

LABOR ACTION

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FIVE CENTS

SPOTLIGHT

Sweezy Case

Among the civil-liberties cases that come in such a constant flood that the very capacity for indignation is dulled, an outstanding one that demands attention is the case of Paul Sweezy in New Hampshire. This anti-democratic atrocity is based on a state law, but in many parts of the country repressive state laws have become very important in hoisting constitutional trial balloons on legal methods of witchhunting.

A New Hampshire law of the anti-subversive type is directed against anyone who teaches or advocates the overthrow of constitutional government by force and violence. The state attorney general has used this law for the harassment of Paul Sweezy, a former Harvard professor, an editor of the *Monthly Review* (independent Stalinist), and author of several important books including *The Theory of Capitalist Development*.

Sweezy, questioned by the attorney general at closed sessions, stated that he had never been a member of the CP, had never attended any party meetings, did not know any party members in the state, and had never advocated the overthrow of constitutional government by force and violence. But he declined to answer questions concerning ideas, beliefs and associations which "could not possibly be pertinent" to the New Hampshire law. He refused, for example, to answer questions about the Progressive Party and the content of a lecture on "Socialism" which he had given by invitation in a Humanities course at the University of New Hampshire.

As a result after a court hearing was begun, Sweezy was declared in contempt of court and sentenced to jail. (In New Hampshire practice the penalty for contempt of court is jail until the individual

decides to answer the question.) He is now out on bail and the case has been appealed to the state Supreme Court.

It is important to note that Sweezy is a private citizen, not a government employee, nor a teacher in a public institution, nor the holder of any "sensitive" post. A law which presumably was passed to punish advocacy of "overthrow of constitutional government by force and violence" is being used in police-state fashion to probe and pillory private political opinions.

Clark Case

Another civil-liberties case with a "different" angle is that of the right-wing William Clark, the former federal judge of the American occupation in Germany who was first fired and then even refused a passport to visit Germany.

His passport case is pretty clearly based on the State Department's contention that it has the untrammelled right to refuse a passport to any American citizen who, it believes, is likely to criticize U. S. policy when abroad.

The government's contention before the federal court is that if Clark is given a passport he would go to Germany and there criticize American soft policy toward ex-Nazis and that this is the same accusation as has been made by Otto John. In other words, it is the government position that an American must abandon free speech as the price of a passport. This is not only their position before the court; it is what they have in actuality been enforcing without any other sanction than their own bureaucratic decision, as in the case of Max

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THEY USED TO TALK ABOUT
"WINNING THE PEACE"

A New German Army Is Born at London

By BERNARD CRAMER

Dulles "has accomplished what may be one of the greatest diplomatic achievements of our time," said President Eisenhower of the results of the London conference.

The main diplomatic result at London was to make possible the rearmament of German militarism. This is the "victory" and the achievement.

All along, throughout the vicissitudes of the EDC project and its eventual defeat, this was the only "victory" in question. When EDC was scrapped through French intransigence, it was a body blow to U. S. policy, for this country's foreign policy under both Truman and Eisenhower has been crucially tied to the brandishment of military might. Without this, the U. S. has no policy, whatsoever to speak of. With this, it is back in business at the old stand.

With the London conference over, Western strategic policy is very much back in business at the old stand. The accent is on "old." There will be a German army again. No one particularly pretends that this is a fresh new wind blowing over Europe. That German army will be largely under the old Wehrmacht officers, built up by a government in Bonn tied to the old capitalist interests and heavily larded with ex-Nazis and neo-Nazis.

Out of the London conference have come 12 German divisions and four British divisions for the Continent. This is what the jubilation is about, when the

reckoning is made. The arithmetic of the conference documents is purely military. The conference of course had nothing to say about political defense against the Stalinist empire because that was not on its agenda. But there are not a few pointing out that even the military arithmetic of the conference is already obsolete. For example: Twelve plus four equals . . . how many H-bombs?

SUCKED BACK

The United States won the Second World War over its enemy Japan, and then after the war had to win a second "victory" in order to persuade the Japanese to violate their own post-war constitution by rearming. The United States crushed its foe Germany in the war, and now has reinforced its victory with a second "victory," the victory which Eisenhower and Dulles are now hailing, the achievement in London, the glorious fulfillment of remilitarizing Adenauer Germany.

The concession to Germany of many or most of the attributes of national sovereignty is good in itself. We social-

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Salisbury & Russian Slave Labor

By A. STEIN

The Kremlin has always been more than fortunate in the type of correspondent assigned to Russia by the *New York Times*. In the mid-thirties it had the invaluable services of the cynical Walter Duranty. More recently, between 1949 and 1954, it has had Harrison E. Salisbury.

Although Salisbury is no Duranty—since he lacks the gall, the absolute contempt for truth, and esteem for the intelligence or worth of his fellow men that were Duranty's chief stock-in-trade—there is a parallelism in the kind of service each in his own way has rendered the Kremlin.

Duranty explained away the purges, the Moscow Trials, and the terror and bestiality of Stalin's rule by saying these were the unfortunate but inevitable by-products of a struggle between the "moderates" and the "extremists," the sober "reformers" and the romantic "revolutionaries." Trotsky and the Old Bolsheviks, with their impractical dreams of world revolution were a menace to the world. But Stalin—there was a man who wanted to stay in his own back-

yard!—a realistic fellow with whom you could do business.

Needless to say, Duranty shaped the facts to fit his opinions. True, he admitted, there was a great deal of suffering and want in Russia, but then that kind of thing was congenial to the Slavic soul of the ordinary Russian.

And whatever was wrong, there was more that was right. The proof of this at home was the 1936 Constitution with its great promise of political reform. And Stalin's foreign policy put Russia on the side of the capitalist democracies against the fascist powers. Dictatorship at home

and revolution abroad were on the way out; domestic reform, the Popular Front and collective security were on the way in.

Like Duranty, Salisbury is no mere reporter but has a political line to peddle. The main feature is familiar enough: The present rulers in the Kremlin, whatever they may have been in the past, are now moderates and reformers, while the late Stalin and Beria were wild-eyed extremists, anti-Semites, mad dogs and bloody monsters.

Further: the present regime is stable, has the support of the army, and is dissipating popular distrust and apathy as it introduces more political and economic measures to benefit the masses. And instead of stepping up the cold war, Malenkov and Company are preaching co-existence.

NO HIRELING BUT—

That Salisbury has such opinions is his business. And as for his estimate of the shifting weight of the different social and political groupings in the ruling clique, LABOR ACTION may deal with them in future articles.

What, however, must be challenged at this point are Salisbury's "facts." When he reports "facts" that are simply not true, and backs them with unsubstantiated rumors in order to buttress his opinions, he is being both disingenuous and dishonest.

What makes Salisbury harmful is that behind him stands the great prestige and reputation of the *New York Times*, a newspaper which can hardly be called a defender or supporter of the Kremlin. Were a Kremlin hireling to publish some of Salisbury's statements, he would be laughed out of court. But when a series of apologies for the Kremlin are skilfully embedded in the articles Salisbury just completed in the *New York Times*, they are classified as "objective reporting." Their value to the Kremlin is inestimable.

AN IMPRESSION

In the eight, ninth and tenth articles of the series Salisbury wrote for the *New York Times* under the title "Russia Re-Viewed," he deals extensively with the subject of slave labor in Stalinist Rus-

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City Leaders Doing Nothing—or Worse

Racism in Detroit At Sizzling Point

By JACK WILSON

DETROIT, Oct. 4—The tensions and frustrations that accompany increasing unemployment hit this industrial area in various ways this past week, even though the end of the Square-D strike was supposed to bring "peace" to the community again.

Unemployment mounted to 215,000 in the Detroit area alone, and totals around 350,000 in Michigan; auto-manufacturer model change-overs build up the load which is permanently around 200,000 unemployed in Michigan during this period of "normalcy." Even the Michigan Employment Security Commission admits that 153,000 are unemployed permanently in the Detroit area.

Increasing friction between Negroes and whites threatens to erupt into something bigger than the recent mob actions against Negroes moving into new neighborhoods, events which all of Detroit pretends don't happen since they are not reported on the radio or in the daily press.

Only last week, a Negro family were stoned, and were not able to move into a working-class area in East Detroit, where they have purchased a home. The Negro mother was badly bruised and frightened to a state of hysteria, by a mob consisting of home-owners and their wives in the Hudson, Budd Wheel and Chrysler area. Most of the vicious race-baiters, were union members. The outcome of this tragic incident was the sale of the home by the Negro. Police protection, as usual, amounted to viewing the mob charitably and keeping the Negro family "safe" by taking them away.

In another mob scene on the East Side, a Negro and his white wife were forced to move from her home in a white neighborhood, after their marriage. Here too the police kept order! The mob had its way.

SCANDAL

Of course, this isn't like Trumbull Park in Chicago. Here even a federal court injunction against the city housing commission has failed to move officials into breaking a Jim-Crow pattern in certain key public housing areas. And in Detroit they haven't removed any city official for fighting against housing segregation, as they did recently in Chicago. Here the qualified candidate for chairman of the city interracial commission simply wasn't given the job. A real-estate man got it instead.

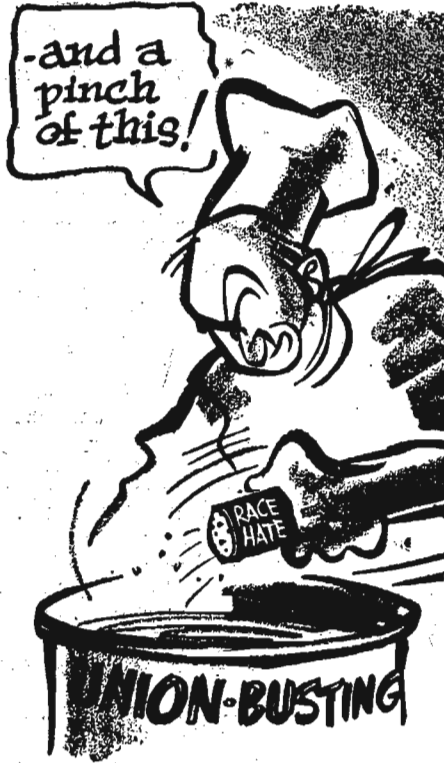
Not very long ago, a national scandal was suppressed in Detroit too, with the cooperation of the press. Haile Selassie, king of Ethiopia, didn't stay in Detroit during his tour. "No hotel was able to furnish suitable accommodations," was the official alibi. The plain fact of the matter was that Detroit's top hotels begged off, and got away with it.

