

## NMU Independents Gear to Take Fight to Rank and File

By N. R. GADEN

NEW YORK, Sept. 27—The seventh biennial convention of the National Maritime Union (CIO) ended yesterday, Sept. 26, after being in session just over two weeks. The spirit that prevailed at the convention on the last day was pretty much the same as on the opening day. Chairman Joseph Curran, representing the extreme right-wing machine that is attempting to establish a stranglehold over the union, aided, abetted and encouraged the stifling of any point of view that opposed the administration.

All the committees, with the exception of the credentials committee, were completely in the hands of the Curran machine. When on the final day a minority member of the credentials committee attempted to discuss and tear down the final credentials committee report, for which the minority was not consulted, Curran interrupted him and accused the speaker of attempting to make a "minority report."

Since there were no representatives of the opposition on any of the other committees, the only way the opposition could present its ideas before the convention was to do so under "new business." In addition to this there were hundreds of delegates with resolutions and motions concerning economic conditions which were suggested by the crews they represented.

## Now It's Told: Anti-Nazi Shot 'In King's Name'

(From Socialist Leader, Sept. 3)

The official information agency in Germany, DENA, informs us that after the German capitulation in 1945 the German deserters were handed over by the British to the German military authorities and executed by the latter "in the name of the King of England."

In effect, at the time of the re-hearing of the trial in Hamburg, the former military judge, M. Otto Kranzbuehler confirms that three weeks after the German capitulation the English occupying authorities had asked him to "consolidate the lax military jurisdiction."

The former chief judge, M. Helmut Sieber, declares that a German deserter fighting in the Dutch resistance was handed over after the capitulation of the Germans and, considered as a deserter, condemned to death by a German military tribunal.

This judgment was confirmed by the British occupation authorities and the deserter was executed on the 13th of May, 1945.

The arms necessary for the execution were furnished by the occupation authorities.

The German professor (?) Schwinge, former military judge in Italy, states definitely that the German military tribunals in Italy condemned German deserters until September 1945 "in the name of the King of England."

These accurate and monstrous facts confirm once again the total solidarity of the military authorities against all the people and for the maintenance of their property dictatorship.

The anti-fascist German deserter was assassinated in the name of democracy.

His officer, the Nazi executioner, dines with the Allied and Russian officers with a view to preparing the next war.

The right-wing committees ignored these suggestions almost entirely.

But before the convention could get to "new business," Curran recognized motions to adjourn. He recognized these motions even though a motion to adjourn would have in effect suspended the rules laid down by his own rules committee—which made a motion to adjourn illegal unless the rules themselves were suspended by a two-thirds vote. Twice the makers of motions to adjourn failed and the third one succeeded by a very close vote, which was counted by Curran's hand-picked masters-at-arms. As a result, there was only a little more than one hour of new business.

### PURGE RULE SLIPPED IN

This was the crowning touch to a convention that will go down in the history of the union as one which ignored almost completely the wishes and desires of the membership. Those who attended it have probably never seen a convention so completely dominated by a machine which ran it so bureaucratically.

As we pointed out in last week's LABOR ACTION, the present NMU leadership in its race against time in the face of the growing resentment of the membership, attempted at this convention to entrench itself and lay the constitutional basis for the elimination of opposition from the left. We also pointed out that the CP, discredited and reduced in size, is a negligible factor in the union today.

The only serious challenge to the right-wing administration is offered by the newly established Independent Caucus which is against any machine control and whose adherents were the most active fighters against the old corrupt CP administration. It was primarily against this formation that the right wing and Curran trained their guns when they raised the cry

of "throw out the Communists" and introduced a series of constitutional amendments which would disqualify from the union those who "slandered and discredited" the union leadership. These amendments were defeated, since they required a two-thirds vote of the convention and Curran could not muster it despite the witchhunt atmosphere he created.

Failing in this, the right wing slipped a joker into the constitution, an addition to the list of offenses and penalties contained there: "Violation (Continued on page 2)

### On the Tight-Rope



TITO

## Yugos Adopt New Role In UN, Hit 1936 Purges

By HAL DRAPER

The economic deal between Yugoslavia and the United States remains a deal solely on the economic plane and involves no political or social concessions to Western capitalism. At the same time Yugoslavia has broken off all signs of political alliance with the Russian bloc in international diplomatic maneuvering and intends to follow an independent path on this field.

This is what the Titoists have been announcing to the world through their line at the UN, and it was for the implementation of this turn that their No. 2 man, Edvard Kardelj, was sent to New York. How long and how consistently they can maintain such a line is another matter, but as long as the Russian and American powers are balanced against each other they obviously hope to maintain their unique position by careful tight-rope

walking. It is, at any rate, the only way the Tito regime can get along.

At the same time, Yugoslav mouthpieces within the country have taken virtually all steps out in speaking their minds not only about the Cominform but also about the Russian regime itself, unlike their attitude up to the recent financial deal with Washington. At the time of the break in 1948, the Cominform accused them of whispering among themselves about the "degeneration" of the Russian power and of the Russian Communist Party. They are not whispering now.

### BACKHANDED REPUDIATION

The chief spokesman for this turn is Moshe Piyade, who is not one of the top political bigwigs (these are Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovic, after Tito himself), but who is generally

(Continued on page 4)

## Bell Strikers Reject Company Move To Break Union, Tighten Up Ranks

By MICHAEL FERRIS

BUFFALO, Sept. 27—The strike of Local 501, UAW-CIO, against the Bell Aircraft Corporation has included a series of varied and stirring actions which have thrilled participants and observers of the labor movement everywhere. On Sunday, September 25, 1000 members of Local 501 acted again. Sixteen weeks after the strike began, they voted unanimously to continue the strike against Bell Aircraft.

At a meeting held at Elks Auditorium in Buffalo, member after member of Local 501 reaffirmed support to the strike and a resolution presented by the 27-man strike committee was passed unanimously in an atmosphere of enthusiasm that one usually associates with the first day of a strike.

### REAFFIRM DEMANDS

The resolution reads in part: "Against our patient offers of peaceful solutions, the Bell Aircraft Corporation has shown no intention of negotiating a fair settlement, but instead has from the beginning used tactics and weapons intended to break the strike and destroy our local union.

"As our union negotiators have from time to time given new evidence of our willingness to bargain in good faith and accept a fair settlement, corporation representatives have exploited our offers by laying down

ever more drastic ultimatums, demanding that the strike be settled only on their terms.

"Bell officials clearly showed their intentions during the last week's mediation sessions when they demanded: (1) cancellation of agreements reached on insurance benefits, vacation allowances and contract improvements in this year's negotiations; (2) surrender for an indefinite period of the union shop provisions of last year's contract, which had been renewed in 1949 negotiations; (3) the right to discharge an unlimited number of union leaders for unspecified reasons with no appeal to arbitration from their decisions.

"In view of these moves by the company to smash our union, we take this occasion to declare our will to win our demands remains unshaken. [Our negotiators are instructed] not to participate in any further discussions based upon past or future company ultimatums. [They are to negotiate] only on our original demands, including wages, pensions and contract improvements."

### SCABS CAN'T HELP BELL

The meeting at which the resolution was passed was called when the corporation representatives again walked out of negotiating sessions with Local 501 after two weeks of intensive discussions organized and conducted by federal and state me-

diators. Where does this leave the strike after 16 weeks? There seems no prospect of immediate settlement. The company appears to be adamant.

Would it be better to settle this strike on any terms short of complete liquidation of Local 501? Or can Local 501 really win its strike?

The answer one gives to that question will determine the future of the UAW and all unions on the Niagara frontier. It will also deaden or stimulate the hopes of workers in the airframe industry throughout the country. Particularly because the issues at stake are so great, one cannot answer the question with bravado or breast-beating. But one will feel no nearer to the answer through fear and timidity.

(Continued on page 2)

## U.S. Loses Monopoly on A-Bomb; Arms Race in Super-Weapons Looms

By EMANUEL GARRETT

On Friday, September 23, the White House announced what is perhaps the most momentous news story of the post-war years:

"We have evidence that within recent weeks an atomic explosion occurred in the USSR."

In other words, Russia has produced the atom bomb.

Exactly how U. S. intelligence got its information has not been revealed but there seems no reason to doubt its accuracy. The Russians have, in fact, replied that they have known how to do it since 1947.

Whether this is so or not hardly matters. The United States could not forever maintain its monopoly on atom bombs. It is not the kind of secret that can be kept inviolate. Sooner or later, scientists in other lands were certain to duplicate the feat.

It is reported that the Russians are at the stage where the U. S. was in 1945. Presumably they do not have a stockpile of bombs nor the manufacturing equipment for such, nor are they familiar with production (and destruction) improvements achieved by the U. S. since Hiroshima. The difference is a small and temporary one. When Russia is ready for it, its economy will be geared for such production of atom bombs as its military strategy dictates. And its scientists will obviously continue their explorations.

It is much too early to estimate the changes that will ensue in the strategy of the countries as a result of the new development. Changes will certainly come in time. But there is nothing to indicate that the war is now more imminent—or more distant. That depends upon factors, variable and complex, in which the atom bomb is merely a single item.

### No Balm in Oak Ridge

Propagandistically, however, it is certain to make considerable differences at once. The United States loses its ace in the hole. This must, for example, make a great impression on the European people who cannot rest easy (if they ever did!) on the supposition that their seat in the U. S. orbit, wins them Oak Ridge security.

Many reasons must have entered into White House calculations when it decided to release the news instead of waiting for the Russians to make the announcement. Some of these reasons are not yet readily apparent, but others seem obvious enough. And one of them evidently was to steal the show propagandistically by beating the Russians to their own story. This may not have been the main reason, but it undoubtedly figured.

Other reasons there were, and some of them can be divined without too great effort. The arms bill has gone through the Senate. But there are still differences to patch up between House and Senate. Furthermore there is much else that the administration wishes to put over in mustering support behind its foreign policy. Where the Russian bomb doesn't produce simple hysteria (and there has been some evidence of that in the press), it has provided the administration with a potent argument to use in whipping into line support for its various international projects—North Atlantic alliance and so forth.

