

WASHINGTON DEBATES DEAL WITH SOVIET BLOC

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Hint McCarthy Blackmail in Hunt's Suicide

One of the reasons for the unholy fear which both Republicans and Democrats display toward McCarthy comes from their dread that the fascist Senator will blackmail them. The Militant has pointed this out many times in explaining why neither of the boss parties can be expected to put up an effective struggle against the would-be Hitler of America. Fresh confirmation of this is provided by the well-known columnist Marquis Childs in his July 1 column.

"The conviction is spreading," he reports, that McCarthy "is using funds voted by the Senate to investigate other Senators. Nothing like that has ever happened before. It came out in McCarthy's hint that he was considering charges to be made against an unnamed Democratic Senator."

Who this "unnamed Democratic" is Childs does not reveal. But he followed what he said about McCarthy's investigating activities by disclosing some hitherto unpublished facts about the recent suicide of Democratic Senator Hunt of Wyoming.

Hunt's friends believe, says Childs, "that the threat of a smear contributed to a shocking tragedy." A few months ago a member of Hunt's family was "involved in a police action that caused great anguish to the Senator and his wife."

"PROMPTLY EXPLOITED"

This family tragedy was "promptly exploited." Friends of Hunt claim that Sen. Welker (R., Idaho) "let Hunt know that the facts about the incident would find their way into every mail box in Wyoming if Hunt should run for re-election this fall."

Childs does not report what Hunt's reaction was. But he notes that "shortly afterward" Hunt announced "he would not seek a second term." Later he killed himself.

Before this, the re-election of Hunt had been considered a virtual certainty. "By eliminating him, the Republicans, or more accurately the McCarthy-Welker faction of the party, could feel they had greatly enhanced the chances for picking up another seat in a Senate almost evenly divided."

The Hunt case is not an isolated episode, according to Childs.



MCCARTHY

In fact, "it threatens to become a pattern."

He gives some other instances. "Sen. Symington (D., Mo.) as a boy engaged in an adolescent prank with other lads and as a consequence a neighbor charged them with taking his car. McCarthy several times threw this up at Symington during their heated interchanges in the course of the McCarthy-Army controversy."

Another Democratic Senator "has been told that he is likely to be confronted with facts showing that a secretary in his office was at one time a member of the Communist Party. Furthermore, it has been suggested to him that evidence can be developed to show the secretary influenced his voting record."

In another case "friends of a prominent Republican Senator believe that McCarthy has information about an episode in the Senator's life when he was a college student. These friends say that the Senator and more particularly his wife live in dread that this incident will be publicized."

DIRTY POLITICIANS

Among capitalist politicians whose personal lives are often in startling contrast to the pious front they maintain in public, lurid incidents can easily be gathered.

(Continued on page 4)

Block Attempt to Limit Fascist Senator's Role

By L. P. Wheeler

Is McCarthy's Senatorial power on the skids? A whole number of anti-McCarthy moves, initiated by Republicans and Democrats, are now in the hopper:

(1) The resolutions of Senator Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.) and Senator Herbert Lehman (D-N.Y.) to strip McCarthy of his committee chairmanships. Both these resolutions are bottled up in the McCarthy-dominated Senate Rules Committee. And both resolutions are opposed by the Republican and Democratic machines in the Senate.

(2) A majority bloc of three Democrats and Senator Potter (R-Mich.) on McCarthy's own subcommittee are threatening to "house-clean" the staff. For the time being McCarthy is blocking action against his staff by not calling a meeting of the committee. There is talk of passing new rules in the Senate to enable committees to meet regardless of the chairman's wishes.

(3) Herbert Hoover's Government Organization Commission has been thrust into investigating the Central Intelligence Agency. This is an obvious move to block McCarthy who has made it known that the CIA is high on his list of "Communist infiltrated" government agencies.

(4) The Republican Policy Committee in the Senate unanimously adopted a "code of conduct" July 1 that purports to "assure the rights of witnesses" in Congressional investigations and prevent "smears." A number of reforms, such as curbing the power of investigating committee chairmen and placing subcommittees under stricter control of parent committees, are proposed in this "code."

It is clear from an examination

of these measures and the action that is being taken on them that a body blow against McCarthy is not going to come from the Senate.

Any move by a majority of McCarthy's committee against his staff, even if carried through, would merely make scapegoats out of McCarthy's stooges while letting him go scot-free.

The maneuver to intercept McCarthy's investigation of CIA by shoving Hoover's committee into the job is at best a feeble device. McCarthy can strike in any number of directions. He can even investigate the Hoover committee's investigation to show that they are not digging deep enough for "Communists."

Moreover codes are as good as the people who use them. We saw what McCarthy could do to codes and rules during the 36 days of TV hearings. For McCarthy and his fascist machine codes are

(Continued on page 4)

Dulles' Puppet Regime Opens Reign of Terror in Guatemala

Govt. Sues United Fruit In Cheap Publicity Bid

The anti-trust suit filed by the government against the United Fruit Company on July 2 is a fraud. It is designed to cover up the collusion between the U.S. State Department and the banana monopoly.

Who is going to swallow the banana oil that the Justice Department has suddenly discovered that United Fruit is a monopoly?

The give-away is in the timing. The truth is indicated in a terse Associated Press dispatch, July 2, which indulges in some tongue-in-cheek irony: "The Justice Department announced the United Fruit Company suit a scant forty-eight hours after Secretary of States Dulles had declared the Communists were trying to 'obscure the real issue' of Communist imperialism in Central America, by charging that the United States was only interested in protecting United States business."

Thus even the capitalist press cannot conceal the fact that the suit against the United Fruit Company is a carefully timed publicity stunt.

What is United Fruit charged with? Certainly they have committed plenty of crimes. And they should be brought to justice for each and every one of them. Are they being charged with inhuman exploitation of the people of Central America? Are they being charged with draining the wealth out of these countries and returning poverty, disease and terror in exchange? Are they being charged with setting up dictatorial puppet governments, which act as branch offices for the United Fruit Co.?

Above all, are they being charged with a criminal attack on the elected government of Guatemala, with the use of a gang of fascist-militarist cutthroats?

No. None of these crimes are being charged in the suit. The issue of the suit is: Did United Fruit monopolize the exploitation of Guatemala? That is, did they play fair with their fellow American capitalists and let them in on the loot? Or did they hog it all for themselves?

Yet even this issue, which does not touch the real crimes of the United Fruit Co., will not be probed seriously. United Fruit has too many pals in the administration. The golden threads of monopoly capitalist rule reach too far into the government for a serious anti-trust action to be taken.

The fate of the recent anti-trust action against 17 investment banking firms in the U.S. shows how farcical such moves are. The Morgan, Rockefeller and Harriman interests were involved. The trial ran for three years. It ended in complete victory for the monopolists. Judge Medina dismissed all charges on Sept. 22, 1953, and added the provision that these firms should never be tried again on such charges.

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How did they manage it? Well, there's a Federal housing program supported out of taxpayers' money. It is supposed to help solve your housing needs. The Federal Housing Administration guarantees private loans to contractors out of tax funds, so that people can build dwellings banks would not otherwise finance.

That's how the owners of the Alexandria, Va., project got their start. Here is what they did, as revealed by the Senate Banking Committee. The contractors went to the FHA and received government backing for loans totalling \$13,846,000. This was more than they needed, but why quibble over a good thing? They took out a loan for the full amount and pocketed the difference as profit. A little padding smoothed things out.

The FHA applications contained "many things not true," declared the Senate Banking Committee. Among other things "not true" was an item for \$750,000 for architects fees. That

Vietnam Draftees Desert French in Indo-China War

Indo-Chinese fighters in the French sponsored Vietnamese army are deserting to the freedom-seeking Vietminh in the Red River delta area. According to the July 3 Christian Science Monitor, whole units are "disappearing overnight from the French lines... and going over to the Communists."

The decision of the Vietnamese soldiers to desert is further proof that the overwhelming majority of the Indo-Chinese people support the struggle for national independence led by the Vietminh. The "deserters" are draftees who are taking advantage of the French retreat in the Delta to unite with their own people.

According to the Monitor, "Unofficial reports reaching Singapore describe the desertions as reaching an almost uncountable rate. . . Analysts here are no longer able to keep accurate records of Vietnamese strength in the delta. The belief is that the French are no longer particularly concerned about these mass defections. . . (They) are no longer placing reliance on Vietnamese troops to assist in the defense of important positions."

The retreat of the French forces in the delta, combined with French indifference to Vietnamese desertions would indicate that an agreement to partition Indo-China had already been reached between the Mendes-France government and the Stalinists.

In all likelihood the Vietminh will take over in northern Vietnam, while the French imperialists will keep Laos and Cambodia and possibly southern Vietnam where they own \$1 billion worth of rice lands, rubber plantations and other investments.

Anti - U.S. Demonstration



Honduran police injure seven demonstrators in capital city as crowds shout anti-U.S. slogans of solidarity with Guatemalan people. This demonstration is typical of many in Latin America. World-wide protest was voiced against the State Department's invasion of Guatemala to install a military dictatorship in the interests of the landlords and the United Fruit Co. British left Laborite Richard H. S. Crossman described the military conspiracy against the elected government of Guatemala as an "invasion by proxy by America." Laborite William Warbey asked whether the British government failed to intervene because "this is only a little murder and therefore we should not do much about it?"

NAACP Parley Hits McCarthyite Fascism

"Under the banner of fighting communism, McCarthyism aims to lead the nation to fascism," warned the 45th convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The convention, held in Dallas, ended on July 4. The same resolution on civil liberties denounced the "increasingly odious" role of professional informers. Dr. Ralph Bunche, an NAACP leader, was recently the target of two such informers.

Dr. Channing Tobias, NAACP board president defending Bunche, denounced "smear artists" who try to paint fighters for civil rights as "red."

National CIO Secretary James Carey also pointed to the tie-up between "anti-communism" and racism. "Virtually all such men who have made careers out of anti-communism . . . would strait-jacket the American mind in a fashion not far different from the way totalitarianism strait-jackets the thinking of its victims."

Carey told of cases in Washington "where government employees have had their security questioned for no more serious grounds than a personal friendship and association with Negroes — or an open interest and support for the struggle that the NAACP is waging."

