

# Get Out of Asia! That Would Be a Real Cease-Fire

An Editorial

What will a cease-fire in Korea bring? Will it be only the prelude to another "open-fire"? Or will it bring permanent peace to Asia?

As cease-fire arrangements enter their final stages in Korea, these questions become more pressing. All of us have a vital interest in the answer to them. We know that renewed war in Asia will mean increased privation for us here at home, and slaughter of innocent young men, as well as innocent civilian women, children and old people. We know that renewed war in Asia would also probably mean World War, and that means atomic war.

How can the war in Asia really be brought to a close, a permanent close? Only by the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, and for that matter, from all of Asia.

It is absolutely impossible that a permanent peace will come to Asia as long as there are foreign troops, or naval forces maintained there. When we look at Asia today, the most striking and undeniable fact that meets the eye is the determination of the Asian people to be rid of all foreign oppressors, occupiers and exploiters. If you read the roll of Asia, from India to China, through the nations of Southeast Asia such as Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Indonesia, out to "our own" Phillipines, and then on up to Korea, you will find that the peoples of these nations have expressed a universal determination to clear out the gangs that have ridden their backs for so long. They have expressed that determination with arms in hand, and with their lives staked upon the outcome.

They will never make peace with foreign imperialism, and they are right. In their places, we would act the same way, and did act that way in 1776. If their leaders betray them to foreign imperialism, they will dump these leaders and get others. This too has been clearly shown by the events of the past ten years. Washington is trying with might and main to teach Mao-Tse-tung to act like Chiang-Kai-shek used to and crawl on his belly to imperialism. And Washington may succeed in doing this. But if this does happen, the Chinese people will find other leaders, and the same thing will happen to Mao as happened to Chiang.

There is no basis for a permanent cease-fire other than the withdrawal of all U.S. troops, battleships, airplanes from Korea, and from all of Asia. But Truman and the Pentagon warlords have made it quite plain that they have no such intentions, and that they therefore don't intend permanent peace. They balk at withdrawing the troops even from Korea alone; they announce a war budget \$30 billions higher than the last, and they make it plain in every word and deed that they mean to "stay in" Asia. This may be what Big Business needs, but it is suicide for the American people.

The American people have made it clear, in polls, letters and actions, what kind of a foreign policy they want. They want the troops withdrawn from Korea and fair recognition of the existing governments in Asia including the New China. Short of this foreign policy, we do not have any chance for peace. A real cease-fire must include these conditions as the only safeguards against a renewed "open-fire."

## AMERICAN TROOPS IN KOREA WANT TO COME HOME AT ONCE

Above everything else, American troops in Korea want to go home.

This is made clear in an Associated Press dispatch from Kaesong, July 22.

"American soldiers in Korea," the dispatch states, "using a parody on the 'Prisoners Song' that goes like this:

"Now if I had ten thousand dollars,  
I'd go to the general and say:  
'I'm leaving Korea tomorrow,  
Because no boats are leaving today.'

But the reporter continues, "Peace in Korea will not mean that Johnny will be marching home right away. Even after withdrawal from Korea, the

chances are that the U.S. Eighth Army will move to Japan and Okinawa. The latter is being developed as a U.S. base and a treaty is in the works with Japan on stationing American troops in Japan after the occupation ends."

Since the beginning of the Korean war the American troops have told reporters that they did not know why they were there, and that they did not believe in the war. Both the soldiers themselves and the overwhelming majority of the American people have wanted to bring the troops home and end the war.

But U.S. imperialism has by no means given up its plan to dominate Asia, to suppress and destroy the independence of the Asian peoples.

## Gladys Barker Endorses Socialist Candidate to Head N. Y. City Council

NEW YORK, July 25 — An appeal to the people of Harlem by John Derrick in Harlem and Henry Fields in Brownsville by trigger-happy, Negro-hating cops, who walk their beats unpunished to this day, demonstrate the crying need to elect a champion of Negro rights as the next President of the City Council.

"Bartell's personal record, and that of his party," the statement concluded, "as militant and effective opponents of Jim Crow clearly point him out as the only candidate worthy of the support of the Negro people. Every signature on his petition is a blow against police brutality."

In order to win a place on the ballot Bartell must file a nominating petition signed by 7,500 qualified voters. His campaign committee has announced its intention to secure at least 12,000 such signatures.

In a statement issued today, Miss Barker declared, "The Negro people of this city have a vital stake in the outcome of the election of the President of the City Council. The issue of police brutality in this city will be a major one in the coming campaign. For the Negro people it is literally a life and death question. The cold-blooded murders

of John Derrick in Harlem, and Henry Fields in Brownsville by trigger-happy, Negro-hating cops, who walk their beats unpunished to this day, demonstrate the crying need to elect a champion of Negro rights as the next President of the City Council."

A recent conference of Chrysler Local union representatives called for corporation-wide strike action. They seconded the call of Ford Local 600 for an emergency conference of the UAW-CIO to map an all-out fight against speed-up.

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Democrats and Republicans alike try to justify an alliance with

# Notebook of an Agitator

## THE ART OF LYING

The Stalinists didn't invent the art of lying, but they expanded and developed it into a philosophy and a way of life. In that curious lingo of Stalinism, by which they communicate among themselves and with others who are properly conditioned, this philosophy and way of life goes by the name of "ideology." The Stalinists have discovered that the human brain is a delicately sensitive organ, easily affected for good or ill, depending on what hits it first and hardest, and susceptible to befuddlement as well as to enlightenment. The brain may be knocked into malfunctioning by blows of a club; and virtually the same effect can sometimes be achieved by the steady bombardment of propaganda disguised as instruction or indoctrination. The Stalinists know this and work at it.