More than anything else the announcement points to the fundamentals of our time. Our world is two worlds—one capitalist, the other Stalinist. The capital-

### - And Then There Were Two



ist world is ridden by dilemma and contradiction. Nowhere can it relax, least of all its "protector"—the powerful, rich, undamaged, secure United States. Economic, political and social problems multiply—in Asia, in Europe, on the American continents. Up to Friday, September 23, the U. S. could at least pose as the bearer of some security in that it was sole possessor of an instrument so terrible in its destruction that none would dare risk its displeasure too much.

And the Stalinist world? It is the carrier of an enslavement and tyranny without parallel in history. Each world waits for the collapse of the other. The capitalist world waits for the victims of Stalinist despotism to shake the Russian empire. The Stalinist world waits for economic crisis to sap the power of U. S. imperialism. Meanwhile they maneuver in cold war, manipulate or try to manipulate the nations within their orbit, and prepare for eventual decision.

### There Is a Defense

What now happens to the "comfort" of the atom bomb? Insofar as any such comfort ever existed, it did so only in the added minds of frightened people who can see no alternative to Stalinist despotism outside of the hopelessly issue-ment system of capitalism.

There is talk, as there has been for some time—only more so now—of UN control, of international policing, of outlawing the bomb. All this is nothing but talk—and the talkers know it. There is a defense against the bomb—but it is not the speeches of little or big statesmen.

What real protection have we? Here it is that we must go back to fundamentals. In an immediate sense, only such measures will avail us as can secure the self-confidence and energy of Europe's people against both of the imperialist titans and their atom bombs—such measures as an Independent and Democratic Western Union.

Beyond that, and in the most practical, real and urgent sense, the security of us all—here and in other lands—rests on the development of a socialist movement which can organize the anti-war will of the people. These are the only practical solutions that come to mind as the shadow of atomic terror lengthens. There are no others.

## Medical Lobby Goes in for Smear Politics Gouges Members to Boost Rightist Candidates, Attacks Vet Benefits

The medical trust lobby—oiled by the slush funds of the reactionary American Medical Association, which is fighting against health insurance tooth and nail—is going in for political smear campaigns too.

Its \$100,000-a-year press agents, Whitaker & Baxter, are covering the country with handouts and leaflets boasting of the defeat of Mrs. Coffey in the congressional race in the 26th District of Pennsylvania. Their headlines are: "Socialized Medicine and the Welfare State Are Rejected by Pennsylvania Test Vote." The object is to intimidate congressional candidates against advocating health insurance (which is not "socialized medicine" at all, except in the AMA's smear vocabulary).

An AMA ally, the Chicago Tribune, has revealed that on behalf of

Mrs. Coffey's opponent, John Saylor, Pennsy doctors, dentists, druggists and nurses were "dunned" for contributions of "not less than \$10" and pharmaceutical houses also pitched in. A tremendous amount of money was raised, enough (says the Tribune) to pay for 1000 spot radio announcements in the final days of the campaign. One of these spot announcements featured the invention about Lenin's once saying that "socialized medicine is the keystone of the arch of the socialist state"—an outright fake.

The Tribune boasts that this is "the first time the doctors attempted direct political action." The AMA smear fund was built up by levies on doctors under the claim that it was going to be used for "educational purposes." In the same week, the New York

Academy of Medicine turned its guns on the veterans, calling on the government to stop treating veterans for any ailments or disabilities not incurred while in military service.

A report by a committee said that giving veterans free hospital care was "not only wasteful, but also reprehensible class legislation and totally unfair to the rest of the country." However, no one has ever heard any kicks from "the rest of the country"—only from such groups of medical reactionaries as believe that no one has a right to live who cannot give the proper fee in hard cash to an MD.

The same committee also proposed an investigation and "means test" for each case before a veteran is treated in order to make sure he really cannot afford to swell the bank account of a private doctor.

By HENRY JUDD

Two atomic worlds have been created by the announcement of President Truman and the Russian confirmation of the existence of atomic warfare power in the hands of the Stalinist state. Behind all the talk and assurance that this event has "long since been anticipated" and therefore there is nothing to be agitated about, it is not too difficult to detect a note of amazement, consternation and even hysteria. The reason is obvious and has little to do with the surprising speed at which Russian industrialists apparently mastered the problems of A-bomb construction.

The fact is that a widespread illusion existed up until this very moment that the American military monopoly of the atom bomb would remain, perhaps indefinitely. That illusion, along with many others, has been burst and the simple conception that American "defense" could rest surely and securely on possession of such a monopoly has burst with it.

The panicky congressmen and senators who shout about "keeping cool" are the same ignoramuses who actually believed that the problem of

peace and war could be solved by the existence of a particular scientific knowledge and industrial technology required for building a given weapon. These narrow-minded gentlemen lived in the fool's-paradise hope that science and technology can be kept within the bounds of one country and monopolized in the imperialist interests of one government.

This "A-bomb paradise" has now been smashed to smithereens, and

along with this should have gone any remaining illusions regarding the political leaders of the country, from President Truman down, insofar as matters of "war and peace" are concerned.

### CAN'T SOLVE PROBLEMS

Was it not Winston Churchill who, at Boston, said that the A-bomb alone stood between the West and Russian conquest? But this is now gone, it would seem, and the two worlds of atomic power confront each other. From every standpoint, this is a highly significant event that concerns us far more deeply than a matter of "revising military strategy."

Every thinking person knows what atomic warfare would mean, yet those responsible for government policy can only attempt to conceal their own nervousness by inane talk about "keeping one's head." Such is the pass to which American capitalism and imperialism has now come—a total inability to solve a single one of its major difficulties. The Marshall Plan is falling badly, as is testified by the current monetary devaluation; world economic recovery has slowed to a snail's pace, as is testified by re-

maintaining or increasing unemployment, together with a large slump in international trade; no progress has been made in bridging Russo-American relations and the new key problem of atomic-energy control is unresolved.

These are the first general reflections that come to one's mind upon learning of the news now known to all. This capitalist world and all its institutions (UN, World Court, etc.) are simply bankrupt when it comes to handling any major issue. Confronted with a whole series of new problems, now that Russian imperialism is on an equal footing with American imperialism so far as atomic power is concerned, we can safely predict that nothing will be done. Nothing, that is, to bring atomic power under control for the general use of mankind and prevent its utilization for war aims.

The UN atomic-energy committee has failed for three years and its gatherings have bogged down to nil. What reason is there to believe it can now succeed? Because the need is more compelling? We know of no international committee in history, made up of existing governments,

(Continued on page 4)

### — And Then There Were None





# CP Leaders Out to Rule or Ruin Opposition UE Local in Chicago

By ELI MALLET

CHICAGO—The specialized talent for "disorganizing the organized" which is displayed by the Stalinists in the labor movement has been shown nowhere better than here in the Chicago area in the ranks of the United Electrical Workers (UE).

Under the militant misleadership of "Commissar" Ernest DeMaio, its president, the UE District 11 has succeeded in losing 25 per cent of its membership in less than two years, and it is commonly predicted that the bulk of the remainder will be gone by next year unless the UE succeeds in ridding itself of the Stalinist nose which has been tightening around its neck for the past ten years.

About 10,000 members in more than 15 shops which were formerly under contract with the UE here are now in the AFL, in other CIO unions or are without any union representation whatsoever.

The most important factor in bringing about this disastrous state of affairs has undoubtedly been the dogmatic refusal (up to the recent convention) of the Stalinist leaders (Matles, Emspak & Co.) to allow the UE to be certified by the NLRB. By their refusal, these "labor leaders" have left the UE wide open for attacks by the employers, by other unions, by the government and by reactionary elements within the rank and file.

### CP WRECKERS AT WORK

In Chicago, which has a large Catholic population as well as some of the most reactionary newspapers and AFL unions in the country, the UE has been mercilessly flayed as "Communist-controlled." The bosses are out to rid themselves of the UE and are having a Roman holiday. Aided by the anti-red hysteria sweeping the country and the fact that the UE has no standing in CIO circles in the Chicago area (the UE pulled out of the CIO City Council some years back, along with the other Stalinist-led unions), the bosses are throwing the Taft-Hartley book at the UE with impunity.

Local leaders who have had the courage to speak up against the sui-

cidal policies of the international have been persecuted and purged. The UE has been turned into an organization where criticism of policy or leadership is tantamount to treason. No person is entrusted with leadership unless he has demonstrated unquestioning devotion to the Stalinist line. The entire resources of the International union are being devoted to internal warfare, witchhunts and character assassinations.

In the 11th District (Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota) the best example of Stalinist methods, skullduggery and outright viciousness has occurred in connection with Local 1121, a small local of 400 members in two shops.

### TERROR METHODS IN UE

Local 1121, which is the oldest local union in the district and which has been traditionally critical of the Kremlin gang, has been suspended recently by order of the international executive board. This is the latest move in a long series of maneuvers which were tried in attempt after attempt to crush its independence and force it into unquestioning acceptance of the International's policies.

In spite of having achieved the highest wage scales and best contracts in the important Chicago radio and fluorescent fixture industries, Local 1121's jurisdiction was restricted by the International to the point where it could do no independent organizing at all.

For aligning itself with the anti-Stalinist faction in the UE the local was "investigated" and persecuted by the International and district council. Its officers were attacked and stool-pigeons and agents were planted in its shops by the Stalinists. Organizer after organizer was assigned to "do a job" on the local.

A crisis was reached in January of this year when the president and business agent of the local, Al Fineman, an anti-Stalinist leader and outspoken critic of the DeMaio forces, was brought up on phony charges by a couple of CP stooges in the local.

Fineman was exonerated by unanimous votes of the local trial committee and the local membership. However, an appeal was made to the dis-

trict council, where a hand-picked trial committee reversed the local's findings, and ordered Fineman expelled from the UE.

The membership of Local 1121 could not stomach such high-handed tactics and promptly rejected the expulsion order. Furthermore, they proceeded to demonstrate their faith in Fineman by renominating him to the local presidency by a 4-to-1 majority. The entire anti-Stalinist slate was placed in office, in a heated campaign in which the district staff engaged in an all-out attack on the Fineman group.

