, and thence to Dayton and Philadelphia, will understand his objective. It is war. His every act leads one to this inescapable conclusion. The President has said that he hates war and will work for peace, but his acts do not match his words. . . ."

Millions of workers were hanging on Lewis's every word. Millions of them were waiting for him to announce a new bold independent political course — a call for the labor party about which he had spoken only a few weeks before. Then came the anti-climax. " . . . If not Roosevelt, whom do I recommend to do the job of making secure our nation and its people? Why, of course, I recommend the election of Wendell L. Willkie. . . ."

To the workers, there was obviously no more sense in voting for Willkie, the Republican tool of the utilities, who spoke for both "peace" and military aid to Britain, than in voting for Roosevelt who introduced the draft and also promised that "our boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

There was a further point Lewis made in his radio speech. He said that a victory for Roosevelt would be "the equivalent of a vote of no confidence" in Lewis by the members of the CIO. If Roosevelt were re-elected, Lewis said he would "retire as president of the CIO, at its convention in November. . . ."

At the CIO convention, on Nov. 18, 1940, two weeks after Roosevelt's election, Lewis ended his term of office as CIO president and refused a renomination. His choice as his successor was Philip Murray.

Alinsky has bewailed Lewis's break with Roosevelt as "the great American Tragedy of the labor movement." He is dead wrong. Lewis's tragedy is great indeed, but it is not his break with Roosevelt. His tragedy was his inability to break with the kind of politics represented by his coalition with Roosevelt.

It was not with Roosevelt the individual, but with Roosevelt the capitalist reform politician that Lewis formed his political ties. In turning from Roosevelt to Willkie, Lewis had hoped to form the same kind of tie with another political agent of the same ruling class that Roosevelt represented. Had Lewis used his tremendous influence and prestige to summon American labor to build its own party at that crucial juncture, the American working class would be at least 15 years further ahead today. Lewis's failure in this regard is the real tragedy.

Notice to Readers

We regret to announce that for reasons of health Art Preis has been compelled to discontinue temporarily further work on this series, "20 Years of the CIO." We hope to be able to resume publication of the series in about six weeks.

... Migratory Workers' Plight in Mid-South

(Continued from page 1)

ants from the cotton land, a great many of them Negroes. Since the forms of tenancy in the cotton areas vary, a brief description might be helpful.

There appear to be three main classes of tenants: (1) Those who pay a fixed rental either in cash or its equivalent in crop value. (2) Those who furnish their own tools and pay a fixed percentage of the cash crop, about one-fourth to one-third. (3) The sharecropper to whom the landlord supplies land and tools, together with food and staples (called "furnish"). In return the landlord takes at least half the crop, plus all the extra he can get by cheating the cropper.

Displacement of tenants, mainly the sharecroppers, that began after the 1929 market crash had reached serious proportions by 1932. Then came the New Deal program of scarcity, calling for the plowing under of cotton in return for a government subsidy. Landlords began to "rent" acreage to the government, throwing sharecroppers off the land and cheating them of their share of the government subsidy in the bargain. Some planters offered croppers a chance to stay on as field hands at wages as low as 35 cents a day.

According to the AFL Agricultural Workers Union cotton production has also been affected by farm mechanization which has doubled the productivity of agricultural workers nationally since the beginning of World War II. Much cotton is now picked by machine and use of machines for chopping cotton is on the increase.

The union reports many planters no longer provide "furnish" for sharecropping, demanding instead that the croppers stay on as day laborers at some \$40 a month. This leaves the cropper the alternative of staying on the plantation at a starvation wage or going to the city and entering the farm labor pool.

In the Mid-South choose the latter course, going to cities like St. Louis or Memphis. The World Almanac gives partial evidence in the same direction in a report that the tenant farm proportion of all farms nationally dropped about 12% between 1940 and 1950.

This does not mean that sharecropping has disappeared from the South. Apparently hundreds of thousands are still cruelly exploited by that system of semi-slavery. In general the complex trends involving sharecropping and day labor on the big land holdings require a great deal of close study before all the facts will become clear.

Still another source of supply for the farm labor pool is Mexican contract labor, developed

during the wartime manpower shortage and since continued because the farm employers can exploit these workers mercilessly. Last year at least 20,000 Mexican workers came to the Arkansas cotton fields under contract and another 2,500 into Missouri. Planters pit Mexican against Negro labor in an effort to drive down wages. Fights between these workers and even killings sometimes result.

Such tragic events are all the more possible because the migratory farm workers are for the most part unorganized. Some are now in the union. Others are moving in that direction, saying, "Everybody else is in a union, we need one too." But the majority of these workers, who come from areas where there has been little or no organization, are not fully aware of the power inherent in a union.

Yet a great tradition of struggle is already the common property of these workers, above all the tradition of their present union movement, launched during 1934 in Poinsett County, Arkansas. At that time ten Negro and 17 white workers met to form what soon became the Southern Tenant Farmers Union.

A sharecropper present at that meeting, a veteran of the 1918 Elaine massacre of a Negro sharecroppers union, set the

policy for the STFU when he said, "We colored can't organize without you white folks and you white folks can't organize without us." From then on Negro and white solidarity prevailed all the way.

The planters had union organizers beaten and jailed on charges of "disturbing labor." Churches where the union met were padlocked, the windows boarded up and the floors removed. Union members were murdered. When a strike was called the jails were filled with strikers. But the cotton still hung in the bolls and finally the union won a pay raise. Then came a new wave of planter terror, leading to an even bolder strike through which the union won a written contract and showed it was there to stay.

In that fight the union was made up mostly of sharecroppers. Later, day laborers and some small farmers were brought into the ranks. Today this same union exists on a larger scale as the National Agricultural Workers Union, AFL. Its president, H. L. Mitchell, a former sharecropper, was the secretary of the STFU from the start and a participant in the battles through which that union was founded.

Today the NAWU-AFL has around 10,000 members in good standing and another 50,000 who

have paid dues at one time or another and consider themselves union members. It has over 300 locals, many of which function only now and then as issues arise. This seeming looseness in dues payments and local activity arises from the seasonal unemployment and the migratory nature of the work.

