

CHURCHILL PROPOSES DEAL WITH KREMLIN

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Build a Labor Party Now!

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On United Fruit's Blacklist



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

Dulles Conspiracy Met By World-wide Protest

By Art Sharon

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

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

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

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

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Partition of Indo-China Reported Part of Deal

By Daniel Roberts

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

It is well known that the Vietminh movement enjoys the support of the great majority of the Indo-Chinese population. "Electoral success of the Vietminh army over the far better equipped French forces is another proof that the Indo-Chinese people firmly support the movement for national independence led by Ho Chi-Minh. Clearly, the Vietminh regime should be recognized as the legitimate government of all Indo-China, if the democratic right of national self-determination is to be upheld.

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

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

Polls Show McCarthy Has Big Fascist Base

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

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

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

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

These figures, revealing McCarthy's strength, are all the more impressive in view of the fact that 52% of those questioned thought McCarthy and Cohn had used improper means in trying to get preferred treatment for Schine, while only 24% thought McCarthy and Cohn had a clean bill of health.

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

CHICAGO RESULTS

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

The Daily News poll revealed that 56.5% of those participating in the survey like the fascist Senator more as a result of the hearings.

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

In Detroit a poll conducted by

Racist Violence Flares at Chicago Housing Project

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

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

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

At a membership meeting of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People June 25 demands were made for police protection and for arrests and convictions to bring the situation at Trumbull Park under control.

UNION BACKING

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

He reported that it was his impression the NAACP felt it would not get support for a demonstration but that this finding did not accord with the facts.

He assured the NAACP meeting that the union rank and file were eager to find out how to put an end to the violence at Trumbull Park. "I'm close to the little fellow and I know how he feels," he said.

How the UN Went to Bat for Wall Street

By David L. Weiss

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

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

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

itself engaged in the "dirty war" against the Indo-Chinese people, were unaccompanied by any specific measures to implement the fine pacific sentiment. This general preaching against "bloodshed" was made when the small army of Guatemala had not yet fired a single shot at the invader. Ignoring these diplomatic nice-tries U.S. delegate Lodge spoke the language of an imperialist gangster. He turned to the Soviet delegate and declared, "Stay out of the Western Hemisphere!" Lodge's meaning was plain: (1) Every liberating movement of the people is to be branded as a Kremlin invasion. (2) Wall Street has a "Private Property — Keep Out!" sign over the Western Hemisphere.

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

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

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

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

Meanwhile, sitting in the Security Council, U.S. delegate Lodge cracked the whip and threatened "a catastrophe of such dimensions as to gravely impair" the usefulness of both the UN and the OAS if the OAS were not permitted to handle the Guatemalan dispute.

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

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

The UN action on Guatemala stands in sharp contrast with the action it took on Korea four years ago. In the brazen Dulles-sponsored invasion of Guatemala, the UN stalled, dawdled and finally dumped the whole situation in Wall Street's drive to conquer the world.

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

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

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

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

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

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Peurifoy Behind the Overthrow

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

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

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

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

MAIN GUILT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The American Way of Life

Poor Boy Makes Good

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— Robert Kennedy

THE MILITANT ARMY

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

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

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

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

Literature Agent Gordon Bailey reports a good sale in San Francisco last Sunday. "We

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

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

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

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

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Churchill Seeks Deal with Kremlin

By Joseph Hansen

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

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

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

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

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

He reminded his audience of his speech at Fulton, Mo., in 1946 laying down the war-mongering line that was followed



CHURCHILL

by the cold war and the Truman Doctrine which have repeatedly brought the world to the verge of another global slaughter since then.

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

CHURCHILL'S REASONS

What led this generally bellicose Tory war dog to this seemingly complete change of mind about the advisability of launching war on the Soviet bloc?

Churchill himself offered two reasons. (1) ". . . I would like to make sure, to save the consciences of the democracies of the world, that no step or stage has been neglected in endeavoring to test the reality and imminence of our danger." (2) ". . . I'm quite sure that nothing is more likely to bring about a modification of the rigorous Russian system of communism than contacts between the Russian people and the peoples of

the Western world, and cultural contacts, and trade contacts, and the magnification of the exchange of goods and services . . ."