The main feature of the business is the recourse to assertions and pronouncements which, like the revelations from the papal throne of the Catholic Church, are not subject to doubt or investigation. The believers are supposed to take the stuff as it is dished out without examination, inquiry or demands for proof.

A Stalinist operator, skilled and practiced in this indoctrination technique, is Betty Gannett, who delivered the report on "Ideological Tasks" at the Fifteenth National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A. — the proceedings of which, insofar as they relate to the theme of peace, are now under review on another page. She laid down the line on what it was necessary for the faithful to believe and repeat on other matters also. And like all other reporters to the Fifteenth Convention — or any other Stalinist convention, for that matter — her pronouncements were unanimously approved by the assembled delegates. That's what they were there for.

### WHERE IS SOVIET DEMOCRACY?

One of the things the delegates were instructed by the reporter to believe and propagate to the multitude was that democracy is growing and flourishing in the Soviet Union, crowding out everything else, it seems, like crab grass in a lawn. Another instruction was the desirability and necessity of loving and admiring Stalin. There were other commands, but these two in particular leaped out of the report and hit me in the eye. Being a heathen and public sinner, however, with an inquiring mind and a fancy for evidence to support assertions, I am not bound to take her say-so. I want the privilege of asking questions and I want further information, which I suppose I will have to supply myself.

You may have heard whispers to the contrary, but Betty Gannett states categorically that Stalinist party members must believe in and explain "the profound and pervasive democracy in the Soviet Union; the participation of the ordinary man and woman in government; how elections are carried through; how local Soviets function — in order" to give the lie to the charge of "totalitarianism."

Just a moment, please. Let's have some detailed amplification on this point. I am interested in democracy and profoundly believe in it as the mechanism by which the masses will organize the victorious struggle for their own emancipation from capitalism. I further believe that only by direct participation can the masses work out and solve the many and complex problems of the transition period after the proletarian revolution.

Just how is "the participation of the ordinary man and woman in government" manifested in the Soviet Union today? Do they have the right of free speech, free press, and free assembly, the prerequisites of free democratic action? They do not. Betty Gannett knows, what everybody else knows by this time, that all the talking in the Soviet Union is done by the ruling bureaucrats; and that all the newspapers and other mediums of information and communication are controlled by them. She knows, also, that the only time the Russian workers ever get a chance to assemble is when they are called together to vote for resolutions and decisions made in advance and handed down by the same ruling bureaucrats. No, there is not a particle of free speech, free press or free assembly in the Soviet Union. Therefore there is no democracy, "pervasive" or otherwise. Everybody knows this, and anyone who says otherwise is a liar by the clock.

### THE FREE ELECTION MYTH

The report of Betty Gannett demanded that people be enlightened on "how elections are carried through in the Soviet Union." That's a hot one. Just how are they carried through? The reporter didn't tell us that, so I'll tell her. Everybody has the right to vote for Stalin and the rest of the slate of bureaucrats selected in ad-

vance. But suppose someone wants to vote for another slate. Or better, suppose some group wants to form a separate party and put up its own slate of candidates. How do they go about it?

I have been a friend and supporter of the Russian revolution since 1917, and still am. I have comrades in the Soviet Union who are formed into an opposition party — the Russian Section of the Fourth International. It is an honest and revolutionary party, profoundly devoted to the October Revolution and the defender of its heritage. Soviet democracy was one of the first planks in the platform of their long heroic struggle. But these honest revolutionists are all in prison; that is, those who have not been murdered for demanding some of this "pervasive democracy" which Betty Gannett speaks of with such cynical falsity in her report to the CP convention. All other groups who tried to speak out against the defamation and betrayal of the Revolution and the suppression of democracy suffered the same fate. The martyred victims of Stalin's "profound and pervasive democracy" number millions in the Soviet Union.

The convention reporter on "ideology" instructed the delegates to "give the lie to the charge of 'totalitarianism.'" She said, "analysis and data should be furnished" on this "pervasive democracy" and other subjects. But she neglected to furnish any of the data, or even to suggest what such material would look like and where it could be found. In case any of the delegates, and party members or sympathizers to whom they relayed the convention instructions, are interested in this specific information, there are two ways to discover it. One is to read the numerous volumes of former beneficiaries of everything "pervasive" in Stalin's domain who have escaped and live to tell the story; the other is to make a personal investigation.

### A WAY TO FIND OUT

If you doubt the unanimous testimony of all who have escaped from Stalin's torture chambers and forced labor camps, just take a trip to the Soviet Union and see for yourself. If you get in and look around and ask questions, I can guarantee you — on the basis of the experiences of thousands of others who went to the Soviet Union as devoted supporters of the regime, as it had been represented to them by all the Fosters, Gus Hall and Betty Gannets — you will see all the democracy there is to see; all there is to see, that is, through the bars of prisons or over the gun towers of the forced labor camps, where at least ten to fifteen million work, suffer, starve and die without recourse, without any attention to their cries.

If by keeping your mouth shut and your eyes closed, you escape prisons and concentration camps and enjoy the life of a free worker in the Soviet Union as it is operated under Stalinism, you will get a good chance to find out through personal experience what is really going on there. You can't miss the ubiquitous police terror penetrating into every corner of the people's lives. You will carry a "work card" on which every tardiness or absence from work or any little dereliction, real or cooked up by the foreman, is noted, marking you for punishment and discrimination in any factory wherever you may work thereafter. You will learn about passports — not for foreign travel, for that is forbidden to Soviet citizens except bureaucrats on official business — but internal passports necessary for the individual worker merely to travel from one town to another, one of the most hated regulations of the old Czarist regime. You will discover "trade unions" whose function is to speed up production, but which have nothing to do with negotiating wages scales and adjusting grievances.