The union has its main strength among fruit, vegetable and sugar cane workers in Louisiana. Its next strongest section is among California factory farm workers. Third in size is the group composed of Mid-South cotton workers. There is also a scattering of members in the dairy states.

Yet to join the NAWU are hundreds of thousands of farm workers who live today under conditions that compel action in their own defense. Battles are brewing on the corporation farms that will have far greater sweep and power than the drive that founded the union back in the Thirties.

Strikes among Southern industrial workers will help inspire the migratory farm workers to action. Their own battles will in turn interlace with the struggles of the industrial workers. Out of these forces an alert socialist movement can develop new cadres for the vanguard party of American labor.

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Witch Hunters Retreat on Lattimore

The Department of Justice has had to admit defeat in the Lattimore case by dropping all charges. This action was not taken gracefully. Attorney General Brownell pushed the fantastic perjury charges against the Johns Hopkins professor with a vindictiveness worthy of McCarran and McCarthy, the fathers of the "get Lattimore" campaign. When federal Judge Youngdahl refused to countenance such vague charges as that Lattimore had "sympathized" with the Communist Party line or that his thinking had paralleled it, the Attorney General began a legal and publicity campaign to intimidate and discredit Youngdahl.

But the climate of opinion has been shifting in this country. The decision of the topmost circle of U.S. capitalism to put McCarthy in cold storage until he is urgently needed again, meant that the witch hunt could not be maintained at the high pitch to which it had been pushed. For that a hysteria, fed by charges of treason and espionage and fascist-like frame-ups — in a word, McCarthyism — is necessary.

With the silencing of McCarthy the forces defending civil liberties began to make a little headway. Moreover, a few perspicacious politicians and jurists noted which way the wind was now blowing and became partial defenders of civil liberties.

This has resulted in a steady chipping away at the "excesses" of the witch hunt. For example, the Supreme Court, while ducking the big constitutional issues in the civil liberties cases before it, has ruled against the witch hunters several times in a row — in the Emspak Fifth Amendment cases and in the Peters case. Taking heart from the change in atmosphere the lower federal courts have begun to speak up — in the Dr. Nathan and Max Shachtman passport cases and in the Lattimore case.

Eisenhower's appointee to the Subversive Activities Control Board, Harry M. Cain, who earlier had been in the McCarthyite wing of his party, has been making "liberal" speeches all over the country about trimming the "excesses" of the witch hunt and bringing it within the bounds of "reason."

A Conservative Tide?

"A tide of conservatism actually appears to be running in the world," said the U.S. News, June 3, after the May election victory of the British Tories.

This reactionary magazine of Big Business joyfully lists some of the conservative capitalist victories of the post-war period as follows: "Australia started it in December, 1949, defeating Labor. Britain then came along in October, 1950, defeating the Socialists, electing Churchill. The U.S. followed with Republican victory in 1952. Germany gave a sweep for conservatives with a big Adenauer victory in 1953. Britain is back with a big new victory for the Conservatives, defeat for Labor."

Now, before too many champagne bottles are opened to celebrate these victories, let's take a closer look at the ledger.

Good book-keeping methods, as the editors of a Big Business magazine should know, must include losses as well as gains. There are two sides to a ledger.

U.S. News begins its list with the year 1949 when Australian Conservatives beat Labor in an election. But 1949 is the year

While he is for a subversive list and enforcing it, he criticizes the "sloppiness" of the present one and its "misuse" on state, city and private levels. This is also more and more the editorial line of the most responsible Big Business newspapers.

On June 27 the Senate unanimously approved the setting up of a bi-partisan commission, half of whose members will be from private life, to review the entire "security" program. The House of Representatives is expected to approve this commission since the steady opposition of the administration to it was suddenly withdrawn.

Equally significant was a report issued the next day by the Senate internal security subcommittee headed by those notorious red-baiters, Jenner and Eastland. This report states that the Attorney General's list has been "widely misunderstood and misapplied" and that it should be brought into "proper perspective." It endorses some of the specific reforms that Harry M. Cain has been urging.

Gratifying though any diminution in the witch hunt and any defeats suffered by the thought-controllers may be, true defenders of civil liberties should be on the alert. What is intended by those in control is a limited operation. The administration, reformed characters like Cain and the "self-reformed" Jenner and Eastland have no desire or intention of dismantling the witch hunt. They merely want to prune the evil growth a little. At the same time they will take care not to destroy it.

The only social force in this country equal to the task of converting the limited reform of the witch hunt into an extirpation of the whole witch hunt is organized labor. Till now labor has not played its proper role in the fight to restore full political liberty to this country. It has given lip service to the fight, but its leaders were themselves too involved in their own inner-union witch hunting to take a principled stand and to lead the fight. Let us hope that the change in the atmosphere will facilitate a break-through in the unions enabling labor to take its rightful position in this fight.

of the biggest defeat of all for the capitalist world.

In 1949 one-fourth of the population of the world won a great revolutionary victory in China. They threw out the puppets of Wall Street — Chiang Kai-shek and his crew. The peasants took the land from the feudal landowners. The revolutionary people of China have started on the road of socialist reconstruction of their country.

Six hundred million people were thereby freed from the domination of world capitalism. This one item alone outweighs by far the combined gains of capitalism listed by the U.S. News.

The capitalists, of course, can be expected to count their victories one by one and crow over them. And the workers have no reason to close their eyes to these victories. There are important lessons to be learned from them.

But let's keep the score straight. The workers' side of the world struggle between socialism and capitalism has made powerful gains since World War II. U.S. News had better sober up and look at the other side of the ledger.

Organizers of Defeat

Elsewhere on this page we print an account of the suffering of the Guatemalan workers and peasants at the hands of native reaction allied with U.S. imperialism which crushed the nationalist revolution one year ago.

The author, Julio Garcia, explains that it was the Stalinists who, by tying the workers and peasants to the vacillating capitalist class, bear the responsibility for the defeat.

The tragedy of the Guatemalan revolution duplicated the cruel defeat suffered by the Iranian anti-imperialist movement nearly two years ago.