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

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

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

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

TREMENDOUS OBSTACLES

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

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

Finally on the home fronts, the mass unwillingness to join in any war ventures stayed the plans of the ruling classes. This new force in world politics exists to

day not only throughout Europe but right here in the United States. The latest demonstration of its effectiveness was its ability to prevent the Eisenhower administration from sending American troops into the jungles of Indo-China.

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

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

EISENHOWER'S DILEMMA

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Carl Goodman

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

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

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

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

In 1904 American capital received its first concessions. Dictator Estrada Cabrera called on International Railways of Central America, owned by the United Fruit Company, to complete the railroad from the coast port of Puerto Barrios to Guatemala City, already largely constructed by Guatemalan capital and labor. "In return IRCA was given the whole railroad, its equipment and telegraph lines plus the port itself, plus 50,000 acres of land and other lands around the port and the railway." (The Truth about Guatemala, by Helen Simon Travis and A.B. Magill.) United Fruit Company was then granted more land in its own name, until it acquired upward of 600,000 acres in the country.

BUILT UNIONS

What did the workers, farm laborers and peasants achieve since the revolution of 1944? The workers organized and built powerful unions that now embrace most of the 102,000 industrial workers in the country as well as the employees of the United Fruit banana plantations. These unions were brought together under the Stalinist-controlled General Confederation of Labor. The workers won social security protection from the government and higher pay for the rightist move.

WALL STREET COLONY

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

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

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

LIVE IN MISERY

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

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

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

COALITION GOVERNMENT

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

alive by creating a Workers and Farmers government. On the other side, the imperialists and the landlord clique aim to smash the organized working class and peasantry and cancel all gains. A middle road of reforms, such as envisaged by Arbenz and supported by the Stalinists, is excluded.

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Can We Keep This Planet Intact?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Subversive" Carpenter of Nazareth?

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

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

A Lesson About Timid Men

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

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

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

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

Their Morals and Ours

By LEON TROTSKY

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

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Monday, July 5, 1954

How the Stalinists Betrayed in Guatemala

By Daniel Roberts

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

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

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

KNEW IT WAS COMING

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

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

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

The program goes by stages.

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

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

NEVER REACH STAGE TWO

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

Why is this? Because the capitalists in the colonial countries are utterly incapable of carrying through the tasks set for them by the Stalinists. They may ally themselves at the beginning of the struggle with the workers and peasants against imperialism and the feudal landlords.

The capitalist spokesmen then talk about national independence. But the class does not have the strength to buck the great economic power of imperialism and bring a modern industrial nation into being.

The colonial capitalists therefore restrict their aims to modest changes within the imperialist structure.

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

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

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

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

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

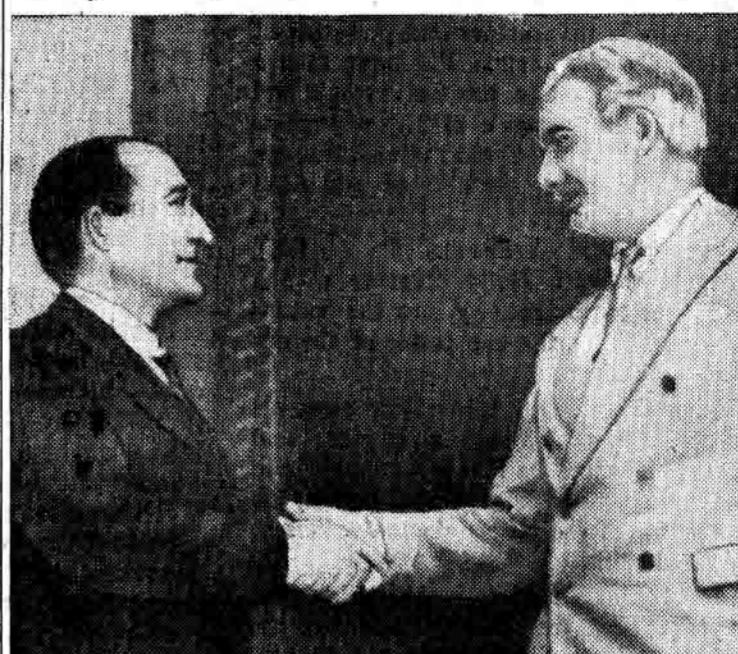
The all-important role that the workers play in the struggle, their own wage demands, their demands in behalf of the peasants, their socialist ideology — all these present a new challenge to the capitalist class. The alliance is unstable from the very beginning and readily breaks apart.