I merely offer this suggestion that curious Stalinist party members and fellow travelers make a personal investigation of this "pervasive democracy" which Betty Gannett demanded they should advertise far and wide. But I don't expect any of them to take up the suggestion. They purposely blind themselves to a lot of things, but deep down they know more than they pretend to. They prefer to talk up the glories of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union from a distance. The truth is becoming too well known for anybody in his right senses to take chances on investigating it at close range. The percentage of reckless adventurers who want to verify the facts of the situation by personal observation and experience is decreasing to the vanishing point. The curiosity about "democracy in the Soviet Union" is not as "pervasive" as it used to be. It will take a lot of "ideological campaigns" to change that. You can score this as a victory for truth over Stalinist "ideologists" and their lies.

— J.P.C.

Next Week: The Importance of Loving Stalin.

**BY CHARLES HANLEY**  
"The Jewish Question, a Marxist Interpretation" By A. Leon. Introduction by E. Germain, Pioneer Publishers, 1950, 232 pp., \$1.00.  
Having briefly described the life of A. Leon (in the June 25, 1951 Militant) I wish to say something about his book too; for it is a new standard work of Marxist historiography, a fine example of the Marxist historical method.

The history of the Jews has often been considered a unique and miraculous phenomenon. Is it their religion which holds them together throughout the centuries, shattered as they are all over the world? This theory prevailed for a long time. Yet, it does not provide a satisfactory explanation. For many Jews religion has ceased to be of primary importance. But most of them still continue to be Jews, to be part of a distinct minority.

**WORLD HISTORY**  
Thus Leon is the first to replace idealist improvisation by a scientific study of Jewish history. But Jewish history cannot be studied scientifically as an isolated matter. It is linked with world history, and especially with the economic history of the countries in which the Jews have lived.

**ROLE OF ZIONISM**  
Leon points out that the Jews of antiquity were spread over numerous countries even before the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, because owing to the geographic character of Palestine, they were a people of traders.

They preserved their religion because it is a religion of merchants and "admirably expressed their social interests." They resisted Catholicism throughout the Middle Ages because "Christianity at first the religion of the slaves and downtrodden, was rapidly transformed into an

ideology of the ruling class of landed proprietors" who viewed any mercantile activity with open contempt, although they needed traders and usurers.

Leon explains what modern capitalism did to the Jews who "represented a primitive capitalism (mercantile and usurious)," and what created the differences between the Jews of Eastern and Western Europe. I hope many of our readers will be curious to learn about this through Leon's book.

**PROBLEMS OF THE JEWS**  
Modern anti-Semitism began to develop when the development of the productive forces by capitalism began to halt. "The elimination of Judaism accompanies the decline of capitalism... the Jewish tragedy of the 20th Century is a direct consequence of the decline of capitalism. Therein lies the principle obstacle to the realization of Zionism... Zionism wishes to resolve the Jewish question without destroying capitalism, which is the principle source of the suffering of the Jews."

Does Leon thus annihilate every hope for the Jewish people? He only fights widespread illusions but points to a genuine solution — socialism.

"A planned economy on a global scale will bring the people much closer to each other." Socialism, he states will bring the end of Jewish martyrdom.

He also demolishes the lies of the racists and embraces all the

problems of the Jews in the capitalist world, in which, the people-class itself is divided into Jewish workers, Jewish middle classes, and Jewish capitalists, with the middle class in the majority.

# Kremlin Bureaucrats Worried By East European Labor Unrest

By John F. Petrone

The Astra Works is a plant in Chemnitz, Saxony, which is owned by the Stalinist-dominated East German government. It employs over 1,000 workers, and was the scene early this month of a significant demonstration of the German workers' continuing resistance to Stalinist despotism, according to a dispatch from Frankfurt printed in the July 23 N.Y. Times.

Officials of the Stalinist Free German Trade Union appeared before the workers of this plant to demand that they accept a new contract calling for increased individual output with no change in wage scales.

The Astra workers shouted them down. After the meeting a vote was taken and the contract was rejected almost unanimously.

### OFFICIALS REPRIMANDED

As a result, Police Councillor Otto Weise was suspended, in Chemnitz and expelled from the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party for his "passivity and failure" in dealing with the events at the Astra Works. Higher officials,

even ministers, have been reprimanded too.

This is only one of many such incidents reported from Germany and other East European countries during the month of July. The Times dispatch refers to six other cities in East Germany alone where the workers are fighting back in whatever way they can against the Stalinist regime.

This is the background, and probably the explanation, for the furious anti-Tito speech made in Warsaw last week by Soviet Deputy Premier Molotov.

Speaking at an anniversary of the establishment of the Polish government, Molotov pointedly assured his listeners, top representatives of the Polish and other East European satellite regimes, that the "Tito gang" in Yugoslavia would not last much longer.

Coming in the midst of the cease-fire negotiations in Korea and a renewed Kremlin campaign for "peaceful co-existence" and a "Five Power peace pact," Molotov's far from pacific remarks about Yugoslavia occasioned a lot of comment and speculation in the U.S.

### NOTHING UNUSUAL

Actually, there is nothing extraordinary about this. Stalin's desire for peace with the imperialists does not imply peace with all his enemies. On the contrary, one of the fundamental propositions underlying his clamorous efforts for a deal with Washington is the understanding that both sides in the deal will work together in putting down opposition in their "spheres of influence."

During the last year the Tito regime has swung sharply to the right, especially in foreign policy; it surely has dissipated its prestige among the revolutionary masses of East Europe by giving ammunition to the Kremlin's propaganda that subservience to American imperialism is the only alternative to domination by the Soviet bureaucracy.