There too — through control of the Tudeh Party — the Stalinists held leadership of the workers and peasants movement. There too, by failing to organize the independent struggle of the working people, they engineered defeat. In Iran they preached reliance on the capitalist demagogue Mohammed Mossadegh as the means of defeating imperialism.

But Mossadegh surrendered without struggle to the Shah and his U.S. and English oil company backers when they launched their counter-revolutionary coup. The Stalinists had no independent plan of struggle. They rejected the road of fighting for a workers and peasants govern-

ment — the only road that could lead to victory.

The Iranian workers and peasants paid for the defeat with their blood as hundreds were executed and thousands jailed.

The defeat of the revolution in both Iran and Guatemala was not a result of Stalinist blundering or stupidity.

The failure of the Stalinists to organize the masses for independent struggle against imperialism flows from the basic line of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The Stalinists seek to lead the mass movement in order to trade it off to imperialism in exchange for a status quo deal. That is their bureaucratic method of defending the Soviet Union — the only method compatible with preserving their own oppressive rule.

Now we learn from the June 6 Christian Science Monitor that the Iranian Communist Party is virtually shattered, its leaders and ranks demoralized and the Party apparently abandoned by Moscow.

Evidently, this is a further offering by the Stalinist bureaucrats to imperialism, a further attempt to prove how useful their counter-revolutionary services can be. This is another betrayal of a working class movement — including their own most loyal followers — for the sake of "peaceful coexistence" with world capitalism.

Guatemala -- A Year After "Liberation"

By Julio Garcia

MEXICO, D. F. — Recently I visited Guatemala and got a close look at the country which was saved from the "Communist plotters" by the Wall Street inspired overturn of about one year ago. The regime of Castillo Armas rules by decree; there is no constitution; all elections have been abolished and the press is universally servile. Hundreds of Armas' opponents have been executed. Thousands are jailed or exiled. All but a few unions have been smashed and the land reforms have been wiped out.

From one end of Guatemala to the other, one sees the slogan: "God, Fatherland, Work, Liberty and Castillo Armas." From this it might appear that the Armas dictatorship is sitting firmly in the saddle.

But among the working people the slogan is regarded with hatred and disdain. As one Guatemalan worker told me, "God has forgotten us. The Fatherland is in the hands of the gringos. There is no work. We have liberty only to starve. And sooner or later, we will settle accounts with Castillo Armas."

WORKER'S CONDITIONS

The minimum wage law is no longer enforced. As a result the worker in Guatemala City receives about one quetzal (equivalent to \$1) per day, plus one meal. At current prices he therefore works an hour for a pound of beans, three hours for a bottle of beer or a pound of beef, and three to four days for a poor quality dress shirt.

In addition, if government estimates are even approximately correct, Guatemala is suffering one of the most profound crises of unemployment in the history of Latin America.

Under the elected government of Jacobo Arbenz, overthrown by the United Fruit Company's army headed by Armas last June 24, the workers had won job tenure on the basis of seniority and

United Fruit Co. Puppets



Col. Carlos Castillo Armas (left), dictator of Guatemala shown last July with Col. Elfigo H. Monzon, who engineered the surrender of the legally elected government, then passed power to Armas. Not shown is U.S. Ambassador John E. Peurifoy, who organized the overturn according to plans drawn up by U.S. State Dept.

severance pay as well as other union conditions.

Today the "contract" system has wiped out these provisions. The gist of the contract system is that the worker is considered "temporarily" employed for a stipulated period of time. At the expiration of the contract, he may or may not be rehired and is ineligible for severance pay. To continue his employment he must sign a new contract on terms set by the employer. Without political freedom of action and with thousands of unemployed, the

workers have not yet been able to effectively challenge the contract system.

UNIONS DISSOLVED

The Armas government dissolved the four strongest unions in the country — the teachers union, the railway union and two unions in the United Fruit Company's banana plantations. The last three were obligingly dissolved for the benefit of U.S. companies.

In the few unions allowed to exist legally, officials are screen-

ed by a secret National Defense Committee Against Communism which means that in effect they are handpicked by Armas and the employers.

The dictatorship has offered to return expropriated land to the finca owners (of huge feudal estates) and to dispossess the peasants among whom the land had been divided. Armas has offered to resettle the latter in regions now inaccessible because of lack of communication, irrigation and drainage. And finally, Armas has returned 234,000 acres to the United Fruit Company.

The opposition to the regime, though growing, for the time being is confused. Last year's defeat had a disorienting and demoralizing effect. For this, the Stalinists who held the leadership of the labor movements, are squarely to blame.

TREACHEROUS POLICY

They pursued the treacherous policy of tying the working people to the regime of Arbenz. They told the workers to rely on the native capitalist class for leadership in the struggle against foreign imperialism and the wealthy landowners.

When the imperialists struck, instead of arming the workers and peasants for their defense, Arbenz abdicated power to a group of army officers who in turn passed the power to Armas. Had the workers and peasants distrusted the Arbenz government, organized their own independent forces of struggle and aimed at the seizure of power, the bloody dictatorship of Armas would never have been installed.

During the past eleven years Guatemala has passed through revolution and counter-revolution. The last year especially has been rich in lessons for the Guatemalan working class and for the anti-imperialist fighters throughout Latin America.

The establishment of the Armas dictatorship was carried out before the eyes of the whole world

under the inspiration of the U.S. State Department and the United Fruit Company. The U.S. ambassador to Guatemala, Peurifoy, swaggered about with a pistol in his shoulder holster, met with the key army and government figures, gave out orders and arranged for the transfer of power to Armas.

The aim of this operation was to smash the unfolding revolution against the imperialist domination of Guatemala and the feudal relations in agriculture — a revolution which had been in process since 1944.

The revolution had placed a wavering liberal section of the Guatemalan capitalist class in power, first under President Arvelo and then under Arbenz. The workers and peasants forced a number of social, political and economic concessions from these regimes. They formed unions and won the right to strike. Their movement resulted in the expropriation of part of the huge foreign landholdings — including 400,000 acres stolen from Guatemala by the United Fruit Company in 1904. There was a beginning of a division of the land to landless peasants.