CRUCIAL MOMENT

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

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

Seek Favorable Agreement



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

World Events

By Fred Hart

A SHOW TRIAL along typical

Stalinist frame-up lines has been

planned for East Germany ac-

cording to the June 15 Christian

Science Monitor. The purpose of

the trial is to smear last year's

East German workers revolt of

June 17 and make it appear as a

putsch instigated by organiza-

tions in West Germany directed

by American secret-service

agents. The uprising involved

2,000,000 workers and aimed at

improved working and living

conditions. The revolutionaries

also demanded a united German

under working-class rule and the

end of Soviet domination. Their

rising was an independent action

against the Stalinist dictatorship

and had no ties to the West German government or American imperialism. It was anti-capitalist as well as anti-Stalinist in its aims.

THE NEW CHINESE GOV-

ERNMENT is winning the status

of a world power in international

affairs despite all moves by the

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block it. The American policy at

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Science Monitor, "The American

boycott of the Chinese, instead of

isolating the Chinese at the conference, ended in isolation of the Americans."

IN SUMATRA the government

of Ali Sastroamidjodo has served

an ultimatum on the Stalinists to

withdraw "squatters" off the

foreign estate land in East

Sumatra. The Stalinists accepted

the ultimatum on April 21 to

avoid a break with the govern-

ment which they support in

parliament. The "squatters" are

landless peasants who took over

idle land held by big foreign

tobacco corporations.

LA VERITE, newspaper of the

French Trotskyists, reports a

May 25 meeting in Paris spon-

sored by the Permanent Com-

mittee for a National Congress

of United Labor Action to further

the cause of working-class unity.

Union leaders from key industrial

areas of the country and belong-

to the different labor federa-

tions spoke. In addition, Frisch-

mann, a member of the Executive

Board of the CGT (Stalinist led

General Confederation of Labor,

France's largest union organiza-

tion) participated.

Lambert presented the position

The Negro Struggle

By Jean Blake

The Defeat of John O. Holly

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Is Pope "Subversive"?

By Dorothy Johnson

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes from the News

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE MILITANT

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Bare Whitewash of NY Cops



Postpone Baltimore Grand Jury Probe of Killer Cop "Indefinitely"

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

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

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

POLICE VERSION
The police stories vary as to what happened after that:

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

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

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

Mr. and Mrs. Leonard MacDonald were on their back porch. They could see Broads across the fence, peacefully sleeping, his head toward the alley. Rehak came past, noticed the sleeping youth and shouted to another cop: "Here he is."

"Then, they said, the officer lifted up the edge of the tarpaulin with one hand and, with the other hand, fired his gun four or five times in rapid succession at the man in the glider. . . He said the figure under the tarpaulin in the glider sprang to his feet and hit him on the left hand with something that looked like the barrel of a gun. It turned out, later, to be a chisel, he testified.

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

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

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

By Bruce Jaffe

NEW YORK, June 25 — Exposure of an attempted whitewash in a report on a secret agreement between the FBI and New York police on police brutality cases was

made yesterday by representative Sidney A. Fine (D., N. Y.). The report, drawn up by the House Judiciary Subcommittee, has been kept under wraps for a year. It was supposed to reveal the truth about a deal with the FBI to pay no attention to complaints of police brutality in New York.

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

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

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

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

DAMAGING ADMISSION

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

This is the old "State's Rights" formula of every racist, lyncher and bigot — now extended by the House Judiciary Subcommittee to include the "local" rights of the cops to maul, club, kick and kill their helpless victims.

It remains to be seen whether the authorities can get away with this whitewash or whether the Negro community and other victimized minorities will demand a real investigation of police brutality before competent representatives of their own choice along these lines.

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

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

RECORD OF BRUTALITY

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

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

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

Bruce Smith, Acting Director



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

Stop McCarthyism! Your Stake in the Fight

Contents

- The Issue of McCarthyism in a Nutshell by James P. Cannon
- Pegler Spells It Out — "Smash the Unions"
- The Stake of America's Artists by Duncan Ferguson
- Negro People's Stake in the Anti-McCarthy Fight by Jean Blake
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