### AFL REACTION BENEFITS

Having failed to oust the local leadership by democratic methods, the Stalinists then resorted to hoodlum tactics, terrorizing the local membership meetings and trying to take over the local illegally.

However, this stupid policy only resulted in further arousing the local membership and created much bad publicity for DeMaio. Thereupon the "militant" Stalinists turned to the courts, where they are currently seeking an injunction to restrain Fineman from acting as local president or representative.

During the course of this internecine warfare, the IBEW-AFL saw an opportunity to make some hay. An NLRB election was held at the Mitchell Manufacturing Company plant and "Umbrella Mike" Boyle was successful in winning the shop—a prize which he had been angling for every year since 1941, when it was first organized by Local 1121.

The responsibility for this additional loss to one of the most reactionary, racketeer-ridden unions in the city lies with Ernest DeMaio, who had written to the Mitchell Company demanding that it cease to deal with

the duly-elected representatives of the local union. The company, of course, was only too glad to comply and proceeded to terminate its contract with 1121, and would not even meet with the union on grievances.

Eventually the workers in the shop were so completely demoralized and confused that they sought relief by voting for the nice, "peaceful" IBEW. (To further sabotage the local in its attempt to save the shop from the IBEW, the international executive board voted to issue a separate local charter to the Mitchell plant—in the event the IBEW was beaten by a "No" vote!)

By suspending Local 1121 from the UE, the Stalinists hope to provoke the local into leaving the UE, thereby relieving themselves of a center of resistance to their monolithic aspirations.

The situation in the Chicago area is, of course, being duplicated around the country. The inevitable result can only be destruction of the UE as a significant force in the American labor movement as long as its rule-or-ruin leadership remains what it is.

(Continued from page 1)

er unions. The Bell workers have been receiving some \$8,000 per week from the UAW international office.

This sum is unprecedented in the Reuther administration for a local of this size. Collections netting thousands of dollars have been made by Bell workers at the gates of CIO plants throughout the city.

The executive committees of our General Motors locals in Buffalo voted to assess their membership one dollar per month to support the Bell strikers. The first GM local to meet on this question supported its executive board unanimously; \$2100 was delivered by General Motors Local 424 to Local 501 this week.

The state CIO sent \$1000 to support the Bell strike. Many UAW locals in other areas have pledged \$25, \$50 or \$100 per week for the duration of the strike. In addition to aid from fellow unionists, most of the Bell strikers are receiving \$26 per week unemployment insurance.

Make no mistake about it: the Bell workers are not having an easy time of it. Their bills are long overdue, their wives are cutting corners, their kids are without shoes for the fall term. But the Bell strike will not be broken for strictly financial reasons.

### AID POURS IN

The phenomenon that experienced labor militants have encountered before has taken place. Most of the blowhards and grandstanders, some of whom appeared prominent in the first few days, have long since buckled and have been replaced by ordinary rank-and-filers whose courage and determination have won them a place in the secondary leadership.

A second factor in a strike is whether or not the local union has the support of the international and oth-

# NMU Independents - -

(Continued from page 1)

of national shipping rules, union constitution or union policies—maximum penalty, expulsion." The opposition, which had clearly shown that it could muster more than the one-third necessary to defeat any undemocratic change proposed by the administration, was caught off guard when this was proposed and it was carried.

It should be pointed out, however, that the most underhanded method was used in slipping this in. Heretofore all changes proposed by the constitution committee were distributed on mimeographed sheets to the convention delegates. This additional offense and penalty were read off suddenly when more than one hour of discussion of this section of the constitution had been completed. The vote took place shortly after. Curran and his right-wing friends in the union showed that they learned their lessons well in their ten-year sojourn in the Stalinist movement.

Shortly after this "sleeper" was slipped in, a series of union policy resolutions was introduced which tried to fill the gap left by the inability of the right wing to pass their undemocratic amendments. One of the most flagrant of these resolutions called on the membership to "take every step to root it [Communists and their philosophy] out of our union completely along with any other subversive group."

A second read: "Resolved: that all

union literature without union stamp or sanction be rejected for distribution aboard all American flag contracts vessels."

The Curran machine is now going its old Stalinist friends one better. Had the CP administration been able to put across such a policy they would have been able to perpetuate themselves in office, and the rank and file and its groups could never have distributed literature, slate or statements of members that were rejected by their Stalinist editors of the union newspaper, The Pilot. Every leading anti-Stalinist would have been out of the NMU today.

The most important single question facing the union, namely the question of the hiring hall, was dealt with in a very irresponsible way by the administration. It simply reaffirmed its stand of "no compromise" on the issue BUT took no pains to discuss the question any further nor to lay the basis for the struggle that will undoubtedly take place on this issue within the next six months.

It is recognized by everyone in maritime that the Supreme Court, which has to make a ruling on the question of the hiring hall within the next few months, will undoubtedly find it illegal under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. The shipping companies, aware of the conservative policies of the union leadership, will probably take immediate steps to enforce the findings of the Supreme

Court. The confusion that will then follow, if the union does not mobilize itself in advance, will have tragic consequences.

If the companies and the government break the hiring hall and rotary shipping, they will have broken the back of the union. Curran knows this, but he and his right-wing machine did not see fit to waste the time of the convention by laying plans to mobilize the membership for this eventual struggle. The excuse for this strange omission was that "you can't strangle the Supreme Court."

All the amendments and resolutions that come out of this convention must be submitted to the membership for a referendum vote. The Independent Caucus has pledged itself to continue the fight by carrying it to the NMU membership and urging it to vote down the bureaucratization of the union. The way the Independent Caucus conducts this fight will determine the NMU's future.

If it functions as a truly INDEPENDENT caucus opposing the right-wing administration and making no compromise with Stalinism, it can win the overwhelming support of the membership. If the Independent Caucus does otherwise, only Curran can win. Any compromise with the CP or its front organizations within the union will automatically link the Independents with the splitting policy of the CP within the CIO today.

# Bell Strikers Tighten Up - -

(Continued from page 1)

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### LOW EBB IS OVER

The solid ranks of Local 501, coupled with the unprecedented financial and physical support of their fellow unionists, is augmented by a leadership which has proved to the hilt that they have courage, audacity, imagination and—what's more—the ability to set out a program and to follow it.

No group of men leading a strike as complex as the Bell strike can be 100 per cent right in everything they

stand at this point. By the end of the two weeks the international, the local leadership and the ranks had proved to each other and to themselves that each was equally willing to fight. The resolution to drop all "concessions" to the company and to negotiate in the future on the original demands was the result.

Local 501 is not contenting itself with nice-sounding resolutions. Five hundred to 1000 men are on the picket line or near the plant gates daily. The strike committee, welfare committee and other committees are all functioning well. A Ladies' Auxiliary has been formed in the past week. The wives of the strikers attended a meeting Monday night, September 26, and saw the UAW film "United Action." These same women were on the picket lines on Tuesday, September 27, to show their solidarity with their husbands. This is the state and condition and the spirit of Local 501.

In normal times such a local would have won its strike hands down. But these are not normal times. No discussion of the details of the fight between Local 501 and Bell Aircraft Corporation can be understood without involving the names of the United States Steel Corporation, the Ford Motor Company and the mine operators.

An extraordinary situation demands extraordinary effort. Help for the Bell strikers cannot be measured in terms of past standards. The UAW international board, UAW locals and the CIO itself must bear part of the weight of the Bell strike. As for 501, all the ingredients are there: guts, determination, solidarity. They won't take it easy—but they CAN take it!

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## Books Received

Received from the New American Library, publishers of pocket-size Mentor and Signet books:

"The Christian Demand for Social Justice," edited by Bishop William Scarlett, 128 pages, 25 cents. Signet special.

"Science and the Moral Life," Max Otto, 192 pages, 35 cents. Mentor original.

"Intruder in the Dust," by William Faulkner, 192 pages, 25 cents. Original publisher, Random House. A Signet book.

# Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

## Ways Out for Israel

To the Editor:

In criticism of my article on Israel, L. Shields raises a few points that have some abstract importance, but do not affect the determination of Israeli policy.

(1) Shields points to the theoretical possibility that an oppressed minority may legitimately react unfavorably to the idea of uniting with other nations (especially its former oppressors) as a result of its historical experiences. Granted. But does that apply to Israel concretely? The facts are that a majority voted, at least programmatically, for some form of confederation with the Arab peoples. I refer to the Mapam and the Mapai. The liberal bourgeoisie in general and Dr. Weizman in particular accept the principle of confederation. Even the Stern group sometimes talks in terms of confederation.

(2) Pride in statehood is one thing. Pride alone to the exclusion of the vital problems of the new state is another. The citizens of Israel, India and Pakistan, according to all reports, have this pride and it is legitimate. The ISL's founding convention recommended favorably a resolution that declared that this pride should be shared by the international socialist and working-class movement since we too have a feeling of joy and pride when an oppressed minority frees itself and especially when it is accomplished in battle against the imperialists. But that does not exhaust the subject. Israel has a very important problem—a problem that could almost be classified as a problem of survival. Israel is now a beleaguered isle in an Arab sea. Shields himself

points to continual possibility of renewed warfare.

Some people's pride in statehood may be satisfied with a beleaguered isle. But the citizens and especially the more conscious elements in Israel are not satisfied with such a state of existence.

(3) In case there is any misunderstanding, I want to declare that I believe the state of Israel has the right, and moreover the duty, to conduct diplomatic dealings and even maneuver with all governments. No other position is possible either for a state or for revolutionary socialists. Marxists live on THIS planet.

What I did criticize is, to quote Shields, "the counterposing of an appeal to the Arab people as against a course based on the attitudes of the present government." My criticism of the Israeli government is precisely that it counterposes the two and relies SOLELY and EXCLUSIVELY on diplomacy and attitudes of existing governments.

The main point of my articles has been that MORE is needed, i.e., an appeal to the Arab masses that COULD aid Israel in the long run and even in its diplomatic moves.

One of the saddest facts in the present situation is that, despite military defeat, the semi-feudal Arab governments are afraid to make peace for fear of the reaction of the masses. This can be eliminated, or at least reduced, by coupling an appealing program for the Arab masses in addition to dealing on a diplomatic plane.