Wall Street's State Department intervened so vigorously and so brazenly to crush the Guatemalan revolution because its victory would have meant the collapse of imperialist domination in all of Latin America.

Because of the policy of the Stalinist leadership the revolution was not completed. By pinning the faith of the working class in the capitalist liberals, the road was paved for the counter-revolution. Thus the chief lesson to be drawn from the Guatemalan experience: The working class in a colonial country cannot rely on the capitalist class to wage a fight to the finish against imperialism. The working class must build its own revolutionary party and struggle for the creation of workers governments throughout all of Central and South America.

... British Dock Strike ... Real China and UN

(Continued from page 1)

mittée," whose professed purpose was to secure an agreement between themselves and the T&G tops. Members of the Communist Party are banned from official positions in the TGWU. Now, as one Liverpool docker put it, the Stalinists are deliberately stabbing the "blue" union (taken from the color of NASDU membership cards) in the back and opposing its fight for recognition in the hope of securing their own recognition inside the TGWU.

In the first week of the strike the Stalinist "Liaison Committee" was advising the strikers to return to work. It exerted pressure on the weakest leaders of the NASDU, concentrated in London, and attacked the militant leadership of the Northern ports. The strike breaking was supplemented by the Daily Worker, whose carefully written reports played on the weakness of the London leadership, deliberately understated the numbers out on strike and continually gave the impression that the strike was about to be called off. Its treacherous articles had only one aim — to create confusion and demoralization.

At the end of the second week of the strike, under the direct instigation of the Liaison Committee, a recommendation for a return to work was forced through the leading committee of the NASDU. It was carried only by the chairman's casting a vote, the delegates from the Northern ports voting solidly against.

However, the democratic traditions of this union demand that the rank and file decide on matters of strike action. On this rock the strike breaking effort of a fortnight ago collapsed. When the recommendation to return to work was put to mass meetings in Merseyside, Manchester, Hull and London, the rank and file rejected it overwhelmingly!

ANOTHER ATTACK

The strike continued. Now came further treachery. A week later the General Secretary of the union, Barrett, who had been on sick leave — an obvious "diplomatic illness" — issued a press statement attacking the strike. Indications are that his statement was the result of various pressures working on him — the Stalinists, sections of the Catholic Church, and even employers lurking in the background.

However, while meaning to destroy the strike, Barrett succeeded only in destroying himself. He had been greatly respected and admired among the dockers, particularly of the Northern ports. By this one act, he became in an instant an object they contemptuously despised. They shrugged their shoulders, gave a growl at the meetings, and voted to carry on the strike.

The employers so far have presented a firm front to the union's demand. Obviously they have hoped that the other enemies of the union would smash the strike. Publicly they say that the question of recognizing the NASDU must be decided by "the unions themselves." However, the firmness of the strike and their colossal loss of profit must be causing some cracks behind the stubborn facade which they have assumed.

MEDIATION MOVE

Meantime, the top trade union leadership has been forced to move. Next week, the General Council of the Trade Union Congress will set up a Disputes Commission to discuss relations between the TGWU and the NASDU. The T&G bureaucrats declare that the NASDU "poached" 10,000 of its members in the Northern ports and demands their return. The TUC has already been forced to make a certain climb down by declaring that the NASDU can keep these members until the Disputes Committee meets. The determination and firmness of the striking dockers will cast a dark shadow over that Disputes Committee. It is possible it will force the committee to agree that these men continue to be members of the union of their choice. If so, then it is pretty certain that the employers will not long delay recognition.

A footnote on the further treachery of the Stalinists: Leaders of the Stalinist faction on the docks called a number of newspapermen together yesterday.

As a result of that conference two of Britain's Sunday gutter-papers contain today an attack on an alleged group of "diabolical cunning" which is terrorizing the docks and responsible for the strike. "Even veteran Communists call them sinister men," says the "Sunday Dispatch" which asks its readers to be sorry for "25,000 scared men" on London's docks.

"The ghost of Trotsky walks the docks today in the form of men who speak only English," declares the Stalinist inspired horror story concocted by the Sunday Dispatch. The "Sunday Chronicle" talks of a "one-man" dictatorship over Britain's docks. Thus the Stalinists call the gutter press to aid their strike-breaking attempts to smash a militant leadership on the docks.

Los Angeles

Public Meeting
"The Truth About
The Polio Vaccine Scandal"
Speaker: T. Edwards
Fri., July 8, 8:15 P. M.
1702 East Fourth Street
Questions — Discussion
Auspices:
Socialist Workers Party

Japan in order to liberate China for the Chinese. Through Chiang Kai-shek, Wall Street fully expected to get China for itself.

The Chinese people, however, disapproved of these schemes. They rose up in mass to expel the Japanese invader. But they didn't stop there. China had suffered too long and sacrificed too much to yield their victory to the old exploiters. Their heroic struggle swept on. The ancient feudal land-holding system of China fell. The Chiang dictatorship collapsed.

Thus the biggest nation on the continent of Asia was snatched from the greedy hands of Wall Street. Neither U.S. Big Business nor Stalin could contain the revolution within the bounds of the

fight against Japan.

The U.S. and the United Nations which it dominates were left holding the decoy. But the game was gone.

Dulles, as well as Dr. Yeh, spoke in San Francisco with frustrated rage. "In Asia there is a Chinese Communist regime . . . which has used force and the threat of force to support its ambitions," he said.

This, of course, is true. No one can dispute it. The Chinese civil war counterposed two armed forces — millions of Chinese peasants on the one side and on the other, the forces of Chiang Kai-shek representing the feudal landowners and native capitalists subservient to Wall Street. Thousands of Chiang's soldiers and even a few generals deserted his

command and joined the popular struggle of the Chinese masses.

Ironically, Dulles chose the eve of July 4, when the United States celebrates its own war for independence from foreign domination, to condemn a revolutionary people in struggle for national liberation.

Obviously, it isn't "force" by itself that has Dulles sputtering with rage. When Chiang murdered tens of thousands of revolutionaries, Dulles and his ilk applauded. But when the Chinese workers and peasants rid their land of a bloody tyrant, he sings a different tune.