As an immediate step, the SWP candidate called on the labor, Negro and liberal movements to demand an immediate probe of the Trenton Police Department which engineered the frameup.

"The latest Trenton trial did two things," he continued. "It exploded the case of the Trenton police by acquitting four of the defendants on the same 'evidence' that was used to convict the other two. And it proved beyond any question that the Trenton authorities were engaged in a conspiracy to hide real evidence and manufacture fake evidence for the purpose of sending six innocent men to their deaths as victims of a legal lynching."

"That conspiracy is surely as criminal as the murder which the cops tried to pin on the Trenton Six, but it has gone unpunished. None of the politicians in this state, Republican or Democratic, has lifted a finger to punish this conspiracy by men in high places and in police uniforms."

"But it is to the interests of the labor movement to demand punitive action against these people who break the laws they are paid to uphold. Cops who can get away with frameups against Negroes today will try to frame striking workers tomorrow."

### DEMANDS INVESTIGATION

Breitman promised that, if elected to the State Legislature, his first act would be to introduce a resolution demanding a speedy investigation, trial and punishment of the perpetrators of the Trenton frameup. He urged the labor, Negro and liberal groups who have protested the frameup not to wait until election day but to raise the demand for such an investigation immediately.

He also called for full moral and financial aid for the three organizations in charge of the legal defense of English and Cooper — the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six, the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP. He pledged the unqualified support of the Socialist Workers Party to all moves, in the courts and outside the courts, to compel the New Jersey authorities to release the Trenton Two.

## Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON — For information, write P. O. Box 4942.

BOSTON — Workers Education Center, 390 Stuart St., Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.

DETROIT — 6108 Linwood Ave., Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TT-7-6297.

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### Blame Cocktails

Washington is agog these days over "morality." One Representative, a Florida Democrat, announced that he had been approached, "several times" with offers of "substantial sums... with the idea... of getting a government contract." The auditor of government accounts, Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren announced that the "Maritime Commission could not account for two billion dollars... To this day, that money has never been accounted for and never will be." The experts in Washington incline to place the blame on "cocktail parties."

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# THE MILITANT

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## Why Cicero Culprits Go Scot-Free

Trial of 117 persons arrested during the anti-Negro rioting in Cicero, Ill., has been postponed to Aug. 6. No one seriously expects that the court will impose severe sentences on the 117; in fact, it is most likely that they will get off with suspended sentences and reprimands.

It won't matter much either way. Most of these people were the unwitting tools of the forces really responsible.

Walter White, secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who is by no means a radical, went to Cicero to make an investigation and came to the conclusion that:

"The real culprits in the savage Cicero outbreak are (1) the bankers, real estate interests and mortgage companies who, despite invalidation of racial restrictive covenants, block every attempt of Negroes to escape the ghetto; (2) the big employers in the township, who disavow any responsibility to maintain ordinary observance of civil rights in Cicero; and (3) corrupt local politicians who have more than a nodding acquaintance with the notorious gang leaders who infest the township."

White should have added: (4) the Cook County law enforcement officers, who refused to nip the riot in the bud in the early stages, when this was still easily possible; (5) the State's Attorney office, which took the same hands-off attitude toward the hoodlums; and (6) the FBI and the Department of Justice, who also

looked the other way and to this day still claim to be pondering whether or not the case comes under their "jurisdiction."

Equally culpable are the press, the schools and the other Big Business-dominated educational and information agencies which promote race prejudice and hatred in both crude and subtle forms.

If these are "the real culprits," then what is being done by the government to punish them and to prevent them from repeating their crimes? Nothing at all.

This is not because the government lacks the means for taking effective measures against the guilty parties. When it wants to stamp out "communism," it shows that it has real coercive powers. The government's failure to try to stamp out racism proves that it doesn't want to stamp it out, even though events like the Cicero riot, by thoroughly refuting its claim to be the champion of democracy, serve as an acute embarrassment to American imperialism in all parts of the world.

And the government doesn't want to stamp out racism because it is profitable to the ruling class whose interests the government protects. That is why the struggle against Jim Crow goes hand in hand with the struggle to end the power of the ruling class and institute a socialist society.

## Rats Bite Children-Still No Housing

Startling facts about the housing situation of soldiers and their families have been revealed by a Senate preparedness subcommittee. The subcommittee cites the landlords near military installations for "cruel indignity, irresponsible greed and casual disdain for the self-respect of our men in uniform."

Among cases cited by the committee is that of a \$25 a month apartment rented by a parson, and partly occupied by him. It seems that the pious man of God rents out the remainder of the apartment to two soldiers and their families for a total of \$149 per month! Further cited are a corporal and his family of three who live in a house made of whiskey bottles and empty beer cans held together with mortar. This doll house for a child was built measuring 14' x 9' and occupied by a family of 5 people, at the cost of \$45 per month, a chicken coop that brings \$27.50, without water but with all the rain you want.

Near one army post, a garage was "converted" into two apartments by means of a cardboard partition down the center. In this "home" a baby was bitten by a rat 3 times in one night last May, and is still under medical care.

The Senate subcommittee is planning to make recommendations on this situa-

tion. We suggest that some attention be paid to the following thoughts:

1. First of all, the landlords directly involved should not be made the sole target for the indignation of the committee. Equally guilty is every Congressman and Senator who has helped to scuttle the low-rent housing program, every mogul and lawyer of the real estate lobby, and every builder, contractor and builder's supplier who has diverted his capital into more profitable high rent home, apartment and commercial building. The real estate interests and the contractors, are even more guilty than the landlords cited in the committee report. Their actions make it possible for the rapacious landlords to charge high rents for such hovels, and are committed for the same reason: to make more money, without regard for human welfare.