However these progressive views were in contrast to the resolution prohibiting cooperation between NAACP branches and "communist-controlled" unions or the National Negro Labor Council. Despite strong opposition from several delegates this resolution was adopted.

HITS BOTH PARTIES

Both capitalist parties were condemned by Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington NAACP bureau. The Republicans' record is "disastrous," he charged, but there is "no reason to believe that present Democratic leaders would do a better job if they controlled the next Congress." He said Eisenhower "completely failed to urge Congress to take any positive action on civil rights and even appeared to have deliberately blocked possible legislative action in this field."

GOOD NEIGHBORS

Of course it's necessary to know the right people. This was the key to Glueck's success. Glueck happened to live next door to R. Earl Peters FHA commissioner in Indiana. Glueck sold

Pack Victims in Concentration Camps, Prisons

By Murry Weiss

JULY 7 — A reign of terror, mass arrests, torture and executions has been launched against the working people of Guatemala by the State Department-backed military clique of Armas-Monzon. This "junta" smashed the democratically elected government of the Guatemalan people last month by a military conspiracy engineered by the United Fruit Company and Dulles' State Department.

Simultaneous with the opening of the reign of terror, the native landlords and the United Fruit Co. are being restored to their former tyrannical position in the economy of Guatemala as fast as decrees can be written. The jails are overflowing with union leaders, militant workers and peasants, members of Guatemala's workers parties, and officials of the elected government. The junta has announced the arrest of more than 2,000.

The July 6 N.Y. Times reports that "Col. Eliezer Monzon, president of the governing junta, said today that plans were under way to place those arrested in concentration camps. The arrests have been so swift that there are not enough jail facilities to handle Communists."

A July 4 dispatch reports that "more than 300 armed peasants have been captured since hostilities ceased." Armed with what? Bombs or machetes?

JUDGE EXECUTED

Another July 4 report announces that a Guatemalan judge, Romulo Reyes Flores, was shot by a firing squad in the prison yard. There was no report of a trial — even by a military tribunal. The Times called this the "first application of capital punishment in the widespread effort to round up and penalize the Reds."

The capitalist press in the United States matches its shrill cries of reactionary glee at this turn of affairs with a hideous campaign of atrocity stories about the elected Arbenz government. In this way it is trying to cover the mass murder schemes of the United Fruit Company's puppet regime.

The junta is preparing mass murder in Guatemala. Every sign points unmistakably to this. They are planning to totally decimate the organizations and fighting power of the Guatemalan workers with a ferocity known only to a ruling class that has narrowly escaped an end to its despotic rule.

When the pro-Wall Street junta seized power, the capitalist press, the liberals and the labor officials, hailed this as a great democratic victory. The "red menace" had been defeated. George Meany, president of the AFL said: "We express the fervent hope that the new provisional government will restore as quickly as possible absolute respect for civil liberties and human rights and will preserve the social gains codified in the Guatemalan labor and agrarian legislation enacted as a result of the democratic revolution of 1944."

Observe how Meany's "fervent hope" has been realized: In the field of civil liberties — mass arrests, execution without trial, attempts to deprive political opponents of the right of political asylum in neighboring Mexico.

END RIGHT TO VOTE

But perhaps these are "emergency" measures dictated by civil war conditions? Meany is deprived of even this rationalization by the actions of the counter-revolutionary cutthroats upon whom he has pinned his "fervent hopes" for democracy. The Times reports (July 7), "Another decree published by the five-man governing junta limited suffrage to literate persons. Guatemala's illiteracy rate is about 73% of her 3,000,000 population." The Times goes on to explain "the

profits on this housing melon were so tempting that Wall Street cut itself a slice. Among the stockholders who shared \$549,375 profit on a government-insured project in Delaware were three members of the Du Pont family.

All in all, Sen. Byrd estimates that \$100 million in "windfall" profits (as this type of swindling was gently named) was realized by contractors throughout the country.

But perhaps the good outweighed the evil? That's what Burton C. Bovard, suspended general counsel for the FHA, thinks. "Virtually all of the charges are predicated," he said, "upon the false premise of an inefficient and wrongful administration of FHA without reference to the vast benefits to the public from the skillful pioneering in a new field of government activity."

"Skillful pioneering"? That's where some of the dollars went for the housing you didn't get.

(Continued on page 3)

The Dollars that Didn't Go into Your House

By Carl Goodman

Are you living in a slum? Do you feel crowded? Do leaky plumbing, rickety stairs, and small things like bugs or mice bother you? Do you own your own home but have trouble meeting the payments? Don't be so wrapped up in yourself. Take a look at how others are solving their housing problems.

For instance, the group of building contractors who made a profit of \$2,084,823 on a total investment of \$6,000 by building one housing project in Alexandria, Va. That's \$1,737.25 profit on each \$5 share of stock (\$1 gets you \$347). Their housing problem has been solved.

Or take Charles H. Glueck, an Indiana mortgage broker who bought a tract of land for \$50,000 in 1948 and sold it for \$450,000 the next year. (A 9 to 1 profit ratio.) He doesn't have to worry about housing either.

How did they manage it? Well, there's a Federal housing program supported out of taxpayers' money. It is supposed to help solve your housing needs. The Federal Housing Administration guarantees private loans to contractors out of tax funds, so that people can build dwellings banks would not otherwise finance.

That's how the owners of the Alexandria, Va., project got their start. Here is what they did, as revealed by the Senate Banking Committee. The contractors went to the FHA and received government backing for loans totalling \$13,846,000. This was more than they needed, but why quibble over a good thing? They took out a loan for the full amount and pocketed the difference as profit. A little padding smoothed things out.

The FHA applications contained "many things not true," declared the Senate Banking Committee. Among other things "not true" was an item for \$750,000 for architects fees. That

was ten times the real cost. (N.Y. Times, July 3.)

A loan corporation, Investors Diversified Services of Minneapolis received \$1,000,000 in fees for advancing the money on the project. In their contract with this hungry outfit, the builders agreed that each unit would cost no more than \$5,500 whereas the FHA mortgage was geared to \$6,600 a unit. The difference made a neat "profit" for the owners to pocket. The total came to the \$2,084,823 cited.

The FHA guarantee is what all the contractors trade on. It's a speculator's dream — a sure thing. If the loans cannot be met, the Federal government will make good. There is no risk to banks or investors.

GOOD NEIGHBORS

Of course it's necessary to know the right people. This was the key to Glueck's success. Glueck happened to live next door to R. Earl Peters FHA commissioner in Indiana. Glueck sold

Peters a 50% interest in a Fort Wayne apartment project. "Just because he asked me to," Glueck made no profit on the deal, but you must admit it was a neighborly gesture. And . . .

He made a profit from three tracts of land that he bought for \$12,000 and sold for \$114,000 as sites for FHA insured apartment houses. Land evaluation on one of Glueck's projects jumped from \$65,000 to \$125,000 after an application for an FHA insured loan was filed. A Mr. Swan was the evaluator on that one. Mr. Swan took a trip to Florida, all expenses paid — by Glueck.

In New Mexico, Andrew Frost, assistant FHA director for the state, was a friend of certain contractors. He let out the FHA guarantee for a price. This included parties in his honor at contractors' expense, with women supplied (cost \$300 to \$600). The contractors didn't mind. They added it to the cost of the buildings guaranteed by FHA. (N.Y. Times, July 2.)

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"Skillful pioneering"? That's where some of the dollars went for the housing you didn't get.

The American Way of Life

Let's Keep It Out of Our Mail Bags

Once upon a time America was a beacon light for all who believed in freedom. That was in the distant past. Today the light is going dim.

Take reading for instance. Should you feel free to read whatever you want? Not if the Philadelphia Inquirer has anything to say about it. You might read some of the "Red propaganda" being shipped into this country.

How real that danger is can be judged from the fact that "ions and tons" of propaganda is being "mailed" directly to editors, clergymen, labor officials, libraries, research students, servicemen and other American citizens.

The Inquirer (July 2) offers some powerful arguments for quick action against the threat.

First, it says that this propaganda "openly advocates the use of force or violence to bring about the overthrow of our Government." Now that simply isn't so. The Stalinists openly advocate "peaceful co-existence." Chalk up a point, consequently, for the integrity of the Inquirer. Obviously, it practices what it preaches — that no American should read anything from "behind the Iron Curtain."

Next the Inquirer draws a frightening picture of the countries sending literature "dealing with political policies." They include "Russia, Poland, France, England, China, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark and other countries." That proves that the Inquirer doesn't know precisely where the Iron Curtain runs. There could be no stronger reason, therefore, for letting the Iron Curtain coincide with the boundaries of the United States in any law passed to protect us from printed words coming from the other side of the said Iron Curtain.

A move is now under way in Washington, the Inquirer reports approvingly, "to deny second, third and fourth class mail privileges to Communist propaganda." That, however, even if it goes through, will not solve everything. The worst problem is how to stop the reading material from reaching us by "first-class mail."

The Inquirer doesn't suggest censorship of the U.S. mails in police-state style. But it does do a first-rate job of laying down the premises for it. As an intelligent reader, you can be trusted to draw loyal conclusions.

Censorship of the mails, I respectfully suggest, will likewise not solve everything. It happens that all this "Red propaganda" from England, France, Switzerland, Russia and other countries associated with the Iron Curtain is being beamed by short wave to America night and day.

That means, doesn't it, that we must help the Voice of America by jamming the air waves to prevent us from hearing any reply? If the new American way of life is to protect our thoughts by wearing a blindfold, shouldn't we also put cotton in our ears?

And perhaps the Inquirer should set another good example in keeping with the spirit of the times by changing its questionable name to the Witch Hunter.

— Jack Bustelo

The Fifth Amendment -- Bulwark In the Fight for Free Thought

By Daniel Roberts
(First of two articles.)

The labor movement must be clear about the Fifth Amendment if it is going to fight McCarthyism effectively. The unions must defend those who invoke the privilege against self-incrimination. The labor leaders must encourage its use. They must spike McCarthy's pernicious doctrine that those who refuse to answer his questions are "Fifth Amendment Communists" — people who confess by their silence that they are "traitors" and "spies."

The labor movement has now come under the guns of the investigating committees headed by Senator McCarthy and Representative Velde respectively. In Seattle, the Velde Committee recently conducted witch-hunting operations against radicals in the unions. Velde launched a campaign of intimidation that strengthened the fascist forces in the city and weakened the unions. He touched off a witch-hunt in the labor movement itself.