The Tenth Anniversary of the United Nations was also ceremoniously observed on the Island of Formosa. Chiang's Vice President Chen Cheng asked the United States to "give us weapons, warships and warplanes and we will land on the mainland."

In South Korea the Fifth Anniversary of the civil war was also observed. Fifteen thousand school children splashed through torrents of rain carrying banners pleading for the "welfare of citizens in North Korea." Senile dictator Syngman Rhee canceled his scheduled talk in the municipal stadium because of the rain and arranged to have his speech distributed to the marchers. Rhee chided the United Nations for "appeasement" and "neutralist sentiment."

Dulles' State Department gives full sympathy to the war mongering demands of these two stooges of Wall Street, Chiang and Rhee. But the long and costly "police action" in Korea taught the American imperialists that Asia will not be easily subdued. They have been compelled to adopt a longer perspective. The road to World War III must first pass through the stages of Big Four negotiations. A slower pace is needed in mobilizing the reactionary forces of the world for the final objective: to make Asia, and the world, once more safe for capitalist profit.

JULY SELECTION FOR BOOK-A-MONTH

By Joseph Hansen

KARL MARX AND THE CLOSE OF HIS SYSTEM, by Eugen von Bohm-Bawerk, and BOHM-BAWERK'S CRITICISM OF MARX, by Rudolf Hilferding. Edited with an introduction by Paul M. Sweezy. 1949. Special Book-A-Month price \$1 (plus 15c. for postage and handling).

If you are interested in the most profound and authoritative arguments for and against Marxism, don't miss this book. Bohm-Bawerk's attack on Marxist economic theory is the best the bourgeoisie

standing professor of economics won him immediate fame in radical circles. Since then the book has been a classic although extremely difficult to get in English.

Hilferding's later study Das Finanzkapital had deep influence in the Social Democratic movement before World War I. Lenin himself acknowledged his debt to this book in his own study, Imperialism.

Hilferding produced nothing more of importance after that, suffering the degeneration that befell the majority of the leadership of the German Social Democratic movement. In 1941 he was handed over to the Nazis by the Vichy police and either committed suicide or was tortured to death.

The outstanding merit of Hilferding's answer to Bohm-Bawerk lies not only in its crushing refutation of the Austrian economist's arguments but in its presentation of Marx's outlook. As against the individualistic approach of Bohm-Bawerk, Hilferding contrasts Marx's social approach and explains why Marx as a scientist had to look at society as a whole and in its development. Thus for a serious student of Marxian economics, Hilferding's essay is extraordinarily illuminating.

I would list Book-A-Month's selection for July as a best buy and get a copy before it once again joins the "rare and out-of-print" category.

world has been able to produce. Hilferding's refutation stands as the classic Marxist reply.

As Sweezy points out in his introduction, Bohm-Bawerk was one of the founders of the so-called Austrian school of economics, a champion of the marginal utility theory.

His influence in the bourgeois academic world, following publication of his major works in 1884 and 1889, was profound. To this day, if you take a course in economics in high school or college, you get a shot of his theories, whether acknowledged or not.

Bohm-Bawerk felt the impact of socialism as it grew into a mass movement in the 80's and 90's. As the most admired pundit of bourgeois economy it fell to him to take up the challenge of Marxism, which the academic world had sought to ignore up to then.

When the third volume of Capital appeared, Bohm-Bawerk made it the occasion for a critical review of Marx's theoretical system and naturally he sought to find what he considered to be the major weaknesses. His attack, Karl Marx and the Close of his System, has been since then the bible of all anti-Marxists who seek to go beyond the ordinary, street-corner objections to Marxism.

Book - A - Month Plan

July Selection
**Karl Marx
AND THE CLOSE
OF HIS SYSTEM**

By Bohm-Bawerk
with Hilferding's reply
Published at \$3.50
Special July price

\$1.00
(plus 15c. mailing charge)
Payments must accompany
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New York 3, New York

The Negro Struggle

By John Thayer

'An Ordinary Day's Work'

William Owens is a 16-year old Negro lad from Hardingsburg, Kentucky. During the summer vacation his employer offered him the job of driving a white family, the Mattinglys, to Florida. Mr. Mattingly, 66, a retired barber, is blind in one eye and has poor vision in the other and consequently didn't wish to drive.

Young Owens took the job. Near Ellaville, Georgia, a state trooper stopped the car. He was enraged by the sight of elderly Mrs. Mattingly and her 18-year old daughter sitting in front with the Negro youth. Mr. Mattingly and his 14-year old grandson were sitting in back.

After a few questions the policeman accused him of driving on the wrong side of the road and ordered him out of the car and to the rear of the car's trailer. Here is the rest of the story as told by Mr. Mattingly.

"I got out to ask him where he was taking the boy. He had knocked him up beside the trailer several times and had put him in the patrol car. The boy was standing in the door begging him to let him go. But he started beating him again.

"I heard the boy say: 'Please have mercy on me. I'm a long way from home. I've got a bad heart. Please don't hit me no more.'"

But the guardian of law and order kept beating him, finally knocking him into a ditch. "Then he got on top of the boy and choked him with both hands. The boy tried to hold his hands when he was choking but that was the only time he fought back," Mattingly relates. This, of course, under the American police code, constitutes resisting an officer. "The boy could hardly get his breath," Mattingly recalls. "I could hear him choking like he was almost dead."

"William was bleeding on the face a little," according to the retired barber.

"Then the patrolman jerked him up off the ground and hit him across the face with the handcuffs before he put them on. The boy was cut on the side and back of his head."

"Do you want to get back in the car or do you want to die?" the trooper asked Owens. Then the cop yelled: "I'll kill you! I'll kill you! I'll kill you!" and turning to the Mattinglys and some passers-by who had gathered: "All of you leave. I don't want no witnesses."

Mattingly's entreaties were to no avail, but brought threats of similar treatment. "I knew he was liable to do me the same way," the elderly man related. "It was the cruelest thing I ever saw happen except a hanging once."

