

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

MAY 31, 1954

FIVE CENTS

**THE NEW FELLOW TRAVELERS:
Whitewashing 'Friendly' Dictators**

... page 6

**In Defense of the 5th Amendment:
Heretics, Yes — Stoolpigeons, No**

... page 7

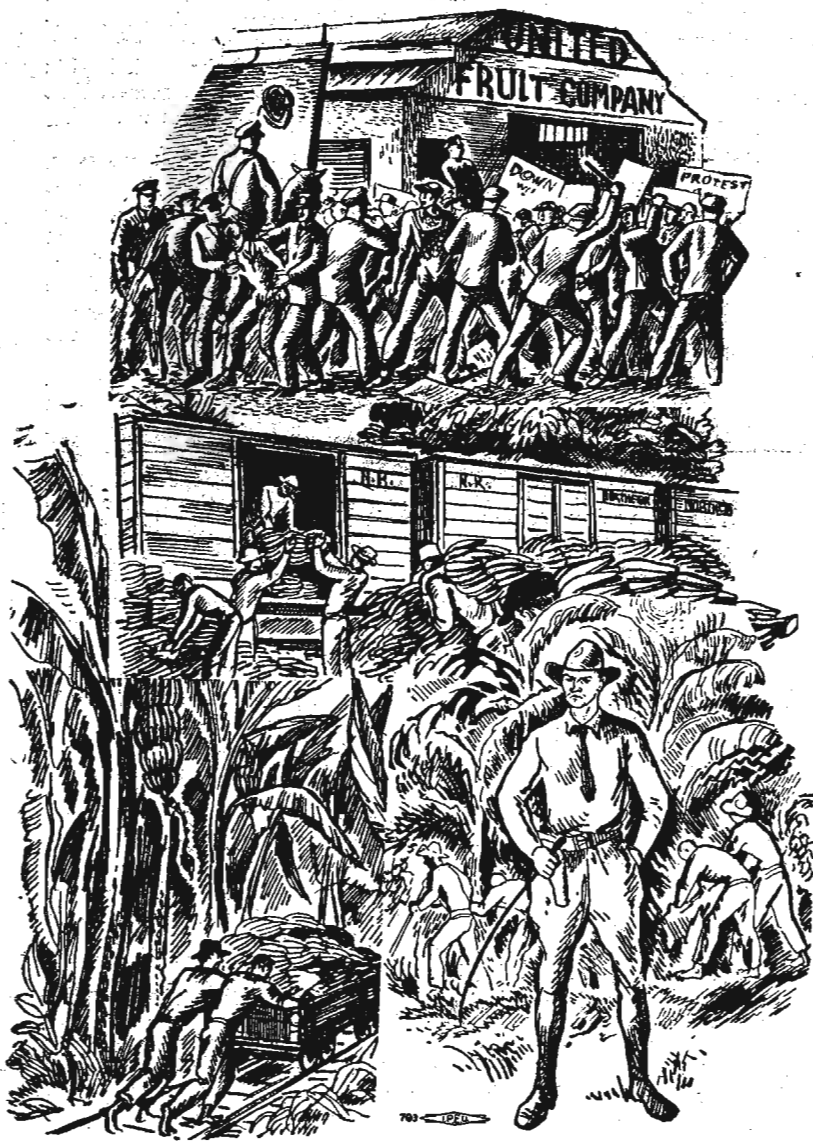
NMU Vote Tests Curran's Power

... page 2

THE CASE OF GUATEMALA: HOW TO PUSH A COUNTRY INTO THE ARMS OF STALINISM

The Fruit of Imperialism in Guatemala

By HAL DRAPER



With that fatality which inheres in U. S. foreign policy, in another place where Stalinist influence has obtained a foothold, Guatemala, Washington is doing its utmost to push the country deeper into the arms of the Stalinists.

Here in this "banana republic" dominated economically by the United Fruit Company, American economic imperialism is doing the job to grease the road for Stalinist influence which, in Indochina, was performed by French colonialism.

In the Americas as in Asia, Stalinism feeds on the crimes of imperialism and capitalism; it appeals to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist sentiments of the peoples. But this appeal which it is able to use for its own purposes is not merely "propaganda." It is also based on the truth.

In Guatemala the Arbenz regime, led by a social-reform party which has also accepted the Stalinist party into the government as a coalition partner, has dared to take steps against United Fruit, the chief foreign exploiter of Guatemalan labor and Guatemalan resources. A good part of the conflict hinges around this. On the one hand, the Arbenz government has leaned on Stalinist support in mobilizing resistance to the foreign exploiter. On the other hand, the Stalinists have utilized Guatemalan anti-imperialism in order to extend their own influence. And the U. S. has been trying to paint Guatemala as "Communist-dominated" as part of its own defense of imperialism.

This tug-of-war has not just started. It reached one climactic point at the Caracas Inter-American Conference where the U. S. sought to make "Communist infiltration" the main issue, twisting the arms of the Latin American delegates to get a majority vote for its resolution which was designed to lay the groundwork for possible intervention.

It has now reached another climax with the latest efforts of Washington to stir up a hue and cry about the "pro-Communist Guatemalan government" for buying arms from Czechoslovakia.

Even before the Caracas conference, there was common talk in the air about machinations by the State Department to use Honduras and Nicaragua, Guatemala's neighbors, as screens for intervention. The small Central American country which was the butt of these maneuvers was meanwhile cut off from all arms purchases. Denied any military supplies from the U. S. and embargoed by U. S. influence, the Guatemalan government exercised its sovereign right to purchase a shipload of arms from wherever it could get them—which was behind the Iron Curtain. In a blatant demonstration of "Yankee domination," Washington has had resort to open threats of force.

It is clear that this crude strong-arm stuff has consolidated all elements in Guatemala—right, left and Stalinist—behind the Arbenz regime.

BOOMERANG

Here is how American imperialism demonstrates its invaluable aid to the growth of Stalinism in the Americas:

"Washington's outcry over this country's [Guatemala's] purchase of arms from Communist sources in Europe appears to have boomeranged," writes Sydney Gruson, N. Y. Times correspondent who is now back in Guatemala after having been expelled from it. "It has achieved, for Guatemala, a greater degree of national unity than she has experienced in a long time."

"Newspapers," he continues, "that normally are in constant opposition have rallied to defend the government's action in buying what the State Department described as an 'important shipment of arms' from Communist-controlled territory. . . ." (May 21.)

On May 24, Gruson wrote again:

"The consensus here among Guatemalans and foreigners alike is that the United States has chosen the wrong issue in seeking a showdown with Guatemala over her purchase of arms behind the Iron Curtain.

"For most Guatemalans the issue has thrust far into the background the question of whether the government of President Jacobo Arbenz Guzman is influenced or dominated by a Communist party dedicate to Moscow's ends. Friends and foes of the administration have closed ranks in support of the government's position that it had not only the right but a duty to buy arms wherever it could after the United States had refused to sell arms.

"That this reaction should be shown so strongly by critics of the government has come as a shock to many Guatemalans who had been crying for many months for the United States to do something about the political situation have joined the great upsurge of nationalism that has released itself against the United States since the arms issue arose."

FEEDING STALINISM

If this was the "wrong issue," what was the "right" one? For, as we shall see, there is a way, a simple and obvious

(Turn to last page)

BEHIND THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEGREGATED EDUCATION New Social Forces Against Jim Crow

"The decision of the Supreme Court . . . is a welcome break in the procession of news over the front pages. With regard to civil rights, that is, issues of racial democracy, the tendency of the judiciary has been pretty steadily toward breaking down institutionalized racism. This is in sharp contrast with its tendency on civil liberties, that is, freedom of expression in its various forms. The picture is progress on the one and deepening reaction on the other. They have not gone hand in hand; on the contrary they have taken off in contrary directions. That picture is not new; it has been going on for some years, and it has been analyzed in our press from some basic points of view. It is well to point to it again." — Labor Action, June 15, 1953.

That sounds as if it might have been written with reference to the last thumping decision of the Supreme Court outlawing race-segregated education. In

point of fact, it referred (last year) to "the decision of the Supreme Court in June 8, upholding the validity of an old District of Columbia law requiring racial equality in Washington restaurants."

Our article on the Supreme Court decision last week left this question to be discussed: why has the political trend on these two aspects of democracy gone in diametrically opposite directions?

In the first place, what are the social and political reasons for the real inroads on the Jim Crow system which have been made by government and court action in the last decade and more?

Instead of writing a new article on the subject, we would like to highlight the fact that five-six years ago, our Independent Socialist press already analyzed the basic factors and trends in this movement, in terms which are even more important today than when they were written.

The section below consists of excerpts

from the ISL resolution on the Negro question of 1949.

THE WAR NEED

The lessening of Jim Crow as a practice was initiated after Pearl Harbor as a war measure.

In order to get out production it was imperative that the number of "hands" be increased for operations in the fields, mines, factories and forests. The one sure way to accomplish this was to hire Negroes, the very people who had for so many decades been virtually barred from industry, except for the heaviest, dirtiest, the lowest-paid and meanest tasks.

A further factor operating to assure the employing of Negroes was the low ebb of immigration. Not only was this due to the quota system but also to the fact that the potential European immigrants were engaged in the "war effort"

(Continued on page 2)

NMU Voting in Test Of Curran's Power

By BEN HALL

Over 18,000 ballots have been cast in the general elections of the National Maritime Union (CIO), which began on April 1 and end on June 15 when the votes will be tabulated by the Honest Ballot Association. It is a critical moment in NMU history.

Inside the union, an opposition group headed by National Secretary Neal Hanley and Vice-President Hulbert Warner have entered a slate of candidates for every office except president and seek to overturn the Curran regime while permitting him to continue in office; they openly accuse the present leadership of allowing the union to sink into the control of racketeering officials.

Outside, the NMU faces the ever-present rivalry of the AFL Seafarers International Union whose Atlantic District is headed by an ambitious man, Paul Hall. Hall's union, together with the AFL Teamsters Union, head the drive to oust the independent International Longshoremen's Association from the New York docks; if they succeed, and the longshoremen fall under the influence of the Teamsters and Seafarers, an ominous threat will hang over the NMU.

Dave Beck, president of the Teamsters, wants to sabotage any AFL-CIO non-raiding agreement; Hall can get ahead only by cutting into the NMU jurisdiction on the East Coast. A possibility is created of a powerful teamster-longshore-seafarers coalition against the NMU, which is the last strong outpost of the CIO on the waterfront.

CURRAN AND ILA

Curran was quick to notice this threat; while all AFL and CIO leaders backed the fight against ILA racketeers, Curran took a neutral stand. In fact, his opposition accuses him of holding secret meetings with ILA head Bradley.