It may be a slight exaggeration to say that the Democratic Party and the UAW-CIO have a new "clever" policy on this question, but it does look like it. The answer to these prejudices that curse the state of Michigan and the city of Detroit seems to be to bring senators and congressmen from down South to talk to the voters to tell them to vote Democratic!

It hardly seems likely that any Democratic candidate or official from the South is going to tackle the Negro question even up here. The next few weeks will provide an answer to that question.

It doesn't seem likely that Governor Williams, for example, will go even as far as Vice-President Nixon did in his remarks on the Jim Crow situation in Delaware.

SINISTER OMEN FOR LABOR



Electrical Workers Humphrey Act Spurs Union-Busting Bosses Sitdown Strike Answers Union-Busting ASR

By AL DAVIS

NEW YORK, Oct. 5—A militant sit-down strike, reminiscent of the '30s, is on in a Brooklyn plant. The ingredients of the situation are interesting. Involved are (1) another type of attempt by a union to stop a runaway plant from moving south; and (2) a union-busting attitude by the company, similar to that developed in the Detroit Square-D strike, taking advantage of the recent Humphrey Anti-Communist Law, to break labor organizations under the Stalinist-led independent United Electrical Workers (UE).

It is Local 475 of the UE which organized the factory, the American Safety Razor Company, employing about 1400 workers. Early this summer the company announced that it planned to move south within a year, as its reaction to the preceding union organization campaign.

By way of sugar-coating the blow—which means loss of employment to the workers during a period of increasing job scarcity—it offered severance pay and pensions totaling almost \$1,000,000 (one week's pay for every year with the company and pensions for all workers over 65 paid on a sliding scale dependent on the length of service). These benefits hinged on a guarantee of uninterrupted production until the company moved.

INSOLENT DEMANDS

After months of negotiations the local leadership accepted in substance the proposals of the company, now modified to include a wage increase and some improvements in pensions and severance.

Between the ratification of the contract and the final draft's preparation, a matter of some three weeks, the new infamous Anti-Communist Law passed. Its first bitter fruit was evident in the overnight change of attitude on the part of the cor-

Research

"ADA Trippers Look Behind Iron Curtain" is the headline in the *ADA World* for September. The sentence in the article on which the headline is based reads:

"The touring ADAers met Iron Curtain refugees in West Berlin and photographed Russian soldiers on holiday with their families in the Eastern section of the city."

British Colonial Dictatorship Still Represses Political Life in Guiana

In British Guiana, where British imperialism openly used troops to suppress and oust the democratically elected government of the colony, on the ground that the People's Progressive Party was Communist-dominated, the colonial dictatorship has continued the repression through subtler legal devices.

The *London African and Colonial World* reports the picture as follows.

On the technical "legislation of restriction orders," by forcing the people to confine their residence to limited areas and reporting to the police daily, a number of people are being provoked into breaking the emergency regulations.

In this, the government is being quite selective, and these orders are only placed on such individuals who are considered likely to be in a position to keep the political movement alive.

One by one, the leaders of the PPP and the elected members of the former Legislature [in which the PPP had the majority] are being served with these restriction orders, but, as the government is aware, these members will defy these orders and one by one they are being found guilty and fined, and, in default, imprisoned.

The latest offense they are being tried and sentenced for is for possession of "subversive" literature, banned in one of the legislative ordinances. Among the people already tried and sentenced to prison are Dr. Jagan, the former prime minister; Ram Karran, former member of the Assembly and treasurer of the

PPP; Fred Bowman, a former member of the Legislature; and the latest to be charged is Dr. J. P. Lachmansingh, a former minister of the PPP government.

The political prisoners, including most of the PPP leaders, and including Dr. Jagan, have now been segregated and removed from Georgetown Jail and taken to a penal settlement, a step unusual in the colony, because this treatment has previously been reserved for long-term convicts.

In order to strike indirectly at the work of the political parties, it has been made unlawful for any organizations other than "charitable, religious, or philanthropic" to collect funds from home to home or in any public place.

Desperate attempts are being made by the press and the government to cause a split in the ranks of the PPP, which is possibly responsible for the special selection of the members of the organization who are being picked up for prosecution and imprisonment.

It is hoped that some members or leaders, either through favor or fear, may be persuaded to leave the PPP, which seems to be the only hope either for the government or the interim legislature to be able to eliminate the political opposition and the right of the ballot box. . . .

Heavy responsibility is daily falling upon the Party Chairman Linden Burnham, who is not only keeping the organization together but is devoting considerable time in looking after the party paper *Thunder*, and defending whenever possible most of the people being prosecuted under emergency regulations.

poration, which now insolently demanded still further concessions from the union.

This last demand was not only unprecedented but impossible to concede. The company demanded that the union bind itself to guarantee that (1) it would not—directly or indirectly by leaflets, meetings, letters to press or any other means of communication—attempt to bring disapproval on the company by reason of its moving from Brooklyn. This was evidently impossible, since it would have forced the union to bind itself to silence not only its own press, but also individual workers and even other unions which might in the process of campaigning against runaway shops mention ASR. The company made it clear that this clause could be interposed by the company to include speeches in Congress which mentioned ASR if the company thought that the union was indirectly responsible. Since the company is known to have stooges among the workers who could always be induced to "give cause" for a contract violation, this clause in effect said that pensions and severance pay would be paid at the discretion of the company.

(2) That the union would not call for a boycott of the company's products.

Since the company absolutely refused to budge on its new demands, in effect reneging on its own contract, undoubtedly encouraged by the new legal situation of the UE, the shop authorized a strike.

DISCRETION

The Minister of Defense of racist South Africa, F. C. Erasmus, has publicly expressed what most colonialist powers think:

"There must be no militarization of the African—no military arming or training for service overseas. They will then not be able to return indoctrinated with communistic ideas and will not be militarily trained to turn on the white man with the white man's weapons."

The minister, a member of the White Supremacy cabinet of Malan, said that the Africans shot with an accuracy which should make the white man think twice before arming them for wars overseas.

Instead of the usual strike, the union leadership—which broadened itself out by inviting rank-and-filers to serve on an "action" committee of about 100—began to prepare for a sitdown. On Thursday, September 30, at precisely 10 a.m., all operations stopped.

So effective was the sitdown that in the entire plant of more than 950 workers, no more than eight continued to work. About 200 workers, including older women, forced up in the plant and stayed on after quitting time, the rest leaving only to return the following days for more picketing. Even before the union began to send food into the plant, wives and friends of workers outside the plant began to throw food over the plant fence to the sitdowners. The strike, as of this writing, is in its sixth day; the morale is still excellent and the strike shows no signs of petering out.

HOLDING OUT

From the outset the police showed hostility to the strikers—not as individuals but under orders. Mounted police, patrol cars and patrolmen did everything to prevent food deliveries. The police even went so far as to station a patrolman on every floor of the apartment building behind the plant, through which some of the residents kept bringing food to the strikers. On the third night of the strike an attempt by foremen, supported by police, to clear a floor of the plant was defeated.

The sitdowners, after the first two confused days, have become solidly organized. Rank and filers are active in the conduct if not the planning of the strike.

The lack of participation of rank and filers in the planning of even the day-to-day tasks of the sitdown weakens the internal organization of the strike, leading as it does to inadequate understanding of the need for discipline and confusion.

This is seen most clearly by the lack of any real internal meetings in the plant. Such meetings as do take place are primarily informational in character. This is unfortunate since the educational aspect of the sitdown is not being brought home. That is the trade-mark of the Stalinists in mass organizations, even when leading legitimate struggles for workers' demands. This is because of the almost panicky fear of the Stalinists of genuine rank-and-file democracy and militancy which could pave the way for alternate leadership.

YSL Class in N. Y.

WEDNESDAYS
at 7:30 p.m.

Oct. 13—Stalinism.

Oct. 20—Socialism.

Oct. 27—The Third Camp.

Nov. 3—Labor Party.

Nov. 10—Socialist Perspectives.

All sessions at Labor Action Hall,
114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

LONDON LETTER

Bevan's Course at Scarborough

By ALLAN VAUGHAN

LONDON, Sept. 29—The narrow victory of the Labor Party right wing on the question of German rearmament, at the annual conference, has posed some very clear issues for the Labor Party leadership.

At the cost of removing the last vestiges of prestige which the right-wing leadership has inherited from the past, the National Executive Committee succeeded in steamrolling-through a watered-down resolution in support of German rearmament.

Aneurin Bevan's course now fits into a clear picture. He has been systematically disengaging himself from positions of responsibility in the party; first it was from his position on the Labor Party Front Bench, and now it is his self-removal from the NEC. This is why he ran for party treasurer; his candidacy for that post, which he did not expect to win, made it impossible for him to run for the NEC.

What this indicates is that Bevan is now making an open bid for leadership of the party on the basis of the policies he has advocated over the last three years.

The fact that well over a million trade-unionists voted for him as treasurer of the Labor Party is very significant, for it shows that Bevan is now making an all-out bid to capture the leadership of the party on the basis of a direct appeal not only to the Labor Party rank and file, but also to the key unions (such as the Amalgamated Engineers Union and the National Union of Mineworkers) which, if switched, could quickly end any

ambitions which—Hugh Gaitskell may have with respect to succeeding Attlee as leader of the party.

It is important to note the fact that all the Bevanites were returned to the NEC with increased majorities. The only newcomer, Anthony Greenwood, is himself a near-Bevanite. It is difficult to see how this conference can be interpreted except as a moral victory for the Bevanite left, and a pyrrhic victory for the Attlee-Morrison right wing.

The coming year will be a decisive year not only for Bevanism but for Bevan himself. The fundamental cleavage between the Attlee-Morrison wing and the Bevan wing will reach greater proportions. Attlee-Morrison have their basis in the bureaucracy of Transport House and the General Unions, while Bevan has his basis in the rank and file of the party and the more democratic unions.

So powerful is Bevan now that if Transport House were to expel him, they would find themselves completely bereft of a rank and file. This they fully under-

stand, and the threats of expulsion are not to be taken too seriously for this reason.

The possibility of a compromise is largely ruled out at this stage, as the bridges between the two wings have been blown up. The bitter struggle over German rearmament and over SEATO has revealed the chasm separating the rank and file from the bureaucracy. The withdrawal of Attlee from the political scene could only remove the last piece of cement holding the factions together.

Undoubtedly the main task of socialists is to help clarify this powerful and militant left wing and, above all, to raise the question of an organized struggle against the right wing. For it is only when the rank and file is as well organized and well informed as the Platform that a decisive victory for the left can be achieved.

Organized groups or tendencies of an agitational or even propagandistic character are frowned on by the right wing of the Labor Party, though they themselves have established an effective right-wing caucus through the Labor Party Constituency Agents. In the trade unions, the formation of caucuses is taken for granted, and in this the trade unions are well ahead of their brother constituency parties.