This is the classic lesson of Brest-Litovsk and of all progressive movements. This approach stems not only from theory but from the realities of

the Near East. The Arab governments are totally unlike Germany or Russia. These are strong and totalitarian regimes. The Arab governments are weak and UNSTABLE regimes with reported unrest among the masses. The Israeli labor movement can and should attempt to use the unrest and channelize it in a progressive direction, for the good of both the Israeli and Arab masses.

One of the greatest problems facing Israel is how to cease being a beleaguered isle in an Arab sea. Such a position will force the small state to use an inordinately large portion of its meager resources on unproductive armaments. How can this be done? By relying on the Arab governments which, according to Shields, are planning a new war? The answer is too obvious to need elaboration.

There are only three ways Israel can survive: (1) As the beleaguered isle. (2) Under the protection of a powerful foreign state. (3) By breaking through the hostility of the governments and creating a rapprochement with the Arab masses.

The first is not desirable nor is there any assurance that it can last. The changes taking place in the Arab Near East make it likely that in the future Arab numerical superiority may also become military superiority. The second method is unreliable and will deprive the state of any independence that it can be proud of. The third, while not guaranteeing victory, offers the only real road to freedom and survival, especially when one remembers that it does not exclude diplomatic maneuvers when conducted in such a fashion as to aid the only long-term policy that Israel needs. AI FINLEY

## Yearly on the Vigil...

To the Editor:

Indianapolis was the scene of the last encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic on August 30-31, 1949. Eighty-three years ago the veterans of the Union army held their first encampment in the same city.

There are 23 Civil War veterans alive today. Of the 16 who belong to the GAR, only six were fit enough to attend their last convention. Their business was of the simplest. They met to commemorate once more the heroes, living and dead, of the Second American Revolution, and to adjourn themselves before time and infirmity did this for them. Their talk was a compound of tall tales—who has a better right to tell them?—and misty recollection.

"Fit from Bowling Green to N'Awleans."

"Fit at Russellville."  
"Booth came along and shot old Abe. He tried to escape. He retreated to a barn. He wouldn't come out. We set the barn afire and he never appeared. There is some believed he killed himself, but we burned him in the barn."

"Old Abe wanted a free country, free for black and white. I'll never forget I voted for him."

And a dissident grumble on a ruling against shaking hands with the aged veterans. "First time I ever knew it to happen. Can't shake hands. That ain't worth a cent, that motion."

Words can always be found suitable for a memorable occasion:  
"He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,

Will stand a-tiptoe when this day is nam'd.  
He that shall live this day, and see old age,  
Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbors.  
Old men forget: yet all shall be forgot,  
But he'll remember with advantages,  
What feats he did that day."

These are the last of those who can testify: "Mine eyes have seen the glory." The last of those who marched through Georgia to the sea. The last of those who held their ranks at Fort Wagner, and turned the tide at Gettysburg.  
Salute to the last survivors of the Grand Army of America's Anti-Slavery War.

Kate LEONARD

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## BOLIVIAN PENDULUM

STALIN-NAZI PUTSCH LOSES,  
DICTATORSHIP THREAT GROWS

By JUAN REY

When we look at the latest Nazi-military "revolution" in Bolivia, we come to the conclusion that it constitutes a continuation, perhaps an epilogue, of the previous uprising whose principal theater was the mining centers of the plateau.

The Uriolagoitia-Hertzog government took good care to decapitate the movement, taking the Nazi union leaders prisoners and exiling them to Chile; otherwise the "revolution" would have broken out with great force, supported by both a majority of the miners and by a wide military action which had been carefully prepared. The repressive action of the government against the Nazi leadership of the miners' union provoked the outbreak of the miners' strike with all its acts of repression against the "Yankee-ringos" before the military movement was ripe for the coup.

Thus the Nazi-military counter-revolution was divided into two phases: the first, the broad social movement of the workers with a general strike; and the second, a military coup which came very close to power, winning control of all the provincial capitals, Cochabamba, Sucre, Potosi, Santa Cruz, and failing only to take La Paz, the political capital of Bolivia. For this reason, we consider the latest Nazi-military uprising as a continuation of the movement of last May, an epilogue to the totalitarian offensive in South America directed from Buenos Aires.

### Independent Marxists Played Important Role

The principal cause of the defeat was just this dispersion of the Nazi offensive and its division into two stages. For this reason the workers movement, led by the MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), PIR (Stalinists) and POR (Trotskyists), lost confidence in its false leaders and completely abstained from supporting the Nazi-military uprising. The motive for this position was not only the division of the "revolution" but also the bitter experience of the miners. The adventure led by the Nazi chiefs turned into a massacre for the workers.

The native Indian proletariat at last understood the truth of the prediction made by the independent workers' movement—that it was only being used for cannon fodder by the Nazis in their struggle for power.

A significant role was played in this process by the attitude of the independent Marxists, acting through the new trade-union movement. They attempted to save the proletariat from a blood bath and rescue the workers' movement from the disaster being prepared by the parties of the petty bourgeoisie, including the official section of the Fourth International, the POR (Revolutionary Workers' Party). The Socialist Workers bloc, the left wing of the Bolivian Federation of Labor (CBT), put forward a resolution condemning the military uprising the first day it broke out. This point of view restrained the trade unions controlled by the Stalinists, and they also adopted a critical attitude towards the coup.

Finally, the major unions, the factory and miners' unions which are controlled by the Nazis, had to condemn the uprising in order to escape its consequences and governmental reprisals. With few exceptions, as in the assault on Catavi and Uncia, the Bolivian workers' movement for the first time in a long while adopted a critical position toward the Nazi rebellion. It seems that the Nazi influence over the workers' movement has been overcome and that a new political and trade-union phase is beginning for the Bolivian workers' movement. This would seem to be the most important product of the counter-revolution.

### Nazis Are Defeated but Discontent Is Still Rife

Deprived of proletarian support, the Nazi movement could only degenerate into a purely military revolt. The workers' position influenced that of the middle class. According to our reports, not all the cells of the MNR participated in the military action. The government knew how to take good advantage of such weakness. A great demonstration against the Nazis took place in La Paz and raised the liberating slogans of the 1946 July revolution. According to the press, more than 100,000 people participated.

This constituted a mortal blow for the rebels. The government's military action recovered Cochabamba, second city of Bolivia, and a few days later, Potosi and Sucre. The Nazis still have control of Santa Cruz, where there are separatist tendencies in favor of Argentina. But their doom is certain. Undoubtedly the totalitarian MNR has suffered a great defeat and perhaps spent its strength for some time to come. The action instigated by Argentine Peronism has ended in another defeat for Peronism abroad.

But to reduce this action purely to the machinations of Peronism and its Bolivian agent, the MNR (as "The Nation" of Buenos Aires does), is false. The Nazi-Peronists knew how to exploit the popular discontent that is rife in Bolivia against the mining bourgeoisie and the rightist policies of the government, which has betrayed the popular hopes that surged up during the 1946 revolution.

In the Bolivian Congress, a deputy of the government party, Lazcano Soruco, who represents its left wing, declared that the subversive movement was due to the government's betrayal of the 1946 revolution and its "Thermidorean" decline, making it possible for the Nazis to penetrate the bureaucratic machine. Soruco pointed out that the government had abandoned the social program of the revolution and popular aspirations, which demanded that some limits be placed on the mining "kings," that the foreign currency realized by mineral exports be delivered in its totality to the state, that the mines be nationalized. The clamor of the masses has even penetrated Congress and the official government party, although in a deformed manner.

### Stalinists Beat Retreat as Masses Act

The position of the Stalinist party, the PIR, has also changed in comparison with its policy in the first stage of the Nazi offensive. Under the pressure of the independent proletariat, the PIR abstained from collaborating actively with the Nazis, as before. One of the causes of this change was the rumor that in Potosi the miners had hung two Nazi leaders who in the past had served as police functionaries and had been responsible for a massacre of the miners.

The PIR adopted a kind of third position, criticizing the government's policy as a betrayal of the 1946 revolution, as well as condemning the "military uprising without a banner." Naturally, this does not represent a third revolutionary position, but follows the reformist line of the aforementioned deputy, Lazcano.

The PIR is in full decline, has played a very ambiguous role. There was much pro-totalitarian pressure on the party, but the adverse fate of the Nazis decided its "attitude." To save its face, the PIR demands nationalization of the mines and an agrarian reform without further mention of the discredited "bourgeois-democratic revolution."

The Trotskyist POR nailed down its own coffin with a manifesto which called for an "anti-imperialist" bloc of the PIR, MNR and the POR itself, in order to achieve a "proletarian revolution" and a "workers' government." The "Trotskyist" idiots, as well as their friends of the MNR, and the GPU, believe that the "proletarian revolution" can be "made" at any moment, in a single country, when "Comrade" Lora, the agent of the leader of the MNR, Lechin, wants it.

Such is the over-all political view of the social struggle in Bolivia.

### Military Dictatorship of Right Wing Looms

The consequences of the Nazi-military uprising will undoubtedly be disastrous for both the MNR and its patron, Juan Domingo Peron. It represents complete exhaustion for the totalitarian party. But the victory over the MNR is not a popular victory, won in the streets with arms in hand as in July 1946; it is a military victory for the right, achieved by military oper-

# In Memory of Heroes: Warsaw's Three Insurrections During World War II

By A. RUDZIENSKI

In September we observe the tragic anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War and the fifth anniversary of the Warsaw insurrection against Hitler's brown hordes.

Warsaw belongs to those heroic and martyred cities like Stalingrad, London, Budapest and Berlin that marked turning points in the war. But Warsaw is distinguished from these other cities by this—that the imperialist war passed through Warsaw at its beginning, at its climax, and at its end, leaving in its wake dead and barbarous ruins that have not been seen since the remote times of Attila and Genghis Khan.

When Hitler invaded Poland, it was Warsaw which bore the whole weight of the Nazi military machine for three weeks. It was neither the "government of the Colonels" nor the Polish military and bureaucratic organization that stubbornly resisted the Nazi-fascist invasion, but the people, the proletariat of Warsaw.