Despite his poor eyesight Mattingly drove across the Georgia line into Florida. There he went to the police to try to get assistance for Owens. "The Florida patrolman said his 'boss' wouldn't let him telephone back to Georgia, and then he even bragged about how he had once beat a 'coon' with his flashlight," Mattingly said.

Finally, Owens' employer, contacted in Kentucky, went down to Ellaville, Georgia and got the battered youth out of jail. The New York Post phoned Schley County Sheriff, Edgar DeVane, who said: "The young n - - - r pleaded guilty to driving on the wrong side of the road and resisting arrest. . . The whole thing was just a case of a n - - - r resisting arrest and the officer arrested him. That's all."

J. W. Southwell, the state trooper, told the Post reporter: "It was just an ordinary day's work and that's all I got to say about it."

As the Voice of America says in its broadcasts across the iron curtain, it's great to live in the free world where people don't live in fear of brutal police.

A Shop Incident

By Jim McDermott

We were working on the power shears cutting sheet metal the other day. At each cut a large piece would drop behind the shears and would have to be recut. Instead of handing each sheet back over the shears, my helper Frank would take the metal and stack it in a neat pile.

Then, when I had finished cutting one lot, we would get the crane and bring Frank's pile back for recutting.

Everything went along smoothly until the floor man went over to Frank, and the conversation went something like this. "You're supposed to hand the sheets back over to the shear man."

"Well, I think it's safer and easier piling them up first and bringing them over with the crane."

"You were hired as a laborer and you're not supposed to think. You just do as I say."

"What do you mean I'm not supposed to think? I do my job the safest way I know how. I've already tripped three or four times handing that greasy metal back to the shear man. Besides, what do you think the crane is for?" "I know what the crane is for. But I'm telling you to hand the sheet back to the shear man. It's not that greasy."

"Listen, I'm not going to break my back handing the sheets over the shears. That's why they have cranes. And you don't tell me I'm not supposed to think. What do you think I am, an animal? I think the best and safest way is to bring them over with the crane and that's the

way I'm going to do it."

Well, without saying another word the floor man walked off and got the foreman. Frank was really hot.

The floor man brought the foreman and he wanted to know what was the trouble. Frank told him.

I think it finally dawned on the foreman that arguing with Frank wasn't going to get him anywhere. So he came to me and asked what I thought about it. I told him that Frank was right. The metal is greasy, clumsy to handle, and it was just as easy to bring the drop offs with a crane. Not much difference as far as speed was concerned and a lot safer.

Without my backing the foreman couldn't argue the point much longer. So he said to do it our way, and then left us.

Later on that day, Frank and I started talking about the incident. "Boy, I haven't been this mad for a long time," he said. "The more I think of it the madder I get. He had some nerve telling me I shouldn't think just because I'm a helper. Who does he think he is?"

"He's a company man," I told him. "Probably thinks he owns the place. He doesn't care what happens to you so long as he gets out production. That's what he was hired for."

"Maybe so but he can't tell me I'm not supposed to think. I've worked in a lot of places and I never did any work unless I knew it was safe. I think about things like that. Nobody ever told me I'm not supposed to think."

Notes from the News

WHEN THE MISSISSIPPI SUPREME COURT upheld a lower court ruling that a newsboy was entitled to workmen's compensation, over a dozen Southern newspapers protested on the grounds that he was not an employee but an "independent businessman."

TEN THOUSAND WAITERS AND WAITRESSES walked out of 965 New York restaurants on June 24 and staged a one-hour demonstration in Times Square in support of striking hotel workers in Miami Beach. During the demonstration a 16-foot sign urging the public not to vacation at the strike-bound Florida hotels was unveiled, and hoisted above headquarters of the AFL Dining Room Employees' Union just off Times Square.

LAST HIRED, FIRST FIRED still applies to Negroes. The 1954 report of the New York Urban League issued on June 27 states that when there was a "pinch of recession last year," Negroes were especially hard hit. They were late comers to many industries and occupations that previously excluded them entirely and this gave them lowest seniority ratings.

"FALLOUT" MISFORMATION. If Atomic Energy Commission officials "have data to back up their contention that there are no harmful genetic effects from the radiation, that's just wonderful," said Franklin Hutchinson, Asst. Professor of radiation physics, on a Yale radio program. "The trouble is I don't know of any such data and neither does anyone else to whom I've talked."

"HELPING THE FARMER" is how the administration describes the following deal. Last October the U.S. Department of Agriculture

bought 86.6 million pounds of cheese for 37c. a pound from cheese manufacturers. Then, without even taking the cheese from the factories, it turned around and sold the cheese back to the same manufacturers for a little over 34c. a pound. Don't know how much it helped the farmers, but it isn't hard to figure out that it helped the manufacturers to the tune of \$2,381,000.

PREJUDICED JUDGE GOT MILD REBUKE by New York City's Bar Association for comments made in the case of two Puerto Rican youths, held 159 days in jail on a phony rape charge last year. It is now disclosed that Magistrate Nicoll, during an arraignment proceeding, before the defense had been heard, said: "I would like to have my hands on his mother. How do you like what is going on? . . . They ought to be sent back to Puerto Rico. . . They stand there with no knowledge and apprehension of the language and they try to rape a 54-year-old woman. How do you like that? And they stand here!" The "raped" woman later confessed she lied.

COURAGEOUS BANKERS! "Immediate and positive help for Chiang Kai-shek, up to and including American troops, landing craft and air support for an attack by Chiang on the Chinese mainland," was urged by the Bankers' State Convention in California. They didn't make clear if they were insisting on joining the troops in this venture.

"ANTI-TRUST" AGENCY? The Federal Trade Commission admitted its "distinct dilemma" in face of such trusts as General Motors, Ford etc. It stated, "Paradoxical as it seems, the most practical way to preserve for the future some measure of competition may be to permit further consolidations among existing smaller companies."

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THE MILITANT

Southern Strike Scene



In Tuxedo, North Carolina, a company town, workers of the Green River Mills can't get a meeting hall. So the church bus, which they own, serves as union headquarters. The strike, led by the CIO Textile Union, has been on since April 6. Wages in mill averaged 87c. an hour. With little economic reserves, the strikers are finding the going rough. Contributions for these strikers are welcomed by the CIO-TWUA.

