

Tito Denounces Bureaucracy As Foe of Socialism

[This article, containing important information which has not been reported in any of the daily papers, is reprinted in full from the Yugoslav Newsletter, published by the Yugoslav Information Center in New York. For editorial comment, see Page 3. — ED.]

On June 27, the Yugoslav National Assembly enacted a law on the management of economic enterprises and higher economic bodies by work collectives, as part of the program of decentralization being carried through in economic administration. Marshal Tito, in submitting the draft, declared that adoption of the law would be the most significant historical act of the National Assembly after the law on nationalization of the means of production.

"The enactment of the law, he pointed out, was not only not premature, but is actually a delayed accomplishment. The explanation for this delay, continued Marshal Tito, is the fact that the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, up until the notorious Cominform Resolution, had too many illusions, uncritically transplanting Soviet methods to Yugoslavia, even those not in keeping with its specific conditions or with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism.

HOW THEY DIFFER

"In what do we differ in theory with the Soviet Union?" he went on. "In order to be able to give at least a partial reply to the question, we must take a look at their practice and ours in relation to the science of Marxism-Leninism, namely: the role of the state in the transitional period, and its withering away period; the role of the Party, in particular its relation to the state; the lower phase of communism, or as it is called today, socialism; state and socialist property."

The beginning of the "withering away of the state" in Yugoslavia, said Marshal Tito, was reflected among other things in two examples: first, in the decentralization of state administration, especially in the economy; second, in the handing over of factories and economic enterprises generally to the management of work collectives. The decentralization of economic, political, cultural and other life is not only profoundly democratic in character, but carries within itself the seeds of the withering away of centralism and of the state in general as an instrument of coercion.

BUREAUCRATIC DISEASE

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, continued Marshal Tito, the means of production are

today, 31 years after the October Revolution, still in the hands of the state, and the slogan of "Factories to the Workers" has not been realized there. As yet, Soviet workers take no part in the running of the factories, a function still performed by state-appointed directors. The failure to entrust the means of production to the workers is in all likelihood a result of the Soviet leadership's concept of state ownership as the highest form of social ownership.

There are no signs in the Soviet Union, said Marshal Tito, that state functions, either economic or political, are being transferred lower down, nor are there any signs of decentralization. Quite the opposite is true. The Soviet Union is steadily moving towards a more and more stringent centralization, which is characteristic of the most marked bourgeois, centralistic state. He cited as the most conspicuous manifestations of this centralism the concentration of all economic, political, cultural and other functions in one central, huge, bureaucratic machine, and the growing armed internal state apparatus such as the militia, armed forces of the ministry of the interior, the NKVD, and so on.

STATE AND ARMY

The only function of the state which could not yet wither away, he continued, is that of the army, because the degree of its strength was directly dependent on external conditions. "But this function can only come into consideration in the defense of a socialist country, and under no circumstances for aggression against anyone, for it would lose its socialist character and assume an imperialist one if it coveted other people's territories and wanted to enslave other nations."

Marx, Engels and Lenin, said Marshal Tito, taught that the state begins to wither away when the proletariat comes into power, but Stalin has other views on the subject. At the 18th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1939, Marshal Tito recalled, Stalin, speak-

(Continued on page 3)

GOVT. BOARD TRIES TO BREAK RAILROAD STRIKE

The National Mediation Board's attempt to pressure the striking AFL Switchmen's Union into calling off its strike against five western and midwestern railroads on July 1 was a perfect example of the way the government is utilizing the international crisis to undermine the struggles of American labor at home.

The switchmen's strike is legal; it is effective; and its objective — reduction of the work week from 48 hours to 40, with no reduction in pay — is more than justified. But the NMB ignored all that, and hit the strikers with all the "patriotic" propaganda it could think of.

"Current critical developments . . . the national interest . . . the seriousness of the national situation . . . the patriotism of the good American citizens in your ranks" — all these were cited in the Board's telegram to the union as reasons why the strike should be called off "immediately."

To his credit, Arthur J. Glover, president of the Switchmen's Union, indignantly rejected the Board's demand. Glover quoted both Truman and Truman's press secretary in support of the view that legally no "emergency" exists, and said the Board's reference to the strikers' patriotism "borders on insult."

"A COSTLY VIRTUE"

He recalled that the switchmen had worked 48 and 56 hours a week during the last war without overtime, while the railroads "piled up enormous profits" and said the workers are still operating under the same conditions while railroad profits are still high. "Patriotism has been a costly virtue with the switchmen," he added, in an extreme understatement.

Glover put a large share of the blame for the strike on the Board, and noted that the railroads are again "merely waiting for the government to crack down on a union and pull the carriers off the hook." But after saying all this, he partially weakened his argument by offering to have the union move any material

deemed "essential" by the government.

He could also have pointed out that if the Board really wanted to get the trains moving again, emergency or no emergency, it should apply its pressure on the operators, whose refusal to grant the union's legitimate demands is the only reason the strike continues.

The incident is valuable as a lesson to the whole union movement on the kind of anti-labor trickery to expect from the government whenever it has a "patriotic" pretext to wave around.

(See Page 4 for article on the background of the railroad strike.)



5-Year Contract Vetoed by Locals In Toledo Area

TOLEDO, July 2 — A General Motors type contract which would have dog-tied the workers for five years has been rejected by 8,000 members of five Doehler-Jarvis UAW locals. The final vote showed a majority opposed to this rotten kind of contract which virtually sterilizes the union for the period of its duration.

Although the majority against the contract was only a little over 100, the vote represents an important set-back to the union's international leadership. Reuther and his supporters have made so much noise about the "historic meaning" of the GM agreement that they hoped to stampede other sections of the union into accepting the same thing. The Doehler-Jarvis workers have served notice upon the union leaders that they do not want to be strapped to a five-year plan of this kind.

Leaders of the union who negotiated the contract, Gossler, Roman and Zvara, all of Toledo, expressed disappointment at the results of the voting. The entire proposition now goes back to the Doehler-Jarvis Council. It would be a step forward if the Council decided to junk the rejected contract and negotiated another one on a one-year basis.

Workers involved are located at Toledo, Pottstown, Batavia, Chicago and Grand Rapids.

What Happened to the German Prisoners in the Soviet Union
A Report by One of Them in next week's Militant

SWP CONVENTION WILL ADOPT 1950 PLATFORM, STRESSING WAR DANGER

The 1950 National Legislative Convention of the Socialist Workers Party will open its sessions on Friday, July 14, at 8 P. M. in New York City at Beethoven Hall (5th St. and Third Avenue). The convention will be open to the public. Speakers at the opening sessions will be Farrell Dobbs, National Chairman of the SWP, Joseph Hansen, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from New York, Clyde Turner, SWP candidate for U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, and others. The main item on the convention's agenda will be the adoption of a party platform for the 1950 elections.

"I confidently expect," Dobbs declared, "that our convention will be marked by a spirit of intransigent opposition to Truman's undeclared war in Korea. We will make this issue the keynote of our campaign."

"We will explain to the American people how the giant monopolies and the brass hats, using the crimes and brutality of the

Hear the Program of Socialism Over National Radio Networks
World Empire or World Socialism
Joseph Hansen, SWP Candidate for U. S. Senate
ABC Network, Sat., July 15, 4:15-4:30 P.M. (EDT)

What Next for U. S. Labor?
Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman
Mutual, Sun., July 16, 11:15-11:30 P.M. (EDT)

The Socialist Program for America
Farrell Dobbs, SWP National Chairman
CBS Network, Mon., July 17, 11:15-11:30 P.M. (EDT)
(Except WCBS, New York, which begins 11:45 P.M.)
(NOTE CHANGE IN TIME)

Workers of the World, Unite!

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Truman's War In Asia Spurs Reaction Here

Congress Grovels, Accepts Function Of Rubber Stamp

By Fred Hart

Truman's usurpation of power and his plunging of this country into an undeclared war in Korea has been accompanied by a complete knuckling under of both Houses of Congress. Congress has been converted into a mere rubber stamp for decisions from above in those instances where it is still being asked formally "to legislate."

A glaring instance is the jamming through of the draft bill which invests Truman with "peacetime" powers wielded by a Kaiser or a Czar but never by any other President. Even while Congress is in session, Truman is now empowered to order the draft, that is, set in motion partial or general mobilization; and he now has similar sweeping powers over the reserve forces and the National Guard. The original House and Senate draft bills opposed the grant of any such powers. Moreover the new provisions inserted in the bill concerning the reserves and the Guard never even came up for discussion on the floor of Congress itself.

Without any opposition whatever, without even a critical remark, let alone any discussion, this draft was steam-rollered through the Senate by a vote of 66 to 0; the House passed it by a vote of 314 to 4.

The European arms bill was given a similar treatment, although there had also been strong opposition in Congress to it. An atmosphere thus already exists in Washington where any measure, no matter how far-reaching or reactionary, may be rushed through Congress literally overnight. Worse yet, under the cover of "national unity," "international crisis," etc., a situation has been created where a dictatorial regime is being imposed step by step, without even the formality of Congressional approval.