2. We further recommend to the subcommittee that it begin a real drive for a revival of the plans for a low rent, absolutely non-profit housing program. We doubt, however, that this senatorial committee will do this, because the whole of Congress is so completely under the thumb of the real estate lobby by this time.

3. We propose a housing program on the basis of the appropriation of as much money as is required to solve the present gruesome housing mess.

## 'Wetbacks' Used As Slave Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

other "wetback" states migrate to other harvest areas in search of work at living wages. This serves to maintain a constant industrial reserve army for the factories in the fields and to exert a threatening pressure on other industries. Gladwin Hill observes that "it is possibly more than a coincidence that the number of migrant farm workers who course the nation annually has been independently estimated at 1,000,000 — on the order of a conservative estimate of the number of 'wetbacks.'"

### WEAK UNIONS

It is not surprising that the Southwest is therefore extremely weak in trade union organization. Gladwin Hill shows that "even such nationally powerful unions as the teamsters and the building trades are only sketchily organized."

In the face of this menacing pattern of Southern style conditions of labor, which if unchecked can only continue to spread deeper into the country, the leadership of the labor movement stands impotent. William Green of the AFL addressed a letter to Truman before he signed this bill calling upon him to veto it. With this we have no quarrel. Green points out that the bill is a thinly disguised subsidy for a large number of agricultural and processing employers who hire

seasonal labor." Likewise correct. But what does Green propose? He calls for carrying out the proposals of the President's Commission on agricultural labor; this boils down to putting an army at the border to stop the migration and the improvement of the "legal" machinery for importing a labor supply.

### THE HIRING HALL

This leaves the solution of the problem in the hands of the very people who created it and profit by it. That's not the way to do the job. The whole control of the problem must be torn out of the hands of the wealthy farmers and their agents — the government apparatus.

### HOUSING PROBLEM

Working in conjunction with these hiring halls a system of government subsidized and union controlled modern housing units and camps could be established. The big farm owners would then have to pay decent wages and transportation costs to all workers.

This solution of course requires militant organization and action by the powerful forces of labor, such as they took in the 30's to build the CIO.

It may be objected that this plan is revolutionary. What's wrong with that? That's just what is needed; the technological revolution in agriculture must now be followed by a revolution

## Revolutionary Socialist Policy On 'Truce'

By Murry Weiss

In the July 16 issue of Labor Action — the Shachtmanite almost revolutionary but slightly patriotic paper — Hal Draper raises an extremely serious question in his characteristic frivolous manner. He devotes half a printed page to jibes at us for not coming out with the slogan: "Down with the cease-fire!" and, "North Korean revolutionary comrades! On with the war — we mean the Revolution!"

According to Draper's reasoning, The Militant is in principle bound to oppose the cease-fire "as such" since it believes that the fundamental nature of the Korean war is that of a colonial people fighting for their liberation from imperialism. Draper of course doesn't see any revolution in Asia — only the spread of Stalinism, and therefore he has nothing to say to the Korean and Chinese peoples. In his eyes they are merely puppets of the Kremlin. Draper cannot resist instructing us on how to carry out a revolutionary position consistently. Quivering with shrill laughter at his own wit, Draper gasps, Can it be that it (The Militant) is permitting the Revolution to be betrayed, for lack of its advice, merely because a denunciation of cease-fire AS SUCH would be somewhat unpopular?" Let us be somewhat.

### NOT AGAINST CEASE-FIRE

We are not opposed to a cease-fire "as such" — why should we be? We are for the cease-fire with the removal of imperialist troops from Korea. That is the demand of the Chinese and Koreans and for our part we fully support that demand. As a matter of fact, if a democratic referendum were taken in the country today and

among the American troops in Korea, they would be in favor of such a cease-fire by an overwhelming majority.

In any case, it is utterly false to oppose a truce, armistice or any other temporary agreement between the working class the colonial people and the imperialists — as a principle. There is no such principle in the program of revolutionary socialism. Only the ultra-left caricaturists of Marxism have made a principle of "no compromise."

### CONCRETE CONDITIONS

For us it is always a question of the concrete conditions under which a compromise is made, who makes it and why. That is why in this situation the Militant has been warning that the Kremlin wants to make a diplomatic settlement and if it gets the chance will make it at the expense of the Korean and Chinese just as they made their previous peace at the expense of the European and Asian masses.

Are we for a cease-fire under conditions dictated by American imperialism? Of course not. These are conditions of imperialist marauders they spell the continued enslavement of the South Koreans and the threat of further military moves against the North and China.

But if the Koreans accept a compromise, should't we say that they have betrayed the revolution against American imperialism? That depends. We don't need any Draper to tell us that the leaders of the Chinese and North Koreans are Stalinists and under the pressure of the Kremlin. This opens up the danger we have consistently warned about — that the Kremlin will exert all its power under certain conditions to make a deal with the American imperialists at the expense of the Asian peoples.

### OTHER VARIANT

But a Kremlin sellout is not the only variant. The Militant has also pointed out that there is a

profound difference between the Chinese and Koreans and the Kremlin. The difference is based on the fact that the Asian Communist parties, despite their Stalinist leadership and program, are also mass parties lifted to power by a revolutionary upsurge. That is why the possibility for a cleavage between the Kremlin and these parties on the one hand, and the formation of left wing groups within these parties on the other, must not be overlooked at any stage of the development. Revolutionary workers in every country are working for such a cleavage as part of the struggle to advance the socialist revolution in Asia. This is the only way to guarantee a complete victory of the anti-imperialist struggle.