It was this same people and proletariat of Warsaw that resisted Molotov's infamous declaration that "Poland, this bastard of the Versailles Treaty, has been wiped forever from the map," and that resisted the Nazi-Stalin military pact which, said Stalin, was "sealed with blood."

### "DEMOCRATS" INDIFFERENT

The people and proletariat of Warsaw resisted and struggled not only against the Nazi-fascist offensive in a national war against the invader. They also fought a spontaneously social war against the totalitarian reaction, in which they included the national reaction of their own Polish "Colonels." None of Pilsudski's generals, colonels and ministers were heroes of this popular war.

It remained for a civic official, a leader of the Socialist Party named Niedzialkowski, and another named Rataj, a member of the Peasant Party, to identify themselves with the movement of popular resistance. They stayed in the trenches and on the barricades to meet the invader with arms in hand, representing, in a way, a popular government born in the heat of struggle. They died with other fighters before a Nazi firing squad.

The uprising of the Jewish ghetto in 1943 marked the second time an isolated and despairing Warsaw rose up against the Nazis. The extermination of the Jewish people by the Na-

zis, in the face of an almost complete indifference on the part of the great and "humanitarian" democrats, belongs to the most degrading, horrifying and infamous pages in human history. The United States, Great Britain and Russia did not have the planes with which to bomb and pulverize Berlin in defense of 6,000,000 Jews; repressive measures against the Nazis were not at hand in the United States, Great Britain and Russia; against the Nazi prisoners of war in order to save millions of lives.

Although it was a question of thousands of pilots and prisoners of war, Anglo-Saxon blood was too precious, too costly, to spend to save millions of humble Jewish workers and artisans in the ghettos of Poland. The tragedy of the Jews was conceived of as something fatalistic in its frightfulness by Polish public opinion, and even more so because the civilized world did not react in an active way. (Information Bulletin of AK [Home Army], April 29, 1943.)

### TO THE LAST GRENADE

The hopeless resistance lasted from April until August. At the end of June, the organ of the underground "Nowe Drogi" (New Roads) describes the situation thus: "The Germans met with desperate armed resistance. Two or three thousand fighters forced them to retreat and when they returned with heavy machines, guns and tanks a bitter battle ensued at many points. Defense to the last grenade, to the last cartridge. The revolt proper did not last long. It was, of course, drowned in blood."

In the ruins left by the 1939 campaign, in the old labyrinths, tunnels and sewers, the remaining few hundreds of a people condemned to death by "capitalist civilization" still resisted. While the great "democracies" and the "first socialist country" looked on indifferently, the cowardly Nazis burned and crushed them to death under the ruins, and drowned them like rats in the sewers. The ghetto, the Jewish section of Warsaw, was leveled with the earth. The last few thousand insurgent Jews lie under its ruins.

Only the workers' underground movement of Warsaw tried to help its brothers, trapped in the ghetto, with arms, munitions and food, but faced by the concentration of Nazi might and the total indifference of the "democracies," this poor and im-

ited help could not save the ghetto insurrection of 1943. As in 1939, Warsaw struggled alone and helplessly, abandoned by its democratic "allies" to its own tragic fate.

In 1944, notwithstanding the two previous crushing defeats, the people of Warsaw rose up for a third time against the Nazi hordes. The Warsaw insurrection broke out when the Russian armies were already massed on the left bank of the Vistula in the Warsaw suburb of Prague, and while the Moscow radio and the Polish Stalinist radio were calling on the people of Warsaw to rise up against the Nazi invader, promising the aid and support of the Russian army. Mikolajczyk, who was then in Moscow, received a solemn promise from Stalin that Warsaw would be liberated by the Russians in the first days of August.

### STALIN SLANDERS, NAZIS KILL

Nevertheless, when the revolutionary action occurred and dislodged the Nazis from a good part of the city, the Russian press and radio began to slander it as a "bluff" and "an adventure" without popular support and later as a "fascist" and "anti-Soviet" action. The Russians stopped their advance and the Polish detachments that wanted to come to Warsaw's aid were disarmed. The Allied and Polish planes could not land behind the Russian front in order to help the insurrectionaries.

The Nazi general staff, which had begun to evacuate Warsaw, was given fresh courage by the halt of the Russian offensive and proceeded to the systematic destruction of the embattled city. They used mortars, heavy artillery, tanks and aerial attacks against the insurrectionaries, basing themselves on the costly experience of the destruction of the ghetto. The city was wiped from the face of the earth.

The fighters who had descended to the modern catacombs, the network of subterranean tunnels dating back to medieval times, were exterminated with gas, drowned like rats in the water and filth, burned and crushed to death under the ruins. Approximately 300,000 people were killed and 600,000 interned in the Nazi death camps. Faced with the Russian betrayal, with the new and silent Nazi-Stalinist pact, and with the indifference of the "democracies," the Warsaw Commune succumbed after 63 days of unequal combat.

Warsaw had been abandoned to its own fate. The powerful Anglo-American forces, which were able to defeat Hitler and demolish the cities of Germany, could not find the planes with which to help save the Warsaw insurrection. So had it been in 1939 and 1943.

### ON TWO FRONTS

The explanation of the Anglo-American position is to be found not only in the secret imperialist pacts signed with Stalin at Teheran and Yalta, but in the character of the Warsaw revolution as well. As in 1939 and 1943, Warsaw struggled on two fronts: not only against the Nazis as invaders, but also against the Stalinists.

In the 1944 insurrection, the struggle on two fronts becomes a much more clearly defined characteristic than in the two previous instances. Now it is not only a question of a national war against the invaders, but of a social uprising against the totalitarian reaction.

The organizers of the Warsaw revolution were the leaders of the anti-Nazi underground, in the first place the Warsaw organization of the PPS (the Polish Socialist Party), the workers' militia, the illegal trade unions and the Stalinist militia, the AL (Armio Ludowa). The Warsaw proletariat was the backbone of the insurrection, supported by the impoverished "intelligentsia," students, intellectuals, white-collar workers and peasants. Politically, the insurrection was represented by the petty-bourgeois democracy in arms, the alliance between the PPS and Mikolajczyk's Populist Party.

The underground government headed by the Socialists recognized the factory delegations as the legal and public administrators of the factories. The petty-bourgeois democracy in arms, caught up in an anti-totalitarian insurrection, contained the seeds of a socialist revolution in mortal combat with the Nazi and Stalinist counter-revolution. It represented a great danger to the forward march of the victorious Stalinist counter-revolution, the only force capable of subduing a rebellious proletarian movement confronted by the decay and ruin of European capitalism.

For this reason, all the reactionary forces, dying Nazism and victorious Stalinism, democrats and priests, the agents of the GPU and Wall Street's mercenaries, joined together against the people of Warsaw in arms, combined to crush the seed of the socialist revolution in Europe. With reason the London New Leader wrote: "One of the most revolutionary episodes in modern history ended as a tragedy."

In the Europe of 1944 not one proletarian force could recognize the essential character of the Warsaw Commune. But today, the third socialist force renders posthumous homage to Warsaw.

## NEWS FROM NIGERIA

HEART OF AFRICA STIRS  
AGAINST BRITISH RULE

By OKAFO

"I do not believe in evolution as a weapon for the struggle for independent national existence.

"As adherents of the new philosophy we shall start with civil disobedience without violence, or non-cooperation. But the height of our revolution shall be guided by the belief that a mere passive pacifism involving the rejection of all force may bring about the invasion of our country by another enemy imperialism, and the downfall of the present regime provides no solution to our present political servitude."

In these terms, last October, O. C. Agwuna put forth part of his "Call for Revolution" among the Nigerian and Cameroon people of West Africa. Agwuna presented a program for complete independence from British domination by calling for a civil disobedience campaign, complete support to the NCNC (National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons, the Indian Congress equivalent in West Africa), stop payment of all taxes to the British, a general strike of all trade unions, and a United States of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

Nigeria's struggle for independence is a recent development and has culminated in a frontal attack upon the crumbling British Empire in the post-war days.

In the early '30s the Trade Union Congress was organized. The TUC is a federation of subsidiary unions like the Railway Workers Union, Post and Telegraph Union, Public Works Union, Marine Workers Union, Domestic Servants Union, Elder Dempster Workers Union and the Nigerian Nurses Union. The TUC established itself as a powerful force in Nigeria in June, 1945, when it called a general strike—the first major strike in Nigerian history.

Prices in Nigeria had gone up 300 per cent from 1939 to 1945. The United Africa Company, a British company with a virtual monopoly on all trade transactions in Nigeria, was primarily responsible for the high prices. Average wages in 1939 were \$1.20 a day. In 1942 Governor Bernard Bourdillon granted a 33 per cent bonus on wages. In 1945 the Trade Union Congress demanded a 50 per cent bonus from Governor Arthur Richards, who had complete authority on wages granted to Nigerians. In negotiations the bonus was turned down; the union was very much underrated by the British.

### First General Strike Wins Complete Victory

On June 21, 1945, Nigeria had its first general strike. The entire economy of all the major cities like Lagos (the capital of Nigeria), Port Harcourt, Kaduna, and Enugu was at a standstill. There was no violence during the 33-day strike, since all of the workers stayed at home in complete solidarity, even after some desperate efforts of the British to get the workers back on the job. The governor ranted that it was not a strike but a national revolt. The workers gained a complete victory and won the 50 per cent bonus increase. When the governor sent the workers telegrams to return to work they refused to go back until the militant leader of the TUC, Michael A. D. Imoudu, came to them in person to tell them to do so.

Since the 1945 strike the workers in all the major cities are well organized and have complete confidence in their ability to paralyze the economy at any time. The strike had the strong political influence of Nigerian nationalists behind it for Imoudu, the militant strike leader, was also a leader in the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons.

The NCNC was organized in 1944 after the Nigerian Youth Movement exposed itself as a sterile nationalist movement. The Nigerian Youth Movement was organized after the end of World War I by wealthy Nigerians. The NYM was composed of lawyers, doctors, other professionals and small businessmen. They hoped to free Nigeria from the British but were too tied up with the empire to do anything more than paper work. Some of the members of the NYM held the title of the Order of the British Empire and some were British knights.