TAFT GOES ALONG

In the Senate a protest was voiced by the conservative Senator Taft and there were some muttering from Senator Wherry and a few others. In his June 28 speech in the Senate, Taft flatly charged that Truman "was usurping his

First Week Brings Savage Blows at Labor, Civil Rights

Truman's undeclared war in Asia acted as a shot in the arm to the forces of reaction everywhere in the U.S. Encouraged by the "anything goes" spirit that marks the administration, the enemies of labor and civil rights grew bolder and more virulent while it became harder and harder to distinguish any differences between the liberal and conservative capitalist politicians. Following are some of the new reactionary trends manifested in the first week after Truman's order for armed intervention in Korea:

Truman himself took action to break the strike of the AFL Switchmen's Union against five railroads after his National Mediation Board had unsuccessfully attempted to drive the strikers back to work on "patriotic" grounds. (See earlier story elsewhere on this page.)

The strike — for a 40-hour week at 48-hours pay — had the support of William Green and Philip Murray, but Truman denounced it as "unjustified" and threatened "drastic" action if it wasn't ended. Protesting that the government was ganging up with the employers against a legal strike, the president of the switchmen's union called off the strike against four of the roads, continuing the fifth against the Rock Island Company as a "test."

Meanwhile, of course, Truman's lieutenants were busy working on the "master" mobilization plan which would outlaw any strike. (See Joseph Hansen's article on Page 4.)

A few weeks ago, when the Democratic and Republican congressional leaders met to agree on "must" legislation for the rest of the 1950 session, there had been no talk about the Mundt-Nixon police-state bill to smash civil liberties via registration of "sub-

ASIA GRAB IS REAL AIM OF U.S. IMPERIALISTS

By John G. Wright

The undeclared war of the American imperialists in Korea marks the initial phase of their all-out offensive to establish themselves as the unchallenged masters of the

biggest and richest colonial prize in the world. What they are forcing is a showdown over Asia and not merely over Korea. The moves of the Kremlin's North Korean puppets have provided them with the pretext and they have pounced upon it. In an unmistakable way, they have told the Kremlin to start retreating and to keep on retreating in Asia, otherwise they are prepared to unleash the world atomic holocaust.

This is implicit in Truman's June 27 proclamation of the "new Asia policy." It was made explicit by none other than majority leader Senator Lucas. On rising to read Truman's "new Asia policy" into the Congressional Record, Lucas said:

"OUR RIGHTS" "In other words, through this statement we advise the world definitely what we intend to do in accordance with what we contend are our rights in the Pacific, which we shall defend."

"Our rights in the Pacific" mean that "we" shall impose whatever regime "we" see fit not only in Korea but also in the Philippines. It is "our right" to compel the Indo-Chinese people to submit to the yoke of the French colonial despots, or more accurately, to let the French rule there as our junior partners. An-

Labor, Liberal Leaders Join War Chorus

By Albert Parker

There were two reasons why Truman was able to act with such boldness in the Korean conflict. First, he knew he would have the support of the capitalist class and its political representatives inside and outside of Congress. Second, he was counting on the support of practically all the labor, liberal and radical leaders, while discounting any opposition as either discredited or still ineffective. And he was not wrong in these expectations.

The labor leaders fell into line like orderlies snapping to attention. Their statements of support were undistinguishable from those of the State Department propagandists. Not one of them (outside of the Stalinist union leaders) even dared to question the president's usurpation of Congress powers. They weren't consulted, they didn't consult their own members, they didn't know what the next steps would be, but they committed themselves as unhesitatingly as the Stalinists

do to the Kremlin's foreign policy.

The gist of the labor bureaucracy's position was expressed by CIO President Philip Murray, who wired from a sick bed to assure Truman that he had the CIO's "wholehearted and unstinting support."

BACK USE OF MILITARY

Walter Reuther went along too, but he tried to use the occasion for some publicity for another of his grandiose "plans." "We regret the use of military power, but we didn't make the decision, and the Communies did," he declared. And he proposed that the U. S. spend 13 billion dollars a year for the next 100 years "to help the backward people in the world help themselves" and to include the USSR and her satellites in the program "if they were willing to participate in total, universal disarmament, controlled by the United Nations."

about was that Reuther favors "the use of military power," which means that he will also accept its consequences, including the curbing of the labor movement.

The liberals were unhappy, but they could see no alternative to supporting Truman's moves, especially since (in part for their benefit) he went through the procedure of getting the UN to rubberstamp them, which was more than he did with Congress.

LIBERAL PRESS

The Nation, while admitting that the South Korean regime was "one of the most repressive police states ever to enjoy our favor," concluded that North Korean aggression must be stopped, or "there can be little likelihood of averting the ultimate disaster," world war.

The New Republic similarly advocated support of Truman's "bold step" but pleaded that "we do not let firmness turn into unreasoning rage."

The N. Y. Post expressed

anxiety and dread, but saw something consoling in the UN's endorsement of Truman's full-scale intervention: "The decision, it will be pointed out, ratified an accomplished fact. . . . Yet those who miss the moral symbolism miss the one great hope. We did seek and obtain the sanction of mankind's tribunal — the UN," etc.

The Socialist Party speaks in a feeble voice nowadays, but it summoned up enough energy to call a meeting of its National Action Committee, which voted unanimously to support the UN Security Council and Truman.

The Social Democrats, in their New Leader, not only said Ja but had some proposals of their own to offer, such as: "The U. S. should offer to bear the chief burden of supplying the manpower and material to defend Korea." They insisted Truman should call for the formation of a "Pacific Pact for mutual defense," if necessary putting pressure on Nehru, Sukarno and Quirino who "have hitherto sought

to straddle the cold-war fence." They also pleaded for the "recruitment of vast numbers of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans, Indians, Japanese, Poles, and Russians, too, into an International Legion of Liberty."

WALLACEITES DIVIDED

The Progressive Party remained strangely silent. Its National Committee was meeting in New York City on the day the fighting began in Korea but adjourned without uttering a word about this most important event since World War II. Instead, it adopted a statement expressing its determination "that peace SHALL be the issue in the election campaign." From the looks of things, the Progressive Party said nothing about Korea because its leaders are badly split on this question.

For the last year Henry Wallace's political activity has been limited to press releases and occasional speeches on current events. But for the first week

other of "our rights" is to dictate the fate of Formosa, retaining the corrupt and evil Chiang Kai-shek regime, or supplanting it by another just as corrupt and evil.

The fate of Formosa has thus been tied up directly with the fate of Formosa and of Indo-China. But the fate of Formosa is in its turn directly tied up with the fate of China. So is the fate of Indo-China. Regardless of the course of the conflict in Korea, it is merely a question of time before events themselves will demonstrate to the hilt that China along with the whole of Asia is actually involved here.

What Lucas said in the Senate was not spoken in an unguarded moment. He was merely explaining for the benefit of his less astute colleagues that Truman has definitely committed this country to the conquest of Asia, even at the risk of world war.

The "liberal" Senator Douglas of Illinois spelled this out even more clearly by assuring that "it is apparent that we will defend Formosa, that we will defend Indo-China, and that we will defend the Philippines. In other words, all points of danger will be defended by the United States."

With a single stroke of the pen, Truman has imposed what

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European Notebook

The Stalinist 'Peace' Campaign in Europe

By Ernest Germain

European capitalists hate American imperialism but at the same time need it desperately; European middle classes don't like it but try to conciliate with its tremendous impact on the fate of the continent; European Stalinists are developing an anti-American campaign of unheard-of dimensions, but their goal is to allow the Kremlin to come to favorable terms with the masters of Wall Street.

verge of bankruptcy. It chalks up slogans like "Down with Coca-Cola" on the walls of Paris. It puts up a vigorous fight to defend "our" markets against American "competitors." It denounces the penetration of American capital in "our" colonies. And it winds up by asking all peoples of good will to compel that same poisonous, fascist, criminal, gangster America . . . to come to an agreement with the socialist paradise, the USSR.

CONFLICTING ELEMENTS

It is this peace campaign which expresses all the conflicting elements of present-day Stalinist strategy in Europe. For many months now, CP members and sympathizers all over Europe have been mobilized to do just one thing: gather signatures for the famous "Stockholm declaration" urging the outlawing of the atomic bomb (declaration made by an assembly of the Stalinist World Peace Congress at Stockholm.) The CP's, each in its turn, have been criticized for not showing enough militancy and enthusiasm for this campaign. It has been explained to them over and over again that the central task of the moment is to get signatures on the Stockholm declaration.

Auguste Lecoquer, the new organizational secretary of the French CP, explained at the last

CP Congress that the struggle for the workers' demands has to be subordinated to the "struggle" for getting the Stockholm declaration signed. (Up to date, seven million signatures have been obtained in France, official Stalinist sources say.) Edgar Lalmand, general secretary of the Belgian CP, explained at the latest Central Committee meeting of his party that the most effective struggle against Leopold III is to have people sign the Stockholm declaration. And on the eve of their crushing defeat in the elections in the Ruhr, where they lost 60% of their votes, the West-German Stalinists were told by their leader Max Reimann that every signature for the Stockholm declaration was worth ten votes in the elections!