McCarthy is out to do the same thing on a larger scale. He announced at the conclusion of the Army-McCarthy hearings that the investigation of "Communists" in defense plants was next on his order of business. He wants to go after militant unionists and hound them out of the plants and the labor movement. He wants to soften up the unions for a later fascist drive to crush them.

The standard operational procedure used by both Velde and McCarthy was given by Roy Cohn, the fascist Senator's chief aide, in his testimony in the Army-McCarthy investigation. "The way to get results," he said, "is to hold our hearings, get these people in public session, have them claim the Fifth Amendment, have the witnesses name them as Communists, have them fired from the defense plants."

McCarthy has turned use of the Fifth Amendment into a means of smearing and victimizing people, hoping thereby to scare others from using it. However, it is still an acknowledged way of defying the witch-hunt. That is why the McCarthyites want the Fifth Amendment nullified, and why Eisenhower and Attorney General Brownell demanded legislation that would in

Labor Hater



Sen. Homer Ferguson (R-Mich.) has introduced two bills on behalf of Attorney General Herbert Brownell which would give Subversive Activities Control Board life and death power over unions and allow employers a free hand in firing. The unions are officially opposed to the bills, which the Eisenhower administration is trying to blitz through Congress.

effect strike it out of the Constitution.

The militants who are fighting McCarthyism must defend the Fifth Amendment. The right of a person not to have to accuse himself is a weapon in the fight against tyranny.

Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School recently stated that "the privilege against self-incrimination is one of the great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized." (Speech before the Massachusetts Bar Association of February 5, 1954, published as a pamphlet by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.)

The privilege against self-incrimination came into English Common Law in 1641. It arose out of the case of John Lilburn, one of England's great radicals, who became a prominent leader in the English revolution of 1640-49, which abolished the absolute power of the king. Lilburn was leader of the plebeian Levellers, the most consistent champions of democracy at that time.

In 1637, Lilburn was haled before the Star Chamber under Charles I on a charge of having imported certain heretical and seditious books. "He refused to take the oath to answer truly," says Griswold, "and the Council of the Star Chamber condemned him to be whipped and pilloried for his 'boldness in refusing to take a legal oath' without which many offences might go 'undiscovered and unpunished.'" In 1638, the sentence was carried out.

With the overthrow of the absolute rule of Charles I, Lilburn appealed his conviction to Parliament, which voted that his sentence was "illegal and against the liberty of the subject," and voted Lilburn heavy damages. "This event," says Griswold, "seems to have been enough to establish the privilege against self-incrimination as a part of the common law."

What is significant in the Lilburn case is this: The privilege against self-incrimination arose out of the struggle of a fighter against royal tyranny to win his right to read and think what he pleased. (That is how the Fifth Amendment is used today in the fight against McCarthyism.) The principle that a man need not testify against himself was confirmed by one of the great revolutions that brought modern democracy into being.

In the further development of

English common law, the principle was established that a person is innocent until proved guilty. The privilege against self-incrimination is closely related to this principle of law. According to English common law, says Griswold, "neither torture nor an oath nor the threat of punishment such as imprisonment for contempt should be used to compel him to provide the evidence to accuse or to convict himself." Nor can silence on the part of the accused be made proof of guilt.

In another passage in his speech, Griswold states, "the establishment of the privilege (against self-incrimination) is linked historically with the abolition of torture."

These principles of English common law were adopted in the American colonies and became part of the legal system of the United States. The more important of them were written into the Bill of Rights — the first ten amendments to the Constitution — which workers and farmers in 1788 demanded be added to the document to protect their liberties. The Bill of Rights includes the privilege against self-incrimination as part of the Fifth Amendment. It is there for the labor movement to use in the battle against MacCarthyism.

(Next week: Does Silence Imply Guilt?)

PINCH OF LEGAL SPICE IN A POISONOUS BROTH

How would you like to stand trial before a court on condition that if you plead "not guilty" it would prove that you are guilty? Unbelievable? Not at all.

The witch-hunting officials of the N.Y. State Bar Association met June 24 to work out plans for driving out of law practice "members of subversive groups and lawyers who invoke the Fifth Amendment before authorized agencies investigating subversion."

The big-wig legal minds proposed a law to wit: "where a lawyer refuses to answer questions... by invoking the constitu-

tional privilege against self-incrimination, the attorney's statement would be taken at its face value. His claim that his answer would tend to incriminate or degrade him would be deemed prima facie evidence and his suspension from practice promptly effected until he clears himself."

You see what can be cooked up with a little Latin, a pinch of legal spice and a poisonous witch-hunting broth? The plain meaning of the Fifth Amendment can be changed into its exact opposite; use of Constitutional protection against self-incrimination becomes "prima facie" — self-incrimination.

PAPER FINED \$25,000, EDITOR JAILED, FOR OPPOSITION TO CHIANG

Freedom of the press was burned at the stake in a New York courtroom on June 17. The China Daily News, an anti-Chiang Kai-shek, Chinese language paper, was fined \$25,000 and its editor, Eugene Moy, was sentenced to jail for two years.

Three laundry workers, Chin You-Gon, Tom Sung and Chin Hon-Ming, were convicted of sending money from their meager wages to relatives in China. Tom Sung received a suspended sentence but the other two were sentenced to a year in jail.

The court decision was made by Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan, after a seven-day trial without a jury. The sentences and fine are being appealed by the attorneys for the China Daily News.

For the last few years the Kuomintang agents in New York's Chinese community have been hounding subscribers, distributors and advertisers who continued to associate with the China Daily News.

Here is a letter from an advertiser: "Several times I have been approached by persons asking us to discontinue our advertisement in your newspaper. Up to now I have refused to comply with their demand. Recently I was approached again, but this time by an organization of which I am a member. The chairman of this organization feels it is better to comply and take the advertisement out of the newspaper. The chairman suggested that if I do not take out the advertisement, someone might picket my shop. I have no choice but to comply."

And here is the way the pro-Chiang Kai-shek paper, China Tribune reported one incident in the violent campaign to suppress the China Daily News:

NEWS DEALER BEATEN

"Then the youngsters who had broken up the newsstand of Chan 'the dog' (a news dealer who wouldn't quit selling the China Daily News), went to the newsstand at Canal Street and warned the news dealer, who in turn said something carelessly, whereupon he was beaten by one of the youngsters and, as a result, his nose was bleeding. All those who have heard the news are very, very happy."

This campaign of terror dates back to the beginning of 1951. In the meantime the federal police, in collusion with Kuomintang agents, were preparing a "legal" case — China Daily News was accused of "trading with the enemy."

The editor of the China Daily News was indicted April 28, 1952, on 53 counts under the Trade with the Enemy Act. And

three laundry workers who sent their pitiful savings to hungry relatives in China were arraigned along with editor Eugene Moy.

As the trial showed, the indictment was based on the flimsiest of technicalities. Judge Ryan had to admit that "substantial questions of law" were involved which would justify review by higher courts.

The prosecution did not rely on making out a legal case in court. A lurid campaign was launched in the newspapers to set the atmosphere for a lynching. The prosecutors accompanied the indictment with a press release declaring they would prove that "this case involves extortion, murder and human misery — and that the China Daily News is the agency for these crimes in the United States."

CHARGES NOT MENTIONED

In the courtroom however no mention was made of these charges, nor were they withdrawn. The China Daily News was friendly to New China. That's enough grounds for the prosecutors to hurl the charge of "spies" in the newspapers and then frame up their victims in court on legal technicalities.

The "trading with the enemy" indictment was based on advertisements in China Daily News from two banks in British-controlled Hong Kong which informed Chinese in America how they could legally get money to their relatives in China. The Treasury department arbitrarily ruled that transmitting money to China constitutes "trade with the enemy."

The fact that the U.S. is not at war with China and that these banks are not even within the territory of China made no difference to the federal prosecutors. Furthermore, the China Daily News ceased to publish the advertisements of the Hong Kong banks as soon as the Treasury Department informed them of its ruling.

And finally, three other Chinese newspapers, which carried similar advertisements from the same Hong Kong Banks, have not been indicted — in view of the pro-Chiang Kai-shek policies of these papers.

Pending an appeal to a higher court, Eugene Moy is back at work editing China Daily News, which continues to appear despite the persecution. A committee to defend the freedom of this paper has been formed with headquarters at 105 Mott Street, New York 13, N.Y.

What Trumbull Park Means to You

This is the story of Trumbull Park, Chicago. It is the story of a fascist drive against the people, to divide the workers, using the weapon of race hate. There are lessons in the Trumbull Park events for all of us, for fascism is not a local thing. The movement is growing all over the United States. Nor is fascism a problem for Negroes alone. It is a problem for every working man and woman, white or black, for fascism is aimed at them.

Every worker knows how time and again the bosses foment race hate to smash strikes and thus lick all the workers. Jim Crow was long used against the packinghouse workers and their unions. Ford used racism to try to prevent unionization of the auto workers. Black and white workers were pitted against each other in the steel strike of 1919. And the racist attacks at Trumbull Park have been coupled with assaults on workers at Wisconsin Steel.

The tie-up between racism and anti-labor attacks is not new. But what makes the situation at Trumbull Park especially dangerous is that it occurs at a time when fascism is growing in America.

It is no accident that the Southeast Economist, the newspaper supporting Jim Crow at Trumbull Park, is also a supporter of the fascist Senator McCarthy. It is no accident that the Daily Calumet favors a lily-white community and praises McCarthy.

Racism and fascism are tendencies that feed each other. The growth of McCarthyism emboldens the local racists; the success of local racists strengthens the march of McCarthyism. A national fascist movement makes racism into a national pattern. We have seen the completed picture in Germany. There the traditional attacks on the Jewish minority were greatly intensified under Hitler and extended into an attack against all the people.

That is why Trumbull Park is not just another incident. It is a cancer which will spread unless we stop it.

It is not enough to be willing to fight to stop Jim Crow. It is necessary to know how to fight. This series of articles tells how.

It is written for all those men and women — Negro and white — who have it in their hearts to fight. This series of articles is for you.