Only a systematic and organized struggle of the left wing can ensure a lasting victory over the bureaucracy. This is the outstanding lesson of this fateful Scarborough Labor Party Conference of 1954.

Togoland Moving Toward Independence

If you were a delegate to the UN General Assembly sessions starting this month, you would be called upon to vote on the question of Togoland, a West African territory lying between the Gold Coast and Nigeria.

Seized from Germany during the 1917 War to Make the World Safe For Democracy, this territory was divided between French and British victors, and the Ewe tribe thus cut in two by duties on trade, restrictions on movement, language differences, etc. Despite decades of appeals to world opinion, the territory still remains split, juridically speaking, into two United Nations Trust territories, one under French and one under British rule. Administratively, the French have already attached their slice to their next-door colony of Dahomey on the east, and the British administer their part through the Gold Coast on the West.

Several Africans were killed by French forces in 1951 when thousands ignored the hated boundary and forced their way across to appear before a UN Visiting Mission.

On June 15 British Togoland voted in the Gold Coast elections which gave Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah's Convention Peoples' Party 71 seats out of 104 in the legislature. The northern part of British Togoland has close tribal ties to the Gold Coast and voted for unification. But in the southern part of British Togoland, three out of six representatives elected prefer to join with other Ewe tribe members in French Togoland.

A few days after the election, the British Colonial Office abruptly announced that it had decided to give up its Togoland trusteeship as soon as Gold Coast independence was achieved. The announcement went on to suggest a UN plebiscite.

For years the UN has prodded the administering authorities (as the League of Nations did earlier) to carry out unification. Last December, the General Assembly was sufficiently alarmed about the inadequacy of election plans announced by the British and French for the Joint Council for Togoland Affairs to urge additional democratic guarantees. The Gold Coast, Togoland elections have diverted public attention from the neglect of democratic moves in the Joint Council toward unity of the two Togolands.

Does the true path to self-determination lie in unification of the two Togolands under continued Trusteeship?

Or should the inhabitants of British Togoland, at least, be encouraged to climb aboard the Nkrumah Express which appears to be moving rapidly toward independence?

—from "Toward Freedom" (Chicago).

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, U. S. Code, Section 233) OF LABOR ACTION, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1954.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 2360.

L. G. SMITH
Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1954.

MEYER B. CARP, Notary Public, State of New York No. 03-0574200. (My commission expires March 30, 1955.)

BRAZIL

Eyes on Sao Paulo Race for Governor

Two Adventurers Bid for Vargas' Mantle

By BRASILEIRO

RIO de JANEIRO, Sept. 15—The current election struggle reflects the nature of the present period after the death of Vargas.

Vargas' passing ended the 25-year period of his Bonapartist regime. The present government headed by Café Filho is an administration staffed by "anti-getulists" (i.e., anti-Getulio Vargas), but it is a coalition of all parties, including the collaborationist wing of the Vargas party itself (the "Labor Party") under the leadership of Minister of Labor Guimaraes. It is a transitional regime, which can go in the direction of consolidating a liberal bourgeois government or which can give way to a new edition of a "Laborist" (Getulist) regime.

The present-election fight will, among other things, define the character of the future government of the country.

Political life in Brazil today is a very interesting spectacle, for everything is in a process of transformation now that the straitjacket of the Vargas regime has been thrown off. This is certainly true in the most advanced and industrialized state of Brazil, the state of Sao Paulo, where an election campaign is under way for the state congress as well as for the state governor.

The Sao Paulo campaign is also very important because two candidates for the governor's post are also potential candidates for the presidency of the country. Prestes Maia is backed by the coalition of UDN-PSD (National-Democratic Union and Social-Democratic Party). Adhemar de Barros is the other candidate with his own powerful political machine, the PSP. The Socialist Party and important sectors of the Vargas "Labor Party" are supporting Janio Quadros, mayor of Sao Paulo, the largest city of Brazil and the most important industrial center of South America.

Prestes Maia has the support of the liberal and bourgeois forces, and of the present government machine in the state of Sao Paulo and the national government; and therefore his candidacy is probably lost, because of the strong opposition of the workers and the working masses generally.

Adhemar de Barros—a *nouveau riche* whose fortune has its origin in the public treasury—represents the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois "canaille" peculiar to the early stage of Brazilian capitalism, and a powerful section of the state and public bureaucracy, the *lumpen*-petty-bourgeoisie and *lumpen*-proletariat, the new bourgeois adventurers, etc., all united

under the leader's slogan: "Steal, but Do Something."

De Barros is hoping to succeed Vargas. In that case he will become even richer at the expense of the public treasury and he will also enrich all his friends and familiars. He is a typical South American political adventurer, a product of the present stage of Brazilian capitalism. According to the political conjuncture he can take on the coloration of a "democrat," a "progressive," a dictator or a fascist, but most probably he represents the degeneration of the Bonapartist regime.

His election is very probable, because the "canaille" is very strong; because he has money, much money, for the campaign; and because he has a very good political machine.

QUADROS' THREAT

But recently the leading forces of the UDN seem to have begun to understand the danger which Adhemar represents to themselves, and they began seriously to oppose his candidacy. According to my information, also, the leaders of the army have resolved to destroy his power and to hinder his assumption of power. For the leading circles of the "feudal-bourgeoisie" and the army, the overthrow of the Vargas camp was very costly, the power they gained is very sweet, and they do not want to lose it all now to another political adventurer.

But if these conservative circles do manage to stand in the way of a victory by Adhemar de Barros, they will still face another new danger, Janio Quadros.

This insignificant provincial politician from Campo Grande became the mayor of the largest Brazilian city as the standard-bearer of the working masses' dissatisfaction with the UDN and the Vargas camp. He accepted nomination by the Brazilian Socialist Party because his own small Christian Democratic Party declined to back him. Supported by the "socialist legend," he won the support of important sectors of the working class. Now Vargas' suicide, the decomposition of the Vargas party and the current political flux have been of great help to his prospects.

This provincial politician is aiming to be a candidate for the presidency of the country. He has changed over from being a fervent opponent of Vargas into a proponent of the latter's "social policy" in a "new style." He too is dreaming of being a Vargas No. 2, a "new style" Vargas.

If elected to the governorship of Sao Paulo, he will run for the presidency; he will fudge up a new "social policy" for Brazil; he will probably also form his own political party. He is used to donning new political coats to fit occasions.

He started as a Christian Democrat, but he accepted the nomination of the Socialist Party. As a candidate of the SP, presumably subscribing to the SP program, he made contact with Vargas and got a promise of his support. But was also in contact with the rabid opponent of Vargas, Lacerda; and this, in turn, did not stop him from getting support from Goulart, the secretary of the Vargas "Labor Party," and from the family of the ex-president.

With these new aids, he stands a good chance of defeating the candidate of the UDN-PSD, Prestes Maia, and of profiting from the difficulties of Adhemar de Barros.

Thus a new political figure has appeared in the political life of the country, and this one is also a political adventurer. He is counting now on the support of the SP, of big sections of the working class that are groping for an independent class policy, of the backward workers who have supported the Vargas party, of the Vargas family and Goulart.

The Stalinist party well understands the danger represented by "Janio," and it is fighting him as the "American" candidate. But it is well known that there is contact between the CP and the Vargas "Labor Party" and that they are likely to make common cause against the government. Janio Quadros could be the leader of a new "Laborist" front in Brazil.

What are the Socialists doing in this heterogeneous and totalitarian conglomeration? Can they go along with the Vargas-Laborites and the Stalinists? What will be the role of the SP? Of course, this is now a problem for the careerists, the "pro-Janist" element, which won inside the SP. But what will be the position of the clean and honest sections of the party with a revolutionary past, who went along with the "pro-Janist" tactic in the honest conviction that it would help the growth of the Socialist movement?

Salisbury and Slave Labor — —

(Continued from page 1)

sia. While Salisbury, of course, does not deny the existence of slave-labor camps—and who could these days except an out-and-out Stalinist?—he seeks to create the impression that the Malenkov regime is showing signs of ameliorating conditions in these camps and intends to release political prisoners on a large scale.

As his first proof of this trend toward genuine reform, he cites in his eighth article the rumor, current in Moscow just before he left, that large teams of lawyers were being sent to the Far North, Eastern Siberia and Central Asia. According to this rumor, these lawyers were to review the cases of all prisoners jailed in the thirties. Another variant of the same rumor held that the regime had promised legal aid to all prisoners, detainees and forced residents.

Of course Salisbury admits he is only reporting rumors which cannot be confirmed. But it does create a certain impression in favor of the regime.

FALSE PICTURE

However, Salisbury fails in the course of these three articles to mention a fact which can be confirmed: namely, that the regime has failed to live up to its promise, made in the Amnesty Decree of March 28, 1953, that it would revise the criminal code. And it should be noted that these promised reforms were minor in character, and do not touch the basis of Russian totalitarian justice, those sections (58 and 59) of the Legal Code which define political crimes in all-embracing terms.

Having painted a favorable background of the regime's good intentions with these rumors, Salisbury then proceeds to report some facts to indicate the mild attitude of the regime. He devotes an extensive section of the eighth article to an account of the 1953 uprising in the Vorkuta slave-labor camps.

The amazing, the astounding thing about Salisbury's account is that it is false from beginning to end, and carelessly written to boot. Everything of importance that Salisbury reports is contradicted by the published reports of Brigitte Gerland and Joseph Scholmer, who were prisoners in the Vorkuta camp for years before the uprising and eyewitness to its preparation and actual outbreak.

VORKUTA RISING

Salisbury writes: "The strike started among a group of worker prisoners who had been transferred there from another great prison labor center, the Karaganda coal fields of Kazakhstan. As punishment for their bad conduct in Karaganda, they had been shifted to Vorkuta, which is also based on coal fields."

Joseph Scholmer, whose account of the Vorkuta uprising appeared as a special section of the May 31, 1954 *New Leader*, describes the events leading up to the outbreak of the strike by the Karaganda workers in exactly opposite terms.

According to Dr. Scholmer, the Karaganda group consisted of workers who had "voluntarily enlisted for the Vorkuta transfer, for they had been promised better pay and settlement as free men. But when they arrived in Vorkuta, they were put into a routine state camp; their living conditions were no different from those of the old Vorkuta prisoners. As far as the promise of free settlements was concerned, it could not have been kept because the preliminary conditions for it did not exist. When the men from

Karaganda realized they had been cheated, they simply refused to work. When they were officially informed that the administration of the Vorkuta mining camps could not consider itself bound by any promises which might have been made in Karaganda, the men successfully influenced the old Vorkuta men to join them in the strike."