STRONG SENTIMENT

Now there is undoubtedly something captivating, especially for petty bourgeois and politically uneducated people, in the brief and categorical Stockholm declaration. When somebody comes around and asks: "Are you in favor of the atomic bomb? If not, say so!" — you can't very well hesitate, at least, not in Europe! The Stalinists want to make the utmost use of the growing anti-war sentiment and the tremendous amount of terror accumulating in the hearts of all European men and women, who

still remember the horror of the last war and now find themselves faced with the perspective of a new slaughter infinitely more horrible.

So strong is this sentiment, that the Stalinists succeed in getting signatures in many quarters where they could not penetrate before, especially in Catholic circles. The high clergy of the Church of France has just come out with a declaration condemning the use of the atomic bomb, a declaration which does not mention the Stalinist campaign at all and does not forbid the signing of their petition.

WORKERS' REACTIONS

The Western European working class on the contrary has given the Stalinist peace campaign a much cooler response. There are two obvious reasons for this. First of all, every intelligent worker, even if he is a convinced Stalinist, understands that signing the Stockholm petition cannot interfere in any way whatsoever with the war preparations of American imperialism. Nobody really believes that collecting signatures is an effective means of fighting against war and imperialism. In the second place, the brutal separation of the workers' economic demands from the peace campaign, completely subordinating the former to the latter, has created much un-

can imperialism, and they have to urge collaboration between this same imperialism and the USSR as their supreme goal.

They have given enthusiastic support to the Trygve Lie and Gunnar Myrdal missions to Moscow, trying to cook up some kind of a deal between Wall Street and the Kremlin. They have been giving enthusiastic support to American politicians like Senator Tydings, playing with the idea of a similar deal. They have been centering their peace campaign around the necessity of the UN to outlaw the atomic bomb and organize international control of production of all bombs. They have been accusing the "warmongering statesmen" of the USA of making international collaboration impossible. In fact, their line amounts to this: "Warmongering and semi-fascist Truman and Acheson are allying themselves to Hirohito and neo-Nazis, whereas we, the peace-loving peoples of the world, want to ally ourselves with warmongering and semi-fascist Truman and Acheson!" Can there be any doubt about the fact that the millions of Europeans who got some political education through the hard and varied experiences of the last decades simply don't believe the Stalinist stories any more and only try to find out "what is really behind all that nonsense?"

HOPELESS CONTRADICTIONS The Stalinists find themselves entangled in hopeless contradictions. At one and the same time they explain "that the war danger increases every day," and that "the anti-war camp becomes stronger from day to day." At one and the same time they isolate themselves more and more from hesitant middle class layers by their gross adventurist and sectarian tactics, and they have to direct their main campaign more and more exclusively to these same middle class layers. At one and the same time they violently denounce Ameri-

LAST WEEK WAS BEST OF FUND CAMPAIGN -- TOTAL NOW MARKS 86%

By Reba Aubrey Fund Campaign Manager

The campaign is really getting warm as the branches push toward the 100% mark. Flint sent in another \$10, boosting their score to 127%. Youngstown crossed the wire with 105%. Buffalo followed close on their heels with 101%. Boston crowded right in with 100%. Seven branches have now completed their quotas in the \$10,000 Militant Fund campaign.

"We received the splendid recording of the Militant Chorus," writes Comrade Genora for Flint branch. "If all the branches had known what a valuable prize was in store for the first 10 to complete their quotas, we would have had much stiffer competition! Just knowing that a successful fund campaign insures the continuation of our press is reward enough for the comrades here — but the excellent recording was an added reward!"

Seven of the Militant Chorus recordings have been awarded. Three more to go. Looks as though New York is bidding for one of these three. Only \$9 more and New York will move in with the 100%ers. Who will get the remaining two recordings? No change in Chicago and Con-

necticut this week. Both branches are still tied with 86%. St. Paul-Minneapolis and Seattle are running neck and neck with 83%. Comrade Dan of Seattle says, "We expect to be even with the board by July 15."

Detroit branch is now making up for time lost because of the auto strike at the beginning of the campaign. A payment of \$302 this week shot them up to 79%. "This leaves us a balance of \$168," writes Comrades Marietta, "which we hope will be collected at our next membership meeting on July 9. We feel certain we can make 100% by next week."

A \$20 payment from Philadelphia brought this branch a long stride closer to their goal. Cleveland made a good gain with a \$60 payment.

Comrade Elaine sent in \$120 for Los Angeles. "This gives us a total of \$854 paid, with \$445 more to go," she writes. "Los Angeles is sure of being IN FULL AND ON TIME!"

Not a week goes by without contributions from friends of The Militant. With their excellent help in this campaign 93% of the "General" quota has been fulfilled to date.

The group of friends south of the Mason-Dixon line scraped together another \$25 contribution. The spokesman for the group says they "expect further contributions before the campaign is over."

R.L.G. of Canada sent in \$2; J.D., Chicago, mailed in \$5; an anonymous friend in Los Angeles sent in \$1.

M.M. of Minneapolis contributed \$1, saying "I send what I can and hope many will do likewise, if they have the means."

"I have been watching the progress of the fund campaign for The Militant and I am sending \$75," says a friend in New York, "to help make sure the entire amount is raised. The Militant is one of the few sane and socialist voices to be heard in this mad world ringing the alarm bells of war. Wishing you success in your effort."

Only 10 days left to complete all quotas 100% by July 15!

'Welfare State' — Or Socialism? (Part III)

The Assaults on Civil, Labor and Negro Rights

By Art Preis

Truman claimed in his 1950 State of the Union speech: "We enjoy more personal liberty in the United States today than ever before." There has never been a bigger lie.

The Truman Doctrine and the cold war have brought the witch-hunt and spy-scare to lay a pall of fear over the American people. To voice a mild difference on government policy, particularly foreign affairs; to possess a book or periodical that questions official doctrine; to associate with persons or groups "suspected" of "subversive" ideas; or even to be anonymously denounced for these things can cost a person his job, his reputation and even his physical freedom.

According to the American Civil Liberties Union, "The present exceeds in its severity of intolerance and fears" any time since the infamous Palmer anti-"red" raids of 1919-20.

The fountain-head of the ominous assault on civil liberties is the White House itself. Truman's "loyalty" purge of government workers and his political blacklist of "subversive" organizations have been used, states the ACLU, "to stimulate the search for heretics."

Truman's "loyalty" order has been extended to all registrants for the draft, to all workers in private industry engaged on government contracts, to applicants for atomic-energy scholarships. "It has been extended beyond anything ever known before in American life," says the ACLU.

Outstanding victim of this thought-control drive is James Katcher, the legless World War II veteran who was fired from his clerk's job in the Veterans Administration and branded "disloyal" because of his socialist views and acknowledged membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Stifling Free Thought

The FBI has been developed into a vast secret police, ferreting out the private lives of hundreds of thousands, illegally tapping telephone wires and opening private mail, spying in factories and unions. Paid informers and stool-pigeons, mostly ex-Stalinists like the notorious Louis Budenz, have become the new "heroes" of the capitalist press.

Under the Smith Act of 1940, first used when the Roosevelt administration railroaded 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders to prison, the mere advocacy of Marxist political ideas has been made a "crime." Even mere pretenders to Marxist ideas, like the Stalinists, have been framed up under the Smith Act and given heavy prison sentences.

Free thought is being terrorized in schools and colleges with "loyalty" oaths for teachers and students, "subversive" investigations, dismissals of alleged "communists" under laws like New York's Feinberg Act. Scientific investigation has been put in a straitjacket. Scientists work more and more under military supervision and surveillance. Atomic scientists are ordered to "keep their mouths shut" even on matters that are public knowledge. A Nazi-like book-burning has already occurred with the AEC's burning of 3,000 copies of the April 1950 Scientific American.

Encouraged by the police-state atmosphere prevailing in Truman's "welfare state," all that is racist and reactionary is rising up from the bottom-most muck of capitalist society. Fascist-like mobs, with the aid and connivance of the police, have assaulted peaceful gatherings in Peekskill, Chicago, Pittsburgh and other cities.

The Supreme Court, with a majority of Truman appointees, has upheld one violation of the Bill of Rights after another — search and seizure without warrants; deportation without trial or hearing; abrogation of the right to refuse to give self-incriminatory testimony in Congressional hearings. It has refused to review the ruling of a lower federal court which rejected the appeal of the maritime workers against the Taft-Hartley ban on their union hiring halls, thus giving sanction to the T-H closed shop ban. It has twice upheld the T-H non-"Communist" oath imposed on union leaders.

What would you call a state that tramples the Bill of Rights underfoot, blacklists and frames up political opposition, infests the land with secret political police and stoolpigeons? A "welfare state" — or a WELL-FEARED state?

Status of the Negroes

Simultaneous with its offensive against civil rights, the "welfare state" has maintained the system of racial segregation and discrimination and keeps some 15 million Negro Americans in the status of second-class citizens. In the very seat of government, Washington, D. C., Jim Crow flourishes in every U. S. agency and in public transportation, schools, hospitals, employment, housing.

The Jim Crow system stands out flagrantly in the armed forces. Truman as Commander-in-Chief of all U.S. military forces could end segregation by a stroke of the pen. But he has not done so.