During the recent war a strong nationalist group was organized under the great hero of Nigeria, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, who is the Gandhi of Nigeria. Dr. Zik, as he is often called, is head of the Zikist Nationalist Movement and he uses his three newspapers very effectively in building up a strong feeling and movement for independence. Through the work of men like Azikiwe, Imoudu, Macuall, Nimba, Blaze and Akitoye, the NCNC was formed. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons has been organized on a militant, positive program of complete independence from all imperialisms.

### Nigeria's Sixty Families Support British

In 1944 the leaders, headed by Dr. Zik, issued a call to all trade unions, social groups and tribal organizations for the purpose of organizing a national council. All the organizations responded enthusiastically and today the NCNC has 140 organizations belonging to it and represents 20,000,000 of the 30,000,000 people in Nigeria and the Cameroons. Besides the various unions of the TUC it includes such tribal organizations as the Ibo Federal Union, Yoruba Federal Union, Hausa Elements Union, the Owerri Union and organizations like the Cameroon Youth League and the Bende District Union.

Besides the British, the main opposition to the NCNC is the National Youth Movement, which today is made up of only 60 of the wealthiest individuals in Nigeria. The reactionary NYM has used its well-financed paper, the Daily Service, in the interests of British imperialism and continues a vicious slander campaign against the Zikist nationalists and the NCNC. The NYM was instrumental in getting the Trade Union Council to drop out of the NCNC in November, 1948. This move on the part of the TUC is responsible for its own virtual dissolution. Already the various subsidiary unions like the Domestic Servants Union, the Public Works Union, the Nigerian Nurses Union and the United Africa Company Workers Union have dropped out of the TUC. It is apparent now that there is a need for another national federated trade union in order to supplant the TUC.

The British have used the NYM to postpone the question of national independence. They have stated that they will not grant freedom to the Nigerians until the NYM and the NCNC come to complete agreement. This agreement they consistently discourage by making the gap between the two organizations greater.

Dr. Zik's Press Limited newspapers express the NCNC policy and they lead the polemical fight against the Daily Service of the NYM. The three Press Limited papers call the NYM a fascist bureaucratic organization and expose its slanders against the nationalists. Dr. Zik struggles consistently for other goals like woman suffrage, strong trade unions, and universal brotherhood. According to Dr. Zik there is no future in Nigeria except in complete independence through the NCNC.

### American Imperialism Muscling In

The nationalists in Nigeria show that they are quite unacquainted with Marxism, yet they have a profound insight into the nature of imperialism and know how to fight against it. They understand that Britain is dissolving as an imperialist power and that the time to strike out for independence is now and so they are waging a more militant fight every day. There is a slight tendency to look more favorably on American imperialism, but they are well aware of the fact that it is another brand of imperialism.

The Press Limited papers publish accounts of the effects of the Marshall Plan on Africa, where American businessmen are finding the door opening wider with each loan to Britain. At the end of 1948 the British and American governments put forth their United Africa plan by which the African continent could be more thoroughly exploited than ever before. American big business will provide the engineers, scientists, technical experts and capital machinery for a program of intensive exploitation of the gold, diamond, copper, tin, coal, manganese and other valuable raw materials that lie below the surface of Africa. Nigeria has vast deposits of coal and tin which are very necessary to British and American industry. Britain is turning over coal fields to the Americans in order that modern techniques may be applied.

Nigeria faces the prospect of fighting both British and American imperialism in the future. America is taking over much of the "white man's burden" in Africa. In spite of American entry into Africa, there is a good possibility of Nigeria's gaining its freedom in the next few years: the trade unions are confident of their power, the NCNC has had a great educational and agitational effect on the masses of people, and the Nigerian army, made up of disgruntled Nigerians, would go over to the nationalist side in case of an open assault for freedom.

## Ford Local Says Howe-Widick Book On UAW Is the 'Best Analysis Yet'

A large batch of additional reviews of the UAW and Walter Reuther, by Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, have appeared during the past week, outstanding among them being a laudatory review by the well-known historian, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., in The Nation; another favorable one in Ford Facts, organ of Local 600, UAW, largest local in the union, and another in the influential Christian Science Monitor. Excerpts follow:

The Nation (Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.): "The book opens with a trenchant chapter on life and labor in Detroit. . . . The characterization [of Reuther] is shrewd, sympathetic without being uncritical, and generally convincing." Schlesinger proceeds to dispute the authors' belief "in the potentialities of independent trade-union action in politics" but adds that "their own predilection does not prevent the authors from giving an altogether fair statement of the position of those who favor working within the major parties."

He continues: "The UAW and Walter Reuther is a swift, incisive and highly intelligent book in a field where writing is too often official or irresponsibly polemical. Mr. Howe is a brilliant young critic; Mr. Widick is a chief steward at the Chrysler plant; and their collaboration combines a high level of political and social insight with intimate practical familiarity in the orbit of the assembly line. . . . The book supplies hope not only about the future of trade unionism in America but also about the future of writing about trade unionism in America."

Ford Facts: "The book . . . is beyond doubt the best analysis of our union that has yet been written. From the standpoint of literary craftsmanship it tops all books written about the labor movement in recent years. . . . A remarkable book in many ways, it should be read by all auto workers. It is a great tribute to a great union. . . . Union members may purchase it at the UAW Bookstore at a 20 per cent discount. It is worth twice the price."

### MAKES LABOR'S PROBLEMS CLEAR

The Christian Science Monitor: "This not uncritical record of a major CIO industrial union and its present leader is as complex as the blueprint of a B-36 bomber. Messrs. Howe and Widick are skilled and knowledgeable draftsmen. They have assembled an impressive working model of a dynamic labor machine. And it does not appear that they have any spare parts left."

The book may be ordered through Labor Action Book Service, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

ations conducted by the old generals who are loyal to the right against the young officers, trained in the school of German Nazis.

Leaving aside the scornful popular passivity, it is clear that the fate of the counter-revolution was decided solely by military operations. The very same people of La Paz who shouted in 1946: "Hang the military from the lamp-posts!" in 1949 shouted: "Long live the national army!" One must add that it was not the same people; it was in its majority the middle class, while in 1946 it was a mixture of the proletariat and the middle class.

When the proletariat retires from the field of battle, it is followed by the stealthy shadow of reactionary Bonapartism. This is as true for small events as for big; it is as true for Bolivia in 1946-49 as it was for France in 1848-50. When the bourgeoisie cannot govern with "law" and "democracy," it resorts to the sword, as old Marx had occasion to say almost a century ago.

The defeat of the MNR brings a victory of conservative and loyal militarism, loyal to the mine-owning bourgeoisie. The middle class calls for the sword and must have it. The government has already named new military governors in Cochabamba, Potosi and Oruro. Victorious militarism demands its prize and booty. The military dictatorship of the conservative Right begins to rise.

However, the orderly withdrawal of the workers' movement, which retains its trade-union organizations and has not been defeated on the field of battle, constitutes a brake on the military. The disgrace which surrounds the military and its lack of moral authority constitute another restraining factor.

The social convulsions in Bolivia reveal unrest in all South America. The post-war crisis and the dictatorship of the dollar push the masses toward rebellion, which the Nazis and Stalinists have skillfully exploited. In Argentina, Peru and Venezuela, an angry anti-totalitarian opposition exists. The class struggle, although deformed, remains the social content of all these convulsions.

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# Newest Biography of Stalin Gives a Balanced Portrait

STALIN, A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY, by Isaac Deutscher. Oxford University Press, \$4.00.

By R. FAHAN

Except for a very poor final chapter on the social role of contemporary Stalinism, this book is an impressive achievement. In essential respects, it adds little to either Souvarine's or Trotsky's biographies of Stalin, but it is a carefully documented book, solid and thorough if not original and brilliant. It is also distinguished by what is for these days an important virtue: it does not succumb to the anti-Bolshevik hysteria and, in fact, punctures a good many of the anti-Bolshevik legends.

Written from a generally Marxist point of view, Deutscher's book leans heavily, though not uncritically, on Souvarine and, to a still greater extent, Trotsky; but at the same time it provides a more balanced and credible portrait of Stalin than either of the other two more incisive biographies. To Marxists, the book will seem largely derivative but nonetheless valuable. And while written with neither Souvarine's patience nor Trotsky's acuteness, it is stylistically competent.

Deutscher places the young Stalin against his social background in much the same manner that Trotsky does. He too emphasizes the backwardness of the Georgian setting, the family heritage of serfdom, the half-education inflicted by the Tiflis Seminary and the sense of intellectual inferiority bred in Stalin during his early relationships with educated Marxists, an inferiority he could never quite shake off. Deutscher diverges from Trotsky on an interesting but minor point: he thinks there is no evidence for Trotsky's assertion that Stalin was probably a Menshevik at the beginning of his political career.

## A BALANCED PORTRAIT

The portrait of Stalin that emerges from Deutscher's book seems to this reviewer more balanced and credible than Trotsky's, though in many respects based on it. Deutscher admits that there is great difficulty in finding personal information about Stalin, that his personal life spreads across the century like a grey film. In fact, in his book there is only an occasional comment on Stalin's personality. But that too adds up to a picture of the man: the "committee man" who followed Lenin with slavish shrewdness and scorned the intellectuals in exile while working in the Russian underground; the wretched writer and stumbling speaker whose clumsy sentences betray the slowness and poverty of his mind; the crafty factionalist thriving in a period of bureaucratization, using the shibboleths of "party loyalty" to win the support of all the party "machine men" and appealing to the most primitive of prejudices and the most backward of minds.

Stalin's personality is nonetheless seen by Deutscher as a rather complex one—once, that is, no attempt is made to think of him as a thinker or intellectual. While serving in a czarist prison in Baku, he would watch fellow prisoners be led away to the gallows and then "fall sound asleep, astonishing his comrades by his strong nerves, or else he would go on with his unsuccessful attempt to master the intricacies of German grammar." For him, as Deutscher neatly puts it, Marxism became a labor-saving gadget, a simple mechanism for providing ready-made formulas.

At the same time Deutscher is careful to point out that Stalin seems to have been a highly capable organizer, a man of undoubted devotion to the Bolshevik cause during its most trying years, and a secondary leader ready to suffer extreme hardships and punishments for that cause.