Donald and Betty Howard wanted a decent place to live, a place with enough room for the whole family. A front yard and a back yard. A place for their two kids to play. They did

not want their pictures published in magazines and newspapers and their story told. But that's how things worked out.

The Howards moved into the Trumbull Park federal housing project July 30, 1953. They were the first Negro family there. They had exactly six days of peaceful living. On August 5 an angry mob of screaming people gathered outside their home and stormed the house with bricks and stones, shouting angrily for the "n... to get out of here."

Police were immediately detailed to the project. A 24-hour guard was posted at the Howard home. Instead of a dream come true, the Howards found themselves in the middle of a nightmare. Local fascist elements came to life. The Howards lived like prisoners, unable to leave the project without police protection, forced to spend sleepless nights at the window watching for someone who might throw a brick or bomb.

The Howards had not known that they would be the first Negro family to move into Trumbull Park, but once they found out they decided to stay and fight. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People met with city officials and demanded protection for the tenants.

In October 1953, three more Negro families moved into the project. The mobs greeted them in the same fashion as they had the Howards. Police were stationed at the home of every Negro family. The Negro residents were escorted in and out of the project in police paddy wagons. Visitors had to leave their names and address with the cops when going in and coming out of the home of a Negro family. Police shanties were erected throughout the project, and an empty apartment was set up as permanent police headquarters. But violence continued.

Encouraged by the fascist successes at Trumbull Park, racists attacked elsewhere in the city. In the West Chesterfield section of Chicago two Negro youngsters, aged 13 and 14, were brutally beaten with baseball bats by a gang on the school playground. In Rosemont, a bomb blasted the home of a white family. It was believed that the attack came because four Negroes attended an open house held by the family.

Disgusted and disillusioned, Donald Howard and his family moved from Trumbull Park on May 1. Fourteen Negro families remain, however, determined to stay and win the battle.

On May 6 the NAACP issued an ultimatum to the mayor to take decisive action in the Trumbull Park situation or face a mass protest demonstration at city hall. The mayor's response has been to praise the work the cops are doing. Very few arrests have been made, and those made, strangely enough, include the victims of the mob.

Local fascist big shots had threatened more violence when the weather broke. The weather has broken. Angry crowds line the streets. Bombs go off nightly. Threats are made by racist terrorists as Negro tenants walk down the street. "We'd better not catch you on this street any more, or we'll hang you from that tree."

Who is behind the mob attacks on Negro families living at Trumbull Park? Is it spontaneous action from the people living in the area? The answer is no! There is substantial evidence that the brutal attacks are well organized. Several local fascist groups are linked to the disturbances.

Peaceful citizens, unwilling to take part in the violence, have been forced into the anti-Negro campaign. The Chicago Daily News reported April 10 that citizens who refuse to "go along" "may find their property afire." A tavern was burned after reports that the building was going to be sold to Negroes. Other taverns were bombed for serving them. A truck driver said, "If I sell any milk to colored families out here... I would be beaten."

Playing the dominant role is the South Deering Improvement Association, an organization composed of property owners from the South Deering section of Chicago, in which Trumbull Park is located.

Louis P. Dinnocenzo, president of the Association, described the activities of the SDIA this way:

"We are requesting our aldermen and our representatives to do everything possible to get them out," he said, referring to the Negro families. "We're parading around and milling around at night — within the law, like we're entitled to do — to picket."

A reporter from the Chicago Daily News asked Dinnocenzo, "Doesn't parading tend to incite violence?"

"Yes," Dinnocenzo answered, "Sometimes it does." And later he added, "I hope there's no violence, but these people aren't going to sit home and watch TV."

When Donald Howard, the first Negro to live at Trumbull Park, moved out of the project, Dinnocenzo hailed the Howards' moving as a victory for the "people of South Deering." And he said, "The people haven't begun to fight. When the weather breaks there will be a lot more violence."

Working with the SDIA is the National Citizens Protective Association. NCPA puts out a sheet called the White Sentinel. John W. Hamilton, NCPA president, was once a lieutenant for Gerald L. K. Smith, notorious barker of Jews and Negroes. SDIA has members in the NCPA, and the NCPA in turn has members in SDIA.

The Daily Calumet, pro-McCarthy newspaper in South Deering, openly supports the fascist groups operating in that area. It gives prominent space to "citizens' committees" which urge an end to police protection for Negro tenants. Dinnocenzo and the fascist groups get favorable publicity. Needless to say, nothing is written in Daily Calumet columns defending the rights of Negro Americans to live like other people.

Joseph Beauharnais, founder of the White Circle League, another white supremacy group operating at Trumbull Park, is an old timer in the race-hate game. A few years ago, he was convicted under the Illinois Group Libel Law as a result of the racist literature his group was distributing. Beauharnais helped pass the hat for contributions at the November NCPA meeting and spoke at an SDIA meeting in November.

In addition, the White Circle League has distributed white supremacy leaflets and sent a challenging telegram to the NAACP. Threatening — and unsigned — postcards received by Trumbull Park Negro families are believed by the NAACP to be White Circle inspired.

These are the groups promoting and backing violence at Trumbull Park. But they are not the only guilty ones.

(Continued next week)

THE MILITANT ARMY

Militant routes are being expanded and new ones started in the current series of Anti-Fascist Militant Mobilizations. Salesmen report many new friends of the Militant made in the last few weeks.

Literature Agent Gordon Bailey writes, "San Francisco had its second Militant mobilization Saturday afternoon. Seven comrades went out and sold 33 papers, five anti-McCarthy pamphlets and three copies of the Fourth International. We were well received and asked to call back again. So we now have a route of some 30 people who can be regularly visited by a couple of comrades. Joan was the star performer selling seven Militants, three anti-McCarthy pamphlets and three FI's."

Clara Kaye reports the results of Seattle's weekend sales. "Ann and Leon sold four Militants on their regular route. George and Clara sold 10 copies of the paper on their routes. Jack sold five papers to new buyers. George sold three copies to new buyers and Clara sold two, also to new readers."

"Jack and Clara sold a six-months sub to a young woman student concerned with the problems of Negroes and women under capitalism. And Frank sold three copies of the Kutchner book. Sum total: one new six-months sub, 24 single copies of the Militant, and three Kutchner books. All the Militant sales were made going house to house in working-class neighborhoods."

Comrade Ed Shuman writes, "Fred and Sherry sold at the Dodge meeting here in Detroit with a score of 29 Militants. Kev covered his route and sold nine copies of the paper. John and Rudy got another six-months sub from a call-back and are the best campaigners so far."

"The last two issues of the Militant sold completely!" writes Oakland Literature Agent Delores Seville. "Leonard, Delores and Ada covered several meetings and besides selling the paper had some interesting discussions of our ideas. We are receiving a better reception nowadays when we sell at union meetings — a more friendly attitude, and our increased sales reflect this."

St. Louis Literature Agent Dick Carter reports continued good sales on his regular route. He writes, "I sold six single copies my last time out and today I sold 13 Militants door to door. I sold to all my regular customers except one who was not home. Then I visited two other customers I don't get a chance to see every week. They both bought. The rest I sold to entirely new people."

New York Literature Agent John Tabor reports, "Last Wednesday we held a second street meeting in Spanish Harlem around the Guatemala issue. Manny, Janet and Harold were the speakers. They spoke first at 106th St. and then at 110th. The response was good, and Pete, Janet, Ann, Manny, Oscar, Ruth and Harold sold 12 Militants. Ruth sold a new sub to the paper at the meeting."

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The Stalinist Role in Guatemala

The Guatemalan events provide another bitter lesson on the treachery of Stalinism. Once again the Stalinists have marched the workers into a death trap. Once again their policy of opportunist deals with capitalist liberals has resulted in tragic defeat.

Only last summer the Stalinists followed the same line in Iran. In the face of a growing counter-revolutionary threat, the Iranian Stalinists kept the powerful workers organizations in check. They told the workers to rely on Mossadegh to stop the counter-revolution. The struggle for workers power, the only possible way to secure and safeguard democratic reforms, such as distribution of the land, the right to vote, etc., was subordinated to maneuvers and deals with Mossadegh — the native capitalist liberal.

Finally, the Iranian counter-revolution struck. They toppled Mossadegh from power with ease. In the absence of a mass mobilization of armed workers and peasants, the army was divided and sections of it swung over to the counter-revolution.

The workers organizations were taken unawares. They were routed and demoralized, left in the lurch by their leaders. The workers were terrorized, the militant rank and file leaders thrown into dungeons, tortured and executed. The whole struggle for democracy in Iran was hurled back.

Now we have a fresh example of the Stalinist line in action in the tragic defeat in Guatemala. Why did the Stalinists rely on Arbenz? How could Arbenz stop the counter-revolution without summoning the workers and peasants to mass action? And yet this is exactly what Arbenz, the capitalist liberal, feared most of

all — the armed action of the workers and peasants.

Thus, the Stalinists maneuvered with Arbenz; Arbenz maneuvered with the "loyal" army generals; and the army generals maneuvered with the counter-revolutionary task force headed by Armas and financed by United Fruit.

And finally, as it did in Iran, the whole wretched line of the Stalinist leaders came crashing down like a house of cards. All their clever maneuvers collapsed and the workers were left to face the counter-revolutionary butchers barehanded and leaderless.

These two examples, Iran and Guatemala, are not unique. The Stalinist line had led to defeat after defeat ever since the rise of the Soviet bureaucracy and the transformation of the revolutionary parties all over the world into instruments of the Kremlin's foreign policy.

But Iran and Guatemala do serve a unique purpose. The tragic defeats refute the arguments of those turncoats, who became tired of building revolutionary parties and promulgated the theory of a "new" and revolutionary Stalinism which was supposed to have come into being since the end of World War II.

But the history of Stalinism during the last year alone has refuted this pretentious and false theory. The counter-revolutionary and treacherous line of Stalinism has been demonstrated in one event after another: East Germany, France, Bolivia, Iran, Guatemala — just to mention outstanding cases.

The workers must absorb the lesson of Stalinist treachery — and they must work with all their might to rebuild genuine revolutionary parties of the working class in every country.

The Witch Hunt Takes Oppenheimer

By a 4 to 1 vote June 29, the Atomic Energy Commission denied security clearance to J. Robert Oppenheimer, chairman of the General Advisory Committee of the AEC and one of the nation's top atomic physicists. This means that Eisenhower's temporary suspension of Oppenheimer is made permanent.