Segregation in the government bureaus and armed forces reinforces Jim Crow everywhere. The Negro is set apart in "Black Ghettos," crammed into dilapidated fire-traps, charged exorbitant rents. The white landlords, who profit from this, maintain "racial covenants" — agreements to bar Negroes from "white" residential areas. Truman's Supreme Court itself has given legal cover to these "racial covenants." While declaring they are not enforceable in the courts, it has refused to ban such "covenants."

The landlords can make them. And where they cannot enforce them by other means, they have not hesitated to invoke fascist-like mob violence and race pogroms against Negroes. In northern cities like Chicago and Detroit white hoodlum mobs incited by landlord associations have attacked Negro homes in "white" areas, sought to prevent Negroes from moving into public housing projects.

Why not? In Congress itself leading "welfare staters" have voted down amendments that would bar public funds for such segregated housing.

Discrimination Fosters Poverty

The economic position of the Negro people has remained fundamentally unchanged after 17 years of the Democratic "welfare state." The joint congressional committee's report on low-income families reveals that while 11% of American families headed by white males between the ages of 21 and 64 years had family incomes under \$2,000 in 1948, some 39% of families headed by non-white males were in the "under \$2,000" — that is, the poverty — classification.

A chief reason for this is that the Negro is discriminated against in employment. Truman and the Trumanites have paid a lot of lip-service to breaking down job-discrimination. But, in practice, they have knifed the Negro in the back. That is what the test vote on FEPC so conclusively proved on May 19, when the Senate took up a motion to permit a vote on FEPC, and 26 Democratic votes were cast against closure, to only 19 for. Thus, a majority of all Senators belonging to Truman's "welfare state" party openly voted to kill FEPC.

This government, that sets the pattern for racial segregation of a tenth of the nation, may call itself a "welfare state." But to the Negro people it's still a FOR WHITES ONLY state.

(Next Week: Can Capitalism Be 'Stabilized'?)

Winner in Georgia



Running on a straight white supremacy platform, Gov. Herman Talmadge (above) won the Democratic primary race for governor against M. E. Thompson. Among other things Talmadge has pledged to never permit the "intermingling" of white and Negro students in Georgia schools.

Letters from Our Readers

More About the Most Hated People

Fred Hart's article, "The Most Hated People," sure echoes my sentiments. In my travels on foreign jobs since the war I personally experienced the lot of being one of "the most hated people." Once in Venezuela I went with a friend to a May 1 rally in the local plaza. We were the only Americans present and within five minutes the speaker was blasting away at us two innocents as though we were the original and in the flesh Yankee imperialists.

Through other Latin Countries I've visited you can't help but notice a resentment towards us. In restaurants you can be left isolated and not waited on, and people sometimes move to other tables. I've also seen small children have stones thrown at them by other children, and taunted with cries of "Yankee" because their families, who were working on local projects, were American. Even in travelling around on local planes you can be made well aware of resentment; word is passed around quickly that you are an American, while Europeans are accepted. Some diehards can do funny things to your baggage; you can never see so many things go wrong so quickly.

In any traffic accident involving an American you can expect to have the book thrown at you.

Americans are now being given a taste of the aftermath of the so-called British "white man's burden." These feelings are worldwide; people I've known who have come back from all sections of the world remark on the terrific anti-American feelings expressed. In the Philippines there are outright killings of civilians and also soldiers, making necessary the confining of Americans to camp and quarters after sunset.

If you can read the native papers, no opportunity is missed to highlight anti-American incidents, where before it would have been suppressed, not to arouse hard feelings or for fear of some form of retaliation.

Yes, people are now not so fearful and they really took up one of the Roosevelt-Churchill "Four Freedoms" — "Freedom of speech. The hypocritical, two-faced, double-talking methods American capitalists have been following — backing reactionary and fascist elements while spouting Jeffersonian phrases — didn't fool the people who since the war have been trying to break away from colonial oppression. Yes, Americans are becoming the most hated people.

D. Leon New York, N.Y.

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The one-month subscription campaign for The Militant got off to a good start with a total of 168 points for the first scorecard. This is 15% of the goal of 1,100 points. One point is scored for each three-months introductory subscription, two points for a six-months sub, and four points for a one-year sub.

Allentown and Toledo took the lead with a surprise push in the opening of the campaign. The evidence indicates careful advance planning. With the back of the resistance broken it now looks like just a question of mopping up, with very good chances of going over the goal.

The Seattle comrades were late getting their quota in to us, but judging from past performance that doesn't mean lost time. They were just getting squared off for action. Literature Agent Marianne Stanley writes that the campaign didn't come at the best time, "but I believe we can make it. We will surely all pitch in!"

The powerful Minneapolis machine started rolling down the tracks with 16 points and a prediction from Campaign Manager Pauline Swanson: "When the final score is put up, Minneapolis is going to be right up in front!"

Literature Agent Dixon Woods of San Francisco says the comrades there got off to a slow start on account of the July 4 weekend, "but we have no doubt about coming through on time."

The Oakland crew along with some others also appear to have missed the advantages of an early push — through. However, Literature Agent Lillian Russell reports good sales. "Comrades Willy and Filomena covered two union meetings and sold 29 copies of The Militant. These editions were chockful of news and information about the Yugoslav situation and I'm sure that the least we can expect from these sales is that the Stalinists are going to be put on the spot trying to answer the rank and file questions on Yugoslavia."

Once again we ask all our readers to help get subscriptions for The Militant during this campaign. There's no better time to start your friends reading America's leading socialist weekly than right now during the election campaign when interest in politics is at the highest.

The three-months introductory subscription is only 50c. Help the sub-getters in your area make their goal!

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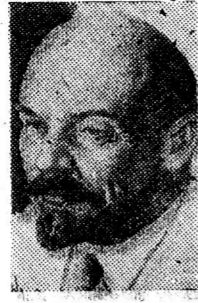
Monday, July 10, 1950



TROTSKY

"Imperialism links up incomparably more rapidly and more deeply the individual national and continental units into a single entity, bringing them into the closest and most vital dependence upon each other and rendering their economic methods, social forms, and levels of development more identical. At the same time, it attains this 'goal' by such antagonistic methods, such tiger-leaps, and such raids upon backward countries and areas that the unification and leveling of world economy which it has effected, is upset by it even more violently and convulsively than in the preceding epochs."

— Leon Trotsky, The Third International After Lenin, 1928.



LENIN

Tito's June 27 Speech

Marshal Tito's June 27 address to the Yugoslav National Assembly, reported on Page 1, represents a great milestone in the development of the international working class and socialist movement. The setting and content of the speech are of truly historic importance.

Those familiar with Trotsky's analysis of Stalinism and his long struggle for workers' democracy against the Kremlin autocrats may not find much that is new in Tito's words. That alone lends great moment to the speech. What is new is that the head of a state, for the first time since Stalin usurped power, has revived some of the major liberating aims and measures of the 1917 October Revolution.

Tito's damning indictment of the Kremlin gangsters for the growth of the huge bureaucratic machine and apparatus of coercion, for forced labor and concentration camps in the Soviet Union, for the political expropriation of the Russian workers, and the ruthless interference in the affairs of small nations — all of it rings true as a bell. His assertion that this tragic development, together with the Stalinist alibis to justify it, flies in the face of Marxism-Leninism is beyond all honest rebuttal.

Tito digs deeply into the social roots of the degeneration of the Soviet State and

aims his fire at Stalin himself. Here indeed is political progress. When the open struggle between the Yugoslav Communists and the Kremlin began in 1948, the Yugoslavs still coupled Stalin's name with Marx, Engels and Lenin, still spoke uncritically of the Soviet Union as a "socialist country," and spoke defensively of the "unsocialist" methods of the USSR in dealing with the "Peoples' Democracies" without searching for basic causes. A mountain of illusions and deceptions has been cleared away in the short space of two years.

The outstanding significance of Tito's speech is that it is not an abstract social analysis, not a mere holiday declaration. The deeds correspond to the words. The report laid the political foundation for the adoption by the National Assembly of a far-reaching statute decentralizing economic administration, democratizing the control and management of industry and putting teeth into the struggle against bureaucratism in Yugoslavia.

It is understandable that the capitalist and the Stalinist press suppressed the news of Tito's speech. Both are determined to perpetuate the great lie that socialism means bureaucracy and terror. They will not succeed. Truth is on the march — it will penetrate the iron curtain on both sides.

Pressure in the UN

What is going on behind the scenes in the UN? The entire capitalist propaganda machine is trying to paint a picture of virtually unanimous support for the moves of the American imperialists in Korea and in Asia as a whole. But there is opposition. It has come openly from Yugoslavia, which courageously voted against the U.S. resolution in the UN. It has also come from Egypt and India, both of whom originally abstained.

India has since backed down and "accepted" the U.S. resolution. Egypt has persisted in its course. Was there fierce pressure to bear on India? Is similar pressure being exerted on Egypt? And on Yugoslavia?

The press and radio deliberately slurred over the vigorous protest made in the UN on June 30 by Egypt's representative, Mahmoud Fawzi Bey, who pointedly reminded that Egypt is a free and independent country capable of reaching its own decisions which "must be respected."