We don't know what the relations between the Kremlin and the Asian Communist parties are in these cease-fire negotiations. There is no way of estimating exactly to what extent the Kremlin sell-out line plays a role in the situation. But we are

guided by a class line which enables us to mark out the basic tendencies of the process and help us achieve the role we must play — the struggle against our own imperialists. Along this line their are two fundamental points to keep in mind:

1. We distinguish between the permissibility of the Chinese and Koreans compromising with the imperialists due to temporary exigencies of the struggle and a Kremlin sell-out.

2. There is a great difference between the acceptance of the harshest terms of a truce by the oppressed of Asia and the support of such a truce by the so-called friends of the Asian people in the imperialist countries. An example will suffice. If a man is forced to hand over his belongings to a bandit who holds a pistol to his head, it is a terrible mockery for the victims "friend" to support the "settlement" because both parties "agreed" to the transaction.

### The Stalinist Peace Program - VII

## What Washington Wants

By James P. Cannon

If one understands bourgeois diplomacy as the art of straight-faced lying, of proclaiming high-sounding principles in order to prepare the moral climate for a military struggle for practical aims and needs — and this is generally taken for granted by grown-up people — then it is necessary to look behind the official statements, speeches, prayers and pronouncements emanating from Washington and examine the economic necessities and drives of American imperialism. The real program is rooted there, and it cannot be replaced by any alternative program motivated by other considerations as long as the U.S. government remains what it is — the executive committee of the ruling capitalist class.

The cold war of economic sanctions and propaganda malarkey — with the occasional and incidental slaughter of a couple of million people, as in Korea — is allegedly waged in behalf of a "free world." The money-sharks who decide American policy have dedicated it, so they say, to a high-toned crusade for "democracy against totalitarianism." The labor skates and the social-democrats of all grades and breeds, for their part, second the motion. Some of them even claim they invented the phony formula.

The "free world" we are supposed to be defending just accidentally happens to include Spain, Greece, Turkey, and Portugal, and all the lands of colonial slavery where the word freedom is not, even in the dictionary and the word democracy has not yet been coined. And our precious allies in the fight against "totalitarianism," include, by mere coincidence, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, Franco, Salazar, the fascist king of Greece, the colonial overlords, the Latin-American dictators and other blood-smeared tyrants who have been admitted into the free world on the pass.

Diplomatic double-talk aside, what is really involved in the cold war is a conflict of class interests and social and economic systems, which cannot be reconciled. American imperialism, the main representative of a decayed social system, whose fate is inextricably tied to the fate of capitalism on a world scale, is of necessity the ally of reactionary capitalists, landlords, usurers and colonial exploiters everywhere. It is the mortal enemy of every manifestation of new and more progressive economic forms, of every revolutionary movement of the workers, and of every struggle of the colonial peoples for national independence and freedom anywhere in the world, regardless of the leadership of these movements at the moment. That is the real line-up. That is the real content of American diplomacy, stripped of its hypocritical verbiage. Freedom and democracy have nothing whatever to do with it.

That's true enough. But why limit such a comment to the Wisconsin area alone? How about Washington, D. C., which is Truman's part of the country? Could the Post contend that the effects of the witch-hunt — originally initiated by the Truman administration, it must not be forgotten — are any less pernicious?

The truth is that the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights have been virtually outlawed in this country.

one of the important aims of American foreign policy the introduction of "orderly representative processes" into "the old group of countries" we are accustomed to thinking of as the satellite area. These are none other than the buffer states of Eastern Europe, which were solemnly recognized as in "the sphere of influence" of the Soviet Union at Yalta.

Acheson ostensibly is not satisfied with the degree of "democracy" prevailing in the "Peoples Democracies" dominated by the Kremlin. It can be admitted in passing that he has something there, for all the democracy you find in these "Peoples Democracies" you could put in your eye. But that complaint is only window dressing on Acheson's part. They were all police states before the war, and neither he nor his predecessors lost any sleep about it. Washington is not worried about the democracy or the lack of it in Greece, Spain, Turkey, South Korea, Latin America, or any place else open to American trade and investment. The real grievance which American foreign policy aims to redress is the new economic system established in these countries of Eastern Europe under pressure of necessity, and the political control which closes them off from American exploitation. The real meaning of this point in Washington's program is to push the Soviet political influence out and replace it by American influence, to restore the system of private property and landlordism, and open up the countries in general to the exploitation of foreign capital.

### THE CONQUEST OF THE WORLD

But the satellite states of Eastern Europe are only the starting point of the new program enunciated more than a year ago and consistently adhered to ever since. It is not only Eastern Europe. Now it is the vast market of China, the prize for which the war with Japan was fought, the prize which slipped away and which they hope to regain. The frank speech of Assistant Secretary Rusk in New York recently is only a public announcement of this aim which has been implicit in Washington's refusal to recognize the new revolutionary government and establish normal relations with it. It is Korea. It is Indo-China where Eisenhower in a recent radio speech saw the "aggression of Communist imperialism" in the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people for independence against their French overlords. It is the colonial revolutions and workers' movements everywhere in the world. That is what is meant by Point 5 of Acheson's Berkeley program, in which he demands that the Soviet Union "cooperate in efforts to prevent indirect aggression across national frontiers" — the diplomatic definition of popular movements against capitalism and colonialism anywhere.

And even all this does not measure the full scope of the aims of American foreign policy as it is now fixed. The ultimate aim is nothing less than the overthrow of the Soviet Union, its dismemberment, and the re-establishment of the private property and landlord system, overthrown by the Revolution in 1917. The United States is driven, as the price of its own existence as the leading imperialist power of the world, to include all these aims in its program. That is what its diplomacy works for and that is what they are arming for.

Pacifist sermons will not deflect them from their course. Pseudo-serious chatter about the "necessity and desirability of peaceful co-existence" can deceive and disarm workers and sincere but impractical people who think the boon of peace can be bought with shibboleths. But peace cannot be secured that way. The only road to a stable and enduring peace for the people of the world is the hard road of struggle pointed out by Lenin.