To defend its position on the New York waterfront, the CIO needs an NMU whose membership feels that the union is theirs, that they have something to fight for. The NMU must be markedly different from its bureaucrat-ridden AFL rivals.

But in recent years the Curran regime in the NMU has been clamping its own machine control over the union. A brutal campaign of physical violence and dictatorial expulsions was organized by him in 1949 against critics who then controlled the New York section of the NMU. When these men (Keith, Lawrenson, Drummond) were expelled, a big blow was struck at union democracy.

Now a new group of critics arises, from among those who supported him in 1949. The Warner-Hanley caucus calls itself the NMU Membership Committee. If Curran succeeds in crushing and expelling them, it is hard to see how rank-and-file democracy can recover.

The Hanley-Warner NMU Membership Committee has published the first issue of a four-page tabloid newspaper to back their campaign; in fact, they summarize their accusations against the present leadership. Their chief charge accuses high union officials of participating in a union book-selling racket. Their story as published in their paper is as follows:

AGAINST A PROBE

Andrew Mele, a former NMU member, in a written confession now in the hands of the district attorney's office, admitted participating in the racket. He relates, in this confession, that he met New York Port Agent John Hunt in 1950 aboard the S.S. America. In 1951, Hunt told Mele that he could supply NMU books (and jobs) for \$50 each, except for Negroes and Puerto Ricans who would have to pay \$100.

In the next two years, over 100 books were sold. In 1952, the NMU had decided to issue 125 regular new books per month. Mele and Hunt saw the chance to make a killing. They decided to try to raise the ante to \$300 per book. Hunt said that he was involving other NMU officials, Joe Ramos, Barisic, and Harry Baker. Mele claims to have had meetings with NMU Vice-President Adrian Duffy to discuss the deal.

The racket blew up when the union stopped issuing membership books. Mele was left holding the bag; he had collected \$1,200 which he had turned over to Hunt. But the books were never issued. Hunt told Mele that he was broke and couldn't make restitution. When called before the grand jury, Hunt took refuge in the Fifth Amendment and refused to answer questions. Thus ends the Warner-Hanley account.

Meanwhile, all the accused NMU officials remain in office. No steps have been taken against them in the union; everything awaits the outcome of grand jury proceedings.

The Hanley-Warner group demands that the union start its own probe by the election of a rank-and-file investigating committee. One of the main demands in their platform reads: "Eliminate corruption and racketeering in our union wherever it exists; stop back-door-shipping; and rid the union of any and all grafters and chiselers."

The opposition claims, too, that the union attorney has been raking in excessive fees in handling legal cases for the union and for its members and in servicing the pension and welfare funds.

New Social Forces—

(Continued from page 1)

in their own countries, either in industry or on the battlefield. It was thus primarily the impertunity of the capitalist ruling class in the U. S. which gave the Negro his "opportunity" in industry...

A major contribution to this change in the customs of the country was the existence of the industrial union movement, the CIO. The vast bulk of wartime production took place in the plants under contract to the CIO. It was here that the great bulk of Negroes were organized.

COLD-WAR PRESSURE

Not only was the economic status of the Negro altered because of the demands of wartime production but also because the war which was being fought was heralded far and wide, to all the peoples of the earth, as a crusade against fascism. Implicit in this position, of course, was the rejection of "racism," of Jim Crow. Therefore, something had to be done to mitigate the lot of the Negro, to the end that this country could stand before the people of the world, most of whom are non-white, as a genuine practitioner of the democratic virtues.

These were the major considerations which actuated the capitalist ruling class in proclaiming their interests in "our Negro fellow citizens." When we say that these were the major considerations, we are mindful of the fact that the Negroes themselves and their friends among the liberals were of considerable weight in effecting what transformation there was. The March-on-Washington movement, although it never marched, nevertheless played a potent part in bringing about some change in the treatment dealt Negroes. That is to say that the bourgeoisie, as is so often the case, had to be shown where its interests lay and to be prodded into orienting itself in the proper way to protect its interests and achieve its aims in the war....

JIM CROW AND MILITANCY

Next to the Civil Rights Program, that which caused the greatest furor were the various decisions of the Supreme Court dealing with voting, travel and school attendance by Negroes.... These decisions have resulted in the increase in the number of Negro voters in the South. Not only are more Negroes voting but they are beginning here and there to announce as candidates for office. In the matter of travel the courts' decisions have resulted in better accommodations for Negroes and in legal equality in obtaining seats in interstate travel. In the matter of education the South has been forced to change its practices....

We emphasize the tremendous effect of even these limited changes on Negro life and the standard of living of the Negroes as a whole. The results are increased economic sustenance, a lowering of the illiteracy rate, a lower mortality rate and a general elevation of the cultural level.

Along with these developments comes greater independence and militancy. This, for the reason that Negroes, like any other

section of the masses, will learn how to demand more and expect more as they become better fed, housed, clothed. One should not expect the same militancy from a Negro toiler in the serpentine swamps of South Carolina as from a Negro automobile worker in Detroit....

One feature of the struggle of the Negroes for their democratic rights is the beginning of the elimination of chauvinism and chauvinistic practices from their own ranks. One hears less talk now from Negroes about "race-consciousness" and "race pride." More and more Negroes look upon themselves as "Americans" with the duties and responsibilities of Americans citizens. They also are more insistent in their rights as American citizens. This is unquestionably the result of the improved civil and economic status of Negroes. The biggest contribution to this end has been the activity of the CIO and the opportunities which have come to the Negro masses to become better integrated into the labor movement....

THE CIVIL-RIGHTS REPORT

The outstanding event in connection with Negro freedom and equality was the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights headed by Charles Wilson of the General Electric Co. [not to be confused with Defense Secretary Charles Wilson of GM—Ed.]. Coupled with this is the inclusion of the recommendations made in that report in the message of the president [Truman] to the 80th Congress....

Both the meaning of the Civil Rights Program and why it is being promoted at this time can be learned from a reading of the Report.

(1) The embarrassment which the U. S. faces in Europe on account of its democratic proclamations and its Jim Crow practices. This means that the prestige of the U. S. abroad will be placed in jeopardy, particularly with Russia seizing on every Jim Crow incident and the general Jim Crow in the country to discredit the U. S.

In this connection, of course, it is necessary to stress that the bourgeoisie and its government at Washington are anxious that there be no appreciable opposition to the war preparations with Russia, or any obstacles in the way of national unity when the third imperialist world war begins. It might prove very embarrassing to have the Negroes in the U. S. threatening to march on Washington, while the government is calling the world to the democratic struggle against reactionary and totalitarian Russia.

(2) The bourgeoisie in the U. S. wants a larger domestic market. This can only come from capitalist full employment. This means that people must have employment irrespective of race. For this reason the Civil Rights Report was directed mainly at the South. The Northern consumer-goods industrialists want to penetrate the Southern market of 21 millions. This market is composed predominantly of "poor whites" and Negroes.

(3) There are persons in the U. S., liberals, radicals, old-fashioned economic conservatives, who believe in "the American dream." These people are influential in the Negro's struggle for civil rights....

NOT A "FAKE"

... To argue that the civil-rights program is a "fake" because "Truman knows that it will not be passed," is not only an irrelevant argument but a very queer one. [The ISL] must begin and end its consideration of this civil-rights issue not with psychological treatment of Truman's mind, his motivations and quirks, but with an analysis of the situation in which capitalism finds itself today and what relation the recommendations in the report have to this situation. It is not without significance that the Committee was presided over by the president of the largest electrical manufacturing corporation in the world....

The above analysis from our resolution of 1949 adequately outlines the question to this day. In point of fact, we should also refer the reader to an important article on this question published in the *New Internationalist* for April 1948, which more fully discussed particularly the basic economic and international motivations for the anti-Jim-Crow drive: "Can Capitalism End Jim Crow?" by E. R. McKinney.

Douglas and Black Dissenting —

Alien Deported for Past CP Membership

As if to underline the point about the opposite tendencies of the Supreme Court on civil rights as against civil liberties [see front-page article on this question], the following two headlines appeared on page 1 of the N. Y. Times on May 25:

"Negroes Win New Victories in 6 High Court Bias Cases" — following up the great victory against race-segregated education; and—

"High Court Backs McCarran Act; Rules Ex-Red Alien Is Deportable."

The point about the latter decision was that the court upheld the constitutionality of the McCarran anti-alien act's clause which makes past membership in the Communist Party a ground for the deportation of an alien.

And this anti-democratic decision was not unanimous: the familiar and honorable minority of Justices Douglas and Black put in their dissent, as usual in such civil-liberties cases.

The specific case was that of Robert Norbert Galvan, a Mexican who has lived in this country since 1918, is married to a native-born American and is the father of four children born here.

Galvan quit the CP in 1948, two years before the McCarran Act was passed. He is now to be deported because he once

joined the CP, even though he is not now a CPer, and though the law under which he is to be deported was not in existence at the time that he joined and not even at the time that he quit!

Justice William O. Douglas' dissent said: "I cannot agree that because a man was once a Communist he must always carry the curse." Justice Black declared he was "unwilling to say that... this man may be driven from our land because he joined a political party that California and the nation then recognized as perfectly legal."

Galvan was only 6 years when he was brought to the U. S.

"The record submitted to the Supreme Court showed," reported the *Times* story, "that Mr. Galvan had joined, at the urging of leaders of the labor union to which he belonged, an organization known as the Communist Political Association. This was in 1944 and at that time the Communist Party in this country had been dissolved."

The "Communist Political Association" was the name adopted by the CP during its "super-patriotic" period when Russia was the "grand ally" of the United States and all was sweetness and light in the relations between the Stalinists and the authorities. While of course the es-

sentia nature of the CP was not changed thereby, the fact underlies the irony of the situation of a man who (according to the record, and quite likely too) joined the organization at a time when an "innocent" could have good cause to be entirely ignorant of the nature of the Stalinist movement.

The anti-alien deportation provisions adopted in the McCarran Act in the course of the witchhunt would be a disgrace to the principles of democracy even if the specific case was that of a current CP member without the particular circumstances of Galvan's situation. But the Galvan case peculiarly emphasizes the police-state role of the law.

Justice Frankfurter who, in other civil-liberties cases, has often taken an ambiguous stand between the Douglas-Black minority and the majority, this time plumped for the right wing, writing, the decision himself. The decision (as far as we can gather from the skimpy press report) merely confined itself to arguing that Congress had full power to deal with aliens.

A Labor Action sub is \$2 a year
Get it EVERY week!