Reports have already appeared that the U.S. State Department informed the Egyptian government that it considers its position "shocking." This will appear "mild" only to those gullible enough not

to understand the obvious threat implied. Clearly, the mailed fist is now being pounded on the table for Egypt to FALL IN LINE, OR ELSE!

That a similar course is being followed toward Yugoslavia goes without saying. Far from respecting the right of Yugoslavia or Egypt or India or any other country to arrive freely at independent decisions, the American imperialists are determined to whip them all into line, and will literally stop at nothing.

Among Stalin's major calculations in the unfolding international crisis is to drive Yugoslavia into the imperialist camp. Despite the Cominform lies about the "fascist" Tito regime, Stalin knows very well that it will not voluntarily become a tool of imperialism. But what Stalin has not been able to do, the U.S. imperialists are preparing to use the sharpest economic and political weapons to achieve.

The U.S. pressure and threats against Yugoslavia are still being conducted through "diplomatic" channels, but that doesn't make them any the less dangerous. We warn the American workers about this. We urge them to raise their voices right now and tell the warmakers to keep their paws off Yugoslavia and its right to formulate its own policies.

Tito Denounces Bureaucratism

(Continued from Page 1)
ing of Engel's formulation of the concept of the withering away of the state, said that it was correct, but only under two conditions: if the socialist state is considered only from the standpoint of the internal development of the country, or if it is supposed that socialism has already triumphed in all countries or in the majority of countries, and that instead of capitalist encirclement there is socialist encirclement.

"After World War II, however, when a whole new range of socialist countries has sprung up around the Soviet Union, there can indeed be no talk of capitalist encirclement. To assert that the role of the state as an armed force exists only for external reasons is to fly in the face of the reality within the Soviet Union.

ROLE OF THE APPARATUS
"What then is this huge, bureaucratic, centralist apparatus doing? Are its functions directed outside the country? What are the NKVD and militia doing? Are we to believe that their functions

are concerned with outside dangers? By whom and with what means are millions of citizens of various nationalities being deported to Siberia and the Far North? Could it be that they are asserting that these measures are leveled at the class enemy? Is it possible that they will say that whole nations are a class which is to be annihilated? Who is obstructing and preventing the battle of opinion in the Soviet Union? Is not all this being perpetrated by the most centralized, most bureaucratic state machinery, which in no way resembles a state machinery that is dying out?"

"Stalin is right in one respect, if his words are applied to the present, in that the functions of this state machine are indeed directed towards the outside, but it should be added that they are directed both where they should and should not be. They are also concentrated in interfering in the internal affairs of other countries, against the will of the peoples of these countries. Therefore, they can hardly be called functions of a socialist state which is wither-

ing away, but are rather akin to the functions of an imperialist state machine which is vying for spheres of influence and endeavoring to enslave other people."

RELATION TO THE STATE
On the question of the Party's role, that is, its relationship to the state, Marshal Tito declared that in his works Stalin reduces the Party's role to that of running the state apparatus. "Accordingly, it is no wonder that in the Soviet Union the Party is becoming more and more bureaucratic and also part and parcel of the bureaucratic state apparatus, that is, it is identifying itself with the state apparatus and is thus losing all contact with the people and, with all those matters which should indeed be its concern."

Turning to the question of state ownership, Marshal Tito stated that it is the lowest phase of social ownership, and not the highest, as Soviet leaders seem to think. He emphasized the significance of the bill on the labor management of state enterprises and higher economic bodies for

What Are Stalin's Aims In the Korean Conflict?

By Paul G. Stevens

The entire capitalist propaganda machine and its various appendages in the labor movement talk very glibly about "communist" aggression in Korea. But it is at the very least doubtful whether Stalin alone provoked the current conflict in the Far East. Several incidents cast a cloud over the outbreak of the Korean hostilities not dissimilar to those still hanging over Pearl Harbor. Honest scholars in the tradition of Professor Charles A. Beard will no doubt undertake some time in the future a conscientious probe of Korean events as Beard did of those that preceded the war with Japan. Meanwhile, however, a number of disturbing facts are being deliberately buried under the propaganda barrage. The curious coincidence of the U. S. general staff conferences in Tokyo just prior to the outbreak is left unexplained. Similarly, the trip to Korea of Mr. John Foster Dulles.

Less known and even more carefully concealed is the news that three North Korean emissaries, who only a few weeks ago went to meet a United Nations delegation at the 38th parallel for negotiations, were seized by the South Korean military after an exchange of gunfire at the border. Editorials and newspaper features on Korea — prepared with amazing speed — point up the fact that the North Koreans initiated discussions with the UN Commission, "just as treacherously as the Japanese participated in peace talks at the very time they were preparing for Pearl Harbor." But there is a strange silence about the seizure of these three North Korean negotiators by the U. S. backed Rhee government. What kind of "peace talks" have we here?

PROVOKED BY BOTH

While the possibility of provocations from the pious hypocrites this side of the Pacific can thus hardly be excluded, the blitz offensive of the Kremlin's Korean satellite indicates that Stalin was well-prepared and is in any case pursuing a policy that, on broad lines, is far from improvised and accidental. Naturally, no one will take seriously Stalinist protestations that this is purely and simply an internal Korean affair and that Stalin's regime doesn't intervene in the internal affairs of other countries, etc. The case of Yugoslavia is too fresh in everyone's mind. There is, of course, a large and predominating element of the

colonial struggle against imperialist overlordship and for national unity in the current Korean conflict. Even capitalist writers and correspondents admit that popular sympathy is with the North Korean regime and that the American forces are facing not a friendly, but a hostile civilian population. And this undoubtedly accounts in no small measure for the quick collapse of the South Korean army.

ROLE IN THE COLONIES

That Stalin's role in Korea flows from any concern for colonial peoples and national independence, cannot be taken as a serious factor in the situation. Stalin's real attitude and contempt both for the colonial peoples and for their struggle for national independence have been shown by his entire past policy — from his alliance with Chiang Kai-shek in the 1925-27 Chinese Revolution through his wartime alliance with Anglo-American imperialism with its Yalta and Potsdam agreements.

In return for a deal with Washington or to serve the interests of the Soviet bureaucracy, Stalin will just as readily sell out the Korean struggle for independence as he betrayed that of the Greeks or the Indo-Chinese, to mention only two among a host of others.

What then motivated the Kremlin in incurring the risk of an open clash with American imperialism over Korea? There is universal agreement even among the worst jingoists that the Soviet Union is not prepared for, and does not desire, a new world war at present. It is generally taken for granted that Korea most likely represents a testing ground rather than a direct prelude to a world war. But even as a testing ground, the war in Korea must offer some very serious objectives to the Kremlin, to involve it in such a tremendous risk.

STRATEGIC MOTIVES

Korea is the last beachhead on the northern half of the Asiatic mainland for forces hostile to the Soviet Union. It has a long contiguous border with China and a small one with Soviet Siberia. Strategic considerations such as these are undoubtedly taken into consideration in military moves. But it is hardly conceivable that military-strategic motives alone could account for the Kremlin's decision.

Nor could the prospect of discouraging U. S. involvement in Indo-China or in Formosa provide sufficient motive for undertaking

a military test in which easy success is far from assured to either side.

A plausible surmise is that the Korean action approved by the Kremlin may be designed as a diversion for other objectives more, immediately important to Moscow. It has been noted that there have been considerable troop movements in the Cominform countries bordering on Yugoslavia, and more particularly, that armored Russian divisions have been moved up to the Yugoslav border in Rumania this past week. An attack on Yugoslavia cannot be excluded, particularly if U. S. operations in Korea prove very difficult or if a face-saving truce can be arranged there.

But a more probable assumption is that Stalin is seeking primarily to exploit the situation in the Far East. Wall Street's previous Far East policy banked heavily on the Kremlin's discrediting itself among the peoples of Asia by its influence over China and a possible rift between Mao's regime and Stalin. Meanwhile, the events in China have transformed all of Asia into a vast revolutionary volcano.

The Kremlin counts on the Korean war to raise its prestige still higher, while serving at the same time to further discredit and expose American imperialism as an out-and-out defender of colonialism and thus arouse the masses in this vast area to active hostility.

If this is the Kremlin's objective, the hasty militaristic self-exposure of Washington and of the UN as its supple instrument, will undoubtedly play right into Stalin's hands. Stalin counts, under such circumstances, on being able to achieve the long-desired deal with American capitalists, or failing this to strike a bargain with the West-European imperialists, as only effective defender of their remaining colonial interests in Asia.

But the hostility of Asia's millions to the old overlords and the new American claimant to overlordship, will not stop there. They will show little enthusiasm for domination by Moscow as well. If Stalin is seeking to warm his hands in the revolutionary fires of Asia, he is counting without his host. The aroused, fighting masses of the illimitable Asian spaces, once in motion, will not only upset Wall Street's dream of world dominion, but put an end to the overweening ambitions of Stalin's Great-Russian bureaucracy.

HOW LABOR AND RADICAL GROUPS REACTED ON THE KOREAN CRISIS

(Cont. from page 1)

after the Korea outbreak, he issued no releases, he made no speeches.