Next Week: The Road of Lenin.

## This Is the Kind of Foreign Policy The American People Really Want

1. Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!
2. Withdraw all American troops from Korea!
3. Recognize the government of New China!
4. Let the American people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!

### Apples Dumped

Apple growers near Yakima, Washington, are unable to find buyers for their bumper crop this year. Even at 50 cents a box, between 2,000 and 3,000 carloads remained on their hands. They used a bulldozer to push them into a dump.

in the conditions and organization methods of the agricultural workers. Remember that they called the sit-down strikes and the CIO a revolution — and in a sense they were right.

But won't this plan put the big farmers out of business? In the first place, the profits to these wealthy parasites are so fabulous that decent pay and conditions for the agricultural worker would only take a bite out of the enormous wealth they accumulate annually. In the second place, why not put them out of business? These are not working farmers. The vast industry they own should, like the whole basic food producing industry and all big industry and banking, be nationalized and then operated under workers control.

If the big farmers say that they can't run these farms without slave labor conditions then let's introduce a new system so they can be run in a decent and human way.

The simple fact of the matter is that the productive apparatus of American capitalism is piling up ever greater surpluses of goods and capital which its domestic market cannot absorb. Having fallen heir to dominion over the capitalist world system, it needs the whole world for markets and fields of investment. But while its requirements in this respect have been growing in the post war period, its field of normal operation has been cut down even from what it was at the end of the war, to say nothing of the immense prospects for which it had waged the war in the Orient and thought had been won with the defeat of Japan.

The more areas torn out of the capitalist orbit by Soviet expansion and colonial revolutions, the narrower becomes the field for American imperialism and the more desperate its need. From this flows its frantic and ever more belligerent foreign policy and the stupendous arms program designed to back it up. The Truman doctrine of "containing communism," a declaration of belligerency and aggression in its time, is already out of date. The Soviet Union remained "contained" at the formal borders established at Yalta. But other areas, considered as "belonging" to imperialism, have been slipping away. The imperialist orbit has been shrinking and the position of the United States has been steadily worsening.

More than a year ago the policy makers at Washington woke up to the realization that the imperative need of world capitalism is no longer to "contain communism" — a word they use indiscriminately to describe the Soviet Union, its satellite states, revolutionary China, and popular movements against imperialism everywhere — but to push it back and reconquer the lost areas. This new and drastic extension of the Truman Doctrine was enunciated by Secretary of State Acheson in his famous Berkeley speech of March 16, 1950. There he calmly announced as

## "Murder" Will Out

By Harry Frankel

Here is a "murder" mystery from the deep South that was solved in short order by two sleuths.

Young Robert McKinney was reported missing by his mother last week, and the Sunflower County (Mississippi) Sheriff put two fast men on the job. C. H. Sheffield, deputy sheriff, and a private detective, Charles R. Underwood, went right to work.

In no time, they found three Negroes, one suspiciously named Jesse James, who of course, were reported to have been "the last to see the murdered man." Sheffield and Underwood "questioned" them "way up into the night," said the Sheriff later. The questioning included the use of modern aids in criminal detection. "I imagine they probably used a leather strap," said the Sheriff. "I was not there," he continued, "but about 9 or 10 o'clock, after some heat probably had been applied to try and get the truth" the three victimized Negroes admitted the murder. One of them required medical attention, according to the authorities.

How badly the three were beaten was not made clear. The beatings must have been pretty bad. You have to beat a man pretty hard to make him admit that he killed a man when he never did anything of the kind. Because the "victim" of the alleged murder turned up safe and sound the next morning in East St. Louis, Ill. His mother received a letter from him and notified police, who were left with three useless confessions on their hands.

## Con Man and the Priests

By Thomas Raymond

Two priests of the Greek Catholic Church testified last week before a Senate committee that they had given \$150,000, possibly even \$200,000, to an "influence man" who claimed he could get them government leases that would repay them with a profit many times the amount of their investment.

The exact amount they gave him is not clear. He claims it was far less than the figures given by the priests, and they themselves are not sure of the amount since there are no books kept.

The "con-man," Sam Mason, or Mussman, told the priests, as well as others whom he swindled, that, if they gave him large amounts of what he called "sewer money" he could use this money to influence Washington officials. He claimed to have inside information that the government is going underground to escape the dangers of atomic attack, and would lease existing government buildings for a song if a little "sewer money" were spread in the right places. The priests hoped to make a big killing through this bribe route, and use the money for new church buildings, according to their story.

We can learn a lot from this instructive incident!

1. It is plain that there is a widespread fear of atomic bombings during the coming war if there are people who are so readily convinced that the whole government is going underground.

2. It is also clear that there is pretty general belief that in Washington, anything may be bought for money, including the official services

## Solidarity House

By David Lands

DETROIT — Solidarity House, the new international headquarters of the UAW-CIO in Detroit, Michigan, is a very fine building. It is reported to have cost over \$1,250,000, and has all the best points of modern design. Walking through the various offices, particularly those belonging to the officials, makes one think of swank offices seen in the movies. It is located on the banks of the Detroit river, on a piece of property that used to be a part of the old Ford estate.

Solidarity House is a high point in the campaign of the Reuther leadership to establish a reputation for respectability. Unfortunately for the rank and file, who paid for this monument to respectability, the auto magnates are not impressed by such things. The more respectability the UAW acquires, the less respect the auto industry has for the union. The auto manufacturers go right ahead cracking the whip on the production line, throwing thousands of workers onto the streets, holding the color bar against minorities, and in general playing the familiar role of billionaire monopolies.