It should be added that Dr. Scholmer was then living in Mine Camp No. 6, adjacent to Camp No. 7 in which the Karaganda prisoners were located, and that personal contact between the prisoners had been established upon the arrival of the Karaganda contingent.

OMITS THE CRUX

The unspoken implication of Salisbury's version of the origin of the strike is that it was due to the "bad actors" who had been brought in from Karaganda, and had they not been brought in there would possibly have been no strike.

But in addition to his false account of the origin of the strike, Salisbury nowhere mentions the crucial fact that even had the Karaganda strikers not appeared, sooner or later there would have been an uprising in the Vorkuta camps, because there existed widespread organization among the prisoners. Led by a political group they had been preparing for action a long time before the Karaganda prisoner-workers appeared on the scene.

Of all this, there is not one single, solitary word in Salisbury's report.

To prove that Moscow was accessible to reason, Salisbury reports that the chief demands of the workers were complied with. This is false according to both Gerland and Scholmer.

Salisbury says that "some of the worst features of prison life were remedied—such as the mixing of criminal and political prisoners, which had caused much suffering on the part of the politicals, as the criminals were completely hardened toughs who ran the camps with an iron hand, often with the complicity of the MVD guards."

POLITICAL PRISONERS

Compare Salisbury's fictional explanation with what Brigitte Gerland says in her article of March 1, 1954 in the *New York Herald Tribune* concerning Vorkuta:

"In 1948, the Ministry of State Security began to sort out part of the prisoners sentenced for 'political' offenses who were supposed to need stronger guards and stricter isolation because they were dangerous to the state, and to put them into special 'Reglager' (regime camps). The result of this was the creation of entire regions in which the political opponents of the regime were concentrated and at last got a chance to meet one another."

Scholmer corroborates Gerland's statement and writes:

"There were two groups of camps. One was exclusively for political prisoners—these were called state camps. At Vorkuta, there were thirteen state camps run by the MGB under a special chief, General Derevyanko. The remaining camps were known as 'Vorkut' camps and housed innocuous political prisoners."

THEY WANTED FREEDOM

In other words, both Gerland and Scholmer insist that in their entirety, the Vorkuta camps contained only political prisoners, and that the separation of political from criminal prisoners could not have been the chief demand of the strikers. What the strikers demanded—and what Salisbury does not report, because it would contradict his painted portrait of a conciliatory Moscow—was freedom.

And by this the prisoners did not demand to go back to the main cities of European Russia. They were prepared to remain in Vorkuta and to work in the coal mines, but as free men—that is, as free as the ordinary Russian worker.

Elsewhere Salisbury has declared that so far as he could see there was not much to choose between the plight of the slave-labor camp inmates and the "free citizens," the former prisoners who lived in these forbidding regions. Nevertheless, the strikers of Vorkuta were prepared to lay down their lives for this right. But what is even more important, is that Moscow refused to grant this demand and put down the uprising with bloodshed and violence.

MILD MALENKOV

Salisbury says that "about 200 prisoners and guards were killed. Some ring-leaders were shipped off to the east; but reports of large-scale executions at the

camps are denied by persons who were present there."

Again, Salisbury is trying to indicate the mildness of Malenkov and his friends since there were "only 200 prisoners and guards killed." Again Scholmer gives a slightly different report.

The prisoners were unarmed, and according to the camp doctor (by name Blagodatov) who was summoned to the scene of the massacre, there were no guards killed, and he says: "I found about 200 wounded, most of them with critical abdominal and chest wounds. Sixty-four victims of the shooting died at once. . . . For half a week we operated day and night. We did all we could, but each day more of the wounded died."

According to Salisbury Moscow was very concerned about the events in Vorkuta, and understandably so. But so careless is Salisbury in his report on the Vorkuta events that he has not even got straight the name of the head of the investigatory commission which flew in from Moscow. He reports that the head of this commission was a General Derevyanko. But both Gerland and Scholmer report that Derevyanko was the head of the state camps. It was this same Derevyanko who led the troops in their murderous charge against the unarmed prisoners.

The chairman of the commission which flew in from Moscow was headed by a General Maslennikov. This commission had no authority to bring about any changes and was merely there to gather information on what was happening. As Scholmer says, "The commission worked for about a week, and then flew off again, leaving no instructions."

CONCESSIONS?

The minor concessions which the Vorkuta strikers wrested from the regime were not due to the good-will of Malenkov and his co-rulers, but due to the extraordinary fact that the slave-laborers had organized themselves into a cohesive force and demonstrated their power.

And even here, some of these concessions were purely formal in character. Salisbury makes much of the fact that prisoners might have visits from their wives once a year. Of this Scholmer wryly writes:

"As far as visits were concerned, the prisoners knew very well that this concession had no practical value. Who of their relatives was in a position to travel, at his own expense, 3,000 or more kilometers from the Ukraine, the Baltic states or Siberia across the Arctic Circle in order to see them for a few hours daily for three days? In the five months following the strike, one prisoner in Mine Camp 6 was visited once by his wife; but she had obtained special permission from President Voroshilov, independently of the rights proclaimed during the strike."

Another concession granted to the strikers has some relevance in connection with the rumor reported by Salisbury, that lawyers were being sent to the camps to help the prisoners draw up petitions to have their cases reviewed. He writes: "The petitions of about a third of the 3,500 prisoners in Mine Camp 6, submitted in accordance with the proclamation to General Maslennikov or to the Chief Public Prosecutor of the USSR, Rudenko, were all (with one exception) refused with the following stereotyped formula: 'Your petition dated . . . has been examined. You have been sentenced in accordance with the law. There is no reason to reopen your case. After serving your sentence, you will be released.'"

CAN WE BELIEVE HIM?

Enough has been said to show that Salisbury's description of the events at Vorkuta is as tendentious as it is false. Knowing the methods of Stalinism, we can only conclude that at the best Salisbury was the unwitting victim of a Stalinist frameup. The informants he relied on were nothing more and nothing less than Stalinist agents.

The question, however, arises why was Salisbury so uncritical of his sources? Surely, when he returned to this country a brief check of the published accounts of both Gerland and Scholmer were available and at hand. An elementary sense of respect for the integrity of his craft should at least have impelled him to mention in his story, if he had read the other accounts, there do exist other versions of the Vorkuta uprising, written by eyewitnesses, which do not jibe with his.

But it is not only with regard to Vor-

kuta that we must question Salisbury's credibility.

In this same eight article by Salisbury, there appears a reference to a visit by a group of British lawyers to some slave-labor camps near Moscow. Salisbury mentions the fact that "this groups went at the inspiration of D. N. Pritt, a left-wing lawyer who was much interested in the subject of Soviet prisoners and the Soviet penal system even before Stalin's death. The British lawyers were taken to visit labor camps and permitted limited talks with some prisoners—the first occasion on which outsiders had been permitted to make such an inspection since the early days of the Soviet regime. . . ."

And Salisbury uses this visit as proof that changes of importance are impending in the slave-labor camps.

WHO IS PRITT?

Salisbury's reference to Pritt is slightly unbelievable. Doesn't he know who Pritt is? If he doesn't, we shall tell him.

Pritt is a well-known and long-time Stalinist agent. He along with a few other chosen hirelings of the Kremlin foreign office were "invited" by Stalin to witness the Moscow Trials and confirm their fairness and legality. This is the same Pritt who wrote that anyone who claimed that Trotsky was innocent and that the trials were a frameup placed himself in a grave logical difficulty, because then it follows "that Stalin and a substantial number of other high officials, including presumably the judges and the prosecutor, were themselves guilty of a foul conspiracy to procure the judicial murder of Zinoviev, Kamenev and a fair number of other persons." And in one pamphlet and article after another, this same Pritt defended the whole nightmare of confessions without proof, staged trials and assassinations in the cellars of the secret police.

The appearance of Pritt on the scene has no other explanation than the fact that the Kremlin is conducting a well-organized campaign to convince the world that the slave-labor camps are not as terrible as they have been made out to be. The day is long since past when the Kremlin rulers can deny their existence. And Salisbury becomes, wittingly or no, a cog in this campaign.

KREMLIN CHANNEL

It so happens that a few days before Salisbury turned to the subject of the slave-labor camps, there appeared a dispatch from Moscow in the *New York Times* on the activities of Pritt and his group of lawyers. According to the dispatch, Pritt had accepted the explanation of the Soviet government that there had been a decline in the number of camps and that this was due to a reduction of crime. Pritt is quoted as saying, "It is quite plainly true that crime is diminishing."

On both these points, the credibility of Pritt is exactly nil and it is only too easy to expose the brazen fraud. The *New York Times* correspondent follows Pritt's remarks on the reduction in the number of camps with the dry comment that "Mr. Pritt did not offer any statistics on the number of corrective labor colonies in other districts or in the Soviet Union as a whole."

As for the decline in crime, we have only to turn to the thirteenth article in Salisbury's series to expose the absurd claim proffered by Malenkov's regime. In this article Salisbury paints a fairly accurate picture of the increase in crimes of violence in recent years and points out that the government has been compelled to institute the death penalty for murder as a check on crimes of murder, assault, and robbery.

Salisbury's totally incorrect version of the Vorkuta events, his reliance on unchecked rumors, and his reference to a direct Stalinist agent like Pritt cast the strongest doubts on the credibility of his reports of what is going on in post-Stalin Russia. His uncritical reliance on Stalinist sources does not make him a Stalinist, but it does show that he is willing to sacrifice accuracy and the truth in order to give his picture of what the Malenkov regime is like some semblance of reality.

We do not question that changes are going on inside Stalinist Russia or that the regime has relaxed its iron controls to one degree or another. But from Salisbury we will never get a real picture of what its extent and limits are. Unwittingly or not, he has acted as mouthpiece for the Kremlin, disseminating opinions they would like to see held about the Russian reality.



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Fight Against Student Oath Gains in Calif.

By PETE SKLAR and MAX MARTIN

The struggle over the new campus loyalty oaths continues apace. Challenge readers will recall the articles in the issues of September 27 and October 4 on the imposition of such oaths at the University of California (both Berkeley and Los Angeles) for all male students in connection with the Regents' requirement that students have to take ROTC.

Student reaction at UCLA resulted in the formation of a Student Committee for Action which held a meeting on the oath and issued a leaflet advising students not to sign until the legal issues had been clarified. The committee set itself up as a continuing body to give aid and legal advice to non-signers and others who desired counsel.

At Berkeley, the Student Civil Liberties Union adopted a position calling for non-signing of the oath, as its recommendation to students agreeing with SCLU's analysis of the oath as a danger to civil liberties. The SCLU statement appeared in the "As I See It" column of the Daily Californian, the student newspaper.