The National Guardian, a Wallacite weekly, appeared with some criticisms of what the press was saying about Korea and described the reactionary character of the South Korean regime, but refused to take a positive stand beyond saying that the Korean incident is a "setback in the fight for peace," and that the facts about the outbreak still "remain to be told."

While Marcantonio pretty much followed the Stalinist line, two other prominent Progressive Party leaders were at variance with it. O. John Rogge, lawyer, declared: "North Korean troops

are in South Korea's capital, and that's aggression. I don't like it. I can't condone it."

Ted O. Thackrey, editor of the N. Y. Daily Compass, took the position in his paper that the UN Security Council "should be supported to the utmost in its demand that the fighting be stopped before it flames into World War III." The UN decision, he wrote, "was the only possible one." Furthermore, "whatever the provocation, clearly the North Korean forces are invaders making an effort to gain geographic territory by military force; if entrapped into doing so, they fell for the entrapment; if bent on the rescue of South Korea from reaction, they have chosen the poorest possible time from the standpoint of world peace."

For these remarks Thackrey was taken sharply to task by the Daily Worker, which charged him with spreading the "imperialist propaganda line . . . that maintenance of peace among the great nations requires that colonial peoples 'peacefully' accept their status as oppressed nations, and that workers in capitalist nations 'peacefully' collaborate with their bosses," etc. Whatever else survives the Korean crisis, it doesn't seem that unity in the Progressive Party will be included.

As for the Stalinists' own line, it is a revolting mixture of apology for Stalin's reactionary foreign policy with pretense of waging a "leftist" struggle against imperialist war. The CP National Committee spoke of Truman's "criminal and reckless adventure that can only endanger the national security of our country, bring national dishonor upon us all and wreck world peace." It raised the slogan, "Hands off Korea!" and besmirched it by covering up the fact that the partition of that country was a dirty deal consummated between Roosevelt and Stalin, and that the crisis which erupted last week is a direct result of that partition.

Since it serves the Kremlin's interests, the Stalinists spoke a number of truths about imperialism. But they did not discontinue any of the distortions, lies and slanders that have discredited them among workers honestly concerned with fighting against war. This was most glaringly evident in their discussion of Yugoslavia's role in the UN Security Council.

LIES ABOUT YUGOSLAVS

When the Council met on June 27, to endorse Truman's intervention in Korea, the Yugoslav delegate, Ales. Bebler, voted against the U. S. resolution, declaring that the Council "should act in a direction opposite to that which has so far been followed in the international sphere." (Considering the fact that Stalin's satellites were massing troops on Yugoslavia's frontiers, this was certainly a courageous act.) Bebler introduced his own resolution, calling for mediation, which was defeated.

The Daily Worker "report" of the Council meeting shamelessly omitted all mention of the Yugoslav vote against the U. S. resolution. Instead, it wrote: "Tito's representative acted as stalking horse for the U. S. controlled majority when he proposed 'mediation' between both sides and refused to distinguish between the (U. S.) puppet regime and the People's Democratic Republic of Korea." Is it any wonder that the Stalinists become increasingly isolated and despised?

The events of the past week have shown that militant workers who want to fight against war will find no guidance or leadership from the labor, liberal, Social Democratic, Progressive or Stalinist leaders. Only the Socialist Workers Party is true to the principles of revolutionary socialism which point the way to a successful struggle against imperialist, Stalinist and all other forms of reaction.

Yugoslavia Today

By Vivienne Goonewardene

IV: Role of Unions and Status of Women

The trade unions in Yugoslavia are not merely watchdogs of the living standards and rights of the working class, as they have to be in capitalist countries. They participate in the highest Planning Commission in the Federated Republic, and are both organizers of production and participants in the drafting of all legislation relating to wages and working conditions of the working class. They are democratically elected, have their own trade union papers, and embrace the entire working class of Yugoslavia.

They have the task of raising the political consciousness and cultural level of the working masses, combat illiteracy and provide ideological lectures on Marxism-Leninism. They have to take art and the theater to the workers employed in industry, in the mines and the lumber forests, where today art and culture groups are being opened up alongside thousands of reading rooms and libraries. They have equal authority with the directors inside the factories and are independent of the state, with the right to strike and criticize.

All heavy industry workers and sick workers are provided trade union-paid holidays in health resorts, and every worker is given assistance to enjoy a paid annual holiday in places like Split and Bled, which the bourgeoisie and foreign tourists enjoyed in pre-war Yugoslavia. All the mountain resorts are now trade union hotels under the administration of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia. The different republics have their own trade union organizations as well, dealing with the problems of their particular republic.

But what is most encouraging is that the trade union officials, democratically elected, are extremely international in outlook, and understand that socialism can be achieved only with the cooperation of the world working class. The vice-president of the Slovenian Federation of Trade Unions, Borc Joseph, in his press conference speech to us, demonstrated a complete internationalism in outlook and Marxist revolutionary content.

The position of women in society is an index of the level of development of that society. In Yugoslavia the women are on terms of complete economic and political equality with men. In pre-war Yugoslavia, the woman was a drudge, and the maternal mortality rate was almost 10%. The Macedonian women particularly were illiterate and in purdah. But the national liberation movement tore down all these barriers and conventions.

The Status of Women and Children

Over 100,000 women participated actively in the fighting alongside the partisans, and it was the women who organized the rear, obtaining food, knitting clothing and giving medical and nursing service in the front lines. Today those women are co-equals with the men in every sphere of industry and culture except in those heavy trades like mining, where women are legally barred from employment.

The anti-fascist women's organization is a spearhead in the drive for literacy and safeguarding of women's rights. During the war, over 282,000 women were in concentration camps together with their children, and most of them were butchered. But today a new era has opened for women in Yugoslavia, where they participate in every sphere of administration and production. The pregnant woman is entitled to six weeks' full pay leave, before and after childbirth. She is given 14 days free medical attention in the hospital, an allowance to buy the layette for the baby and supplementary rations for three months after childbirth.

Nursing mothers are permitted 15 minute breaks after every three hours of work, to nurse the babies, and every facility is afforded to leave the babies in creches and nurseries. Nursing mothers, have special waiting rooms in stations, and special carriages in the trains. The attitude to women and to children expresses the social change in the economic system of Yugoslavia.

In pre-war Yugoslavia, the child mortality rate was as high as any in the eastern colonial world, and 24 1/2% of the children born died before they were 10 years old. Only 47% of the children of school age went to school, and the rest worked to augment the family income. The change in the attitude to the new generation of citizens is revolutionary. Today there is no stigma attached to children born out of wedlock, and schools, nurseries, creches and yearly holidays in good health resorts give the children of the working class opportunities for development they never had before.

The model children's town a few miles from Belgrade, one of many such towns which are fast springing up, is another sign of the new attitude. Here the children run their own republic — children between the ages of 6 to 14 act as citizens, municipal administrators, judges, postmen and railwaymen. The Youth Railway which supplies the town with its necessities is manned by young railwaymen in every department except the driving. It is a bold experiment to develop individual initiative and collective responsibility. Children from every republic in Yugoslavia come here and participate in this self-governing republic.

Why We Must Defend Yugoslavia

Finally, it is important to state that all these organizations are within the People's Front of Yugoslavia. This People's Front is not a class-collaborationist organization, as the Stalinist-led People's Front in other countries were. Based on the program of the Communist Party and led by the Communist Party, it was only a broad organization to marshal all the progressive forces of the country for national resistance. The national liberation committees organized by this People's Front to deal with the administration, taxation and rehabilitation of the liberated areas could be defined as Soviet farms. This was why the national liberation struggle was fought to the finish with the same determination against the native bourgeoisie as against its ally, the Nazi invader.

It is therefore imperative that every militant study and understand the mechanics of the Yugoslav revolution and the significance of the Cominform attacks on it. It is vital for the development of the world revolutionary movement to fight on behalf of the Yugoslav masses in the ranks of the organized workers of all countries.

To try to discover in the Yugoslav movement the same organizational forms that arose in October 1917 in Russia is to waste time in abstract theoretical argumentation. The theory of "socialism in one country" has received its first open assault in the eyes of the world revolutionary movement. To ally ourselves with the new workers' state in the struggle for socialist development will be not only an advance for us in our fight but also a guide to Yugoslavia, on the path of international solidarity and international socialism.

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Sacrifice, for What?

By Joseph Hansen

One of the dreams that inspired the pioneers in America must still be counted a power, I think. That's the dream of giving our children a decent start in life. Like the stout-hearted men and women who settled the wilderness, most of our generation, I'm convinced, will sacrifice a great deal if it will assure better opportunities for our children.



Therein lies one of the great appeals of socialism. By pooling our efforts through a planned economy, we could stamp out disease, end poverty, guarantee every child a college education, root up ignorance and prejudice, and provide such abundance that no one need ever worry about making ends meet. The sacrifice? It's willingness to stand up today against power, privilege, bigotry and misunderstanding and help get labor organized along political lines so we can put a Workers and Farmers government in office. Deep inside, everybody knows that the alluring possibilities of socialism are quite realizable.

In contrast, capitalism offers us another world war, a war starting where the last one ended. Atomic annihilation may well ring down the final curtain in that war. If this comes about, our generation will have turned the great civilization handed down to us into a tombstone for mankind.