...GM Strikes Win Cash Gains

(Continued from page 1)

tional representatives who ordered them to go back to work.

Local Ford strikes the previous week made less gains than the GM strikes, and in most cases returned to work without any. In the middle of the Ford strikes the international signed an extension of the old contract and broke the walkouts by threatening the Ford strikers that they were subject to company discipline. In the case of the GM walkouts the Reuther leadership relied on telegrams, orders and speeches, which proved less effective.

The Rouge Local 600 vote ended last Tuesday with the following results: 17,567 voted to ratify the contract and 8,235 voted against. Discounting the retiree vote, one-third voted no.

This is considered an unusually high proportion of no votes, and reflects considerable dissatisfaction with the new contract. Its significance is heightened by the fact that the workers voting no did so in disregard of the pleas and pressure not only of the Reuther international machine, but also of their local president, Carl Stellato.

Less than two months ago Local 600 held its election of officers. Over 35,000 turned out to vote then — or almost 10,000 more than participated in the vote on the contract. In that election Stellato received almost 25,000 votes for president — about 7,000 more than voted yes on the contract last week. Approximately half the Rouge workers did not even go to the polls for the contract vote — which is certainly no sign of great enthusiasm for the new contract.

After the vote, Stellato again criticized opponents of the contract for having sought to make "political capital" out of the issue. But he recognized that he has lost standing in his own local as a result of his role in the negotia-

tions and his enthusiastic endorsement of the new contract. And he is now calling for an "effort to re-weld Local 600 into the strong force it has been for the past 5 years" and for the start of "planning for the next set of negotiations which must include a 30-hour week with 40 hours' pay." This is the issue on which he built much of his popularity in Local 600.

The Stalinists, meanwhile, although they went along with the workers who were opposed to the contract, have been very careful not to criticize Stellato. Yesterday's Michigan Worker explains his role as follows: "Internal

UAW politics required that President Reuther should pressure Ford Local 600 Carl Stellato into signing the settlement. . . Stellato prematurely ended the struggle he had been conducting for the Local 600 program and signed the settlement. This created a rift between Stellato and Rouge workers."

The Stalinists deplore this rift and are trying to mend it by portraying Stellato in the best possible light. In return for a live-and-let-live arrangement, they are trying to restore the prestige that Stellato had in Local 600 before he himself struck it a damaging blow.

From Detroit

Witch-Hunt Victim Cleared

John Lupa, victim of the witch hunt, has won his 15-month fight to regain the job at the Detroit Tank Arsenal from which he was fired as a "security risk" in April 1954. Lupa had spent 18 years in the Army, Navy and Air Force, but the Army fired him from his job on the ground that he had associated with a radical in the 1930's and had subscribed to a working class newspaper. When Lupa appealed the discharge, it was revealed that the FBI had offered to get him another job if he would become a stool pigeon — an offer that Lupa indignantly rejected. His fight for reinstatement was supported by the international UAW although he is no longer a UAW member. Lupa, who is entitled to back pay, said, "Maybe we can get on our feet again now. And I hope a lot of people will start looking to us again."

MESA Educator, paper of the CIO Mechanics Educational So-

cietly of America is not impressed with Reuther's GAW "principle." It can't see the basis for hailing the settlement as an "economic revolution," merely because "the union insists that the company, in this case Ford, must check off five cents per hour of the wage offer and hold it in escrow to be paid out at a later date as supplementary unemployment compensation."

Auto employment and weekly earnings will both take a drop in the coming weeks, according to Ward's Automotive Reports. Plans for the third quarter of the year call for an output of 1,460,000 cars, which would be a drop of 26% from the second quarter. This means layoffs for workers with low seniority, and for others it means disappearance of the overtime schedules and Saturday work prevalent in many plants during the first half of this year.

Unions Hit Bill To Extend Plant "Security" Purge

By Robert Chester

The shift is only one hour old and you are at your machine, as usual. The foreman taps you on the shoulder. "You're wanted up in Personnel," he says, eying you with curiosity.

In Personnel, there is a smooth-looking, college-type guy with a pleasant manner standing next to the manager. He flips open his FBI identification and then lets the bomb drop: "We have some derogatory information about you that brings your security status into question. I'll have to ask you a few questions."

For 45 minutes he throws questions at you about the papers you read, the meetings you go to, the political opinions of your friends, your wife, your brother-in-law and what you don't like about the government.

He doesn't say what he thinks of your answers. He just listens. Then you are escorted back to your machine by a plant guard, you pick up your tools, any personal belongings, and then out to the gate. You're fired.

Of course, you're not without recourse. You can appeal this sudden disaster which has suddenly left you without a trade, without seniority, and put you on a blacklist that will follow you from job to job. Here's your recourse: You can go to an appeal board and prove to them that you are innocent. This board won't let you see your accusers; they won't specify what law you have broken; all the cards will be stacked against you; but they let you try to prove they made a mistake.

This is not fiction. It's happened to thousands of workers. And it will happen to thousands more if the Defense Department has its way.

BUTLER BILL

The McCarthyite Senator Butler of Maryland, with Defense Department backing, has presented a bill which would spread the factory witch hunt from the present "defense plants" category to a wider field.

At the same time the Defense Department has been intensifying the "screening" procedure in the defense plants. At the CIO convention last December, Walter Reuther revealed that "the Defense Department proposed to require every defense worker to fill out a questionnaire naming under penalties of perjury every person he had ever associated with, no matter how many years back, who, at any time in his

entire life had ever belonged to any of the 240 organizations on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations."

Reuther added, "This operation . . . holds grave dangers as a potential vehicle of anti-unionism."

The implications of the new Butler bill were spelled out at a conference on industrial security, held in Washington, D. C., June 3. Participating were union representatives and representatives of the Defense and Justice Departments. Union leaders blasted the new law, while the government officials defended it.

Benjamin C. Sigal, speaking for the CIO Electrical Workers, cited a recommendation sent by the Westinghouse Corp. to its managers urging them — in the name of "security" — to select workers who could keep close surveillance over questionable fellow workers. "It is difficult to see," Sigal commented, "any difference between such activities and the conventional labor spy."