The AEC labelled Oppenheimer a "security risk" although he never divulged any secrets. The Commissioners made their ruling because of Oppenheimer's past alleged Communist associations and his continued (though admittedly infrequent) relations with people deemed "subversive" by the witch hunters. But his "crime" went beyond this, according to the Commissioners.

Oppenheimer decided for himself whom he wanted to visit and talk with regardless of "security" regulations. He "placed himself outside the rules which govern others," said the AEC majority.

Commissioner Murray went so far as to label Oppenheimer "disloyal" on that account alone.

Commissioner Zuckert expressed the warped outlook of all witch hunters when he declared that "every human being is to some degree a security risk." And while he wanted to see security requirements "harmonized with such basic concepts as personal freedom," he voted to oust Oppenheimer, showing that he really believes scientists had better toe the line and forget about personal freedom.

The Commissioners admitted that Oppen-

heimer's opposition from 1945 to 1949 to building the H-bomb and his "lack of enthusiasm" for the project afterwards were not proper grounds for dismissal, although these were the reasons given by the Gray Commission for ruling against Oppenheimer last May.

This admission was a sop thrown to the majority of scientists, who opposed Oppenheimer's ouster and were especially indignant over the fact that he was victimized for expressing his views. The AEC declared that in the debate over making the H-bomb, "Dr. Oppenheimer was, of course, entitled to his opinions."

The insistence that scientists abide strictly by the "security" code was a warning to them to keep out of labor politics. It was a threat that any atomic scientist who seeks or maintains friends in the labor movement can be fired as a "security risk."

Even worse punishment can be inflicted on him. Oppenheimer's security clearance was originally suspended last September when William Borden, former Executive Director of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, told the FBI in true McCarthy fashion that "more probably than not" Oppenheimer was a "Soviet spy" because of his associations.

Oppenheimer's judges stopped short of that kind of verdict. But there is no telling how monstrous a frame-up the witch hunters will concoct against the next scientist who chooses to think for himself.

Stoolpigeonry Pays Off

The department of Justice is now investigating three of its paid informers who were caught redhanded in committing perjury. This is something like the McCarthy committee's "investigation" of McCarthy. At any rate, the Alsops don't seem too optimistic about the result. The well-known team of columnists, conclude:

"Attorney General Herbert Brownell's right hand is now, in effect, investigating what his left hand has been doing. Great departmental interests are fighting on the side of the left hand. Is this sound practice?"

Legally speaking, it's not. But "sound practice" cannot be expected of a government that hires and pays professional stoolpigeons to lie under oath.

The public exposure of the three informers as perjurers is highly embarrassing to the Department of Justice. Scores of Americans have already been hounded into jails, deportation and unemployment through the "testimony" of these three. Their official discrediting would tend to discredit most of the witch-hunt verdicts and decisions of recent years.

Thus, there is not much likelihood that these three will be indicted and punished for their crimes. Brownell may have to dispense with their services in future cases, but it is doubtful that he will take any punitive measure against them. (They could retaliate by telling too many tales about the inside workings of the witch hunt.)

The three under investigation are Paul Grouch, who swore at the 1949 Bridges trial

that he did not know David Davis and who swore at the 1954 Smith Act trial in Philadelphia that he has known Davis long and well; Manning Johnson and Leonard Patterson, whose false testimony against Dr. Ralph Bunche was unanimously rejected by a loyal board investigating Bunche.

According to the Alsops July 4, these three represent one-quarter of the stoolpigeon stable used most regularly by the Department of Justice during the last two years.

In this period Crouch has received from the Justice Department \$9,675, or just under \$420 a month; Johnson got \$9,096, or almost \$400 a month; and Patterson got \$3,775, or about \$160 a month.

Before getting these jobs, Crouch worked for 85 cents an hour, Johnson was unemployed and Patterson drives a taxi in his spare time. "Although the payments are not large," the Alsops point out, "it can be seen from the three cases noted that they are often quite large enough to be meaningful to the recipients."

Large enough to attract renegades, opportunists and human vultures willing to swear to anything and to testify against anyone on the witness stand.

Paid stoolpigeonry may not be "sound practice" but it is a cornerstone of the witch hunt. Even if Brownell is forced to bounce these three employees, he will replace them with others of the same stripe. As long as the government continues to frame people in this way, they will have no legal recourse but to make use of their rights under the Fifth Amendment.

By Joseph Hansen

Churchill's insistence, on his recent visit to the United States, that the Western powers should reach an understanding with the Kremlin has touched off an acrid debate among the political representatives of Big Business. The debate is ostensibly over Churchill's slogan of "peaceful co-existence" with the Soviet Union, but actually it is a reflection of a profound political crisis that has gripped America's rulers since their failure in Korea.

The debate really began when MacArthur was recalled by Truman from Korea. At that time, it will be recalled too sharply opposed courses were argued.

The Asia Firsters pressed for extension of the war from Korea to China at the risk precipitating World War III.

The hard core of the isolationists raised the perspective, particularly through ex-president Herbert Hoover, of withdrawal into "fortress America."

Those actually controlling policy chose neither course and ended up with a highly contradictory line. They rattled the A-bomb and the H-bomb while cutting down on armaments expenditures. They insisted that France continue fighting in Indo-China while they concluded a cease-fire in Korea. They talked about "liberation" of countries in the Soviet bloc, about "massive retaliation," and even sent up a trial balloon this spring to test what the reaction of the public might be to plunging America overnight into the Indo-China conflict, only to disclose that a good part of this was bluff.

Most contradictory of all, Eisenhower has from time to time talked about his willingness to consider "peaceful co-existence" with the Kremlin while at the same time methodically pressing for the re-armament of Japan and Germany in obvious preparation for war on the Soviet Union.

The upshot of it has been to give the impression among the Western allies of weakness, uncertainty, and of drifting without firm leadership. Such a course cannot continue indefinitely. Sooner or later a basic decision must be made. The debate at present is over what the decision should be.

CHURCHILL ROLE

Churchill's role in this is more than that of head of the British Empire. He appears as one of the leading spokesmen in Eisenhower's retinue. In this he demonstrates the basic unity that ties British and American capitalism together.

But it is the differences more than the unity between Britain and America that enables Churchill to play this role. The British people are articulately and actively opposed to another world war. Every British politician, consequently, is compelled to speak against war, no matter what his ultimate designs are.

In addition, the British ruling class dread another war. If and when the H-Bombs begin drop-



DULLES, who prefers to let Churchill carry the ball for the State Department when it comes to initiating a diplomatic move that might be interpreted by the McCarthyite axis as "appeasement to Communism."

ping, the British Isles will obviously be a prime target and can be one of the first areas of the globe to lose its population and become an uninhabitable desert of radioactive ruins. Consequently they prefer to temporize as long as possible. And if in the final analysis they must spin the wheel of chance as the German capitalists did before them, they hope in the interim to at least alter the relation of forces so as to increase their chances of survival.

Thus Churchill as their spokesman derives considerable political capital from pressing for a "real good try" at "peaceful co-existence."

WANT EARLY WAR

In contrast to the British, the American ruling class fear that time is running against them and that each postponement of war increases the probability of catastrophic failure. Their basic urge therefore is to make haste.

But the main purpose of Churchill's visit to America was not to underline this difference. The fact is that American Big Business has had to contain its impatience and to consider a possible temporary turn. It was Churchill's purpose to assist those who have come to this conclusion.

The well-informed Joseph C. Harsch, Washington correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, puts it like this: "It would seem to me that what really happened of most importance was that Sir Winston Churchill said publicly in Washington things Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles would like to say, and some day may say, but which they are precluded for the time being from saying by the current political idiom of Washington."

Churchill served as a diplomat

...Dulles Puppet Regime

(Continued from page 1)

decree declares that the fundamental characteristic of an authentic democracy included suffrage by responsible citizens."

And who is "responsible"? Naturally the landlords and the capitalists and all those who do not live by working. The irresponsible are 73% of the country—those who toil and sweat on plantations and in factories and who don't even get the right to an elementary education. This is "authentic democracy." Could the Southern poll taxers in the U.S. ask for a better definition?

The July 3 Business Week said: "But it will take time to restore even a semblance of democracy (in Guatemala). Rebel leaders claim they'll have to purge the schools, the army, the police, trade unions, and government offices of party-liners before they can risk national elections." Now the junta has taken one more step to "prepare" the elections. It has purged the overwhelming majority of the electorate of their right to vote. That narrows down the "risk" considerably.

SUSPEND REFORM LAW

And how are Meany's "fervent hopes" for the maintenance of the social gains of the 1944 revolution faring? Here the voice of that authentic democrat, the counter-revolutionary plotter Colonel Castillo Armas is heard. "Armas denied emphatically reports that social security, agrarian reform and other social advances had been cancelled by the new government." (Times, July 6). So democracy hasn't been completely undermined, Meany can say. But alas, the dispatch goes on to say, "It was explained, however, that the agrarian reform law had been suspended pending further study of its administration."

This may sound confused. The agrarian reforms are not to be

touched. But the agrarian reform law, so painfully achieved by ten years of revolution is to be suspended at once. Undoubtedly Armas intends to explain this contradiction to the Guatemalan peasants in the firing-squad language of "authentic democracy."

Meany is not a fool. He is a traitor. To beseech this band of hired cutthroats to preserve and extend democracy when they are butchering it is to cover the crimes of United Fruit and the State Department with the pious hypocrisy of the labor bureaucracy.

VICTIMS OF BETRAYAL

The workers and peasants of Guatemala are suffering the consequences of betrayal by both their own Stalinist leaders and the officials of the American labor movement.

The capitalist press depicts the Guatemalan Stalinists as revolutionary leaders. This is completely false. They are no more revolutionary than Meany or Reuther. And they are no more capable of stopping the counter-revolution in Guatemala than Meany and Reuther are capable of stopping McCarthyism in the United States.

The Guatemalan Stalinists told the workers and peasants to rely on Arbenz, a capitalist liberal, to defend their revolution against the landlords and the United Fruit Company. Arbenz, like every capitalist, ordered the workers not to arm. He told them to stay home while he maneuvered with the counter-revolutionaries, kept them in powerful positions in his cabinet, and permitted them to dominate the military. Finally at the eleventh hour he turned power over to the generals. The generals in turn made a deal with the "Army" of the United Fruit Company headed by Armas.

for the State Department in presenting the case for a deal with the Kremlin against that new power in American politics, the McCarthyite axis.