The hundreds of well-paid hirelings of the international bureaucracy who hang around, all show signs of smug satisfaction. Such things as shop conditions, lay-offs, job discrimination and high prices, do not affect them directly. However, the members sweating it out in the plants, have little or no reason to feel satisfaction. The life of the Reuther administrators grows farther and farther away from the rank and file. The existence of the international is

closer to that of professional people and politicians who scrounge around for favors and deals, and who get far more consideration than the members. A house divided against itself cannot stand.

Solidarity House is a testimonial mainly to Reuther's success, not the success of the union. A rank-and-file can hardly feel at home. It stands in sharp contrast to the UAW headquarters during the great organizing days of the UAW, when the corporations were taught respect. Then the union offices didn't have so many departmental pigeon holes, so many specialists and experts, and so many hundreds of \$125-a-week staff men. The headquarters then were a beehive of activity by volunteers from the shops who had unionism in their blood.

These men and women risked life and job for industrial unionism, at GM, Briggs, Ford, Chrysler and elsewhere. Everyone who wanted to pitch in and help was welcome, and no one had to kowtow to an international officer or representative to join in the work of organizing. The modest, poor little business-like offices were places which put the emphasis on organizing and struggle. Unlike Solidarity House, the watchword was struggle and not respectability. That was why auto was organized.

Solidarity House is a fine building, but modern design and architecture is a poor substitute for aggressive union tactics and program. To win in 1951, the union will find mass action and leaders who are willing to struggle more effectively than the most modern architecture and finest offices.

## U.S. WOOS FRANCO WITH ARMS PACT

(Continued from Page 1) years after the end of the Civil War. The regime is even more totalitarian than Mussolini's was in Italy.

Prices are seven times as high as in 1936, wages only three times. Bread and potatoes are scarce — for the poor, while a minority of black market profiteers and landowners is living

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# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XV

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## Fight for City FEPC Laws Is Intensified in Michigan

### Flint SWP Urges United Labor Action

By Mike Burns

A battle for a Fair Employment Practices law is shaping up in the city of Flint.

Heart of the General Motors industrial empire, Flint represents one of the focal points of Big Business interests in maintaining discriminatory practices in hiring and job opportunities. Discrimination severely affects approximately 25,000 Negroes or about one-sixth the population of Flint.

In the GM auto industry Negroes have rarely been allowed to rise to any skilled positions, and particularly Negro women are forced into the most menial jobs in the GM plants. In small businesses discriminatory practices are even more severe. By playing off white against black, General Motors Corporation effectively prevents formation of a powerful united labor movement among its 50,000 workers in Flint.

#### COOLING OFF PERIOD

An FEPC law introduced under the leadership of the CIO Regional Council, by Robert Carter, Regional Director, and Earl Crompton, chairman Chevrolet FEPC Committee and UAW-CIO International Representative, was postponed. The City Commission of nine members, seven of whom represent business, voted in conformity with their class interests to bring the FEPC law into the Legislative Committee. This in business strategy is known as the "cooling off" period.

Next, it is clear that at least some churchmen have more confidence in bribery than they have in prayers to the Almighty. This deduction is self-evident; if I had no doubts about the efficacy of prayer, I would leave my money in the bank and get down on my knees without any delay.

These two priests of the Greek Catholic Church are complaining to a Senate committee. Their complaint is not that Sam Mason is a briber and corrupter of government officials, but that he is not. They complain that he is less vicious than he represented himself to be, when he took their money. And poor Sam seems to be having a hard time answering them.

We wonder what the priests would have to say if the many thousands from whom they have taken influence money to get them in good with the Lord were to turn up. What good has that "sewer money" done for those who have paid it out?



GENORA DOLLINGER

to determine whether the end justifies the means."

The strategy of business to strangle FEPC in a referendum if it can't eliminate it outright, will lead to a struggle which Mrs. Dollinger characterizes: "They will try to pit white against black, skilled against unskilled, brother against brother." Only on the basis of stirring up a campaign of race hatred can Big Business hope to defeat an effective FEPC law and prevent labor victory.

The Flint Journal in its opening salvo appeals to the money-minded "taxpayer" who is cautioned "it (FEPC) could have the result of costing the city thousands of dollars extra a year," since firms which give low bids on city contracts might not comply with FEPC and therefore the contract would go to a firm giving a higher bid. Which means that the law should be done away with if a firm refuses to follow Fair Employment Practices. A scab might as well complain that if there were no unions there would be no scabs.

To defeat the underhanded tactics of the business interests

trying to postpone, emasculate and destroy FEPC, Genora Dollinger proposes:

"Common effort can win FEPC. To this end the Socialist Workers Party advocates the unity of all groups. It proposes the formation of a United Action Committee of interested organizations through which pressure can be generated to bring the FEPC bill out of the City Commission Legislative Committee. Take this stand in your organization. Propose independent mass action, rely on your own strength."

In a widely circulated handbill of several thousand copies, Genora Dollinger, chairman Socialist Workers Party (Flint)

warned that "Big Business and the boss politicians intend to stall the FEPC, water down the Union's FEPC bill and then, if they can, defeat FEPC in Flint." This is evidenced by the labels ascribed to FEPC by the Flint Journal GM mouthpiece in Flint. The Journal calls the bill a "hot potato," "political dynamite." It reports that the politicians will "tread easy," that they will "try

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In the face of this blow, the Reuther administration offers only talk, pleas and empty plans, all addressed to the corporations and their political tools in Washington. Reuther does not offer a single proposal to mobilize the membership of the UAW for a determined mass struggle against the mass layoffs.

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DETROIT, July 21 — Workers in the auto and allied industries are experiencing drastic mass layoffs. These are caused by the ravages of inflationary high prices;

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