Get All Your Books from
LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE
114 West 14 Street, New York City

LONDON LETTER

Labor Gains in Elections

By DAVID ALEXANDER

LONDON, May 19 — The right-wing newspapers have decently tucked away into columns of obscure notice the Labor Party's considerable successes in local municipal elections last week.

The Labor Party gained 544 seats and lost only 34, while the Tories won 60 and lost 446, in elections in 395 boroughs.

It is noteworthy too that so-called "Independents"—usually a mixed bag of Tories—gained 30 seats and lost 155. The Labor Party gained control of councils at Northampton, Stockport, Loughborough, Ipswich, Stafford, Walsall, Basinstoke, Chard, Hyde and York.

The Tories gained control of three small towns, Congleton, Wokingham and Clitheroe.

At 2:30 a.m. in the morning a weary press officer at the Conservative Central Office stated "the seats contested in this year's borough elections were those last fought in the Conservatives' peak year of 1951. In spite of the number of seats which the Socialists have won, the results, compared with last year in change of control of councils, show no significant alteration."

The Labor Party has real cause to be pleased. In spite of the public altercations between Morrison and the Bevanites, and the improved economic position according to the Tories, the people of England do not want the right wing to run their local affairs.

I would point out, however, that these local elections represent only a fraction of all the seats on councils in England, although there is no reason to believe that they are not a representative sample.

GAG RULE

Last night the Executive of the Labor Party met to discuss the relations between different viewpoints in the party. The Executive has for a long time been worrying about Bevanite influence in the Labor movement.

At this point it is particularly concerned because the Bevanites have gained great support in their campaign against German rearmament from three large trade unions (previously reported). I think it is also fair to say that the large majority of articulate members of the Labor Party support the Bevanites on this issue. In other circles, largely for reactionary reasons, the tide is also flowing in Bevan's favor.

The Bevanites count among their ranks some very dynamic personalities and good speakers, like Bevan himself, Tom Driberg, Michael Foot, and many others. The support which they have in the constituency Labor Parties, represented by their 6 seats on the Executive, is in terms of political influence much greater than the 21 seats held by the right wing.

Attlee, Morrison and Phillips have therefore decided to try to silence the Bevanite members of the Executive. They passed a resolution last night that "Decisions arrived at by a majority vote are binding upon the National Executive Committee unless otherwise decided by the National Executive Committee itself. Any infringement of this rule shall be dealt with at the next subsequent meeting."

It was typical of the compromise attitude so characteristic of the Labor Party that it allowed the escape clause "unless otherwise decided by the National Executive Committee itself." This was to allow members of the NEC to vote according to their conscience in certain

cases. It was envisaged that this applied to issues like pacifism, field sports and teetotaling, which bore little relation to fundamental political change.

The Executive of the Labor Party is in a very difficult position. In order to be an effective political force, it must act collectively. In this sense, its resolution is well based. On the other hand, being a party of a wide spectrum of opinion, it has members who feel strong convictions at times opposed to the majority. This represents a fundamental problem of the Labor Party, which can only be resolved by strict discipline imposed by the majority faction.

When I saw Clement Attlee accompanying the Duke of Gloucester on his way to welcoming the queen on her return to Britain, I had the feeling that the right wing of the Labor Party has much more in common with the Tories than the left wing has with Marxism. I cannot imagine Keir Hardie, the first Labor MP, going out on a special barge to greet the queen. I don't suppose even Mr. Attlee can.

EMBARRASSING QUESTION

The Battle of Coventry is proceeding with unexciting inevitability. Some weeks ago, the Coventry Council decided that civil defense against the atomic bomb was a waste of time. It abandoned its training and recruiting.

An irate home secretary, fearing that other councils might follow suit, ordered the council to proceed with its preparations for civil defense. The council refused. The minister sent it a second letter. The Council of Coventry agreed to organize Civil Defense if it could be shown to be of any practical use against the atomic bomb.

So far the home secretary has not replied to the Council's letter, so it has sent a deputation to wait on the minister for further information.

By CARL CRAIG

PHILADELPHIA, May 18—Panel discussions on the government's loyalty programs, the current congressional hearings and other related topics drew an attendance of over 400 persons to a conference and dinner held recently under the auspices of the Philadelphia branch of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., prominent attorney and national vice-president of Americans for Democratic Action, made the forthright statement that we would be better off without a loyalty program at all rather than have the present program with its inequities and cruelties invoked against the accused. He made it clear that his criticism was not only aimed at the Eisenhower program but also held for the Truman program—something which isn't often stated by liberals today.

He stated during the question period that he would be in favor of a limited program which would only relate to truly sensitive jobs. Under his proposed plan only members of the Communist Party would be barred from these jobs on the premise that such individuals could not be trusted with any of the nation's secrets. If the government had a case against them, it would be settled in court, not before any administrative tribunal.

This point of view was criticized by another attorney on the panel, William Rahill, who considered as too rigid Rauh's premise that a Communist could not be trusted. His point was that one simply couldn't say that every Communist would betray America's secrets.

SCRAP IT, THEY SAY

The main impression conveyed by this panel was that the entire loyalty program has to be scrapped and that it couldn't be amended despite Rauh's introduction of the very limited loyalty program.

A spirited defense of the use of the Fifth Amendment was made by speakers

at the panel on congressional hearings. This was in marked contrast to the attitude of a speaker like Patrick Malin, executive director of ACLU, who stated in a gathering in Philadelphia that a real man who has nothing to fear would stand up, refuse to invoke the Fifth Amendment, and take the consequences, etc.

There is no doubt that the recent round of House Un-American Committee hearings throughout the country on subversive activities in the schools, plus Senator McCarthy's hearings, contributed to this aggressive attitude on the part of the speakers at the panel on congressional hearings. It must be remembered that individuals who wanted to be candid and fearless and who avoided invoking the Fifth Amendment and answered all questions, but who balked at informing on others, were gleefully pounced upon and cited for contempt. Thus it will be understood why the speakers at the panel went into great detail on the necessity for invoking the Fifth Amendment as early as possible.

One of the chief faults of the conference was that the audience's role was confined to asking questions after the panel speakers were through with their presentations. No opportunities were afforded for discussion or introduction of resolutions, and no votes could be taken on policy matters.

The Philadelphia branch now boasts a membership of 2000. What is earnestly needed is a democratization of an organization which is now more or less a lawyers' committee with a passive, non-participating membership.

One of the interesting sidelights which gave the conference an air of grim realism was the presence in the audience of many school teachers, recently fired for invoking the Fifth Amendment. Also present in the audience were several of the secondary leaders of the CP, now on trial under the Smith Act in the federal courts in this city.

IN DEFENSE OF A COLONIAL PEOPLE—

An Appeal for Justice to Puerto Ricans

Following is the text of the "Statement of Purpose" of the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans, which we publish as information for our readers.—Ed.

The shooting of several congressmen in the House of Representatives on March 1 was deplorable by reason of the damage done by this act to those who carried it out as well as to their victims.

It is evidence of the good sense and decency of the American people that, despite the shock of the event, they have on the whole met the incident calmly and that there has been little if any disposition to condemn the Puerto Rican people as a whole or to stir up suspicion or animosity against Puerto Ricans on the mainland. The American people generally seem to respond with the simple query: What are the facts? What is behind all this?

Nevertheless, the consequences of the incident may prove to be such that this becomes one of the most unfortunate occurrences in the history of our time. It was in a context of continual crisis, tension and hysteria that the shootings in Washington took place. There are already indications that in the present case resort may be had to measures which, even when not flagrantly illegal, endanger freedom. Such measures tend further to undermine the native sanity of the people, to stir up hysteria, to divert attention from measures to remedy the economic and political evils which drive people to desperate measures, and to break down the already weakened defenses against repression of minority thought and action.

Thus an effort to deepen the atmosphere of fright by linking the Nationalist Party, P. R., with the Communist Party is being made. In Puerto Rico both Nationalists and Communists are rounded up in the avowed effort to build a case for "conspiracy" under the island version of the notorious Smith Act. The round-up of Puerto Ricans in New York may well be a prelude to the attempt to construct a sensational Smith Act case here.

There is, in other words, danger that in natural recoil against the violence en-

acted in Washington, which we do not condone, sight is lost of the violence involved in any situation where, as in Puerto Rico, people are subjected to military conscription, the regulation of their foreign relations and trade and other measures, in making which they have no vote whatever.

There is danger, furthermore, that a sporadic outbreak of violence will be met by wholesale violence which will aggravate rather than resolve the situation. The real and greatest danger the American people confront is that a totalitarian regime will develop similar to the Spanish or Russian, in which multitudes of Americans land in concentration camps. It is because, despite all that might be said about the devotion to their ideal and the heroism of those who precipitated the Washington incident, that incident may have contributed to such tragic tendencies that it must be characterized as unfortunate in the extreme.

AIMS OF COMMITTEE

We as American citizens who deplore the Washington incident and who in taking the present step are making no commitment to the program of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, or other parties and political programs, have set up a Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans.

In taking this step our chief motives are to satisfy the evident desire of large numbers of Americans for information as to the background of the Washington incident and to prevent, in so far as possible, the use of the incident as base or disguise for attack on the liberties of Americans and of Puerto Ricans.

Specifically, the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans aims:

(1) To seek to prevent violation of civil rights and all efforts to deepen the atmosphere of hysteria and to extend a regime of repression. The uprising in Puerto Rico and subsequent shootings before the Blair House in 1950, e.g., led to gross violations of civil liberties. In Puerto Rico, some 2,000 Nationalists and their sympathizers were arrested, including individuals who were neither participants in the uprising nor members of the Nationalist Party. In the United States, police raided and searched about

200 homes of alleged Nationalists without warrants. Julio Pinto Gandia, principal Nationalist spokesman in the United States, was held by the Secret Service for fourteen days incommunicado in the Federal building in New York City, during which time he was severely beaten and shortly afterward arrested and confined in the Tombs Prison for about six weeks without an indictment.

Such practices must not be permitted to recur. It is the responsibility of every American to prevent the general abridgment of civil rights in the United States by seeing to it that the liberties of all are respected.

(2) To provide information about the history and economic and political conditions of Puerto Rico and about its political parties and movements including the Nationalist Party.

(3) To aid in securing the best possible defense under U. S. law of the Washington defendants and related cases which may e.g. result from the arrests in Puerto Rico and the round-up of witnesses for the Grand Jury in New York; and to help provide relief, if need should arise, for dependents of such defendants.

(4) To raise and administer funds to enable the carrying out of the above purposes.

It is our hope that many of our fellow-citizens will desire, at this critical moment, to support the work of the Committee for Justice to Puerto Ricans so that it may render what we believe is a genuine, albeit difficult, public service.

