

Regime Nearing Collapse; Prepares to Move South

Kuomintang Faces Decisive Defeat

By JACK BRAD

The armies of Chinese Stalinism are advancing on the Kuomintang capital at Nanking. Barring the intervention of some new, powerful force, the most serious obstacle to continued conquest and victory by the Stalinist armies is the limit of their own resources. The only source for a new, major barrier to them is possible American intervention, but that does not seem likely to be soon enough, extensive enough or sufficiently committed to Chiang's regime.

A short time ago it was generally considered that the military aim of the Stalinists was to stop at the Yangtze. With eighty per cent of China's industry in Manchuria, the arsenals of Mukden and Taiyuan, the major coal, iron and copper deposits, good ports, all the major cities except Canton and Hong Kong and the rich alluvial plains of the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers—with all this behind

them, it was expected that the Stalinists would pause to consolidate, regroup and reorganize an effective administration over the vast country they have already won.

Today this is no longer certain. It is always precarious to make predictions about military events, but the war in China is basically a social war. The big problem of the Stalinists is transport, lines of communication and supplies. This is a vast technical problem. But beyond this, the armies of the Kuomintang as such are no longer decisive obstacles. Nor is the winter weather. Last year the Communist Party launched its winter Manchurian offensive in forty degrees below freezing.

KUOMINTANG DISINTEGRATION

The extent of social disintegration of the Kuomintang is even more rapid than the advance of the Communist Party armies and this factor alters the picture. Never in modern

times has a state been reduced to such an abject condition and lack of support as has Chiang's. If this general collapse and inner rot is not slowed down once the retreat of the Kuomintang to the so-called "Southern Bastion" at Canton is made, the CP armies may find themselves advancing into an area of chaos empty of any political structure or opposition.

Even the bailiwick of T. V. Soong in Canton, which seemed so secure a few months ago, is no longer immune to the national tendencies. Of the hated Four Families who rule and plunder Nationalist China, T. V. Soong is perhaps the most favored by America. In his direction of ECA in China, Roger Lapham distributed the bulk of it to South China, mainly in Kwangtung province, of which Canton is the capitol and T. V. Soong the dictator. United States' policy, in wavering and ambiguous fashion, seemed to aim at developing a strong

point in this region in case of a northern debacle.

However, the disease spreads like a contagion. With the southward migration of government officials and the mass exodus of the rich and their families comes an intensification and spread of the blight. Inflation marches southward as Canton is mobbed with newcomers who consume the few commodities still available. These people bring money with which to command the Black Market. They also bring with them all the factional animosities of long standing, which, in the face of defeats, have increased. Inner disunity, power cliques, self-seeking and venality are all increased as the arena for their exercise diminishes.

Strikes are spreading; inflation drives food out of all normal channels. Everywhere in the cities workers are forced to leave work to spend full-time getting rice. Thousands are abandoning the cities for the countryside and for the familial villages. Throughout Kwangtung province peasants in this rich rice region are taking up arms in guerrilla bands and expanding the Communist-controlled areas.

The government of Chiang founders without a program or a hope except for its desperate pleas to the United States to which it now offers China on a silver platter in return for large-scale aid—that China which it no longer has. The sum total of Chiang's program is to retreat under pressure but never to give up the war. He relies on the turn of the historic wheel when the United States and Russia go to war. Meanwhile he makes no concession, offers no fundamental change, insists on the maintenance in power of his intolerable regime even though the country be lost because of it. After the fall of Mukden, Chiang made clear his position: eight more years of war, but war to the finish.

REGIME LOSES SUPPORT

Alienation between the regime and the people grows daily. Neither the
(Continued on page 2)

CIO Plans Wage, Organization Drive; Lashes at Stalinists

CIO Wage Policy

The following is the text of the resolution (No. 9) on wage policy adopted by the CIO convention. It presages a new "round" of wage demands.

In spite of wage increases since the termination of the war, wages have not kept pace with rising prices. Weekly wages have increased in all manufacturing industries since January, 1945, by about 14 per cent, while prices have jumped over 37 per cent.

Rising prices have forced the mass of American workers to deplete their savings to meet living expenses. The only ones who are saving are those whose incomes were sufficient to start with to permit them to absorb higher prices. This means that the ability to save has become almost the exclusive privilege of the wealthy.

As a result of rising prices, living standards have declined and savings have been depleted to the extent that the Federal Reserve Board reports that last year over one-fourth of the families spent more than they earned and that the top 20 per cent of our income groups saved 93 per cent of the total savings last year.

A high level of consumer income, and expenditures not drawn from savings, is essential to the development and maintenance of a full employment and full production economy.