"Thus," continues Harsch, "when Sir Winston preached the fullest possible exploration of the possibilities of co-existence, he was pioneering for President Eisenhower, just as back in 1946 at Fulton, Mo., he pioneered for President Truman." He "pioneered" in launching the "cold war."

Harsch notes that "if an experiment in co-existence is to be attempted then, logically, Washington would contemplate the diplomatic recognition of China, its admission to the United Nations, the reopening of trade and cultural relations with China, and the increase of trade and cultural relations with the Soviet Union. Such ideas are political poison today on Capitol Hill."

Historian and commentator Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., writing in the N.Y. Post of July 4, acclaimed Harsch's article as "acute," and indicated his agreement with the judgment that it has been "one of Sir Winston Churchill's functions in recent years to run political interference for American presidents."

EISENHOWER APPROVES

On June 30, as Churchill arrived in Canada following his visit, Eisenhower expressed approval of the idea of turning toward a period of "peaceful co-existence," although he hedged his statement with doubts, as was to be expected in seconding such "political poison."

The following day, Senator Knowland of California, one of the principal spokesmen of the Asia Firsters, challenged Eisenhower. He threatened to resign his post as leader of the Republican majority in the Senate should the UN admit the Mao regime. He said that if this happened he would fight for withdrawal of the U.S. from the UN. This indicated his acknowledgement that one consequence of a deal with the Kremlin would be establishment of relations with China. His threat was a sharp factional move against the administration.

The reaction of the Eisenhower camp to this was expressed most ably through James Reston of the N.Y. Times (July 4). Knowland's threat, he declared, "was the finest non sequitur of the week." For the U.S. to leave the UN in case China were admitted, he pointed out, could mean that organization "might even be transformed into an effective instrument of Communist policy."

And as for Knowland's resignation, "nothing would please the British more... except perhaps the resignation of the Senator from Wisconsin." As for Dulles, although he "doesn't want to bring the Reds into the UN... Mr. Knowland shouldn't tempt him."

DEMOCRATS DIVIDED

Among the Democrats, opinion was divided following Churchill's visit, as it was among the Republicans. Senate minority leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas echoed Knowland's sentiments, while Fulbright of Arkansas declared that "we" should not "freeze our foreign policy from now on." This was an indication of his readiness to go along with the line laid down by Churchill.

The dilemma that faces American Big Business can be stated briefly: To maintain capitalism it must crush the Soviet bloc and conquer the colonial world. This means another world war. But the obstacles to war are so powerful that American Big Business has been forced to treat in its plans and to continually postpone its time schedule for war.

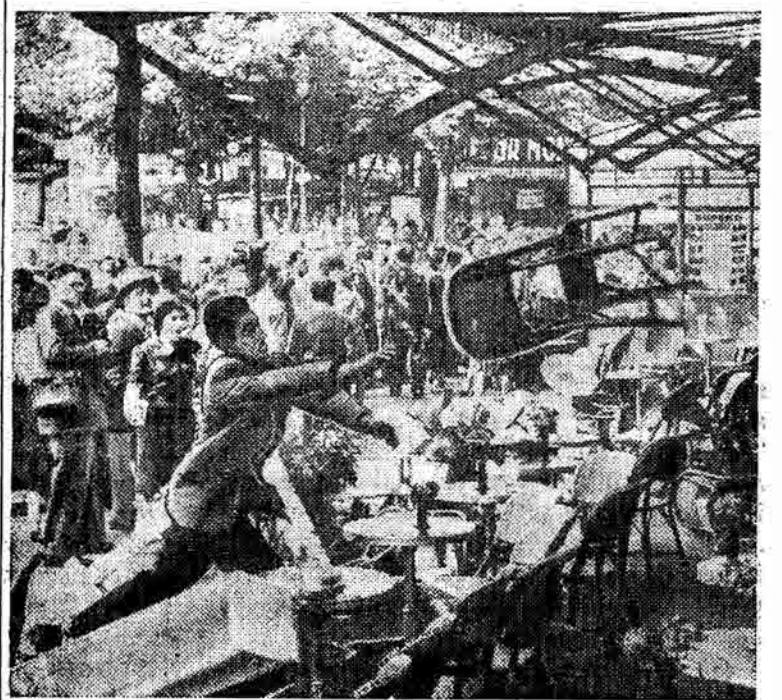
Today the impasse is so acute that a considerable breathing space is required. But to gain full advantage from this, a deal of some kind or other must be reached with Moscow and Peking. To agree to a deal, however, means cutting squarely across the propaganda campaign that has been conducted since 1945 to psychologize the American people for another war.

TRIED TO STRADDLE

Unable to resolve these contradictions, both Truman and Eisenhower have tried to straddle. Eisenhower in particular found himself forced to draw back in both Korea and Indo-China, to permit the Allies to relax trade barriers with the Soviet bloc and even began talking about "peaceful co-existence." At the same time, unwilling to give up the advantage of years of pounding the war drums, he has kept up the witch hunt and the war-mongering.

The decision to bring Churchill to Washington, however, is powerful evidence that this course is becoming increasingly untenable and that a different one is now under consideration.

Fed Up With Taxes



A demonstrator hurls a chair into a Paris cafe during a protest against "arbitrary methods" of French government tax inspectors. Hundreds of restaurant and bar proprietors closed their shops in sympathy during the demonstration. Owner of this one didn't.

World Events

By Fred Hart

LABOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT have attacked the refusal of the British government to grant political asylum to Dr. Joseph H. Cort and Ruth Cort in England. Dr. Cort is an American, who declared that he was afraid that he might face political persecution in the United States because he once was a member of the Communist Party.

THE NEW JAPANESE ARMY

Navy and Air Force officials came into existence on July 2. Many more youths are seeking to enlist than the armed forces can take in at present. This testifies to the economic insecurity confronting the Japanese people. Few Japanese workers, even in the white-collar category receive as much as the \$15 a month which members of the armed forces will get in addition to board, lodging and uniforms.

A MONTH-OLD FARM STRIKE IN ITALY

The Stalinist union leaders told the 100,000 cattle and dairy workers to "suspend" the strike according to the July 1 N.Y. Times. Negotiations are now in process, and an accord is expected which will gain the workers minimum pay increases of about \$34 a year plus fringe benefits. The government sent Army units to the Ferrara Province for strike-breaking purposes, and last week the police arrested more than forty union organizers. The Times describes the strike as "the most bitter labor fight" in Italy since the end of World War II.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN EAST PAKISTAN

Lawled by the new state government on July 5, according to the N.Y. Herald Tribune. This government was installed under martial law by Pakistan's Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, head of the Moslem League. The Stalinists belonged to the five-party United Front coalition headed by Fazlul Huq, which won the elections in East Pakistan last Spring and which was deposed by Mohammed Ali on May 30.

THE LANKA SAMASAMA PARTY

Trotskyist party in Ceylon, is seeking to oust the UNP (capitalist party) from control in the city elections that will be held in Colombo on July 24. Colombo is the capital city of the country. The Ceylonese Trotskyists warn their followers that it will be a hard struggle, because the UNP is throwing all its resources into the contest. "The UNP is fighting a losing battle throughout the country for its very existence. Colombo is no exception," says the June 24 Samasamaist. The Colombo elections will take place on the heels of encouraging victories scored by the LSSP in several other municipal elections in recent weeks. The UNP was defeated in all of these and LSSP-led forces were placed in power. The Stalinists, too suffered defeat.

7,000 NEGRO LONGSHOREMEN ON STRIKE

In Durban South Africa, were ordered July 6 by S. D. Mentz, chairman of the Native Labor Board, to get out of their homes. The workers are striking for an increase of \$1.47 daily or 18c an hour. Their present wages are \$1.44 a day. Under

South African law, Negroes are not allowed to strike or to engage in collective bargaining. Negroes who are not employed are sent back to "native reserves." They cannot take new employment unless their work records are in order. According to the July 7 N.Y. Times, the strike has paralyzed the Durban harbor, the most important in Africa in terms of traffic handled.

THE FRENCH HOLD ON

the North African colonies of Morocco and Tunisia is getting less and less firm. Some 2,000 troops and Moroccan troops were moved into Tunisia on July 5. "Meanwhile," said Don Cook of the N.Y. Herald Tribune, "both Morocco and Tunisia went through another twenty-four hours of what is becoming routine terrorist incidents (such as assassinations and bombings) which individually do not amount to much but collectively and over a period of time have taken a marked toll, and reflect a situation that cannot be controlled much longer by strong-arm tactics alone. Political decisions are needed." Cook did not state, of course, that the one political decision needed by the Tunisian and Moroccan people was withdrawal of French troops and French recognition of their aspirations to national independence.

BRAZILIAN WORKERS

won their battle to double the minimum wage in the country. On July 5, the Supreme Court voted 6 to 1 to uphold legislation doubling minimum pay. The law had the support of President Vargas. Last June, the Supreme Court, acting on behalf of the employers, issued an injunction suspending the raises until the court could pass on their constitutionality. The eight labor federations then planned a general strike to begin July 1, the date that the increases were to go into effect. Although the labor leaders postponed the strike at Vargas' request until the court had acted, the threat of a general walkout was powerful enough to force the Supreme Court to issue a favorable decision.

A NATION-WIDE industrial

strike has been set in Pakistan for next month. The aim of the walk-out is to win government acknowledgement of the 6½-year demand for extensive labor legislation. The strike will involve 165 unions allied with the All-Pakistan Confederation of Labor. It will tie-up industries ranging from steel mills to sugar refineries. The first response of the Pakistan government was to launch a drive on "reds" in industry and set up a large-scale screening program.

I.G. FARBEN, the powerful

German chemical trust, is staging a powerful comeback according to the Wall Street Journal. The combine showed sales of \$719 million last year, running third in the world behind Du Pont and Union Carbide and Carbon Co. What is causing alarm to the American trusts, however, is that I.G. Farben is underselling them in Latin America and elsewhere. Thus I.G. Farben lists dye in Mexico at 61 cents a pound while Du Pont demands \$1.42.