Sidney Abernethy, Duncan Brackin, David Dellinger, Julius Eichel (Treasurer), Seymour Eichel, Royal W. France, Waldo Frank, Richard Gillies, Paul Jacobs, Rev. John Padl Jones, Roy Kepler, Sid Lens, Philip MacDougall, Norman Mailer, Chester Mannes, Isabel Monroe, Rev. A. J. Muste, Roger O'Neil, Rev. George Lyman Paine, Bayard Rustin, Rev. Robert Tapp, Arlo Tatum, Rev. Ralph Templin, Harold Wurf.

Don't miss a single week of LABOR ACTION A sub is only \$2.00 a year!

World History—Year by Year

The bound volumes of LABOR ACTION

are an invaluable record of the social and political issues of our day, and a socialist education in themselves. Completely indexed from 1949 on.

1950-52.....\$3 per vol.

Bound volumes of LA are also available back to, and including, 1942, at somewhat higher prices depending on the year. Prices on request. A complete set of bound volumes for the 11 years from 1942 to 1952 is available for \$40.

Independent Socialist Press
114 West 14 Street, New York City

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor

A Correspondent Reports on Sidney Hook's Latest Lucubrations

To the Editor:

I hasten to bring you up to date on Sidney Hook, that ideal type—to speak in the appropriate sociological terms—whom Aristotle used to refer to in his lectures, not without guile, as the *protosoon politikon*.

Hook has once again saved what we fear is an ungrateful nation in a lecture given May 16 at the New School for Social Research in New York City, under the auspices of the Conference on Methods in Philosophy and the Sciences.

We last heard Hook two years ago at this same series of lectures. At that time he distinguished himself as one of the great unconscious comedians (graduate-faculty level) of the academic world, a world in which the competition is keen, the field large, and the race not always to the philosophy department.

He began by falling asleep and snoring abandonedly during a lecture on psychoanalysis, giving thereby a fine demonstration to his tittering confreres of the platitude that education is a reciprocal process. For just as Hook's students have learned from him in his classes, so had he obviously picked up a thing or two from them.

He ended by attacking psychoanalysis in the question period, saying that it was like Christian Science, that it was patronized by women, that he disagreed with it, and that he didn't know much about it. The well-known psychoanalyst Gregory Zilboorg, with enormous wit, gusto, and polemical finesse, then proceeded to mop the floor with Hook. It was a heart-warming catastrophe.

JUST AN OLD THING

In this year's series Hook was scheduled to read a paper titled "Historical Determinism and Human Freedom." Since Hook is by way of being a specialist on those abstractions like Freedom, Justice, Law, etc., normally found chiseled around the entablature of county courthouses all over the country but currently forming a basic part of Hook's intellectual equipment, and since he would presumably be awake while delivering the paper, we rejoiced in being able to go hear him after a hard winter of his writings alone—much as the medieval peasant, or at least his poetical spokesman, rejoiced on hearing the first cuckoo in spring.

Hook began by noting that he did not have a new, an original paper, to present to the conference—just a little old thing reflecting his experiences with European intellectuals over the past five years. It was, he said, a paper he had read recently to groups of intellectuals abroad in the course of his owner-operator variety of ambassadorial trips to Europe, and he thought it would do.

His paper—Hook remarked with neither anger nor *thaumadzein*, "the surprised wonder at everything that is as it is" which lies at the beginning of all philosophy, according to Plato, Aristotle, and Hannah Arendt—was met with general indignation in Europe.

"MARXISTS" ALL

This reception is explainable, according to Hook, by the fact that vulgar Marxism of the type which flourished in this country in the thirties has triumphed

in the thinking of European intellectuals. French existentialists call themselves Marxists. So do followers of Croce in Italy. In fact, said Hook, a person cannot even gain the ear of European intellectuals unless he puts himself forward as a Marxist.

Never a man to boggle over a quibble, Hook so announced himself. He soon gave it up, however, for, Hook said, it put him in the ludicrous position of being the only genuine Marxist left in the world. A further reason for giving it up, we suspect, was the fact that European intellectuals are, in Hamlet's words, fully able to tell a Hook from a handsaw. They know that government circles in this country are full of Marxists of the Hook stripe—without causing a single capillary in McCarthy's skull to dilate.

So far as we are concerned, these observations on the temper of the thinking of the European intellectual were the only interesting part of Hook's presentation. They corroborated from a point of view alien to our own what the ISL has consistently maintained since its founding—that capitalism, domestic or foreign, has almost no attractive force for the mass of European workers and intellectuals, difficult as that may be for the intellectual happily situated in the United States to assimilate. Under the present political constellation of forces in Europe any approach which does not take anti-capitalism as its point of departure only strengthens Stalinism, which, whatever else it may be, is anti-capitalist.

VULGARIZATION

Hook's pretentiously titled paper reduced itself to a shallow attack on Marxism. In it Hook addressed himself mainly to the primary role which Marx ascribed to the economic structure of society in the determination of the basic political, social, and cultural conditions at any given time.

This approach represents, of course, a vulgarization of Marx, who spoke of the *materialist* interpretation of history. This is a broader, more subtle concept, the proper exposition of which would have precluded Hook's making several points concerning the underestimation by Marx of the independent role of ideas in history. But Hook can be met on the terrain he selected and we propose to do so.

Absolutely basic for Hook's point of view is the destruction of the concept of the central importance in history of economic factors. For if capitalism is not destroying itself through the working out of immanent economic contradictions then room is left for alternatives to the decline of capitalism other than some form of a collectivist society.

In the present period there are for Hook no final factors, no last explicative resorts, a point of view contradictory to that expressed elsewhere in his lecture, incidentally. He is, however, willing to admit the dominant role played by economic factors in the 19th century. This does not, however, lead him to an examination of the massive economic analysis of capitalism which Marx's *Capital* comprises either in terms of its validity in Marx's day or in terms of its applicability today.

Such an examination would seem to be a rudimentary polemical obligation, not only in view of the stunningly verified predictions both Marx and Engels made on the basis of their approach—insights which not one of their contemporaries possessed—but also because of the later historic intervention by the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky, all of whom operated on the basis

of the Marxist doctrine, including the predominant role played by economic factors.

UNDERSTANDING POLITICS

In the 20th century, however, the political became the predominant factor, according to Hook. In any meaningful sense this is untrue.

It would be of some minor interest in the field of the sociology of sociologists to witness Hook's attempt to prove, for example, that England's temporizing role in world affairs today is a product of some mysterious shift to a primacy of politics rather than its being a product of a politics of debility flowing from a quantitatively and qualitatively inferior factory system on a national scale.

Hardly anything concerning France's policy in regard to Indochina, Germany, Russia, and her internal regime can be understood without reference to even more brutal economic facts.

For Hook, nationalist sentiment is not predominantly determined by economic factors. What does lie behind it, Hook did not specify. It would, again, be a minor bit of academic curiosa to see how Hook would explain the feverish economic expansion which took place following Bismarck's consolidation of Germany, or that which followed the Meiji restoration in Japan. The same applies to the more recent attempts of colonial countries like India which have managed to shake off their imperialist rulers and are bending every effort to lay down the industrial basis which they consider indispensable for the development of their country.

Hook remained studiously abstract in his analyses. He was almost never concrete, nor did he ever reduce the problem to the case of the individual worker or peasant involved. He was much more at home dilating on the lapses of Marxist monism: that it cannot explain why capitalism had to arise from feudalism, that implicit in it is the belief that the universe is impelled by cosmic design, that it expected the revolution to come first in advanced countries and not in backward Russia, that economic development inevitably throws up the men the times require, and so on, tediously.

DEMONOLOGY

These are questions of some theoretical interest, and we are sure that when Hook blazes away over the faculty tea-cups not a few innocents fall stone dead, their eyes glazed by the revelations of this envoy from The Real World. But for hundreds of millions of desperately poor people throughout the world this sort of hypotheating and evasion has not the slightest interest.

War, said Hook, again without development or concretization, is not an inevitable outcome of the economic laws under which capitalism operates. Perhaps . . . but how difficult it must be to explain this currently to the Indo-Chinese or Malayan peasant who has witnessed the systematic exploitation of his country by the English, French, or Japanese, has observed the failure to industrialize his country on the part of the imperialist ruler, and is now a victim of warfare whose aim is the retention of his prior servitude.

It is also untrue, said the incredible Hook—and again without the slightest analysis—that capitalism must expand or die if foreign markets are denied it. This he blandly asserted in the face of the recent object lesson of the British austerity program which was caused, among other things, by Britain's inability to compete on the world market. How, without slipping into demonology, would Hook, we wonder, explain the Hitler phenomenon?

THE "UNSPEAKABLE"

In trying to tie together this whole rickety schema Hook said that no one theory of history has been established. The best that can be done is to stick to analysis of single events. After enough of such events have been studied perhaps generalizations can be made. A feeling of humility, said Hook, the humility specialist, is the one most appropriate for a historian.

A simple question from the floor exposed the shakiness of Hook's critical structure. How, the questioner asked, is the success of vulgar Marxism in Europe to be explained?

The Unspeakable had been spoken.

The whole edifice, erected by means of nothing but the most modern, domestically fabricated philosophical tools, began to totter.

Hook rushed forward to prop it up. The question, he said, is a very complicated one . . . it is, in fact, one for sociologists to consider . . . the success of vulgar Marxism arose out of the war . . . out of a feeling that anti-Marxism was not enough . . . out of a feeling of desperation. Hook sat down.

Vulgar Marxism, by which we infer that Hook means mainly Stalinism, may not provide an answer to all the problems of historiography and philosophy, or provide them in a humane context, but in the world of living human beings it is guaranteed to win if all that is counterposed to it is a capitalism which exists nowhere except in Hook's own head. Only a genuinely democratic socialist movement can undermine Stalinism.

IT'S A HANGOVER

There was a time, twenty years ago, when Hook understood this as well as the next person. And it is probably with memories in mind of the Hook who used to write for V. F. Calverton's excellent *Modern Monthly* and who wrote two good books *Toward the Understanding of Karl Marx* and *From Hegel to Marx*, that many of us pay any attention to him at all. After all, more than one of us was aided in the elaboration of an anti-Stalinist Marxist position through his writings.

We must feel somewhere that he really knows better, or that there is something in his argumentation that we are not really getting. Otherwise, how explain our attention to the drivel of which this recent lecture is a fair sample?

Time, which is not always a tyrant, prevented Hook from giving the second half of his paper dealing with the subject of Values in History.