In recent years as a result of prices out-running wages, a serious maldistribution of our national income has occurred, in that a lesser share is going to the wage and salary segment and a greater share to the corporate profit segment;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED:
1. The Congress of Industrial Organizations reaffirms as one of its basic and fundamental tenets the ever improving standard of living of American workers; and that

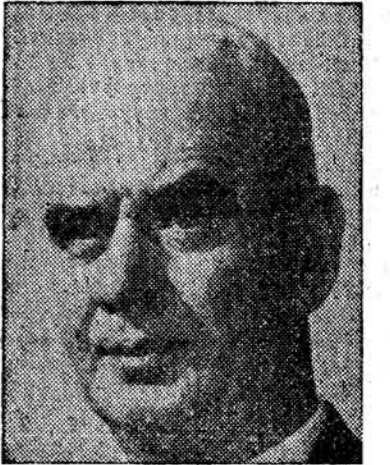
2. We declare that it is the continual objective of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to build such a high consumption level economy wherein wage earners' real income is continually increasing; and that

3. It is essential in a dynamic economy for wages to be ever increasing and for the wage segment of our national income to be enlarging through taking a greater share of an ever increasing national income; and that

4. It is possible for wages to increase and living standards to improve within the framework of a reasonable profit structure for American industry.

Obscured by the attention given Murray's all-out attack on the Stalinists, the CIO convention, meeting in Portland, Oregon, announced its intention to seek a "fourth round" of wage increases and to vigorously prosecute organization of the unorganized.

The convention gave its endorsement to a wage policy



resolution (printed elsewhere on this page) which, while limiting itself to general objectives, opened the way for a vigorous wage drive. No indications were given as to the increase that would be sought, it being assumed that the individual unions would frame their own demands according to their particular circumstances. What action the CIO will take to further its aims was not made clear. However, there were indications of a possible strike wave in the spring and summer at the expiration of various major contracts.

Ernie Mazey, UAW vice-president, making the main speech in support of the CIO wage policy resolution, made special reference to Ford with whom the UAW is beginning wage negotiations. Saying that he was glad to hear that Henry Ford agreed to the necessity of wage increases, Mazey added that "we disagree with Mr. Ford when he says that there has to be a price increase too. . . . Our experts will be glad to sit down with him and his associates, go over his books and show how this is possible."

The CIO convention also pledged itself to an eight-point program, outlined in President Murray's report. As stated in the report, these eight points are:

1. Price controls.
2. An excess profits tax "to remove exorbitant profits."
3. ". . . the necessary authority to allocate, ration and control inventories."
4. ". . . an all-out attack on monopolies and monopolistic practices."
5. A floor under farm income.
6. \$1.00 minimum wage, increased social security and "similar measures to protect the industrial worker."
7. Low cost public housing.
8. Plant expansion to boost production.

(Continued on page 4)

Big Powers Maneuver for Revision Of Palestine Partition Plan in UN

By AL FINDLEY

Today, one year after the UN voted to partition Palestine into a Jewish state and Arab state, the UN continues to act as the shadow of real events in Palestine. Far from creating or even influencing anything in Palestine, the UN has merely acted to give some sort of "legality" to actual developments.

Following World War II with its extermination of 6,000,000 Jews, the Jews of Palestine completed the creation of their "state, within a state," in a desperate attempt to bring a sizable amount of the remnants of European Jewry to Palestine. Weakened British imperialism, harassed by the Haganah, Irgun and Stern groups, decided to evacuate Palestine. It was only then that the UN, under the leadership of the U. S., drew up a partition plan.

When this plan was accepted, LABOR ACTION pointed out that the denationalization of Jerusalem and the gerrymandering of the territories of Jewish and Arab Palestine was an invitation to bloodshed and was designed as such by all of the Big Three so as to give each—in its own way—an opportunity to expand its sphere of power politics.

Since the passage of that resolution the UN did nothing to implement its decision, thus exposing the UN for what it really is—an arena for maneuvering in an imperialist struggle. Instead, the UN under the leadership of the U. S., vacillated with every change in the military struggle of Israel against the Mufti irregulars and the invading armies of the Arab League.

WHAT THE POWERS WANT

However, neither the fears nor the ambitions of the Big Three were realized in the course of last year's struggle, and they still remain the real basis for UN resolutions and orders despite the moral language in which they are couched.

The U. S. feared Russian utilization of the Palestinian crisis for its own expansion and also wanted to keep England from garrisoning the Suez Canal and the Near East. The latter could only be accomplished by British bases in the Palestinian Negev.

Russia wanted above all to get Anglo-American troops entirely out

of Palestine, and, secondly, to establish a foothold in the Western Mediterranean.

England hoped that by giving up untenable Palestine and acting as a foil for the Arab rulers—especially Abdullah—it could re-establish its pre-eminent position in the Near East.