In addition, the paper carried a letter by a member of the Young Socialist League opposing the oath and one by a student who had originally signed and now wished to announce that he was "taking" his signature back. This student intends to register for "informal" ROTC, a category instituted for non-signers by the university after students had begun to protest.

The legal defense of Ralph E. Arneles, a freshman English major, who had refused to sign the oath, is being arranged with the aid of the Northern California ACLU. A meeting has been called for Tuesday, October 5 by SCLU at which time Lawrence Speiser, ACLU counsel, will speak on "The Legal Ramifications of the ROTC Loyalty Oath." Meetings on other civil liberties issues such as the case of James Kutcher, the attorney general's list, and "Sanctions against Teachers as Citizens" have been planned.

ROTC QUESTIONNAIRE

The current oath stems from a little noticed rider which Congress attached to the bill appropriating money for campus ROTC units. To enforce this law, the ROTC brass came up with a questionnaire form for all ROTC enrollees which, while referred to as a "Loyalty Certificate," has nothing to do with determining the loyalty of the individual. It is, instead, an inquiry into the opinions, beliefs and associations of the signer, in direct violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees the right to free association and speech.

Like all previous federal loyalty oaths, it makes use of the attorney general's list of over two hundred organizations which he has designated as subversive or totalitarian. This is one more example of how such a list, compiled without benefit of hearings or formal charges, and hence without any possibility of a defense by the organizations listed, continues to be used as the almost exclusive measure of loyal conduct, even after

President Eisenhower's order that no organization should be ruled as totalitarian or subversive without first having had a hearing to determine the fact.

But the point about this certificate which takes the federal loyalty program even further along the police-state road (at the present rate it seems to be an express freeway!) is its concern not only with membership in any organizations on the list but any other form of conduct which might "reasonably" be considered sympathetic association with such an organization.

Students are asked to state whether they have ever been employed by, attended meetings of, been present at social activities sponsored by, received literature distributed by (etc., etc.) such an organization. The standards of conduct described in the certificate are so vague and the number of organizations involved is so large, that difficulties are created for many students.

SWEAR BY CAPITALISM

There is a clear implication that any student who ever joined in an activity which one of these "subversive" organizations helped to sponsor may be considered disloyal, even though his participation was as a member of a non-"subversive" but jointly sponsoring organization. The same is true of any student who has, at some time in his life, attended a social function of one of the listed organizations.

Further, the oath delves into the beliefs of the individual in an unprecedented way. The signer must not only state that he does not believe in or advocate the forceful overthrow of the United States government, but that he has not said or done anything which could be construed as advocating the overthrow of our . . . economic system!

Support of capitalism is made a condition for certification by the keepers of the administration's party line on loyalty.

Such an oath is, in itself, bad enough.

But what adds insult to injury is the fact that at many schools, including U. of C. and UCLA, ROTC courses are compulsory. All male students at these schools, the vast majority of whom do not intend to, and in fact will not, become officers in the armed forces, are forced to register for and successfully complete this training in order to stay in school. In regard to such students, there cannot possibly be any question of defending the oath on the usual grounds of "preventing infiltration."

Whatever the legislative intent with regard to this oath may have been, if indeed there ever was any besides anti-red tub-thumping, the result of the oath is to discriminate academically and economically against those who cannot or will not sign it, or, at the very least, to single out for public example those who hold unpopular or misunderstood views.

ANOTHER WAY OUT

At the University of California at Los Angeles, most of the widespread resistance to the oath resulted from the fact that all male students were put on the spot, without warning or alternative. Oaths were shoved under their noses and they were told to sign.

There was no competent legal advice available for those who had questions. No one knew, or would say, what the penalty for refusal to sign would be. Uppermost in most minds was the consideration that refusal or tardiness in signing might mean being dropped from ROTC and hence from school.

The Boards of Regents of the U. of C. and UCLA were faced with the problem of how to enforce the oath. At Texas A. and M., the Board of Directors changed the ROTC program from compulsory to voluntary. This prevented the oath from being a prerequisite to a college education itself.

Such a road was open because the Morrill Act, passed by Congress in 1868, which offered funds from the sale of public lands to colleges on the condition that they make ROTC courses a part of their curriculum, did not insist that such courses be compulsory but only that they be offered. This method was a relatively democratic and simple way for a college administration to get out of the difficult position into which an irresponsible Congress had placed it.

The California Regents rejected this way. They chose instead to enforce the law in such a way as would allow non-signers to remain in the ROTC and in school, but which would single them out for abuse in a way which only the most reactionary members of Congress could have intended.

The Regents stated that ROTC was to remain compulsory for all eligible students, signers and non-signers alike. No one would be forced out of school. This seemingly democratic pronouncement merely meant that non-signers would be left to the mercy of the ROTC officials.

PILLORY POLICY

The latter, no sooner had the Regents' policy been announced, decided to make a very strict interpretation of the law. The law said that no money was to be spent on non-signers. Good. Since the Regents have decreed that everyone takes ROTC, all we can do, to carry out the law, is to refuse to give uniforms, guns, books, etc., to non-signers. Non-signers will appear on the drill field as usual. Civilian clothes are the uniform of the non-signer.

This policy makes a public example of the non-signer. It discriminates against him, it holds him up to be ridiculed and baited. It shows that the "loyalty" program is not so much concerned with loyalty as it is with using every underhanded way to discourage those holding non-conformist or unpopular ideas.

The enforcement of the oath will undoubtedly lead to a rash of civil-liberties incidents. What is needed is a strong permanent organization to defend civil liberties consistently. SCLU at Berkeley and the Student Committee for Action can form the beginnings of such a movement.

These organizations as well as the ACLU must be prepared to defend every student who refuses to sign the oath and signers who change their minds. They must also be alert to all incidents of harassment and attack made against any students in connection with it. While only those taking ROTC have to decide whether or not to sign all students and faculty members and the community at large, especially the labor movement, are faced with the undemocratic political and moral implications of the Loyalty Certificate.

Reed College on the Witchhunt Wagon

The heavy inroads into academic freedom by the witchhunters have not been confined to those schools whose traditional civil-liberties situation was never too good to begin with, as is supposed by some. Reed College in Portland, Oregon, a school with a fine reputation for freedom of opinion and organization for teachers and students, and one with an unusually good setup of faculty and student rights, has recently been the scene of a series of attacks on democracy.

Several students at Reed published an open letter, "To the Reed Student Body," and it is from this bulletin that we gather the information which follows.

The emasculation of Reed's traditional practices appears to have begun in the fall of 1953 when a new administration, headed by one Dr. Duncan Smith Ballantine, was inaugurated. The outgoing president of Reed reportedly said to him, "Go to it, brother," when advising him to clean up Reed's "pink" reputation. This apparently was the policy which the Board of Trustees expected its new president to follow.

The first step in the campaign involved denying permission to a student club to bring Henry Huff, well-known Northwest Stalinist, to the campus as a speaker for this club. The administration's "justification" was that Huff was under indictment under the Smith Act.

After the student outcry in opposition to this and other incidents of disregard of student rights had subsided—an outcry which included a letter of protest signed by over 90 per cent of the senior class—the administration was ready for the next act. This move was perpetrated in connection with the visit of the Velje Committee to Portland this past summer.

Almost all of the witnesses before its Portland hearings were connected with Reed in some way; most of them were former students and two were teachers. With one exception they refused to answer questions about political affiliation and activity, pleading either the 1st or 5th Amendments. One of the witnesses, Professor Reynolds of the Graphic Arts Department, who had been scheduled to teach during the summer session, was suspended from this teaching assignment, and the Board of Trustees inaugurated a full-scale investigation of the others.

MOORE CASE

The new policy at Reed consists of examination of the individual cases of pleaders of the Fifth Amendment. This procedure is certainly preferable to one in which "Fifth Amendment cases" are dismissed wholesale and summarily, but its results at Reed indicate the great danger in departing from the standard

of competence as the sole criterion for employment of teachers.

After six weeks of investigation the trustees made their decision. They cleared Professor Reynolds and another faculty member, finding that they were not members of the CP, but fired a Professor Moore for not having "cooperated" with their investigation. Moore is presumably a Stalinist, but is regarded by students and fellow faculty members as a competent teacher who has never attempted to indoctrinate but rather permitted free discussion in his classes.

In its decision the trustees thus set up two criteria for retaining "suspected" teachers: that they not be current members of the Communist Party and that they "cooperate" with the witchhunting investigations.

The reaction at Reed has been a good one. The Faculty Council issued a statement expressing its disappointment at the firing and stating that a teacher should not be required to give "information concerning his lawful political affiliations." An alumni-student meeting in San Francisco had earlier voted 77-9 in favor of a resolution condemning President Ballantine. Other students prepared to take the issue to the whole student body and circulated the "Open Letter" referred to above.

YSL Forum • New York

Friday evening, Oct. 15

HAL DRAPER

Editor, Labor Action

on

NEUTRALISM vs. THIRD-CAMP POLICY

Labor Action Hall
114 West 14 Street, N. Y. C.

The Empire of United Fruit:

More Testimony To the U.S. Crime

Another prominent journalist has testified to U. S. open intervention in the Guatemalan coup which installed the present reactionary government. Latest is Donald Grant, St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* editor of the Sunday editorial page, whose recent trip to Guatemala was his fourth to Latin America for the newspaper, writing in the magazine *The Progressive* for September.

Grant fully accepts the story that the Arbenz regime was Communist-dominated, or at least he writes as if he does, though it is not clear whether he merely equates the charge with the fact that there was Communist influence around. This is relevant only to indicate his generally conservative approach.

Grant writes flatly:

"When [U. S. Ambassador] Peurifoy arrived in Guatemala City, at the end of October 1953, he was under instruction to overturn the Arbenz government, especially the Communists pulling the strings inside the government. However diplomatically the instructions were worded, that was the idea.

"The following spring, down in Nicaragua, life began to bustle around an old, unused air field. In Honduras, submarine guns were handed out to some unlikely-looking characters, by a political exile named Castillo Armas, once a lieutenant colonel in the Guatemalan army. Finally Castillo Armas and his 'ragged band' invaded Guatemala. Guatemala City was bombed—as delicately as bombing can be. In the whole war, casualties were light—almost certainly fewer than 100 in all. Casualties were light because Peurifoy clearly understands the uses of force and persuasion: the more persuasion, the less force. Peurifoy used a great deal of persuasion on various people before the Arbenz government, and its Communists, fell from power."

EVEN OUR FRIENDS . . .