We suggest that a good place for Hook to extemporize upon that subject would be at some future faculty tea. There all questions can be answered with the same responsiveness and absence of content with which one replies to the polite question, "Lemon or milk, Dr. Hook?"

James M. FENWICK

READ ABOUT SOCIALISM

The Fight for Socialism . . . cloth \$2
paper \$1
by Max Shachtman

Socialism: the Hope of Humanity10
by Max Shachtman

Marxism in the U. S.35
by Leon Trotsky

Plenty for All: The Meaning of Socialism25
by Ernest Erber

The Principles and Program of Independent Socialism10
(LA Special Issue)

Independent Socialist Press
114 West 14 Street, New York City

A great thinker
on the problems of
American socialism—

Marxism in the
United States
by LEON TROTSKY

35 cents Order from:
Independent Socialist Press
114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.



LABOR ACTION

May 31, 1954 Vol. 18, No. 22

Published weekly by Labor Action Publishing Company, 114 West 14 Street, New York 11, N. Y.—Telephone: WATkins 4-4222—Re-entered as second-class matter May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1874.—Subscriptions: \$2 a year; \$1 for 6 months (\$2.25 and \$1.15 for Canadian and Foreign).—Opinions and policies expressed in signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the views of Labor Action, which are given in editorial statements.

Editor: HAL DRAPER
Asst. Ed.: GORDON HASKELL,
BEN HALL
Business Mgr.: L. G. SMITH

BOOKS RECEIVED

Received from New American Library, publishers of Mentor and Signet pocket books, publication date May 21:

Marquis Childs & Douglas Cater: *Ethics in a Business Society*, Mentor, 35¢. Joseph Gaer: *How the Great Religions Began*, Signet Key, 25¢. Jack London: *Smoke Bellew*, Signet, 25¢. Richard Wright: *The Outsider*, Signet Giant, 35¢. Homer: *The Iliad*, trans. by W. H. D. Rouse, Mentor, 50¢. Walter Ross: *Diet to Suit Yourself*, Signet Key, 25¢. Robert Hazel: *The Lost Year*, Signet, 25¢. Cesare Pavese: *The Moon and the Bonfires*, Signet, 25¢. Georges Simeon: *Belle*, Signet, 25¢.

A DISCUSSION ARTICLE— A-Bombs and Socialist Policy

By MICHAEL HARRINGTON

In the recent period of the cold war, cooperation between socialists and war-resisters has increased. Faced with the common problem of the evil of a third world war, close cooperation on specific issues has been both possible and fruitful. I think the time has now come for non-pacifist socialists to re-examine some of their thinking in the light of the experience.

Specifically, I refer to the traditional socialist position that it is the political character of a war which determines the question of support or non-support. In this context of argument, there was no room for a categorical rejection of violence or war. Each case was to be taken on its own merits.

Yet modern war has changed this situation. For we now face a situation in which an entire technology of violence is ALWAYS politically reactionary. Therefore, in the very terms of the socialist argument, a categorical rejection of this technology is not only possible but necessary.

I refer, of course, to the use of atomic weapons for strategic bombing.

Atomic weapons are not "just another" means of violence. Those who compare them with the bow and arrow, or the introduction of gunpowder, could just as well maintain that there was no qualitative difference between the discovery of the wheel and the invention of the diesel. The contrary is true. Atomic weapons represent a decisive break with all past methods of warfare, a break whose political character is inevitably reactionary.

The reason for this is inherent in the nature of strategic atomic bombing. An atomic bomb cannot be directed by one class against another. It cannot be directed by one nation against another. It has only one target: mankind, indiscriminately and absolutely.

In the past, say at the turn of the century, or even in Spain in 1937, one could imagine an army approaching a city and coupling its drive with a political offensive. The people of the city would be told that the war was not directed against them but against their ruling class. They could even be asked to join in the struggle by resisting from within the camp of the enemy. And this, a politically progressive war, was what was meant by the traditional socialist position.

TOTAL REJECTION

But what can you say to a populace when you drop a hydrogen bomb on them?

The very act of dropping such a bomb would be so total an act of destruction as to belie any political statement. Could, for instance, a socialist government "liberate" an occupied people through atomic weapons? The old-fashioned, only moderately indiscriminate destruction of strategic bombing in World War II made enemies for the Allies in France. The people were justified in regarding their own death as a rather curious form of liberation. But this would be all the more true, infinitely truer, in the case of atomic strategic bombing.

But what of the use of such weapons in defense of democracy?

The problem here is that in order to "defend" democracy through atomic weapons, you run the risk, if not the certitude, that the democratic nation itself will be subjected to atomic attack. And what will be preserved through such a defense? Political democracy? Perhaps, but it would exist within the shell of the cities and among the small band of the survivors.

But more than this: for with the use of atomic weapons, the impossibility of socialism itself is posed.

Historians, like Werner Sombart, long argued that there was a dynamic, progressive force in the development of capitalism which led to the creation and centralization of production. This point

This article by Comrade Harrington, who is a member of the National Executive Committee of the YSL, opens a discussion on certain aspects of the specific application of the anti-war socialist position in the light of modern technology and weapons.

The views of this article are those of the author only, but a resolution embodying these views will be presented to the NEC of the YSL at its meeting this summer. Comrades and friends are invited to comment on the article.

—Ed. Challenge

of view has been challenged by John U. Nef in his *War and Human Progress*. But whatever the value of this thesis in the past, the exact opposite is now true.

Socialism requires for its existence the previous existence of a certain level of production and technology. Whatever the possibilities for the socialist movements of backward countries in a world which includes advanced nations, global backwardness is the impossibility of socialism. And regional backwardness, if not the impossibility of socialism, places tremendous difficulties in our way.

Yet atomic weapons open up precisely the possibility of a global backwardness created by man himself. The radius of radioactivity in a hydrogen bomb is close to two hundred miles. The effectiveness of radioactivity in the case of a cobalt bomb is for years. With one hundred well-placed bombs, the bulk of American production could be interdicted—and the possibility of socialism as well.

Therefore, it is my contention that a political analysis of strategic atomic-war technology leads to the conclusion that it can never be politically progressive; that we are faced, not with bow and arrow, but an objectively qualitative break in the history of war demanding a rethinking of all old positions. To take such a position does not necessarily mean that one is a conscientious objector. For this analysis is proper within the structure of the non-pacifist attitude on war. More, it is the necessary conclusion for all socialists: that we reject the strategic use of atomic weapons at all times and under all circumstances.

YSL National Educational Conference

There will be a National Educational Conference of the YSL on the weekend of June 26-27 in New York City. The conference was originally scheduled to take place jointly with the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the League. However the NEC meeting has been postponed to a later date this summer.

The two-day conference, to which friends of the YSL are cordially invited, will take place at Labor Action Hall at 114 West 14 Street, beginning on Saturday, June 26 at 10 a.m. The conference will be a systematic discussion of problems of socialist politics.

The conference is divided into four major panels:

(1) COLONIALISM—with special emphasis on Indochina, with Max Martin, national chairman of the YSL, as the speaker.

(2) THE WAR QUESTION—with Bogdan Denitch, editor of *Challenge*, speaking.

(3) POLITICAL ACTION—involving a discussion of trade-union political activity, the role of the two major parties and the perspectives for a labor party. Sam Taylor, member of the YSL NEC, speaking.

(4) THE ROLE OF SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION—led by a panel of speakers.

Each session will provide ample time for general discussion. Bibliographies and other useful material have been prepared by the YSL National Office and are available to all interested in attending the conference.

Registration for all sessions of the conference is \$1, and the cost includes relevant documents and pamphlets.

All members and friends of the YSL are urged to make a special effort to attend this conference.

For further information, write to the YSL National Office at 114 West 14 Street, New York City.

Zoot-Suit Youth in Russia: Stigmata of a Ruling Class

By BOGDAN DENITCH

The N. Y. *Post*—whose editor boasts that he has successfully combined liberalism and sex-sensationalism—recently carried two very interesting articles on Russian youth. The articles dealt with two phenomena, long familiar in the U. S., which are apparently now causing considerable worry to the official purveyors of morality in the USSR. *Trud*, the organ of the trade unions in the USSR, carried accounts of eall-girls and "zoot-suiters" as well as a series of articles deploring the increase in drunkenness among youth.

The articles are particularly interesting because they help give us an insight into the growing rigidity of class stratification in Russia—and because they make possible an educated guess as to the tendency of the children of the bureaucracy, that is, tomorrow's ruling class in Russia, not only to accept the class privileges they receive but their lack of any radical or "socialist" rationalization for their status. In other words: while the present members of the ruling bureaucracy might, to one extent or another, still consider themselves to be "Marxists" or "Communists," their children are developing the characteristics of a ruling class without such illusions.

BUREAUCRATS' CHILDREN

The *Post* article almost gets the point: "What disturbs the regime most of all is that this increase in the gay life hits at the very fiber of the society which was built with such care and calculation—the higher-income brackets.

"One night recently, a score of Russian young men and women were arrested by the militia in the midst of a drunken brawl.

"And as they were marched away to the militia station what did one hear but the half afraid, half belligerent threats so familiar to every cop in the rich suburbs of any country: 'You can't do this to me; my father is a professor . . . Or a colonel, or a Hero of the Soviet Union. . . .

"But as every youth finds out sooner or later, drinking liquor, patronizing off-beat tailors and dancing in night clubs requires a few bucks or rubles as the

case may be. And these youth apparently have it to burn.

"A breakdown study of zoot-suiters recently arrested has shown they usually came from homes where both mother and father were career workers in the party. . . ."

While the Stalinists and their apologists will dismiss the evidence that the Stalinist bureaucracy is a ruling class, tomorrow's bureaucrats don't. But since their past—they have grown up within an already bureaucratized Russia—is void of even the pretense of socialist idealism, they are more open in their demands that they enjoy frankly the normal privileges of a ruling class. Thus the gulf between the working-class youth and the children of the bureaucracy, constantly widened by the trends in Russian education, increases. For if the children of the bureaucracy have no illusions about their class status, how could the workers have any?

The reason why this trend is so disturbing to the Stalinist ruling class should be obvious. Stalinism not only uses the language of revolutionary Marxism but it gains support—outside of the Russian bloc, to be sure—on the basis of the fact that its pretensions are taken at face value by far too many workers. But what when the bureaucracy ceases to pretend?

YSL FUND DRIVE— 55 Per Cent In, but Keep the Steam Up!

By SCOTT ARDEN
YSL National Secretary

With less than six weeks left to go in the YSL Fund Drive, we find ourselves a little uneasy. A glance at the score will show why. To be really safe we should have at least 65 per cent of the total quota filled by now; instead we have only 55 per cent.