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., Attorney for the CIO United Auto Workers, has assailed the Butler bill as "one of the most dangerous bills that has ever been presented to Congress." He suggested "it would make us a nation of screeners and screenees."

INNER-UNION WITCH HUNT

Until recently the union officials cooperated actively in extending the witch hunt to the factory and union hall. They thought it was a clever way to get rid of left wing opposition in the unions.

But the "loyalty" screening procedures, from the beginning, were designed as first-class union-smashing weapons. Now, even the union bureaucrats are beginning to recognize this as they feel the hot breath of the employer-inspired witch hunt on their own necks.

The worker who has been blacklisted, or is at the mercy of the blacklists, will of course welcome every step to fight the witch hunt, even when it comes from those who served its interests. But the fight can't stop half way. The evil alliance of the union officials with the FBI industrial spy system must be smashed. A serious fight against the Butler bill and similar legislation demands that the unions halt the witch-hunting campaign that has been raging for so long within the American labor movement.

He Learned Conformity in Solitary

By Joyce Cowley

Pre-frontal lobotomy is an operation which removes a part of the brain. It is a desperate and questionable measure generally used for violent psychotic patients when there is no hope of recovery. They become less violent but they also become less human, leading a kind of vegetable existence without normal feelings of grief, pleasure, conflict and desire. This terrifying development of modern surgery turns patients into the Zombies of folklore — people without a will of their own — the walking dead.

Today social pressure is being used almost as effectively as surgery in an attempt to turn millions of people into robots who "adjust" to the status quo and avoid having an opinion of any kind.

(There's a city housing project in New York where conformity has reached new heights. You rent an apartment, one of hundreds which are furnished exactly alike. Furthermore, you're instructed not to change any of this furniture or even move it around. Inspectors check up from time to time to make sure your table is by the window and your easy chair in the Northwest corner of the livingroom.)

Colleges and universities have complained of the singular absence of curiosity even on the part of very intelligent students.

Young people today read exactly what they are told to read. If their assignment says to page 70, they rarely check page 71 to see what happens next. A recent article in Collier's voiced a similar complaint about the short-

age of "idea men" on the job. Workers these days just follow along in a rut laid down by the previous guy. They don't make suggestions, they don't want changes, they don't look for new methods or procedures.

Educators and bosses can't understand why a kid who has been consistently punished for every idea he got learns to do exactly what is asked, and nothing more. He's been pushed and intimidated and beaten into a mold during the first years of his life, and he has a tendency to stay there.

The pressure to conform has reached such alarming proportions that there is a growing protest on the part of progressive psychiatrists, teachers and others seriously interested in the development of human personality. Recent news items reveal that a conference of parents and teachers at Temple University in Philadelphia emphasized the positive value of rebellion and pointed out that it was the rebel who framed the Bill of Rights and questioned the secrets of the atom. In New York at a conference of the Child Study Association, Dr. Sol Ginsburg said that "adjustment" may be a term for the weakness of easy and uncritical compliance and he asks: "Are all the radicals, social revolutionaries and their unfortunately diminishing like to be considered maladjusted?"

This kind of protest is encouraging but it would be more effective if it offered some explanation of why the "shibboleth of conformity" has become such a deadly peril in modern society. These doctors and teachers seem

to believe that an historical accident or an illness of epidemic proportions has in some mysterious way crippled the normally rebellious instinct of the American people. But the ideals of adjustment and conformity are not accidental. As Dr. Ginsburg pointed out, the real question is: "Who adjusts to what and according to whose standards?"

I found one answer in A TOUGH PRISON MADE ME GO STRAIGHT, recently published in This Week, Sunday magazine section of the N.Y. Herald Tribune. A young man of 22 tells why he gave up crime and became an honest citizen. It's a pathetic story of terrorization initiated by a brutal father and completed by tough prison guards and the torture of a solitary cell.

He started stealing at the age of ten. At sixteen he was arrested for a drugstore holdup. "The Judge threw the book at me. He called me a no good punk who would wind up in the chair." The unexpectedly severe sentence — seven and a-half to 15 years — was the first step in his ultimate "reform." The next was four days in solitary confinement.

"Do not try to imagine what solitary is. You can't. It's an indescribable hell. I thought after that one experience I had learned my lesson but on my seventeenth birthday, I made the mistake of getting out of the march line going to dinner. I had stepped to one side, waiting for a buddy of mine to come along. In prison you can't get out of line. So — solitary. A fine way to

celebrate my birthday. For the first time in my life, I cried. But that stretch cured me. I never fought or acted cocky after that."

"Once again — and just once — I tried to go against a silly order issued by the top con (in every prison there is one con — the toughest — who rules the roost.) He got me in a corner of the yard with a couple of his lieutenants and with a flash of fists they tore me apart. It was too quick for any of the guards to have seen, if they had wanted to see it, which I doubt. For a week after that I was put in silence by the other cons and all cigarettes were kept from me. I never disobeyed an order again — silly or not."

He served five years and learned that it pays to behave. Now he's got a good job and a pretty girlfriend. "More than anything else," he concludes, "the thing that will keep me straight is the memory of prison. I'm just too scared of prison discipline, solitary confinement, tough guards and all the rest."

This particular young man had stamina so it took drastic measures to break him, but his story symbolizes the intimidation of millions of other young people who learn to obey and not to get out of line. There's no room for rebellion or dissent in modern capitalist society. Our political and economic bosses are caught in a vise between the menacing alternatives of a catastrophic depression or an atomic war. They can't tolerate opposition and they can't even tolerate thought. The only sure way to check "dangerous thoughts" is

to prevent thinking itself — to use the schools, the churches, the home, radio, television, movies, to blot out a part of the human mind.

This is a tricky method of control which can prove dangerous to the people employing it. It's difficult to apply to 160 million people and it's also difficult to know when to stop. Give an extra push and instead of paralyzing his mind, you may stimulate it. Once he is shocked out of his inertia and starts to think, he will obviously want to replace the present insanity and chaos with a social system that gives full scope to the individual personality, where people can live and work together on a reasonable and cooperative basis.

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