That perspective too demands sacrifices of us. Already the National Security Resources Board, headed by Stuart Symington, has drawn up a master plan to be rubber-stamped by Congress within an hour after a "national emergency" is declared. With the shooting in Korea, the press began talking about passing it now "to save even that hour."

This plan will freeze your wages "as of." It's also supposed to freeze prices, but we saw how that worked in World War II when prices climbed steadily, especially for items you could get only on the black market.

Your taxes will not be frozen, however. They will double and perhaps triple what you had to

pay in World War II. Out of the remnants of your pay check, forced savings will be deducted by paying you off in part in war bonds that cannot be cashed until after the war. As the capitalist press coolly explains, your standard of living will come down considerably.

Under the plan strikes are verboten, naturally. And it won't do you any good to think about maybe shifting over to a better-paying job somewhere else. You will be frozen to your job, the way workers were frozen in Nazi Germany.

That doesn't necessarily mean you can at least count on staying in the home town. "If necessary" you might be shunted along with thousands of others to war plants anywhere labor is more badly needed in the opinion of the Washington bureaucrats.

Small businesses will go down like flies hit by DDT. No priorities on materials. Consumer goods listed as "non-essential." All construction of houses will of course be halted together with the things needed to make them into homes such as radios, refrigerators, baby buggies, washing machines, automobiles and the rest. American industry will be geared to all-out production of tanks, bombs, war planes, machine guns, battleships, atom bombs, bacteria, etc.

Food, clothing, gasoline, all basic necessities in fact, will be rationed from the beginning. The whole idea is to pick up where the hardships ended in World War II and really push your nose down on the grindstone.

What will these sacrifices win for you? Well, they haven't given that much thought yet. But the propaganda machine will no doubt get around to digging up something about four freedoms or similar bait for the booby trap. Anyway what difference does it make? Everybody knows what will be left of civilization after that stockpile of atom bombs needs building up again.

As between the sacrifices called for in Truman's master plan and the sacrifices needed to win a planned economy, it looks to me like not much more need be said.

South Korea

By Ruth Johnson

Washington today would like to draw a benevolent mask of democracy over the ugly face of the South Korean police state. But the mask slips, revealing areas of truth.

The United Press reported on June 30: "Between 90 and 100 South Korean communists, including the beautiful 'Mata Hari' Kim Sooin, were executed just before Republican forces evacuated Seoul, an official source said today." Cold-blooded murder of prisoners continues in the fake "war for democracy," just as it was part and parcel of the peacetime rule of Syngman Rhee's South Korean government.

Trying to explain mass desertions from Rhee's army, and the low morale of South Korean troops, the N.Y. Times sadly admitted on June 27 that Rhee's government is "generally ineffective, frequently incompetent, and occasionally unpopular." In excuse, the Times adds that "At no time was President Rhee's administration able to devote its entire attention to the basic problems of feeding, clothing and educating a nation on the basis of self-government. The Korean Republic was a pawn in the 'cold war.'"

All this is true. But it is a deliberate understatement in order to hide Washington's responsibility for the purpose and character of the Rhee dictatorship.

A secret wartime deal gave Stalin control over the industrialized North with a population of some 8,000,000. United States troops occupied the agricultural South with 20,200,000 people, the jutting area closest to the islands of Japan. The country, impoverished even when united, was doomed to desperate misery with its economy cut into two parts.

Fully aware of the consequences that would follow division, American military experts helped to set up the South Korean army. Under the protection of this armed force, Rhee ruled with a brutality matched only by Chiang Kai-shek's butchery of the Chinese masses. In May 1948, a N.Y. Herald-Tribune correspondent declared: "South Korea is obviously in the hands of Right

ist groups bent on rule as arbitrary as that of Generalissimo Francisco Franco's Spain."

Describing terrible conditions in Korea, a United Nations Commission report to the 4th Session of the General Assembly stated: "With the aim of suppression, the government sent large forces of troops to Cheyeyiu, where an uprising took place in 1948, 'but disorders did not die down until the beginning of 1949. Military operations had not ended even in May 1949. Villages were reduced to ashes, and the damage to buildings, cattle and crops amount to billions of von.'"

Early this year, Walter Sullivan sent two revealing dispatches to the N.Y. Times. "Torture appears to be an accepted practice," Sullivan wrote. The official figure of political prisoners was 40,000. There were several "re-education" (concentration) camps.

Conditions were so bestial that there were repercussions even in the government. "On Jan. 17 several Assemblymen brought their grievances against the police into the open — an action that today demands courage," Sullivan said. "One referred to what critics of the police call 'the human flesh distribution case' that occurred last September at Mokpo, seaport at the southwest corner of Korea.

"Escaped and recaptured prisoners allegedly were shot on the doorsteps of various citizens and left there, apparently as an object lesson. 'Assemblyman Kang Sun Myung discovered one of the prisoners on his doorstep,' the speaker said. 'But everybody was so scared of the police that none of them could speak up publicly.'"

"A pro-government speaker declared: 'What is the idea of calling this case the 'human flesh distribution case' without asking what kind of people these dead are? They are the most vicious communists. . . .'"

Such was the South Korean government, backed by its 1,000 American "advisers" on the scene. The entire opposition press had been suppressed. Scores of opposition members of the National Assembly were in jail. Trade unions were crushed, the masses starved and terrorized. This is the "democracy" which American soldiers are sent to die for in Korea.

Congress--Rubber Stamp

(Continued from page 1)

powers as Commander in Chief," and that "there is no legal authority for what he has done." Taft went on to say that if this "is permitted to go by without protest, at least from this body (the Senate) we would have finally terminated for all time the right of Congress to declare war. . . ."

Needless to say, the Senate itself voiced no protest. Taft, like Wherry, is going along as docilely as the rest, taking care merely to make the record. As for the public discussion of this issue, it has been a farce. In the press and over the radio, "experts," "analysts," and "commentators" have fallen all over themselves to lie to the people that Truman is acting "within his rights."

Meanwhile the fact is that not only the mass of the people but even august members of the Senate are being pulled along by the nose. A single instance will suffice.

Senator Flanders of Vermont, together with other Senators, originally came to the defense of Truman's Korean moves on the ground that after all these were strictly delimited by orders not to move beyond the 38th parallel in Korea. As late as June 28 this Republican took the floor to say:

FAUX PAS

"About two hours ago on this floor I expressed the conviction

that the President was within his rights in intervening in Korea, but that he would not be within his rights in pursuing the Korean forces or attacking Korean positions in any way north of the 38th parallel. . . ."

And the one who emphatically agreed with him was none other than majority leader Senator Lucas, one of the administration's chief mouthpieces in the Senate. Here are Lucas's own words:

"I agree with the Senator from Vermont. I wholeheartedly agree with him on this point. I understand to say that in no circumstances can the United States of America be charged with being the aggressor so long as we stay within the boundaries the Senator has just outlined."

Did Lucas deliberately deceive the assembled Senators in "undertaking to say" what he did? Or was he himself kept in ignorance that there was never the slightest intention to "stay within the boundaries the Senator has just outlined?" Lucas's own role pales into insignificance as compared with the fact that here is proof that the Senate, like the entire people, was being deliberately fed the hoax of "up to the 38th parallel."

Both Flanders and Lucas would now gladly delete from the public record these and other self-revealing statements made prior to the official extension of hostilities to the whole of Korea.

They are not only going along but demanding that everybody else fall in line, and keep toing the line!

THE LIBERALS

And naturally the loudest demands come from the so-called friends of labor. That pillar of liberalism from Minnesota, Senator Humphrey, not only backed Truman's usurpation of powers but let fly with the following pearl: "This may be the greatest move for peace in the twentieth century." Senator Lehman, the New York darling of the labor "statesmen," distinguished himself by objecting even to an overnight postponement of action on the draft bill.

Behind this shameless prostration of Congress is not so much the actual "state of emergency" as the wiping away of all the former divisions on foreign policy. The ruling capitalist circles now stand united behind Truman's "new Asia policy." Today this policy is being implemented in connection with the "Korean crisis." On the morrow, it may be implemented in connection with a "Formosa crisis," and so on. The conduct of the capitalist political representatives and agents in Congress is being adjusted to conform with this new policy — with blandishments and patriotic appeals, and, if these don't work,

Progressive Slate Is Re-elected in Lackawanna Local

BUFFALO, July 1 — The administration slate of United Steelworkers Local 2601, representing the basic steel division (coke oven, blast furnace, open hearth departments) of Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna plant, was voted back into office last week by an overwhelming majority.

This local has been known as a progressive body throughout the area. It leads in assistance to striking unions, fights hard for its members' rights, and publishes an attractive monthly newspaper.

Of 11 executive board posts, the slate captured 10. James "Scotty" Jackson, the incumbent president, netted over 600 votes to his opponent's 332. Three Negroes won executive positions including those of vice-president and recording secretary. Vincent Copeland, who like Jackson was threatened with discharge for alleged wildcat strike activity a year and a half ago, also regained his post of co-chairman of the local grievance committee with 595 votes.