Chicago, New York, and "At Large," in that order, are on the "safe side"—but others, most notably our California units, aren't by a long shot. Berkeley is still competing with Boston for low place, which we hope will soon be remedied.

All units, and all members-at-large, must get busy—and without delay. June 30 is not as far off as it may seem, and if the drive is not successfully completed we will be in serious trouble. The \$827.50 that has been collected is a long way off from the \$1500 that we need.

Even if you're not a YSL member you have a very real stake in this Fund Drive. The *Young Socialist Challenge* is the only printed socialist youth weekly publication in the United States today. The YSL stands alone as the only nationwide socialist youth organization of any significance. Whatever your reason may be for not standing with us, in the YSL, we call upon you to help make it possible for us to continue to stand. You can, and should, contribute as generously as possible.

Parenthetically, we want to thank the Cleveland Branch of the Independent Socialist League for its donation of \$10. Similar fraternal gestures are heartily welcome and will be warmly appreciated.

What's the Score?

| | Quota | Paid-in | % |
|-------------|--------|----------|----|
| Total | \$1500 | \$827.50 | 55 |
| Chicago | 200 | 164 | 82 |
| New York | 675 | 441 | 65 |
| At Large | 170 | 100 | 59 |
| New Haven | 35 | 20 | 57 |
| Newark | 50 | 25 | 50 |
| Los Angeles | 200 | 77.50 | 39 |
| Berkeley | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| Boston | 70 | 0 | 0 |

THE NEW FELLOW TRAVELERS

Apologists for Chiang's Concentration Camps

By DEBBIE MEIER

The fellow travelers are still writing their whitewashes for dictatorship and tyranny in the leading American magazines—*Life* magazine, for instance.

They are still using the same methods of apologetics, almost the same phrases.

If this seems incredible to the reader—considering that this is the United States in 1954 and not in the period of the "Grand Alliance" with our "noble Russian ally"—he need only look at *Life* magazine for April 26.

What They Used to Say

Ten years ago, in the middle of World War II, the American press—conservative, liberal and "progressive" alike—was filled with articles describing the Soviet Union in various degrees of glowing tribute. Some merely described laughing children, hard-working mothers, devoted soldiers and fields of golden wheat. Others were more "critical." These more "critical" articles frequently discussed the totalitarian aspects of Russia, but they did so in a special way.

For example, in describing a correction center for political deviants, they might begin in a critical vein, pointing out how strange the whole idea of such a camp was to the American way of thinking. But, they would proceed to remind us, it would be unfair to judge these Eastern countries by Western standards.

Russia, after all, has a different kind of democracy, and is it for us, with our own peculiar traditions, to judge them? . . . Besides, the argument would continue, the whole history of the last 25 years has been different in Russia. Russia has had to ensure herself against genuine internal and external dangers. . . . And certainly, such authors would point out, a regime must protect itself against those who would subvert it. . . .

The correction camps are not, after all, prisons, but merely designed for the reorientation of disoriented individuals—to teach them "socialist responsibility." They are not so much for political criminals, but for those who show symptoms of falling prey to the more dangerous and hardened political deviants, for example those who show symptoms of falling prey to Trotskyism. . . . While this might seem paranoiac to an American, one must consider the Russian soul—his whole temperament. And also one must remember how influential and how dangerous Trotsky once was (as the Moscow trials, in their own way, proved.) . . .

We "Deplore"—and Justify

It is true—sad but true, such authors used to argue—that many are sent to these camps who probably are not Trotskyists or Fascists, or sympathetic to either, but while we certainly deplore this and the whole system of guilt by association, arbitrary arrest, etc., of which it is a part, we must always think of it in its full and complex context.

And most of all, the line of thinking ran, while some are detained unfairly, many do constitute, even "unconsciously," threats to the regime in these difficult and complex days.

And finally we should keep in mind what the inmates of the camps themselves say about it all. Those interviewed by our highly "sophisticated" reporters even expressed gratitude to the regime for detaining them. Some may have felt that it had been a misjudgment on the part of the regime, but all felt that in the long run the higher good of The Community was being served, and far be it from them to explain.

The camps were well run, the classes very instructive, the teachers very kind, and no doubt they would return to their homes better Soviet citizens. Some reporters might note that the replies seemed a bit parrot-like, but nevertheless the people "really seemed to believe it."

And, after all, if they believed it, who are we to quibble?

So ran the thinking not merely of a few so-called "pinks," but of the whole gamut of the press including *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Readers Digest*, etc.

End of the Line

Of course, today, this type of "naïveté" is ridiculed. The modern liberal has learned better. It was all due, he now knows, to either (1) the presence of some CPers in top government circles who corrupted our thinking, (2) the intellectual influence of Marxism, with its inherently totalitarian implications, on liberal and intellectual leaders, or (3) the peculiar psychology of the liberals of that era. But in the meantime he has learned the important truth: democracy is democracy, and he will have no truck with totalitarianism.

He knows that the Stalinist concentration camps are disgraceful. He knows that guilt-by-association is a typical and horrendous Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist idea. And he knows that if people in Russia say otherwise, it is either because they are intimidated or because they have been indoctrinated. And he has a proper revulsion at the idea of indoctrination, a totalitarian tool which the Russians have developed to an uncanny degree.

Today the "sophisticated" liberal and conservative couldn't be induced to write such nonsense—about Russia.

But, about Nationalist Formosa, now there is another story entirely. For, after all, Chiang Kai-shek is an anti-Communist—just as Stalin was, during the height of the previously mentioned period, an anti-Fascist.

And thus we have the phenomenon of *Life* magazine (April 26, 1954) which publishes a "critical"-sympathetic description of Chiang Kai-shek's political concentration-camp regime.

Now It's Chiang's Turn

Life's reporter, John Osborne, in "Free China's Forbidden Green Island," describes (to quote the subtitle) "How Nationalist 'Reform Center' Applies Special Rewashing Techniques to Brain-Washed 'Subversives.'"

Osborne was an especially favored reporter, and the first permitted to view this "wind-whipped dab of rock and hills 18 miles off the southeastern coast of Taiwan." We can assume that his views were congenial to the Chiang regime, which permitted him to do this job. And he was impressed.

"The Nationalist officers in charge of the camp [where 3,678 prisoners have been sent to be purged of "'Communist thoughts' and imbued, in official words, with 'new birth, new spirit, new life and new action.'"] display more intelligence, more understanding of their jobs and more compassion," notes Osborne, "than I ever found at the American camps for war prisoners in Korea." The Nationalists have done what the Americans unfortunately have not done, that is, they have learned to live with their charges, learned to know them, "to probe and fill their hearts and minds, to win them wholly for Free China."

Yet the camp was also "depressing," says Osborne. "The unhappy fact is that, by American standards too many of Green Island's inmates ought not to be there." (My emphasis. One can assume then that Osborne thinks that some of them should.) It has been carried, unfortunately, to an extreme; and suspicion, association, and rumor has accounted for the presence of too many of the inhabitants. . . .

While the above fact is unfortunate, on the whole "the Green Island system of close personal care and indoctrination practiced with a universal and underlying kindness is all to the credit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's government."

Even the unfairness and unfortunate mistakes occasionally made, Osborne notes farther on, are not entirely without their justification. For, he notes, the inmates themselves do not appear to object to the unfairness. Most of them claim that "the government could take no risks; it must have had good reasons to send them to Green Island even if the reasons were not apparent to the victims themselves."

True, says Osborne, they had been taught to say this; but nevertheless "it seemed to me that they really believed it."

The rest of the article is concerned with a detailed description of the life and doings in the camp. There are three types of prisoners held here. Class A consists of 342 soldiers and hangers-on of the Chinese Communist Army who were captured in raids on the Chinese mainland. Class B consists of "security suspects," accused of no specific offense but judged to need indoctrination. Class C, called "rebellious criminals," consists of those convicted of active disloyalty but thought to be amenable to reform.

All three groups are treated alike. They live in small dormitories under the ever-watchful eyes of their trainers. They attend regular classes and are treated kindly and considerately, we are told. No corporal punishment, for example, is permitted.

Brain-Washing System

One of the major points in the indoctrination is to convince the inmates that instantaneous death would strike them if they returned to the mainland, and many were easily convinced of this. In fact many have long anti-Communist records.

One, an ex-sergeant in the Nationalist army, was only able to explain his imprisonment on the basis of quarrels he had had with his battalion political officer and the fact that he had on him an old copy of *Time* magazine with Mao Tse-tung on the cover (which he realized might have been the wrong thing to do).

Since no trials apparently preceded the arrests—a question by the way, which the reporter never mentions one way or the other—no one is certain why he is there. But even this unfortunate sergeant felt no resentment toward his captors, says our 1954-model fellow traveler.

Another inmate was Colonel Liu Chiang-lien, who had been in the Nationalist army since 1930. Colonel Liu had been imprisoned by the Communists in 1949, escaped eight months later to return to Formosa, where, as a reward for his hardships, he was imprisoned. While he felt his imprisonment had probably been a mistake, he was even more puzzled, according to the reporter, when he was asked whether he felt therefore that he had been treated unfairly.

His reply was merely that he was glad for this opportunity to learn more about the evils of Communism, etc. After all he had always been a soldier and although never disloyal he might perhaps have unconsciously deviated here or there.

Another woman, of 56 years of age, could only mutter over and over in response to our reporter's questions, "I pray to God. I ask God to forgive this mistake. I ask Him to forgive us all." Another girl felt that the regime had been justified in imprisoning her because, although she wasn't a Communist, she had intended to become one some day.

The New-Model Apologia

The author nowhere questions whether or not the sample of inmates he questioned was "representative," although it is obvious that they were selected. That is, he might say I want to see a man who is in this or that classification, or one who is unrepentant, or one who still wishes to return to the mainland, but the choice of which person was to fit this category was left to the camp officials.

Finally, in conclusion, Osborne notes again, with regret, that some were on Green Island who had long been staunch defenders of Chiang Kai-shek and long been anti-Communist. This alone seems to be the tragedy of the whole system to him. For on the other hand, there are many "who live out their terms" on this windy rock island for whom, he feels, "it has done a great deal" (of good, one assumes).

And so we have the new 1954-model sophisticated apologia for totalitarianism. Will this analysis also be explained away on the basis of "naïveté" ten years hence? How many liberals, busy recanting their naïveté of 10 or 20 years past, will rise in protest against this new brand of "naïveté"?