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

Modern Slavery and Segregation

Portuguese Angola provides an almost classical example, in 1954, of how capitalism modernizes the slave system of production, and introduces racial discrimination and segregation to maintain capitalist rule by keeping the workers divided.

In an article titled "Africa's Modern Slavery" in the July issue of Harper's Magazine, Basil Davidson, a British journalist, vividly describes forced labor conditions in Portugal's colony on the southwest coast of Africa.

Despite the reporter's attempt to picture the slave conditions as historically against the interest of Western capital, the facts reveal:

(1) "Contract labor" is a "system of veiled slavery" which "has continued ever since full and formal slavery was abolished" and is still "the principal method of providing labor in Angola." It differs from pre-capitalist slavery in "two points of form, but none of substance . . . slavery is permanent while 'contract labor' is periodical; and 'contract labor' is usually paid a wage, though far below any reasonable minimum."

(2) Despite slightly more humane treatment of the forced laborers today, brutality and violence are still used to maintain and extend the "medieval, pre-industrial" system of exploiting the native population.

"If my wife likes to accuse one of our servants of being rude to her, and I like to take him up to the police station," a white resident of long standing told Mr. Davidson, "they'll slash him mercilessly — hands, arms, face, everywhere. And if any native gets political ideas in this colony, they beat them out of him right away."

"Sao Thome is a cocoa-growing island which the Portuguese use as a penal settlement," Davidson reports. "A year ago Sao Thome was the scene of a brief and bloody revolt when the governor . . . issued a decree that all Sao

Thomistas (a half-caste population established originally in the sixteenth century) were to register for 'contract labor.' His motive for this was the growing shortage of forced labor from Portuguese territories. Copies of this decree were torn down by Sao Thomistas, who have never done forced labor; the troops were called out, one European officer was killed and large numbers of Sao Thomistas were rounded up and shot down."

(3) Racial discrimination and segregation as we know it in the United States since Reconstruction days apparently has not been an important institution in Angola in the past, but "with the arrival of large numbers of white immigrants from Portugal" these past few years, and the growth of a white working class in the colony, "this tolerance is growing less."

Requirements for the status of "assimilados" — the "civilized Africans" employed as clerks, junior railway officials, foremen and "ministers of religion" — are being raised to exclude natives. Bars and restaurants are beginning to discriminate and the manager of the large Portuguese-owned sugar plantations and other properties has built two cinemas for his employees, one for whites and one for Africans.

But Davidson fails to recognize that it is not simply the unenlightened Portuguese administration that is brutally maintaining and extending the system of modern slavery and introducing racial discrimination to keep the workers divided. The Portuguese administration is only acting in the interests of the Portuguese, Belgian, British and American capitalists who own the diamond mines and plantations, and who require "contract laborers" in the port of Lobito, "vital nowadays for the transatlantic shipment of Congo copper, uranium, and other high grade ores."

Only the abolition of world capitalism will end "Africa's Modern Slavery."

Looking for a Job

By Joyce Cowley

In the last few days I came across some cheerful reports on economic conditions in the U.S. "1954 should go down as one of the best years in economic history," says Babson's Salescaster, and Sylvia Porter heads one of her columns: "Lucky class of 54."

Since there hasn't been any upturn (it's now expected around the end of July), they base their optimism on conditions that exist right now. In spite of a little unemployment, they say, things are pretty good. As Miss Porter puts it: "Today's youngsters have a fabulously easy time of it."

But the New York Employment service reports an acute shortage of summer jobs. I've been job hunting myself the last two weeks in the drab, crowded industrial agencies of downtown New York where you can buy a job if you have cash in advance.

I talked to workers who were offered \$45 to \$50 a week for jobs that required top skills and years of experience. I talked to waitresses up from Florida where thousands of girls were jobless this last winter, and others worked 10 to 12 hours a day for wages of \$9 a week, plus tips — tips that grew smaller from week to week.

I checked through the Help Wanted columns. I didn't see any high-paying summer work but I found one job that paid nothing at all: "Wanted, matron, hotel powder room. 9 P.M. to 1 A.M. About \$25 tips. No salary. Phone mornings only."

This is obviously not such a good year for more than five million unemployed workers and, according to the Babson report, it is not even a particularly good year for many employed workers.

"The retailer will have to remember," they

say, "that the consumer may have been cut to a 40-hour-week or that his wife is no longer working and he is therefore strongly price conscious." At the same time — "savings for the consumer will probably be offset by increases in rent, transportation and other cost of living components."

They continue with an industry by industry forecast. While steel, auto and other heavy industries are obviously in difficulties, they conclude brightly that "children's footwear will offer the best growth potentialities." Any parent knows they're right, but this will not help the consumer.

1954 may be good year, but for whom? Not for you or me, not for workers or the men and women looking for work. I can only conclude it's a good year for the bosses. Five million unemployed is not such a serious matter — it creates healthy competition in the labor market. It gives them the opportunity to force down wages, to intimidate workers with the threat of joblessness. The salaries of executives are rising. Profits and prices are holding up pretty well. For the capitalist, it's a good year.

At the top of the Babson report (intended for salesmen I noticed one of those catchy slogans: "Salesmanship is the art of making shoes without toes a fashion instead of a calamity."

Evidently they're trying to pull the same thing on the economic front and convince us that there is nothing wrong with having five million people unemployed. In fact, it's just about right. If this is the best they can offer, if 1954 is "normal" or even good, then it's time for the rest of us to reorganize society so that a good year is good for everyone, not just a small group of profit-hungry exploiters.

Notes from the News

WHEN THE ELASTIC GIVES OUT. The National Association of Brace, Belt and Suspender Manufacturers is being pinched by the recent trend in Britain toward elastic waistbands, according to a July 2 AP dispatch. The suspenders industry complains it can't be self-supporting if trousers are; that it is unhealthy to constrict one's waist; and anyway, what will happen when the elastic gives out and a citizen is left with no suspenders?

"A MODEST PROPOSAL for Pacification of the Public Temper" by Arthur Miller (author of "Death of a Salesman") is featured in the July 3 issue of the Nation. Briefly, the Proposal is that every Citizen of the United States at 18 years of age shall present himself to the nearest U.S. Marshall to be placed under Patriotic Arrest or National Detention. Said Citizen shall then be classified either as a Conceptual Traitor or an Action Traitor, and given the Proper Jail Sentence. Those not classified as Action Traitors or Conceptual Traitors shall be classified as Unclassified and shall include, among Others, members of the FBI, Investigating Committees of Congress, officers of the Chamber of Commerce, etc. The Aim of the Proposal is to provide Patriotic Proof of one's Loyalty by serving a Patriotic Sentence in Jail, thus allaying the universal suspicion of disloyalty now disrupting America's peace of mind.

STORM WARNINGS. You can bet your bottom dollar that the rental situation in Chicago is really serious when Representative O'Hara (D. Ill.) is forced to admit it. Speaking before the House June 17 he said: "I hope that the ad-

ministration will heed the storm warnings. With unemployment and diminished family incomes, due to stoppage of overtime and other causes, this certainly is no time for telling tenants to cough up another 20 percent or get out. . . If nothing is done, the administration must answer to the people come November." O'Hara refrained from going into the record of the Democrats on housing when they were in office, probably in order to avoid raising any storm warnings about the people making both boss parties answer come November.

CAN'T TELL A SCHOOL OF FISH FROM A SCHOOL OF CHILDREN. Race-minded representatives of the Southern Bourbons are getting together in an effort to make a dead letter of the Supreme Court ruling that racially segregated public schools are unconstitutional. A UP dispatch of June 26 quotes Gov. Thomas B. Stanley of Virginia as saying: "I shall use every legal means at my command to continue segregated schools in Virginia." The same dispatch reports that Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin of Florida "warned county school superintendents not to admit any Negro pupils to white schools this fall." In an interview with Max K. Giltstrap of the Christian Science Monitor (July 1), Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina voices the hate-poisoned outlook of this flock of bigots. He intends to fight the court ruling, he says, because he "doesn't feel there should be a mixing of the races since it 'will lead to mongrelization.' He has found in nature that schools of the same type of fish keep to themselves and that birds of a feather flock together. He thinks the same should apply to the human race. . ."

Mrs. Meyer Hits Fascists In Congress

By Dorothy Johnson

McCarthy was nailed as one of "our Congressional neo-Fascists" by Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, in her July 1 speech to the convention of the National Education Association in New York. Mrs. Meyer, wife of the publisher of the Washington Post, is a recognized national figure in educational affairs.

At one of the meetings of the convention, which was attended by 20,000 teacher delegates, Mrs. Meyer charged that "neo-Fascist Republicans" were organized in a "concerted effort at thought control." She asserted that this attack was being led by "Senatorial demagogues" and "Congressional ignoramus and their satellites."

Mrs. Meyer described this movement as "a nation-wide conspiracy of alarming proportions" which is aimed not only at our "freedom to teach and to learn" but at "all of our freedoms."

PLOT TO SEIZE POWER

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, she declared, is "only one of many diverse elements" in government, in the press, among new pressure groups and among "a very few but very wealthy business men" who are "plotting to seize this country by fair means or foul."

"The attacks of the Congressional inquisitors upon the educators and clergy is only a necessary preliminary step to the crushing of all freedom by eliminating the criticism of intelligent and moral opposition," she said.

At a similar meeting reported in the Militant over a year ago, Mrs. Meyer denounced the witch hunt in strong terms and characterized McCarthy as "our modern grand inquisitor," "a dangerous and ruthless demagogue," "political adventurer" and a "psychopathic character."

MUST BE STOPPED

At that time, speaking to a national convention of educators who vigorously applauded her address, she warned that Velde, Jenner and McCarthy must be "stopped in their tracks before they get under full sail."

She described McCarthy as "another Huey Long with different tactics but with the same lust for power."

Mrs. Meyer's July 1 speech is another indication of the growing recognition of McCarthy as a dangerous fascist menace in this country. Her awareness that the attacks upon the educators and clergy are only a step to the crushing of all freedom is significant, even though it does not point directly to the real aim of McCarthyism which is to smash the organized labor movement.

... BLOCK ATTEMPT

(Continued from page 1) something you twist and bend to your own purposes.