Grant is revolted by this cynicism, but, such is his liberalism, he is not even sure he can condemn it out of hand. But this is what he writes:

"North American liberals can find many things in this pattern of events to arouse righteous wrath. . . . If the United States is going to use its power—the greatest national aggregate of power in the world—to overturn foreign governments, such action can only remotely be justified if we acknowledge the responsibility which is acquired in the process: The substitution of reactionary governments for Communist governments fails to remove the roadblocks to a better life: witness the Dominican Republic and its dictator, Trujillo, installed with U. S. blessing."

At another point, Grant mentions an interesting fact about the reactionary role of the Catholic machine:

"Both Guatemala's leading priest and Catholic layman, in a long conversation a year ago, told me that the best future for the country was a 'Franco-type dictatorship' until the people learned to govern themselves. How long will that be, I asked? Soberly they answered, 'About 200 years.'"

Even the supporters of Castillo Armas, the middle class elements who hated the Arbenz regime and were glad of its overthrow, even such people resent what the U. S. did! So Grant tells us:

"Arbenz had not been a week in his political grave before resentments began to appear. 'I realize we couldn't get rid of the Communists alone,' a newspaper editor told me, 'and no one wanted to get rid of them more than I did. But I don't think I'll ever be able to forgive the United States for doing it.'"

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Today the United Fruit Company of Boston is one of the largest corporations in existence.

With total assets in the amount of 600 million dollars and investments of more than 300 million dollars in the tropics, it surpasses by far all its competitors in its main field of business, the production, shipping and sale of bananas. It grows the bulk of the world's marketable supply of this fruit and ships about more than half of the bananas imported into the United States, main consumer of this commodity.

The banana, originally a native of Southeast Asia and later on also cultivated in Africa, found its way into the Western Hemisphere as early as in 1516. Its commercial exploitation, however, particularly in the West Indies and throughout Central America, began only some centuries later when, about one hundred years ago, a U. S. entrepreneur was building a profitable banana business between Colon on the Isthmus of Panama and the United States. Soon afterwards commercial cultivation and exploitation spread to Costa Rica.

The banana, however, still remained a high-priced and rather strange fruit to customers in the United States, until some years before the turn of the century and until another group of U. S. merchants and shippers—recognizing the fruit's high nutritional value and great marketing potentialities—replaced sailboats by quicker steamship transportation and established the Boston Fruit Company, which developed the banana trade for the first time on a really substantial scale.

This company, after merging with several competitors or rather absorbing them and thus forcing them out of the market, laid the basis for the formation of the present United Fruit Company, a corporation registered in 1899 with a capital of only 20 million dollars. Continuing the monopolistic policies of Boston Fruit, United Fruit grew continuously by similar maneuvers until it attained its present gigantic size and position.

Driven by its inherent lust for aggrandizement as well as the necessities of its growing business and assets, it spread and reached an almost monopolistic position not only in the banana trade but also in other fields more or less related to its main activities.

Thus it owns at present a large array of steamships, comprising 65 sea-going vessels and including the famous Grand White Fleet. It furthermore wields a decisive influence over a great deal of the railroad system in countries where it is active, and directly owns 2500 kilometers of the ordinarily limited available mileage, together with a stock of two hundred locomotives and 6,000 railroad cars.

It monopolizes and owns harbors and harbor installations, and as a sideline has developed and operates through its subsidiary, the Tropical Radio Company, a vast wireless com-

UNITED FRUIT CO. RAILROADS (in miles)

	Railroads	Tramways
Colombia	38	1½
Costa Rica	200	95
Cuba	320
Dominican Republic	30
Ecuador	20
Guatemala	700	60
Honduras	300	6
Jamaica	22
Panama	155

munication business which extends beyond Central America into Colombia, Brazil, the West Indies and the United States.

The great sugar interests the company has developed in Cuba, Jamaica, the United States and other places can only be mentioned in passing to complete the picture, as they have no direct connection with United Fruit's banana empire in Central America, which forms the pivot and most important nucleus of the company's whole system of enterprises.

Possessions in Honduras

The holdings of the corporation in Central America are concentrated in four of the republics of that region: Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama and Honduras.

The company's largest undertakings are still those located in the last-named country, which the United Fruit Company, many years ago, had been able to bring completely under its sway by a coup openly instigated and actively supported by one of its leading officers.

The company administers its possessions in Honduras through the Tela Railroad Company, which owns almost 300 miles of railroads and regularly employs a personnel of about 25,000. Honduras, incidentally, is the only Central American country where United Fruit still encounters a not inconsiderable competition on the part of another U. S. company, the Standard Fruit and Steamship Corporation, formed about a quarter of a century ago. Though Standard employs a total of 10,000 people, its assets are much smaller and in no way comparable with those of its larger competitor.

A great advantage, which both companies enjoy in Honduras, is the location of their plantations in the proximity of the Caribbean Sea, around the town of San Pedro Sula and close to the harbors of Tela and Puerto Cortes, at relatively short distance from U. S. ports, particularly New Orleans, the banana's largest U. S. place of entry. It must finally be added, to illustrate conditions, that the Honduran economy almost entirely has to rely on banana production and trade, and that this country, unlike Guatemala and Costa Rica, has no other important export product to lean upon.

Monopoly in Guatemala

As to Guatemala, Honduras' recently restless neighbor, the company's banana plantations are found in two distinct areas, one around Tiquisate in the Pacific region and the other one in the proximity of the Caribbean and the vicinity of Puerto Barrios, the country's main shipping center for coffee and bananas as well as main entry port. In Guatemala United Fruit has worked up now to the point where it has no compe-

An Expose by ORIT

The invaluable article which occupies these pages is taken from the bulletin "Facts and Figures" published by ORIT.

It is a real contribution, summarizing a great deal of research. The facts about the empire of the United Fruit Company are not easy to find anywhere, though the existence of the empire itself is very well known—especially since the overthrow of the Guatemalan government by Castillo Armas, Washington and United Fruit. This survey by ORIT fills a vacuum.

ORIT is the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, the regional organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. It is the pan-American labor organization which is supported by the AFL and CIO, against Stalinist and other rivals. Its viewpoint is by no means radical, as can perhaps be seen from the false references in the present article to "Communist domination" in Guatemala. The article itself has no by-line; in spots its English was foreign in idiom, and we have edited it slightly to correct the grammar where necessary.—Ed.

tion worth mentioning, and grows about 95 per cent of all the exportable bananas produced in the country; though coffee production, in which the United Fruit has no part, is far more than double in export value as compared with bananas.

In spite of the banana monopoly held by the company, which employs about 7000 workers in agricultural activities, its subsidiary for all practical purposes, the International Railway Company of Central America (IRCA), with another seven thousand or so employees, wields—in our opinion—more decisive influence on the country's economic destiny and situation. It owns Guatemala's main harbor and shipping facilities and, furthermore, 700 of the country's 800 miles of railroads, including the important ones, connecting the nation with Mexico and El Salvador and linking Guatemala's Pacific harbor of San José with Puerto Barrios on the Caribbean.

The longshoremen of the latter town—numbering about 1500—form a distinct sector of the labor force employed by the combined companies and have, like the railroad workers, distinguished themselves repeatedly by a clear consciousness of their position and legitimate rights as working men.

Domain in Costa Rica

As to Costa Rica, United Fruit's banana plantations in that country were originally located on the republic's Caribbean shores around the harbor of Puerto Limón. These areas, however, had to be abandoned in the thirties because of disease and epidemics affecting the plants. Instead large tracts were developed along the Pacific shores around the ports of Golfito and Quepos, which the company expressly constructed for its shipping activities and to supplement the facilities of the already existing harbor, Puntarenas. The company also built—with a similar purpose in mind—a substantial mileage of railroads and now owns about 200 miles of the republic's total network.

All the company's properties in Costa Rica are administered, and all its activities there directed, by a subsidiary, the Compañía Bananera of Costa Rica, which employs a variable number of 16-20,000 people, depending on the season.

Banana production in 1952 amounted to approximately eleven million bushels or about 900 million pounds, a quantity almost comparable to that ordinarily attained by the company in Honduras. As to banana exports, United Fruit, however, wields no monopoly as in the latter country, though the value of those exports reached more than 50 per cent of the total of all other commodities leaving the country.

Giant in Panama

In Panama, finally, a United Fruit subsidiary, the Chiriqui Land Company, controls at this moment more than 60,000 acres of potential banana lands of which 30,000 are under actual cultivation or about to come into production.

Chiriqui Land Company employs about 7000 people and its activities are the largest of any private enterprise in the republic. Besides, banana exports amount to an average value of eight million dollars out of a total of approximately fourteen million for the entire country.

Most plantations, as in Costa Rica, originally were located on the Caribbean in the Bocas del Toro region, but had to be abandoned for the same reason. Main planting therefore today is undertaken along the Pacific coast around the harbor of Puerto Armuelles, though some production is also going on in other parts of the country.

In very recent days United Fruit has discovered ways and means to overcome the dreaded Panama disease which attacks the banana plant underground and, therefore, it now plans not only to resume its activities in the Atlantic region of Panama but also throughout the same parts of Costa Rica. Some such project is pending before, but has not been approved yet by, the Costa Rican Congress.

In case both undertakings should materialize, considerable areas will be added to the company's present terrain under banana cultivation, with the accompaniment of huge investments. It is, however, doubtful whether—outside of certain increases in public revenue—the substantial extension of banana production and consequently the power of the United Fruit would suit the development of countries whose main endeavor should consist in an effort at agricultural diversification to overcome one of the foremost disadvantages of colonialism, monoculture (one-crop agriculture).

Bonanza in Banana Profits

There is no doubt that banana production on a large commercial basis can only be undertaken at certain risks and with the support of considerable financial investment, though the formation of large cooperatives by the great number of smaller individual growers might one day offer some partial alternative. As already mentioned, plant ailments, such as the Sigra-

Overlord of the Caribbean

toka and Panama diseases, have at times made it imperative to abandon vast plantations and transfer production to distant areas. To this must be added the dangers deriving from devastating hurricanes or cloudbursts or, on the other hand, continuous droughts, which repeatedly have caused the loss of tens of thousands of the sensitive plants. Finally, as is well known, the transport of the delicate fruit on any large scale from the places of production to its foreign markets requires not only a network of railroads and sea-going ships with large cargo space but also costly installations for refrigeration.

On the other hand, however, it must not be overlooked that the cultivation of the banana offers substantial advantages over that of other tropical plants. Thus the planting of bananas is a relatively simple process and stems bear fruit as early as one year after the seedlings have been placed in the soil. Furthermore, no processing is required as in the case, for instance, of coffee and sugar, though the work to be done in order to keep the plants clean and thriving is a hard and continuous one. A most favorable factor, moreover, is the steady and growing market carved out for the banana since it became a huge commercial export.