It is curious, and significant, that in Stalin's clumsy socialist rhetoric there always creeps in a semi-religious note, inherited from his early seminary training; for him, socialism is always "the promised land." And in his early devotion to the movement there is much of the believer's zeal—so vivid a contrast to the thought-out commitment of the other Bolshevik leaders.

## NOT A MERE MEDIOCRITY

Deutscher, I think, quite adequately disposes of Trotsky's view that Stalin was a mere mediocrity, as well as his unfortunate and introspective speculation that Stalin poisoned Lenin. Of course, there is a great deal of semantic legerdemain behind the dispute as to whether Stalin was a mediocrity. No one could seriously say that he was more than a mediocre thinker or writer; but as an organizer, a party manipulator, a leader who could exact fear and loyalty from his followers, be they of his faction or later of the entire state machine, Stalin undoubtedly had a touch of genius, a perverse sort of genius if you wish.

At a time when most of Lenin's more brilliant associates, in the post-1905 period, seemed to be wavering, Stalin stood firm in the party; he was the reliable bureaucrat who clung to

his post because it meant more to him than anything else. That he was a man of "unscrupulous rancor and insensible spite," as Deutscher says, does not in the slightest detract from this estimate of his remarkable talents; on the contrary, rancor and spite were useful qualities for the kind of talent he had.

Deutscher's description of Stalin occurs in his section on the forced industrialization of the first Five-Year Plan: Russia "was lured, prodded, whipped and shepherded into that surrealistic enterprise by an ordinary, prosaic, fairly sober man, whose mind had suddenly become possessed by a half-real and half-somnambulistic vision, a man who established himself in the role of super-judge and super-architect, in the role of a modern super-Pharaoh."

There is one gruesome incident in Stalin's career, as reported by Deutscher, which reveals everything about him: "His own wife, Nadia Alliluyeva . . . began to doubt the wisdom and rightness of his policy. One evening, in November 1932, Stalin and his wife were on a visit to Voroshilov's home. Other members of the Politbureau were there too, discussing matters of policy. Nadia Alliluyeva spoke her mind about the famine and discontent in the country and about the moral ravages which the terror had wrought on the party. Stalin's nerves were already strained to the utmost. In the presence of his friends he burst out against his wife in a flood of vulgar abuse. Nadia Alliluyeva left Voroshilov's house. The same evening she committed suicide."

## BOLSHEVISM AND DEMOCRACY

Deutscher is particularly interesting on the general significance of Bolshevism, and his book provides valuable substantiation for the view that the Bolshevik Revolution was a genuinely working-class act, based on the mass support of the workers. It is interesting, by the way, to learn that in the 1905-08 period "the Bolsheviks were not alone in practicing guerrilla warfare and 'expropriations' . . . Even the Menshevik Georgians, loud in denouncing the Bolshevik raids, were not averse from sharing the booty of Bolshevik forays. In Poland it was the right rather than the left wing of the Socialists that specialized in revolutionary terrorism."

In several instances Deutscher substantiates the view that the Bolshevik regime, within the limits of its possibility and before its degeneration into Stalinism, was essentially democratic. Thus we read of the post-revolutionary period: "The course of events was such that the Bolsheviks could not help becoming the country's sole rulers after their partners [the Left Social-Revolutionaries] had refused to share responsibility for the peace. Alone in office, they still refrained from suppressing their opponents, except for the extreme right, the initiators of the civil war. Only in June 1918, when the civil war was already in full swing, were the Mensheviks and the right-wing Social Revolutionaries temporarily outlawed on the ground that some of their members sided with the White Guard. The Mensheviks were again permitted to come into the open in November of the same year when they pledged themselves to act as a loyal opposition within the framework of the Soviet regime."

And again we read: "The libertarian spirit of the revolution survived the climax of the civil war well into the year 1920." And again: "The idea that a single party should rule the Soviets was not at all inherent in the Bolshevik program. Still less so was the idea that only a single party should be allowed to exist. The proscription of the other parties, wrote Trotsky, was 'obviously in conflict with the spirit of Soviet democracy' and 'the leaders of Bolshevism regarded [it] not as a principle but as an episodic act of self-defense.'"

Deutscher has some rather interesting things to say about the role of Trotsky's opposition to Stalin. He rightly sees the decision of the 10th party congress prohibiting factions as a major blow to Soviet democracy. "The party was gradually transforming itself into a bureaucratic machine. It was true enough that concern for the revolution compelled Bolshevism to take the road chosen by the tenth congress; but it was also true that as it moved along that road Bolshevism was losing more and more and more of its original self."

"In order to save the revolution the party ceased to be a free association of independent, critically minded, and courageous revolutionaries. The bulk of it submitted to the ever more powerful machine. . . . Those who handled the levers of the machine and were most intimately associated with it, those to whose upbringing and temperament the new bureaucratic outlook was most congenial automatically became the leaders of the new era. The administrator began to elbow out the ideologue, the bureaucrat and committeeman eliminated the idealist. Who could be favored by this evolution and who could favor it more strongly than Stalin, the committeeman par excellence?"

In this situation, then, of the early 1920s, Trotsky was wrong, Deutscher believes, to have conducted for so long as he did his struggle against Stalin within the upper circles of the Bolshevik Party. By doing so "he had been burdened with responsibility for a policy to which he had been opposed; and he had done nothing to rally in time those who might have supported him."

In Deutscher's opinion Trotsky should have taken the necessary risk of quickly appealing to the Russian people at large and thereby perhaps forcing a split in the Bolshevik Party—a risk because it might have, as Trotsky feared, opened the way to counter-revolutionary action; necessary, because his failure to do so meant that counter-revolution, if of a different kind, would spring from within the party. But while he disagrees with certain of Trotsky's tactics, Deutscher makes it perfectly clear that Trotsky's faction fought to preserve the original ideals of the revolution.

**A POOR ENDING**  
In view of these excellences in Deutscher's book, it is painful to close this review with a comment on his last chapter. Deutscher succumbs to a variety of "Cannonism"—actually, that is, to a critical acceptance of the Stalinist myth. He speaks of both "the tyranny of Stalinism" and "its progressive social performance," by which he means "a fundamentally new principle of social organization, which, no matter what happens to him [Stalin] personally or even to the regime associated with his name, is certain to survive, to fertilize human experience, and to turn it in new directions."

In other words, we have here the old tragic error about the "progressiveness" of nationalized property in the abstract, quite apart from the fact that it is in the hands of a reactionary dictatorship that has done more than any other regime in modern history to 'destroy the proletarian revolution.'"

It would be useless here to argue this question with Deutscher, since our views on this matter have appeared often enough in this paper and The New Internationalist. Suffice it to notice how, even in so splendid an analyst and critic of Stalinism as is Deutscher, this last inverted form of the Stalinist myth still maintains its hold!

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# Russia Has the Bomb --

(Continued from page 1)  
which has successfully controlled or prevented use of a particular weapon. Poison gas, it may be said. But atomic bombing is on such an entirely different order as a war weapon, since it is primarily a weapon against civilians and cities, a weapon of total warfare, that it can stand no comparison with such a relatively insignificant weapon as gas. To depend upon any UN commission to solve this matter would be madness.

## ARMS RACE AHEAD

What may we expect from these gentlemen instead? The answer is all too clear, and we have already heard it in part: We are in for the most frightening and terrifying war-preparations race in history. Some of the Washington responses are indicative. B-50 atomic-bomb-bearing planes are to replace all B-29 bombers (those "old-fashioned" crates which can only carry a few thousand tons of "old-fashioned" bombs) now stationed in Britain. Britain and Canada will be supplied with more information, and probably the storage of A-bombs in those countries will begin. Our own atomic-bomb stockpile will be added to, although the fantasy that mere numbers of A-bombs guarantees victory in war has been exposed by many military men.

In an immediate sense, the whole matter of the Atlantic Pact is thrown open to serious doubts. This is a verification of the idea which I have advanced in LABOR ACTION that, even in a military sense, the whole system of the Atlantic Pact was an antiquated concept and would prove useless. It is likely that the whole matter will be soon discarded and replaced by a super-atomic-weapon concept of war to defend Western Europe, without involving the organization of large masses of armed forces.

In other words, when the American ruling spokesmen have recovered from their first surprise and shock, they will react in a purely MILITARIST way since such is the only conception they are capable of; more armaments, more powerful bombs, better strategy and preparation. Just as they conceive of defending America against attack by surrounding the country with a 24-hour, radar-detection wall, so their political and social thought is exclusively dominated

# Sees Titoism as Fuse for Explosion Of Balkan Powder Magazine in War

By A. RUDZIENSKI

The phenomenon of Titoism is undoubtedly the most sensational event since the period of the last opposition to Stalinism in Russia. In spite of the powerful police apparatus, Tito remains in power and even continues consolidating his position. Moscow's rabid harangues against the "fascist," "nationalist" and Trotskyist (the worst insult), against the disciple of that "great" policeman, Stalin, who has outstripped his master in cunning, are so far ineffective.

The open breach in Eastern Europe's "popular" bloc shows signs not of closing but of continuing to widen. In Bulgaria there is a Stalinist sector which sympathizes with Tito, and perhaps Dimitrov himself had to pay with his head for his idea of a Balkan Federation.

In Hungary, Laszlo Rajk has been accused not only of being a nationalist, fascist and Trotskyist, but of preparing together with Tito a coup against Hungary's "popular democracy."

In small but strategically very important Albania, Stalin's secret police had to kill Koci Xoxe, ex-minister of the interior. Laszlo Rajk was also in charge of the Ministry of the Interior in Hungary. Tito knows the Stalinist methods, and attacks the centers of police power.

As if all this were not enough, a Communist Party has been organized

## Mixed Economy

Fortune, the \$1.25-a-copy big business magazine, gets down to fundamentals in describing current business developments:

"Within individual industries economic trends were mixed. In textiles, pajamas were off and sheets were up."

## Fantastic

Arguing that the present average industrial wage of \$1.37 is too high by 11 cents, Congressman Ralph W. Gwinn (R., N.Y.) scorns the notion that more money in the pay envelope means more buying power:

"Such reasoning is fantastic, because taking away more money from employers and giving it to employees does not create any additional purchasing power."