STATED FOR FILING

The main point about all these anti-McCarthy moves is that the measures which have teeth in them are already slated for filing in the waste basket to join other measures that were supposed to weaken or destroy McCarthy.

The measure to strip McCarthy of his chairmanship has been vetoed by both the Republican and Democratic machines. And despite idle boasts it is not likely that individual Senators will conduct a floor fight for this proposal unless there is a tremendous mass pressure.

Why were the Flanders and Lehman motions ditched in favor of the Republican "code of conduct" for "fair" witch hunting? Marquis Childs says that "few Senators doubt that votes are at hand today to remove McCarthy from all committee responsibility." (N.Y. Post, July 1.) Then why aren't these votes used?

NEW WEAPONS

The reason is that the Republicans and Democrats fight McCarthy as one group of capitalist politicians against another. Maneuvers, deals and appeasement are their weapons. Here lies a terrible danger for the workers. When run-of-the-mill capitalist politicians encounter the fascist menace they are unequal in the contest. The fascists bring new weapons to bear that the old-line capitalist politicians are unable to cope with. It isn't just that the fascists are better at lying, kicking in the groin, blackmail and forgery. Some of the old-line capitalist politicians could give McCarthy a close race in these techniques.

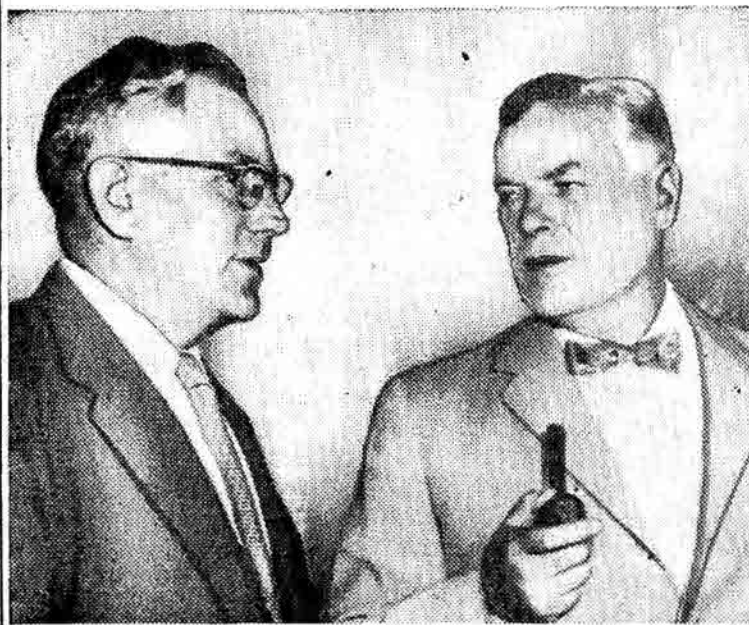
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New Steel Pact



David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers (CIO), right, discusses with Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel the new two-year contract signed in Pittsburgh with the U.S. Steel Co. The agreement, accepted by the rest of the industry, grants 9c to 12c an hour package increase. The agreement said nothing about guaranteed annual wage. That McDonald previously said he favored.

Denounce State Dept. Knifing of Guatemala

NEW YORK, July 1 — The State Department's counter-revolution in Guatemala was strongly denounced tonight at a protest meeting held under the auspices of

the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party. The meeting followed three public outdoor rallies in defense of Guatemala held by the SWP in East Harlem.

Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant, was the main speaker at the protest meeting, held at Adelphi Hall. Ripping to shreds the imperialist propaganda lies against Guatemala, and ridiculing the efforts to present that country as a military threat to the United States, Hansen traced the counter-revolutionary campaign of the State Department from the time of Guatemala's auction against the United Fruit Company through the installment of the regime approved by Peurifoy.

Hansen also condemned the Stalinist leaders of the Guatemalan labor and peasant movements for keeping the masses tied to the capitulatory Arbenz regime and for leading them into a bloody trap. He also branded the U.S. labor and liberal leaders for their "shameful and criminal" support of the State Department.

A lively question and discussion period followed. Art Sharon was chairman.

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES, July 2 — Robert E. Morgan, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Board of Education, tonight called for solidarity with the work-

ers and peasants of Guatemala in their struggle against foreign domination.

Speaking at the Friday Night Forum, Morgan gave the historical background of Yankee imperialism and the Arbenz regime in Guatemala.

As in other colonial countries, he showed, the native capitalists of Guatemala proved that they could not be depended on to complete the tasks of ousting the imperialists and carrying through social and agrarian reforms. To consolidate their gains and become masters of their own country, the people of Guatemala need to build a revolutionary party with a socialist program and an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist leadership.

Much of the discussion following Morgan's talk involved the role of the Communist Party and its treacherous policies of depending on Arbenz to fight the imperialists, its failure to mobilize the mass movement for independent action, and its slogan of "cease fire" and negotiated peace under the auspices of the United Nations, whose main function is to protect the interests of the imperialists.

... Hint McCarthy

(Continued from page 1)

ered by the professional witch-hunters. Moreover, virtually all the top figures in Washington have engaged in any number of shady deals and scandalous abuses of public office. They are all thus highly vulnerable to blackmail.

McCarthy's angle is not to expose these figures and drive them out of the office because of their crimes. His aim is to strike fear among them in order to prevent them from offering effective opposition to his drive for power. So long as they do not attack him, they can feel reasonably safe from public exposure by the Wisconsin demagogue.

The same blackmail club, of course, can be used to force them at a certain stage to go along with his aims and even assist in carrying them out.

McCarthy's capacity to use a blackmail club against Democrat and Republicans is thus another powerful reason for labor to put its own candidates in office. Such men, backed by America's powerful union movement and the various minority peoples, and coming into office with clean records would be immune from blackmail and therefore free to go to bat against the fascist Senator without fear of personal reprisal.

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Profits Up — Wages Down

According to the CIO, average weekly earnings for production workers in manufacturing during April was \$70.20 as against \$71.40 in April of last year. However, first-quarter dividends on the New York Stock Exchange totaled \$1,517,852,920, a record high for the period. — International Woodworker, June 23,

Reveal Torture By N.Y. Cops In Pfeffer Case

How many Americans are railroaded to jail or the electric chair each year on the basis of "confessions" extorted from them after they fell into the hands of the police?

No one has ever been able to compile the figures. But every once in a while, largely by accident, enough information appears about such frameups to cast suspicion and doubt on all legal proceedings involving "confessions."

One such case involves Paul Pfeffer, 21 years old, who was found guilty this year of the second-degree murder of Edward Bates and sentenced to prison for 20 years to life. Thanks to the arrest of another man, John Francis Roche, who confessed killing Bates along with several other victims, Pfeffer may now regain his freedom.

"TRIAL BY VIOLENCE"

But the point is that Pfeffer should never have been convicted in the first place. He wouldn't even have been tried by a jury if he had not been subjected to a "trial by violence at the police station" which got him to confess to a murder he never committed. So says Fredric Wertham, noted psychiatrist, author and director of the Lafargue Clinic in New York, who was asked to examine Pfeffer by his lawyers and who discusses the case in the July 3 Nation.

A wayward youth, Pfeffer played hooky, did not learn to read in school, was arrested a few times for minor charges that were dismissed, and was sent to a reformatory at 19 for passing false checks. "There he really learned to read for the first time and got a grammar school diploma."

Released on parole he got a \$45 job as truck helper, but was rearrested for failing to report twice. Having a "record," he was a likely candidate for cops looking for a conviction in the Bates case.

POLICE TORTURE

A "confession" was wrung from him in short order. Wertham was brought in to examine Pfeffer before the trial to determine how voluntary it was. This is what he learned:

"He was questioned by three detectives from about 7:30 p.m. to 5 a.m. 'They gave me a shelling on my face and body.' He said they squeezed his neck but what hurt especially was when they continuously tried to influence his answers by twisting his wrists with a 'twister,' or manacles."

"They threatened him with a rubber hose which they showed him but did not use. He said his mouth was so cut up from the punching he received that he could not eat properly for days afterwards."

"During his questioning, he told me, the detectives kept repeating, 'You know you did it!' Pfeffer said to me: 'I couldn't take it any more. I felt nauseated and confused and miserable. I just couldn't take it.' He said the 'reenactment of the crime' took place in a space alongside the police station. 'They opened the back of the car and said, 'Show me the lug wrench.' They said, 'that's the lug wrench you hit him with.' Finally Pfeffer broke down and 'confessed.' It seemed to me that pain and the fear of more pain to come made him do so."

NEVER READ CONFESSION

Wertham learned from Pfeffer that he had never even read the six-page "confession" he signed. "I asked him to repeat to me some of the sentences in the text; he could not do it."

Wertham became convinced that he "was beaten and fright-

ened into his confession and was innocent of the crime charged. His girl friend, who swore to what seemed a firm alibi for the night of the murder, said that she saw the evidences of police brutality on his face."

There were "some strange discrepancies" in the case. "The lug wrench — the alleged murder weapon — had no blood on it and was not chemically tested for blood. No money was found in the victim's wallet and yet nobody accused Pfeffer of having taken any. There were bloodstains on the victim's pants which were never explained. The medical examiner testified that Bates' skull showed the effect of 15 to 20 blows; Pfeffer's confession states he hit only two or three times." According to the confession Pfeffer hit the man from the left side of the car, yet that window was found closed and the door locked."

CONSIDERED "LUCKY"

But a confession goes a long way with American juries, and Pfeffer was considered to be lucky because he escaped the death sentence.

Pfeffer will probably be freed because Roche's confession "disposes of all discrepancies and supplies missing details which he could not possibly have known if he had not been at the scene of the slaying."

"But," asks Wertham, "what if Roche had not been arrested for another murder and confessed to this one? And what about the future defendants who will have their trials by violence in police stations?"

And what about present prisoners all over the United States — men and women with "records" or defenseless members of minority groups — who were not as lucky" as Paul Pfeffer after the police got hold of them?

The Pay Off

Insurance companies paid out \$30,000,000 to General Motors Corporation as a result of the fire that destroyed the plant at Livonia, Michigan in August, 1953. According to the N. Y. Herald Tribune of June 30, this is the largest single property claim in history. The fire which caused unemployment for thousands was the fault of inadequate protection by the company. Laid off workers received only unemployment compensation.

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