The opposition was made up for the most part of conservative elements. These people had been reasonably active in union affairs but most of them were never distinguished by their militancy. (In addition there were a couple of militants who ran independently. Up against an able and popular leadership, they conducted a generally routine campaign. But at the last minute, on election morning, they came out with an open letter to the membership" which accused the administration of stealing everything except the union hall itself!

They spoke of giving away chickens, hams and other items including gold watches — of spending too much money on grievances, of voting a subsidy to a boy's family if he had to go to jail for a picket line offense he was charged with. And so forth and so on.

While the charges were only crude half-lies, it was thought that they might have some effect. So the leadership got out a printed leaflet in record time on election day, answering every point in detail.

"CHICKENS AND HAMS"

Most telling of all was their defense on "chickens and hams." The answer was that this is the "only local" in the area with a special strike fund that individually took care of hardship cases during the strike, before the International's strike relief commissary got going. But no chickens or hams were given at this time.

However, the local did give out Christmas baskets to all the sick and disabled. And not being a city welfare outfit, they slipped hams and other delicacies into all the baskets. This naturally went over big with the members.

The reply also heaped scorn on the opposition for its attitude admitted to aiding the family of any local victim of the bosses' courts and jails.

The victorious slate cannot be characterized as radical or especially left wing, but they are the best in the Lackawanna area. They are a very progressive and honest leadership. And they give every indication of continuing in the same tradition.

SHUT UP! FALL IN LINE!

Truman's course in Korea, was not taken without an eye to the coming elections. Republicans have been reportedly making gains by their attacks on the State Department and on foreign policy. It may well be that Truman's own decision was swayed by the political gains accruing from the removal of foreign policy as an issue between the two major parties in the elections. It still remains to be seen just how much the Trumanites will actually gain by this. Meanwhile, the fact is that the forces of reaction have been immeasurably strengthened.

The chapter now being written in and by Congress is the most humiliating and degrading of its entire recent shabby history. If Congress alone were involved, it would not be so bad. Unfortunately, the abdication of Congress has a direct bearing on the terrible threat to the elementary democratic rights of the mass of the people, their welfare and their destiny. The complete prostration of Congress is a warning signal to American labor and the people generally that they are being brought face to face with enslavement at home.

THE MILITANT

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Returns from Far East



State Department adviser John Foster Dulles is interviewed by reporters on his arrival from Japan. Dulles had just completed a tour of South Korea when the war broke out. On his return to the U.S., he told the people to get ready to give up "our economic indulgences" in order to pay the costs of war.

Distrust of Foreign Policy Shown at NAACP Conference

By J. Blake

During World War II the Negro people in practice took the position that their main enemy was at home. In spite of appeals to their patriotism by the government and

the Stalinists, they recognized that precisely when the white supremacists are in difficulties is the time to press for gains in jobs and equal rights. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on the whole followed the sentiment of the Negro masses in putting its main emphasis on the struggle against the enemy at home.

The results of this independent course are common knowledge: Sizeable beachheads against discrimination were won in many fields of industry, in the labor movement, and particularly in the consciousness of millions in the United States and throughout the world.

Today the cold war and the American imperialist drive to dominate a very unwilling world make an independent policy by the NAACP as necessary as before, regardless of the fact that the Stalinists have made an aboutface and no longer praise the "virtues" of capitalist democracy.

GREAT PRESSURE TODAY

The pressure by imperialism to make the NAACP take on its shoulders "the white man's burden" and sell American "democracy" and "superiority" to the colored peoples of the world is tremendous.

At the recent annual NAACP conference in Boston, the State Department's Negro Ambassador to Liberia, Edward R. Dudley, brazenly told the delegates:

"America today is busily engaged in assuming its leadership role for the whole world. This Association must likewise gear its program to the global scale. Its efforts must reflect new responsibilities in order to maintain its own leadership."

Ambassador Dudley placed chief emphasis in his speech on haggling with the United States government for Point Four funds ("for development of backward areas") for Liberia, so that "on the dark continent of Africa. . . Liberia can act as a show-window and salesman for democracy for all of Africa."

The State Department's Uncle Tom admitted that "there is some tendency on the part of the native African to regard with suspicion ECA and other aids to Europe because he believes the United States is helping to perpetuate the economic and political domination of Africa by Europe."

But, said this apologist, "neither of these fears," the fear of the African natives and the fear of the Europeans about the motives of the U. S., "correctly reflects the American view. . . We believe that it is necessary and right to recognize and respect the rights of both groups. . . that the action called for is to follow the United Nations Charter but in doing so to proceed in an orderly fashion — free from the sort of economic and political chaos which disturbs the well-being and inhibits the progress of the peoples concerned and which has been so valuable to the Communists in certain other areas of the world."

This State Department agent, like others, attempts to intimidate the NAACP into lining up in support of the policies of American

Railroad Unions Are Striking for 40-Hour Week

By George Gustafson

The Rock Island, Chicago Great Western, Western Pacific and Denver & Rio Grande Western railroads have been tied up tight by the strike of the AFL Switchmen's Union of North America since

June 25. The fifth railroad struck by this smallest of the operating rail unions is the Great Northern, one of the ten largest railroads in the country.

True to the tradition of its founder, the late Jim Hill (the Empire Builder), the Great Northern had announced it would operate as usual in spite of the strike. Today this arrogant management has been humbled as it has not been since the days of Eugene Debs. Every one of their press releases since the strike was called has been a little less optimistic than the previous one.

First they were forced to embargo all stock and perishable freight shipments; then to announce the halt of all iron ore shipments from the Mesabe range to the giant ore docks at Allouez, Wis.; then to admit they couldn't accept any freight. Little by little, the Great Northern has announced curtailment of passenger service on the main and the branch lines. As this is written, it is in the embarrassing position of hoping to be able to continue operation of only one streamliner and one mail train. Freight shipments destined for the Great Northern and the other four roads are being stored in increasing quantity in the yards of other railroads.

men have a seven-day work week (although many switch engines serving industry work only a five or six day week).

Representatives of the BRT and ORC presented arguments to a presidential emergency board for many improvements in the working conditions of switchmen, brakemen, conductors, and dining car stewards. The Switchmen's Union, because it represents only a small minority of the switchmen in the country, was expected to accept the same conditions for its members as the BRT would accept for the large majority of the switchmen on the nation's railroads.

However, the recommendations of the president's board were viewed as an insult by the railroad men. The 18c hourly increase offered the yardmen for a cut down to a 40-hour week would mean approximately a \$17 a week cut in wages. And this was coupled with the recommendation that overtime be no longer paid after eight hours in one day but only after 40 hours in one week.

The demands of the roadmen (brakemen and conductors) were rejected almost in their entirety. The BRT and ORC tentatively plan to strike the rest of the roads in the country on July 15. The effectiveness of the switchmen's strike can be attributed to the energetic picketing of the struck roads and the fine solidarity shown by the other operating employees. The long-standing jurisdictional fight between the BRT and the Switchmen's Union over the yardmen has been put in the background in the interest of the common fight against the carriers.

OFFERED WAGE CUT

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ASIA GRAB IS REAL AIM OF U.S. IMPERIALISTS

(Continued from Page 1)

amounts to an American military protectorate over the scores of millions who inhabit Indo-China, Formosa, Korea and the Philippines. Henceforth "we will defend them."

Forever gone is the pretense that the U. S. has no "territorial ambitions" anywhere in the world. Forever gone is the pretense that Washington is opposed to "old colonialism." No one can tell how long it will be before other "points of danger" — up to and including China and India — will come in for the same treatment as Formosa and Indo-China. No one can tell how fast and far the American imperialists can or will move. A good deal, of course, hinges on what the Kremlin does next.

But the dominant factor in the world situation right now is this avowed strategic aim of the power-drunk American imperialists and militarists to gain unchallenged mastery over all of Asia.

The last world war, like the first one, was fought over who shall rule the colonies, their natural resources, their markets, their fields of capital investment and the vast super-profits squeezed out of them. And the heart of this colonial world is Asia. It is the world's chief treasure house of natural resources and at the same time its biggest hive of human misery, degradation and exploitation.

WALL STREET'S EMPIRE
Wall Street's colonial empire has been relatively tiny and it is still possible to dupe the people at home about the blessings of Washington's colonial policy. It has not differed essentially from that of the "old colonial powers."

The Philippines, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the areas in the Caribbean, including "independent" Cuba, have been for decades under the heel of American imperialism. And they remain among the most backward, undeveloped, poverty-ridden areas in the world. And if a further reminder of the blessings of American intervention and "protection," is needed, look at the condition of "our good neighbors" in Latin America.

The civilization and culture and once-vaunted power of Western Europe drew its main sustenance from its colonial slaves, above all those of Asia. But Asia as an

CAN'T AFFORD RETREATS

The deeper they become involved in Korea, in Formosa, in Indo-China, all the more subordinate must become all their other considerations, calculations and plans. Having committed themselves, as they have, they cannot afford any retreats, except minor tactical ones. They cannot afford major retreats, not out of fear of losing prestige, or possible allies, or strategically important areas, etc., but because to rule the world, to preserve world capitalism, they must rule over Asia.

Deadline for Militant

The deadline for articles and ads for The Militant is the Tuesday before the date of publication.