Thus, to quote only one example, the United States imported 12 million bushels in 1898, but 65 million in 1929. Besides these bonanzas granted by nature or flowing from market conditions, some of the greatest advantages enjoyed by United Fruit were extracted from feeble governments and unorganized and sub-servient labor, as well as small growers; to the latter it paid extremely low prices, while its workers had to be contented with inadequate wages.

At the same time the company, due to its political impact, was able to resist substantial taxation or adequate-profit sharing by governments, which it smothered by its sheer weight. No wonder, then, that the profits made in this way have been extremely high throughout the years and most satisfactory to the corporation's more than 60,000 shareholders.

Proof of this are the company's stock-dividend records as well as its \$44,566,264 of net earnings in 1953.

Labor's Struggle Against Exploitation

Work by the company's labor force would have to be considered a hard and backbreaking one even if it would not have to be done under the burning sun of the tropics. All of the corporation's plantations are located in the torrid lowlands of their respective countries and had to be hacked out from the jungles and drained from insect-ridden tropical swamps. They, furthermore, are generally away from the centers of population and certain comforts and services available there. Workers, under these conditions, had often to be imported from distant parts and even other countries, as was the case, for in-

ness and tyranny of reckless overseers. At the same time all attempts at protest were silenced and strike movements suppressed by violence and bloodshed.

Finally in despair, the workers—of both Standard and United Fruit—though unorganized, were driven in recent months to declare and carry through the largest strike in their history, which at times threatened to spread into a general one involving all the labor of the land. While Standard settled its differences earlier, it was only after 67 days that United Fruit consented to come to an understanding. As to financial benefits the outcome was meager enough in raising the daily minimum remuneration from a shabby \$1.68 to the by-no-means-generous amount of \$2.04 per day, a salary, incidentally, more or less equal to the one generally paid by the company to field workers in Guatemala, Costa Rica and Panama.

Behind the Company's Claims

The United Fruit Company, however, for the first time, concluded a collective agreement with its Honduras labor force and in the process recognized their right to form a union, which at this time is being organized and only recently has celebrated its first convention.

In spite of its well-known policies which, as the case of Honduras and other ones show, will only improve under pressure, the company boasts of its wage levels. It declares that they are higher than those paid by domestic employers, points to fringe benefits such as housing, sanitary, medical and recreational facilities at low cost or no cost and furthermore, stresses that merchandise at no profit is available at special commissaries.

Such statements, however, omit the fact that the company by no means acted out of sheer bounty, but that in order to lure workers into the isolated areas where it operates, it was forced to attract them by higher wages and the above enumerated services. Letters, however, reaching this editor, from trustworthy persons in the hire of the company, show that things in reality look scarcely as bright as United Fruit would like us to believe.

Says one of the writers (in one of the recently received letters to the editor) employed in one of the United Fruit's Costa Rican enterprises:

"Workers live like animals in our sector of the banana zone. Units consisting of five persons are accommodated in huts, measuring four by five feet. Innumerable are those who suffer damage to their lungs. The company hires workers without taking into account that it has not enough space for them. Many have to sleep on the cement floor of the large barracks. There are two kinds of commissaries, one for the ordinary people and the other one for the so-called U. S. sector. In the latter everything can be obtained. First they put aside merchandise for the higher employees and what remains is then sold to the workers. The meat sold to the workers is of the worst kind. . . . As to the daily wages the company pays to the agricultural worker [it is], an amount [per day] of 11.20 colones [not quite two dollars] for eight hours' work. This is entirely insufficient if one considers that a bottle of milk costs one colon, while a chayote (a kind of potato) costs half a colon and rice 70 cts a pound and beans 60 cts and everything is more expensive than in the capital. The minimum of existence for a family of four is 17 colones and a few cts, while the average income is only 11.20 colones. And how about tropical diseases? Hospitals are bad and people released before they are cured. Often they do not pay any salary or only a part of the wage during sickness. . . . Many overseers treat the workers badly. Many children have to work while attending school."

Thus much remains to be done and it is no wonder that a large sector of the company's workers in Costa Rica are organized in Communist-dominated unions, in spite of the efforts of an enlightened government friendly to labor to improve the situation as much as it can.

The Exploitation of Guatemala

The company also bears a heavy part of the responsibility which, during recent years, led to a similar but much worse turn of events in Guatemala, and to that country's final domination for years by the Communist party. After the revolution of 1944 and the downfall of the Ubico tyranny, the company and its subsidiary, the International Railroad Company of America—IRCA—apparently shared the belief that a nation that just had struggled free from the bonds of political oppression would continue half free and half slave and go on living under conditions of feudalism and monopoly or foreign intervention in the social and economic affairs of their country.

Especially irksome in this respect was the insistence of both United Fruit and IRCA on the maintenance of their outdated contracts, concluded decades ago, granting them prohibitive privileges which, together with the outrageous position of the landed gentry, constituted one of the principal handicaps on the way toward the country's social and economic emancipation.

Some of the social rights to IRCA are described more in detail in the report by a mission which the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development sent to Guatemala some years ago. The group visited that country in 1950 and did not withhold its criticism of a situation that—as the report stresses—certainly would have to be modified if the country ever wanted to shake off the bonds of economic dependence and find its way toward a more tolerable future.

The report denounced, among others, the fact that the contract on which, for instance, IRCA based its so-called rights was not only outmoded, dating as it did as far back as 1923, but that by a fantastic stipulation it was running until the year 2004 and did not differ fundamentally from the first such agreement concluded with the government in 1877. "These dates by themselves," the report continues, "show the character of these agreements."

The mission further found that by the same agreement IRCA was enabled to squash any competition, to keep its freight rates too high and to enforce a strict monopoly on all pier and loading facilities and almost all tonnage moving out of and into Guatemala from the neighbor republic of El Salvador, or via Puerto Barrios, the country's most important harbor. This situation that kept freight rates from Puerto Barrios

(Turn to last page)

THE NEEDLE

By HAL DRAPER

It's been a delayed reaction to the jab of the needle.

We're referring to the gentry of the *New Leader*, whom we were needling back in July over the Guatemala issue. They have belatedly given evidence of their typically responsible way of evaluating their ideas.

For three weeks running, that month, just for the fun of it, we indulged some polite laughter at the expense of their Guatemalan experts and ex-editor Daniel James. Four months before Castillo Armas and the Dulles brothers overthrew the Arbenz government by force and violence, this James had announced in the *New Leader's* pages that evidence had finally proved that the Arbenz regime was Communist-dominated.

The most important piece of evidence he adduced—this was the hilarious aspect—was the fact that on January 29 the Arbenz regime dared to charge that an invasion of Guatemala was being plotted in the neighboring dictatorships and with the help of the U. S. (in other words, exactly what happened).

To James in February, this proved Communist domination because it is a typically Stalinist method to use transparently false charges to cover their own coups. Hence, the charge being false, it was clear to him that Arbenz was planning a Stalinist coup. Hence he virtually called for intervention by the U. S.

But by July everyone could see that Arbenz' charge had been true. The *New Leader's* expert on Guatemala was in a most embarrassing position. What does one do when one has simply made a fool of oneself in print?

We blush to say that uncharitably we rubbed it in a bit, just for the comic relief. On July 5 we wrote: "This type of 'proof' of the 'Red domination' of Guatemala is now, at least in hindsight, a hilarious joke on the *New Leader* and its Guatemalan Communist-smeller. It is unlikely that the *New Leader* will refer to it in the issue in which it puts its anti-Communist stamp of approval on the invasion-plot which it scoffed at."

The next week, with an equally deplorable lack of kindheartedness, we remarked in passing: "It has not been reported that D. James has since referred publicly to this feat of political analysis. . . ."

Still again on the following week, our sheer meanness showed again, when the said James did actually publish an article in the magazine on the Guatemala coup: "As we predicted—it was one of the easiest predictions ever made—Authority Daniel James, instead of hiding out for a while, blandly writes another article in which he never mentions his previous ingenious prognosis."

Well, as we asked, what does one do when one has simply made a fool of oneself in print?

The answer to that one is now supplied by the *New Leader*.

First, one waits a few months until the laughter has blown over and the point of the needle is forgotten.

Then one pulls out the routine about how we're so glad to be attacked by both the Left and the Right—extremists, by definition—so that then "we know we are succeeding in our aim of a balanced publication open to all shades of democratic opinion."

See, says the managing editor in a recent issue, "From the Left we have on hand a scathing attack by one Hal Draper in LABOR ACTION . . . Mr. Draper is exercised about Daniel James's articles here on the Guatemalan situation. . . ." And then there is the attack on us well-balanced people by a rightist who deplores our articles on the Louisiana sugar strike and anti-Negro discrimination. . . . It balances out.

About D. James's feat of political analysis? Nothing.

The *New Leader* editors recommend this method of achieving the poised editorial personality, unmarred by obsessive compulsions to test one's politics by events.

INVESTMENTS OF THE UNITED FRUIT CO. (1948)

	In Dollars	%
Real Estate	29,068,938.07	8.5
Buildings	44,348,880.10	12.9
Plantations	69,933,584.18	20.4
Mobiles	55,879,861.26	16.3
Railroads	48,729,899.45	14.2
Loading installations and boats....	4,807,724.87	1.4
Sugar mills and refineries	19,389,364.23	5.7
Steamships	66,340,231.90	19.4
Cattle and other animals	3,878,484.23	1.2
Total.....	\$342,376,968.29	100.0

stance, with the many West Indian Negroes on the former Caribbean plantations in Costa Rica, or could only be found among tribal Indians, as was the case in Panama. It need not be pointed out that labor hired in this way and from these sources is sometimes found to be less resistant to exploitation and company pressures.

United Fruit workers live on so-called banana farm units of from 4 to 500 acres, each comprising about 100 to 200 workers and their families. There they are supervised and directed by one or several company overseers and often left very much to the discretion of these officers, while, on the other hand, large-scale action against oppressive measures and unfair treatment is rendered more difficult by the subdivision of the plantations into segregated sectors.

Most of the better positions, as might be surmised, are in the hands of North Americans who live, as the *New York Times* recently reported, in a higher world for themselves and quite apart from that of the "tens of thousands of peasants, who tend the plantations and the cattle, pick the bananas or labor at the thousand and one menial tasks involved in the daily running of the empire."

Toiling comes to a peak when the time of the harvest, shipping and loading arrives. Then work is done from sunrise to sundown by thousands of sweating men who carry the heavy bunches to the next railroad car or other means of transportation, to be dispatched from there to the exit ports, where sturdy longshoremen heave them onto the company's ships, which each carry from eighty to one hundred thousand stems.