How many who have written articles analyzing the "psychological" reasons why liberals were so prone to accept Russian totalitarianism (father-complexes, mother-complexes, escape-phobias, etc.) will rise now to explain the psychology of Osborne and *Life* magazine? How many of those liberals who have recently become adept at exposing the selective "tours" conducted by the USSR to convince American innocents will now expose this "tour"? And how many will inquire of Osborne whether or not the whole concept of ideological criminals is not totally alien to any type of democracy—Western, Eastern, Oriental or Occidental?

HERETIC, YES—STOOLPIGEON, NO

The 5th Amendment and the Right NOT to Be a Stoolpigeon

In LABOR ACTION for last Dec. 21, apropos of the Harvard-McCarthy fracas over the case of Prof. Furry, under the head of "The 5th Amendment and the Stoolpigeons," we began our article as follows:

"It is rather amazing that so much can be written about the Fifth Amendment problem . . . without ever mentioning the issue which is most often the heart of the case. . . .

"For the Fifth Amendment cases, more usually than not, revolve around the issue: the right to refuse to be a stoolpigeon. . . ."

That article proceeded to demonstrate this in the then-current Harvard case. In this connection, it also discussed the defense of Harvard's position by Professor Livingston Hall in the university's Alumni Bulletin, where the professor managed to discuss the question without once raising the only problem which was in fact Prof. Furry's motivation.

Unfortunately, the Livingston Hall article was typical, but we are now glad to publish an untypical analysis by a law authority, who says openly and cogently what so many of his colleagues have shied away from.

The following sections are from a speech delivered by Dean Erwin N. Griswold of the Harvard Law School before the Massachusetts Bar Association, February 5, printed in the Harvard Law School Record for February 11.

The whole speech is well worth reading but we have room to publish only his concrete discussion of the plight of an ex-CP "innocent" who refuses to become a stoolpigeon. Dean Griswold presents his case as a "hypothetical" one, but of course it is the real one in numberless cases.

Philip COBEN

Here is Case I. A man is a college teacher. He is an idealist and perhaps slow to recognize realities as idealists sometimes are. He has a great urge for what he regards as social reform. He is native born, went to American schools, and loves his country despite what he regards as its imperfections. You may not agree with his ideas but you would respect his honesty and sincerity. He believes himself thoroughly attached to the country and the Constitution, and he abhors anything involving force and violence. He is a good teacher and works hard on his subjects.

He has always believed that as a good citizen he should be interested in politics. Neither of the established political parties provided what he wanted. In the relatively calm period of the past middle 1930's, on the solicitation of a friend, he went to a communist meeting and soon joined the Communist Party. At that time the Communist Party was perfectly legal, and regularly appeared on our ballot. He thought he was simply joining a political party.

One of the reasons that led him to join was because he regarded fascism as highly immoral and a great danger to the world, and he felt that the communists were fighting fascism in Spain at this time. His interest was not merely in protecting Spain, but because he thought that fighting fascism there was an important means of guarding against such a danger here. . . .

Let me add a few more facts, assumed by me as before. Our teacher was in a communist cell, with other teachers. The communists had great plans for this group. They wanted to use it to infiltrate American education. However, the communist command was canny. They knew that many or all of the members of this cell of teachers were politically innocent, and that they would recoil quickly from any proposals for sabotage or the use of force and violence. So they treated this group with great care.

The group was never subjected to the rigors of communist discipline. It was a study group, and its discussions were kept on a high intellectual plane. The more sordid features of the Marxist doctrine were kept thoroughly in the background. Our teacher never engaged in espionage or sabotage or anything like that, and never saw or heard of any such activities by any member of his group. He would have been horrified by any such actions.

The Case of the "Innocent"

Nevertheless, there were things from time to time which he did not like. He rationalized them in various ways—nothing can be perfect; the thing to do is to stay inside and work against excesses; and so on.

Besides he was a stubborn fellow. Once having started out on something he thought was good, he did not lightly give it up.

But he became troubled; and after the war he slowly drifted away from the group. He never formally resigned. He just turned away. By the time of the Korean invasion in 1950, he was thoroughly disgusted and saw that he had been used as a dupe.

But he was also convinced in his own heart of the rectitude of his actions, if not of their wisdom; and he did not doubt that many of the people who had been associated with him in the venture were just as innocent of wrong-doing as he was sure he was. . . .

. . . He is summoned to appear before a Congressional committee, and is asked whether he is a communist. He answers truthfully: "No."

Then he is asked whether he ever was a communist. He is now surely subjected to a substantial risk, even though he honestly believes that he has committed no crime.

He knows that a number of communists have been convicted under the Smith Act of 1940, and more have been indicted. Our teacher perhaps magnifies his own predicament. He sees the jail doors opening up if he gives himself the evidence that he was once a communist.

Interestingly enough, Section 4(f) of the Internal Security Act of 1950 (commonly known as the McCarran Act) provides specifically that "Neither the holding of office nor membership in any communist organization by any person shall constitute per se a violation of . . . this section or of any other criminal statute." But this was enacted after his period of Party membership. It has been declared to be a crime to be a communist in Massachusetts since 1951, but there may be some possible room to question the effectiveness of this statute in view of the provision of the Federal Act. That the Federal statutes may displace State action is indicated by a decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania just last week.

Justified Motive

After much internal torment, the witness finally decides to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment with respect to the question of his past membership in the Communist Party. Putting aside the question of his wisdom in doing this, can there be any doubt that the claim is legally proper?

Past membership in the Communist Party is not a crime in itself; but admitting such membership may well be a link in a chain of proof of a criminal charge against him. Persons have been prosecuted under the Smith Act for membership in the Communist Party plus something else. If he supplies the proof of his own membership in the Party, he does not know what other evidence may then be brought against him to show that he has committed a crime.

Thus, an answer to the question will definitely incriminate him, that is, provide evidence which could be used in a prosecution against him. Yet, remember that he thoroughly believes that he is not guilty of any crime; and on the facts I have given he is not guilty of a crime.

There are other factors that influence his conclusion. His own experience is an ordeal. He does not want his friends to be subjected to it. He believes in their innocence of any crime. If he thought that they had committed crimes, he would promptly tell the proper officers of the government. By claiming the privilege against self-incrimination, he can refrain from naming any of his associates. He feels a strong sense of loyalty to them. He feels a strong sense of loyalty to his country, too; but since he is convinced that neither he nor his associates have in fact done anything wrong, his desire to protect them from having to experience his own predicament seems to him to have prevailing weight in the actual circumstances.

He claims the privilege. He cannot be prosecuted on the basis of any evidence he has provided. There can be no doubt, I believe, that his claim of privilege is legally justified. Yet, note that on the facts I have assumed he is not guilty of any crime.

Investigators' Tactics

Of course his claim of privilege as to his membership in the Communist Party means that he must also claim the privilege as to all other questions which relate in any way to what he did, or to his associates in the activity. For if he answers any of those questions, it will clearly connote his own communist activity.

. . . It is sometimes said that the privilege may only be rightly claimed if the answer to the incriminating question would be "yes." I do not believe that is true.

Our man in Case I has testified that he is not now a communist. He claims the privilege as to a question which asks him if he ever was a member of the Communist Party. He is then asked, "When did you cease to be a member?" He must claim the privilege as to this, or else his answer will disclose that he once was a member, as to which he has legitimately claimed the privilege.

Then the examiner starts a new line. He says: "Were you a member of the Communist Party yesterday?" Now the answer is "No." But the witness who has taken this line cannot answer that question. For if he does, the questions will be continued: "Were you a member of the Party last year?—two years ago? three years ago?" If he answers any of these accurately with a "no," he will come to the place where he must claim the privilege if he is to maintain his basic position.

In this way, the date of his withdrawal could be pinpointed, thus giving valuable information for a possible prosecution. Moreover, he may not be sure just when he withdrew; it was a gradual process. And he may have legitimate fears that any honest answer he might give to a question relating to the transitional period might get him involved in a prosecution for perjury.

At any rate, it seems clear that questions of this sort are an illustration of a type of question as to which the privilege may be legitimately claimed, as far as the law is concerned, even though the answer to the question would be "no."

Ordinarily when the privilege of the Fifth Amendment is exercised, it is in a criminal trial. There a specific charge has been made, and the prosecution has by evidence established a prima facie case of guilt of the particular crime charged in the complaint or indictment. Under such circumstances there is much more than the mere claim of the privilege on which to rest an inference of guilt.

In investigations, however, there are no carefully formulated charges. Evidence to support such charges has not been introduced and made known to the witness before he is called upon to answer. He has no opportunity for cross-examination of other witnesses, and often little or no opportunity to make explanations which might have a material bearing on the whole situation. In the setting of an investigation, therefore, the basis for the inference from a claim of privilege against self-incrimination is much less than it is when the privilege is exercised in an ordinary criminal trial.

The Question of "Waiver"

There are two more matters to which I should like to make brief reference. The first of these is the rather technical legal doctrine known as waiver of the privilege. . . .

So far as witnesses at investigations are concerned, our current learning on this is based largely on the Supreme Court's decision in *Rogers v. United States*, 40 U.S. 367 (1951). In that case, a witness testified that she had been treasurer of a local communist party, had had possession of the records, and had turned them over to another person. She then declined to name the person to whom she had given them, claiming the privilege under the Fifth Amendment. The Supreme Court held that by giving the testimony she did she had waived the privilege, and that she was guilty of contempt for refusing to answer the further questions. There was a dissenting opinion by Justice Black, Frankfurter, and Douglas.

My own view is that this decision was not soundly reasoned, and that it has led to unfortunate results. . . . With the *Rogers* case on the books, the only safe advice may be to claim the privilege at the earliest possible moment, so as to be sure to avoid a charge of waiver.

This doctrine of waiver is, I believe, the true explanation of the refusal of some witnesses to answer such questions as "Have you ever taught communist doctrine in your classroom?" or "Have you ever solicited students to join the Communist Party?" These refusals have been deeply disturbing to the public. Yet, answers to these questions may be "No"; but the witness nevertheless fears that he cannot give that answer without its being said that he has waived the privilege as to questions about other sorts of communist activity.

Here again we have a situation where the obvious inference from the refusal to answer the question may be completely unwarranted. . . .

Moral Judgment

[Dean Griswold then considers the case of a man who wishes to answer all questions about himself but refuses to answer questions relating to others—i.e., refuses to inform on others while wishing to be frank about his own past. Griswold points out that this man finds that his Fifth Amendment privilege is gone.]

However such questions go, though, would it not seem that such a person is at least in no worse a position morally than he was when he stood on the Fifth Amendment? He should not be worse off for being willing to speak fully and frankly about himself than he was when he would not talk at all. His refusal to tell on his friends may be both contrary to valid law and unwise. Nevertheless, it may be based on strong grounds of conscience.