Sure—in fact, it actually cuts down the purchase of yachts and mink coats.

in Germany which declares its solidarity with Tito. A similar party has been organized in Italy, whose Stalinist movement is among the most powerful in Europe. There is insistent talk about the formation of a Titoist Cominform which would oppose the Muscovite Cominform.

There is no doubt that the Titoist opposition has much sympathy in all the countries of "popular democracy," including Poland and Czechoslovakia, which dispose of a considerable industrial potential, still have many economic ties with Western Europe, and possess traditions of a modern, well-organized workers' movement in Western European style. If the Titoist schism should succeed in spreading internationally and organizing its own international center, it would become a mortal danger for the Stalinist dictatorship in Europe and Russia as well.

Besides, one must take into account the latent international conflict between Russia and the United States, between the Eastern bloc and the capitalist West. Excellent adept that he is in Stalinist Machiavellism, Tito has no scruples, does not hesitate at any measures. When Moscow announced the economic blockade designed to strangle him, Tito knew how to break through the blockade and negotiate with the fortress of world capitalism, the United States.

His attempts to secure the financial support of the Americans against the "first socialist country" have been crowned by success in the form of a \$20,000,000 loan "as the beginning." This first cautious loan bears the promise that Yugoslavia will become the pet child of American financial circles, if Tito shows himself capable of remaining in power.

Without occupying ourselves in this article with the economic and social dynamics of the Yugoslavian schism, we shall try to answer the following questions: What are the possible international consequences of the present conflict between Belgrade and the Kremlin? Will it lead to Tito's capitulation or to a new war?

## ACHESON STRESSES TITOISM

The Polish émigré press in London is a little disturbed that the American State Department pays so much attention to the Yugoslavian question and calls it "Titomania." Nevertheless, both Truman and his secretary of State, Acheson, declare that the "Stalinist Iron Curtain will retreat eastward . . . without war." According to

Acheson's testimony before a Senate committee, Russia would start a war given one of three conditions: (1) If it expected approaching aggression; (2) if internal difficulties demanded turning the attention of the Russian nation in another direction; (3) if the United States and its allies were economically and socially so weak that a war against them would not, in the judgment of the Politburo, involve a major risk.

Acheson excludes the first two possibilities as the cause of Russian aggression and considers only the third eventually, recommending American military preparedness, or adherence to the old Roman rule, "If you want peace, be ready for war." According to Acheson, the constant growth of American armaments should discourage Stalin from military aggression.

Besides, Acheson considers American policy successful in this period and has declared that "the initiative has passed from the Russians to us. In any case, I do not expect the movement of the Iron Curtain toward the west. On the contrary, I expect the movement of the Iron Curtain toward the east, toward the frontiers of the Soviet itself." (Polish Daily of London.)

When Acheson was asked how the withdrawal of the Iron Curtain to the east could take place without war, he replied that "Titoism is more important and charged with more consequences than is generally believed. At this moment we are carrying on an active policy in Western Europe and we are observing events in Eastern Europe. If in the West we note stabilization, in the East we do not observe this phenomenon. The lack of stability permits us to foresee changes."

## WILL TITO FIND ALLIES?

America's policy, as exemplified in Truman's boastful declaration that Russia must capitulate and the loan to Tito, is based on the expectation of an internal war in the Stalinist camp, with Tito as the main protagonist. The result of this conflict is expected to be the peaceful salvation of the American capitalist system.

Undoubtedly the Titoist division within the Stalinist camp can have much graver consequences than we think. If Tito, as certain evidence indicates, tries to expand his international sphere, he will find many old adepts of Stalinism, now expelled. He will also find layers of workers and the middle class who are disillusioned with Stalin's politics. Especially behind the Iron Curtain, the growing anti-Stalinist opposition can break down all the police bars.

This possibility would be even greater were an understanding to be arrived at with the other sectors of opposition, the peasants and Social Democrats, under American pressure. In such a case, Stalin would have to reply with new purges, perhaps as bloody as those of 1936-38.

## WAR POSSIBLE

The Titoist opposition can come to play a daily role in international politics that is much more impressive than that played by the workers' oppositions of Russia, including the Trotskyist opposition. Trotsky did not wish to and could not enter into combinations and deals with capitalism against Stalin, while Tito does and will continue to do so without any scruples. Stalin understands this danger and may decide to act in order to prevent it.

We wish only to remark that Acheson may be mistaken since he has a

rather meager understanding of Stalinist methods. Stalin astutely stalks his victim, stalks him constantly, and at a favorable moment may decide on a savage and deadly assault.

Stalin's pursuit of his victim has already passed through various stages: that of ideological offensive, the economic blockade, and is now entering the war of nerves and the military blockade by his satellites. If the attempts at an internal coup are defeated, Stalin may decide, contrary to Acheson's opinion, on camouflaged intervention in Yugoslavia by means of Hungary, Albania or Bulgaria.

And if such military intervention against Tito is defeated or gets bogged down, Stalin may decide on a swift military blow, basing himself on the assumption that the United States will not intervene militarily. The Polish press in England is of the opinion that the United States would abandon Tito in case of Russian military intervention in the Balkans.

Without trying to assume the role of prophet, which is as dangerous as it is ridiculous in day-to-day politics, we wish to repeat that Acheson may be mistaken. The Tito rebellion endangers not only the Balkan flank of Russian imperialism, but can become a danger for the entire Stalinist system. In such a case, Stalinist totalitarianism would feel compelled to strike with rapid and savage blows.

We reject, therefore, both the possibility of a peaceful withdrawal of the Iron Curtain to the 1939 frontiers and Truman's belief in the inevitable Russian capitulation before the economic and military (atomic bomb) pressure of the United States.

Titoism could never play so inflated a role were the international situation not so tense; it is American policy that will decide to what extent it wishes to inflate the Titoist puppet against Russia. We are already in the stage of the war of nerves, of military concentrations and demonstrations in the Balkans, the traditional powder barrel!

The Spanish Civil War, the Sarajevo of 1914, can easily be repeated in Tito's Yugoslavia, in which two blocs test the strength of each other's arms without engaging in direct struggle. The international situation is charged with the dangers of new war; any incident can provoke a molten flow of events which no one will be able to control. And this can happen even if we were to take Acheson's and Truman's declarations as subjectively sincere, which rarely occurs among bourgeois politicians.

The Balkan powder magazine can easily explode, provoking an atomic war whose consequences for civilization no one can foresee.

September 1949.

## Then and Now

As Russia blusters threateningly against Tito and the Yugoslavs, we present a comment on anti-Yugoslav threats made by one of the leaders of the British Communist Party:

"Immediate action is called for by the working people of London in solidarity with Yugoslavia. Aggressive ultimatums to Yugoslavia today may be followed by equally threatening demands upon the British people." (Ted Bramley, British Daily Worker, August 23.)

But don't jump to the conclusion that Stalinist Bramley is on the outs with the Cominform line. The date of the above quotation is 1946.

# Yugos' New Role --

(Continued from page 1)

regarding as the leading "theoretician" of the Titoists. Symptomatic of how far they are willing to go now is Piyađe's denunciation of the Moscow Trials (in retrospect) on September 22.

Piyađe's repudiation of the Moscow purge trials of the '30s was clear, even though made (in typically Stalinist style) in a backhanded way through a comparison with the just-concluded confession trial of Rajk and seven others in Budapest. The Hungarian court fare was used to "prove" that Tito is an agent of American imperialism with the same methods as the GPU "proved" that Trotsky and the old Bolsheviks were "agents of fascism."

According to Times correspondent Handler:

"Analyzing the purposes of the Budapest trial, M. Piyađe said it was reminiscent of the Moscow 'purge' trials of 1936, whose 'producers, with their experience, could have had a hand in the production of the Budapest trial.' He said that the Moscow trials had not prevented the Soviet government from signing a pact with Hitlerite Germany and drinking Hitler's health at the signing. But in M. Piyađe's view, the seriousness of the problem is that 'now such trials have become export articles because the person who was at that time state prosecutor became foreign minister and this type trial was transferred

to the international arena." (The reference is to Vichinsky.)

The sideswipe against the Hitler-Stalin Pact is equally new. How the implied characterization of the Moscow Trials as frameups squares with the Titoists' continued denunciations of Trotsky is still to be seen, as Piyađe continues to work out the Titoist catechism. (The Titoists accuse the Cominformers of "Trotskyism," and vice versa.)

"The degeneration of the Bolshevik Party can no longer be concealed," wrote Piyađe. "The Budapest trial is the fruit of this degeneration."

In almost casual fashion, the Tito-Stalinists remark in passing that the Moscow trials were GPU stage plays, and do not even assume that there is any necessity of their proving what, like all other Stalinists, they heatedly denied for over a decade. Presumably they have no doubt that even the ranks of their Communist Party need no convincing on the score. Even more than Piyađe's change of tune on the question, the manner in which it is done indicates that nobody, not even the Stalinists themselves, have believed the truth of the trials.

It reminds one forcibly of what happened in the United States in the '30s when Jay Lovestone and his group, then organized as a Communist Opposition (right wing) group, defended the frameup trial until Bukharin was put in the dock. Love-

stone (who today is busy guarding international political morals for the AFL and the State Department) was, like the Titoists, perfectly willing to parrot the Kremlin's smears against Trotsky and balked only when the dirt came flying in his own direction.

## OUTSIDE THE BLOCS

In the United Nations, Kardelj has followed a voting policy of avoiding lining up with either the American or Russian voting blocs, abstaining or voting for a dark horse in the elections to the assembly's committees.

In his address of September 26, he carefully described Yugoslavia as "the country which—as is well known both to the Soviet government and to the world at large—does not enjoy the support of any bloc of powers, which has neither concluded secret pacts or entered into military alliances with any opponent of the USSR." This was said, not as a mere description, but as a programmatic announcement.

At the same time, he more than once emphasized Yugoslavia's "different social system" from that of the West, in the context of the contention that peaceful relations were possible. Manuilsky, in reply, could think of nothing brighter than to blow hard with: "It is a fact of notorious public knowledge that the Yugoslav regime of Tito has subjected that country to capitalist foreign monopolies."

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