Union-Busting Dinosaur

During decades past, United Fruit has been most resistant to granting its laborers the working and living conditions customary in modern society, or the right to assemble and organize. In this attitude it was often abetted by corrupt and dictatorial governments under its control.

A classic example for these policies and attitudes is the case of Honduras, where the company exerted an unlimited and scarcely contested power until very recently. Under the sway of the company's influence, union organization remained prohibited with labor legislation—an unknown factor. Consequently, in 1951, wages and salaries had only risen by twenty-five points since 1939, while the cost of living, even according to official statistics, had jumped by more than 400 points during the same period.

Workers continued to live under inadequate housing and sanitary conditions and were steadily exposed to the arbitrary

Empire of United Fruit — —

(Continued from page 7)

to Guatemala City (about 200 miles) higher than those from New York to Guatemala, the group termed "a serious national hazard."

In addition, the mission pointed out that IRCA, if its contract were to remain valid until the year 2004, would continue to operate "free of taxation on its properties, free of payment duties on its imports, free of control on its rates, and in possession of a virtual monopoly on the construction and operation of piers and the use of the inshore harbor area of Puerto Barrios." As to United Fruit itself, the mission stated that it shared IRCA's privilege of almost complete exemption from any substantial tax payments and concludes that both companies, if properly taxed, would yield the government at least one million in additional revenues per year.

In summarizing its findings the report finally warned both to "refrain from any direct or indirect political activity" and to "accept" perhaps less reservedly than they have thus far done, the need to adapt their legal status and their operations to changed conditions." Alas, the fact that these warnings were never heeded led—as already mentioned—to the well-known consequences such as Communist rule and excesses and Communist domination of the powerful railroad (SAMP) as well as banana workers' and longshoremen unions, all of which had once been established against the will and over the resistance of IRCA and the United Fruit Company.

Labor's Fight Goes On

As to Costa Rica, where the workers with the support of democratic government had obtained the right to organize, United Fruit, as in Honduras, has only this current year shown an inclination to change some of the aspects of its former

attitude and renegotiate its contract of 1933 with the government of that country. The outcome was a treaty which increases Costa Rica's share in the company's net profits from a former meager 15 to 30 per cent. Besides, the corporation consented to pay custom duties on half of its imported materials and to accept for two years a minimum-wage decree based on a running cost-of-living study by the Ministry of Finance.

All considered, the government believes that as result of the new agreement a total of \$7.2 million per year will flow into the country's treasury against a total of \$360,000 only 9 years ago and that the total gain in national income might rise to \$10.8 million. The company, in making these concessions, unveils involuntarily the enormity of the profit it was able to pocket in former years or, better, to extort from the country and its toiling people.

A similar agreement was also contracted in these days between the company and the Panamanian government, assuring the latter a higher degree of profit-sharing (before 18.2 per cent and now up to a maximum of 30 per cent of net income) and renouncing certain of the exemptions on import duties which the company has enjoyed before.

As to the workers, they are now organized in a union which recently has assured ORIT of its sympathies. The workers also received a 20 per cent increase in salaries which lifted their incomes to a princely \$2 a day, in a country with dollar prices and a dollar currency.

As to Guatemala, a revision of old contracts may be soon in the making. The powerful unions of the United Fruit Company as well as IRCA, however, have been thrown out of existence under the present regimes, and both companies and particularly IRCA have abused the occasion and fired great numbers of workers, including many non-Communists and anti-Communist unionists.

New German Army Is Born — —

(Continued from page 1)

ists have been vigorously for the restoration of full German independence quite apart from every other consideration, on the democratic grounds of the right of the people to control their own destiny. We have consistently opposed those poor democrats and poorer socialists who linked their opposition to German rearmament with opposition to German sovereignty.

And we know, too, that a sovereign Germany would have the right to rearm, and would indeed rearm. No nation, unless restrained by outside coercion in the form of foreign oppression, will choose to remain defenseless. In our view, then, the issue has never been German rearmament in the abstract, as we have said before.

The issue is the rearmament of this increasingly renazified Adenauer-Germany of the old generals and the old capitalists as part of one imperialist war camp in the war-torn world. The aim of the London conference, as was the aim of EDC, was to suck Germany back into the old round of military alliances and power politics.

RUSSIAN CARDS

The game is thus prepared for the Russians to play their cards.

As our headline said last week, "The Russians Don't Have to Be Clever." By minor coincidence, just about simultaneously with that headline, a front-page New York Times headline last Sunday read: "Gruenther Warns of 'Clever' Russia."

Gruenther, NATO military chief, "indicated that the big danger lay in the ideological field, where, he said, 'the combination is much tougher' than when Stalin was alive. 'Mr. Stalin was tough,' General Gruenther said, 'but these new fellows are much more clever than Stalin in the propaganda field.'"

But we can repeat again that the Russians don't have to be clever. As far as the "ideological field" is concerned, they have it virtually all to themselves. It is ironical that the civilian statesmen in

London discussed nothing but military power, while the military man (SACEUR himself) warns of the "big danger" from political bombshells.

Gruenther is undoubtedly right. Moscow now has the ball. There is no need for the Kremlin to hurry, either. It is not necessarily true that the Russians need make some dramatic move now—for example, before French ratification—in order to torpedo the London agreement. That is only one tempting channel of intervention before them. Premier Mendès-France has no simple task before him in selling even this deal to the French people, though his fellow statesmen (like Spaak of Belgium and also Dulles) are trying to give him a hand by making statements about his bargaining victories in London.

In Bonn too, Adenauer, though chortling publicly over his gains, will have an obstacle race to run. (Times correspondent Haändler wrote with justice on October 3 that "It is perhaps fortunate for Dr. Adenauer that the dynamic and explosive Dr. Kurt Schumacher died in the summer of 1952 and that those who succeeded him to the Social-Democratic leadership are carrying on in the best style of the Bloomsbury liberals.")

NO BALANCE

But if and when the London deal is ratified all around, new opportunities arise for Russian "cleverness." As is being pointed out in the press, the U. S. is near exhausting its possible gifts to the West Germans, with the return of effective sovereignty. But what all Germans fervently wish for is reunification of their country. This is not a gift that lies in the pockets of the NATO powers. If it is to be given rather than won, it must come from the Kremlin. Now only Russia has something the Germans want: the rest of their country.

We need not encourage illusions about the Russians' possibly giving up their German satellite in a deal for German unity. But we don't have to encourage them. They are already widespread in Germany and elsewhere. Reunification constitutes the Kremlin's trump card, even though it is never actually played.

None of the machinery envisaged in London for "control" of Germany has much meaning in the final analysis as compared with the dynamics of a upsurging sovereign Germany which will find its own way. There was much talk of "safeguards" against German militarism, and no doubt complicated formulas will be worked out, but it was not any formula for "safeguards" that revitalized the conference; it was Britain's four divisions and London's reversal on its stand against commitments on the Continent. No "safeguards" will prevent German attention from naturally turning to the possibilities of a deal with the East as well as the West.

Thus the new balance established by the London conference bears the seeds of its own disruption.

The idea of balance was a key idea in London. The turning-point was reached, as mentioned, when Eden announced the

commitment to keep four British divisions and certain other forces on the Continent. This was the vital victory for France, because the latter needed the British forces to balance the German. The achievement at London, such as it was, was the achievement of a military equilibrium between France-Britain on the one side and the remilitarized Germany on the other.

But as this equilibrium is established, the forces are set in motion for the disturbance of other balances within the shifting sands of the Western bloc and its own inter-imperialist rivalries. A remilitarized Germany, more than ever, becomes a see-saw in the cold war.

SPOTLIGHT

Continued from page 1

Shachtman's passport now also before the courts.

Sheil Case

It is easy to imagine the pressure that has been brought to bear on Bishop Sheil, the prelate who made headlines with his vigorous attack on Joe McCarthy before the last UAW conference.

The bishop's broadside was especially welcome to liberals because it ranged an important Catholic cleric against the senator. It was important to show that McCarthyism is not a "Catholic" issue, as of course it is not essentially. It was twice as important because of widespread and not ill-founded suspicions about the pro-McCarthyite sentiment among the tops of the Catholic hierarchy, around Cardinal Spellman particularly. Sheil's "boldness" in speaking out was appreciated a good deal more because of the concurrent suspicion that his forthrightness on the subject would not exactly advance his career to the pinnacles of his church.

So, as we said, it is easy to understand the crushing pressure that has been upon him since then; but even so one cannot but be sad when a man buckles under strain.

We cannot find any more charitable interpretation for Sheil's sudden emergence as a flamboyant "anti-Communist fighter" à la Hollywood.

We say that as uncompromising anti-Stalinist fighters ourselves.

Sheil has now announced that he is going to "devote my life and energies to fighting Communism," and he opened his "personal fight" against Communism with a hootenanny festival in Chicago replete with Hollywood stars, ballet dancers, a 1000-voice choir and a 60-piece orchestra. (Among the Hollywoodians were José Ferrer and Edward G. Robinson, also in there pitching to show the American Legion that they're as anti-Communist as all-get-out.)

It might have been plain to Sheil that the fight on the "anti-Communist" front was already pretty well covered, and un-

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!

less he has something different to contribute on that score, he might well have asked himself: If I, a liberal, devote my energies in this manner to bringing coals to this Newcastle, who is there who will be willing to announce that he is devoting his life and energies to fighting the witch-hunters and anti-democratic reactionaries, whose terror forms a pall over the whole country?

A fulsome article of adulation for Sheil in the *Progressive* a few months ago told a moving story about the bishop's courageous anti-racist speech before an audience of bigots; as he walked down from the platform, a fanatic woman rose from a seat to spit in his face; slowly he turned his other cheek to her, as the audience held their breaths. . . .

Now too, no doubt, a Biblical injunction has been urged upon Sheil: *Render unto Caesar those things which are Caesar's*. . . . Apparently he has done so. But what are the things that are Caesar's? And is there not a difference between turning the other cheek—and cowering?

O'Dwyer Case

In connection with the above lugubrious note on Bishop Sheil, we wish to cheer our readers up with another piece of incidental intelligence about the Anti-Communist Front:

Ex-Mayor Bill O'Dwyer is coming in to this country from Mexico to testify. Not on his interesting financial affairs and far-flung acquaintance in the under- and over-world. He will appear before a House subcommittee to Tell All About Communist Infiltration in Latin America.

When it comes to competing with such fellow Anti-Communist Fighters, maybe Bishop Sheil does need a brass band, a ballet corps and other vaudeville acts.

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