Let me do a little more assuming: Let us assume that the witness feels positive in his own mind that the persons with whom he was associated did no wrong to our country. They did not engage in espionage or sabotage or anything like that. They were merely hopeful but misguided people, as he was.

Let us assume, too, that this is all far in the past. The persons in question are in other work. They have families to support. If their names are disclosed, they will surely lose their jobs.

He must then resolve for himself the question whether he will give their names and subject them to the same sort of ordeal he has been through in order to save himself from further difficulty and possible prosecution. He may be wrong if he decides that he should not protect himself by sacrificing them. I recognize the legal obligation to testify as to others, and the general importance of this both in trials and in investigations. But can it be said clearly that his action is always immoral?

Of course he may be wrong in his judgment of these other people. They may be worse than he thinks they are. But we all have to use judgment on such things. A man may honestly feel that he cannot bring suffering to others in order to save himself. To a considerable extent such questions can only be resolved in a man's own conscience. We are a society which has long depended on and applauded the virtues of the rugged individualist. . . .

The Case of Guatemala — —

(Continued from page 1)

way, in which the United States can contribute to stem whatever dangers exist of Stalinist growth in Guatemala. But the *Times* correspondent's sources are not the ones who can put the finger on that. And so Gruson even admits that he (which means: his pro-American sources of opinion) do not know any "right" issue: "This [situation] has led many observers," he admits, "to wonder whether there could ever be an acceptable issue with which to try to stop the Communist advances in this country."

Let us quote Gruson further: "The reaction has served to remind observers that the dominant feeling among articulate Guatemalans is not pro- or anti-communism or pro- or anti-Yankeeism but fervent nationalism. It has been mirrored just as strongly in the independent press as in the government propaganda organs."

"Friends and foes" of the regime, alike, are being steered to resist the U. S.'s disgraceful pressure, which is expected to come through some machinery of the Inter-American Organization of States—economic or even military sanctions. They know that Washington could club enough of the member-states into line if it got serious about using its economic weapons freely (the favorite weapons of American imperialism, since it became unfashionable to send the U. S. marines directly). But "in this event, they say, there would be great resentment against the United States in other countries," as Gruson reports—that is, an immediate "victory" might be won, but anti-American antagonism down south would only increase, opening the doors wider to Stalinist prestige, since the Stalinist would be put in the position of being the vanguard of defense of Latin American rights against the colossus of the North.

CALL FOR INTERVENTION

The power of the U. S. appears to be used against the Latin Americans with the same crude hypocrisy as characterizes Stalinist expansionism against its own victims. The common pattern is: the giant world power puts the squeeze on the small country; it resists; the giant thereupon begins to yell that its intended victims has "aggressive" intentions; the neighboring countries must be armed in "self-defense"; under cover of this demagogic intervention is prepared.

The rightist friends of Washington and United Fruit in Guatemala have been openly calling for organization of an anti-Arbenz camp by the U. S. In the current issue of the right-wing *U. S. News & World Report*, an interview with two Guatemalan émigrés (now in Mexico) makes this clear, and the magazine publishes this interview with the sole purpose of plugging this course.

"When there are rats, you have to kill them. I am convinced . . . that to exterminate it, there is just one route—gunpowder." This is the appeal by the émigrés which is presented.

"With respect to just what the United States can do," one of them states further, "I believe that nation has the duty of pulling out the evil by its roots."

"The Guatemalan people are not asking for an armed effort from any country. But they hope their leaders will be equipped in some effective way so that they can equip the people with war materials to accomplish the expulsion of those who have been guilty of treason by permitting foreign Communists to control the government—a practical intervention by Russia in Guatemala. I believe categorically that it is necessary to have a machine gun in order to take action against the arms brought from Russia. Someone has to give this help."

The U. S. has already taken steps to

oblige. Planeloads of arms have been airlifted in a hurry to Honduras and Nicaragua, which have nice respectable governments, under obliging military dictators, who do not believe in inconveniencing United Fruit. The U. S. Coast Guard is threatening to stop any other ships laden with arms for Guatemala.

This isn't the first time that Honduras would be used in this way. Way back in 1933, *Fortune* magazine referred to these practices. In its March issue of that year it described the days when United Fruit was fighting the competition of Cuyamel Fruit Company: "United Fruit, master of the Caribbean, considered Cuyamel a trespasser in Guatemala. . . . So Guatemala protested to Honduras. Both countries sent troops into the valley and there were two or three skirmishes." (Two things at least have changed since then: United absorbed Cuyamel, thus ending that nuisance, and Guatemala is no longer a pliant tool.)

FRUIT EMPIRE

United Fruit is truly a master in the Caribbean. This trading octopus, based largely on Boston finance capital, is one of the big ten in foreign capital investments. At the end of 1948, it owned in Central America 558,965 acres of land; 1474 miles of railroad and 209 miles of other rail transportation; 72,082 head of livestock; 66 ocean vessels; the telegraph system linking the Caribbean countries with the U. S.; telephone lines, radio stations, sugar refineries, banana plantations, sugar plantations, etc.

With the Guatemalan government standing pat on its recent take-over of a part of United Fruit Company lands, the United States stepped in as bill-collector for its finance capitalists—a time-honored role. One important fact behind the present crisis is the fact that the State Department intervened in a note to demand nearly \$16 million on behalf of United Fruit in compensation for the land, which was dealt with under Guatemala's agrarian reform law. Guatemala insists that United Fruit will be compensated but given no special treatment that is different from Guatemalan citizens affected by the law.

One cause of dispute is the fact that Guatemala wishes to compensate the company in accord with the valuation of the land on the basis of which the company has been taxed in the past. But now it turns out that this valuation, which was used for tax-dodging, is too low in the eyes of the fruit-emperors!

IMPERIALIST BILL-COLLECTOR

This bill-collecting function of the U. S. government used to be exercised more frankly. The present generation may never have run across the classic exposé of this imperialist role which was famous in the '30s, in the words of Marine Major General Smedley D. Butler, who described his career as follows:

"I spent 33 years and four months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from second lieutenant to major general. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street, and for the bankers. . . . I was a racketeer for capitalism. . . ."

"Thus, I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank to collect revenues in. . . . I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras 'right' for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped

see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmoled." (*Common Sense*, Nov. 1935.)

Now the U. S. is trying to find a way, in a world where anti-colonialism is on the upsurge, to "democratize" Guatemala in 1954.

The United Fruit Company empire in the Caribbean is being pushed to the wall. It is not so much immediately concerned with the direct issue of Guatemalan expropriation as it is with the effect of such action on the rest of its empire. If Guatemala "gets away with it," how far behind will Costa Rica be? The strikers in Honduras will be encouraged. Other governments, now staying in line, will be emboldened, or, if they remain "loyal" to the master, will meet with greater and greater pressure at home because of their sell-out. There is more at stake for United Fruit than the interests in Guatemala alone.

U. S. RESPONSIBLE

And so the powerful United States accuses Guatemala of planning "aggression"—with a shipload of pistols and such. The *N. Y. Times* itself stated that "Foreign military observers described Guatemalan military equipment as 'antiquated' and badly in need of parts." If the recent shipment included more than light arms, they say, Guatemala would not even be able to assemble and operate them without help. (And no one claims to have spotted a Russian military mission there; there is only one military mission in the country—the American one.)

No responsible source claims that the Guatemalan Stalinists have yet succeeded in building up any genuine mass support. They are in an alliance with the Arbenz regime, which is beset on all sides by enemies and seeks internal support on which to lean. That alliance can be broken, but it cannot be broken with any progressive results by external imperialist pressure. The latter only feeds the sources of Stalinist strength.

The rug can be pulled from beneath Guatemalan Stalinism—from both the native Stalinist movement and from the hopes of the Moscow regime to use it as a base in the Western Hemisphere for propaganda and sabotage—only by removing the legitimate social issues on which it nourishes. As long as the U. S. dollar is the enemy of the people, the Stalinists can flourish—or else they can only be cut down by the type of brutal intervention, direct or indirect, which will merely aid them in the hemisphere as a whole.

It is the U. S. which is responsible for the growth and prospects of Stalinism in Guatemala. It is in this country that the remedy lies.

NO INTERVENTION!

Washington can complain to Sweden for furnishing the ship which brought the arms to Puertos Barrios, but this only entangles it further with other countries which do not want to jump every time the State Department cracks the whip. Washington can complain to Britain on the ground that a British company is involved in the Swedish ship deal, but there is surely enough antagonism to the U. S. strong-arm policy in Britain already. Washington can patrol the skies of Honduras with war planes—as the press reports it is doing now—but this will not drive the Honduran strikers back to labor in the banana plantations.

Washington can threaten an economic boycott of Guatemala—for example, an embargo on purchase of Guatemala coffee—but this will get in the way of U. S. coffee interests which need the high-quality Guatemalan coffee to put some flavor in the Brazilian product (which is none too plentiful now anyway).

Behind the present crisis with Guatemala is the fact that the U. S. is following an imperialist foreign policy in every field, not a democratic foreign policy. It talks about hemisphere democracy and other lofty subjects, but a capitalist government is a capitalist government.

It would be inaccurate to say that Guatemala could be the U. S.'s Indochina. Guatemala is not a political colony of this country. It would have to be a question of smashing its sovereignty in some way, or engineering the kind of internal coup which is supposed to be the peculiar talent of the Russian Stalinists but which is really an old story in the history of U. S. imperialism in Latin America.

Intervention, or provocation and subsidization of intervention, in Guatemala would be a high international crime. Stalinism can be defeated there too, as it can be defeated in Indochina, but the price to be paid for that is the downfall of imperialist interests.

No intervention in Guatemala!

The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a worldwide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

Get Acquainted!

Independent Socialist League
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, N. Y.

- I want more information about the ideas of Independent Socialism and the ISL.
- I want to join the ISL.

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

The Handy Way to Subscribe!

LABOR ACTION
Independent Socialist Weekly
114 West 14 Street
New York 11, New York

- Please enter my subscription:
- 1 year at \$2. New
 - 6 months at \$1. Renewal
 - Payment enclosed. Bill me.

NAME (please print)

ADDRESS

CITY

ZONE STATE

"SONGS OF THE WOBBLIES"

The new LABOR ARTS recording of famous IWW songs, sung by Joe Glazer and Bill Friedland. On 33-1/3 LPs, unbreakable.

\$4.00

Now available on 33-1/3 LPs—

"BALLADS FOR SECTARIANS"

Song satires on the twists and turns of the American Stalinist movement

\$4.00

LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

114 West 14 Street, New York City

Mail orders will receive prompt attention. All orders must be accompanied by payment.