In line with these basic imperialist motives, the three powers are now backing three different resolutions in the UN in the final phases of the Palestinian struggle.

Russia is insisting on the letter of the original partition resolution. This would establish a weak Arab state and an almost indefensible Israel. It also opens the possibility for Stalinist control of Arab Palestine, if Abdullah can be forced out, since the only Arab group that would accept such an arrangement is the Arab Stalinists. For the Jews, this would mean suicidal war to the finish with Abdullah for the sake of pulling Stalin's chestnuts out of the fire. Beigen and his "freedom movement" also want such a war but they intend to keep all of Palestine and Transjordania.

U. S. STRATEGY

Unfortunately, this criminal policy has the support of a Jewish working-class party—the Mapam. The Mapam, whose component elements (Hashomer Hatzair and Achduth Avodah) opposed partition in November 29 and then were among the foremost advocates of its revision, now demand the observance of the letter of the November 29 resolution.

The British support the Bernadotte Plan which gives Jerusalem, the Negev, and all of Arab Palestine to Abdullah, autocrat of Transjordan and puppet of Britain.

The U. S. has introduced a series of amendments which in effect support Israel's right to the territory of the original partition resolution but attempt to get Israel to give Abdullah the Negev south of the 31st parallel if Israel wants to retain Galilee, Jaffa and get part of Jerusalem.

The U. S. is thus trying to do many things at one time. It is trying to win over a section of Israeli political opinion to the Western camp, and carry out the plans of army strategists, while at the same time throwing a bone (Arab Palestine and the Negev south of 31st parallel) to England.

The U. S. is encouraged in this compromise by recent statements on the Transjordan radio calling for negotiations. A JTA report says that Abdullah does not want the Negev but that Bevin insists that he take it. The final solution according to the U. S. resolution is to be arranged by a conciliation committee that will have a free hand to draw borders as it sees fit, if it can get the consent of the Jews and Abdullah.

NO HELP FROM IMPERIALISTS

The anniversary of the partition resolution is no cause for celebration. It is rather the occasion to relearn an old lesson: that no oppressed people or class really gains anything from its imperialist "friends" but wins only by its own power and the strength of the working-class of the world.

What of the future? The prime need of both the Jews and the Arabs is to gain peace and to prevent Palestine from being made a football of international power politics. No good can come of joining either the Eastern or Western imperialist blocs. It can only make Israel a battlefield of the cold or hot war. As long as Israel is gerrymandered and surrounded by a wall of Arab hostility, the imperialists will find fertile ground for continuing their deadly game at the expense of both Jews and Arabs.

For both Jews and Arabs it means a re-drawing of boundaries to be mutually agreed upon, that will give both comparative continuity of territory.

For Arab progressives it means a struggle for the acceptance of Israel's right to self-determination, with the guarantee of democratic rights for all Arabs whether in the Israeli or Arab parts of Palestine.

For Jewish progressives it means utilizing the needs of Arab refugees, not as an instrument of pressure, but as an opportunity to break through the Arab feudal curtain and reach the Arab masses.

For Palestine as a whole it requires an economic union that will lead to a Federal Union of both peoples.

For the workers of the U. S. it means a struggle for de jure recognition of Israel and its admission to the UN.

CIO Convention Upholds PAC Line

Advocates of Independent Political Action Fail to Speak for Their Views

PORTLAND, Ore., Nov. 24.—By an overwhelming majority of 537 to 49 the national convention of the CIO went on record today to continue "giving support to the progressive forces in both major parties and basing its judgment of candidates on their record." It further repudiated all efforts to form a third party based on the labor movement in a section of the resolution which reads: "The experience of this election campaign has fully confirmed the correctness of our decision to abstain from and discourage any move in the direction of a third party at this time. We reaffirm our decision and reject any and all proposals for a third party. A third party at this time would serve only to split and divide the forces of progress and serve the interests of reaction."

The original report of this resolution, as prepared by the resolutions committee, did not, we are reliably informed, contain the sections against the third party, but were inserted later, probably on the insistence of Murray.

The delegation of the United Automobile Workers voted unanimously for the resolution, thus repudiating for the record the motion passed several months ago by the UAW execu-

tive board for the formation of a third party after the elections. It would seem that the UAW delegation is hanging its hopes on the "at this time" clause, interpreting it to mean "today."

The debate on the political action resolution indicates that the election victory of President Truman has given the CIO leaders a new feeling of the strength of labor in politics, while at the same time tying them as never before to the coattails of the Democratic Party. The only majority delegate who even suggested that the present two-party system may not be a permanent feature of American politics was Emil Rieve of the Textile Workers, who also pointed out that the election of Truman and the new Congress does not at all guarantee that the legislative program of the CIO will be carried out in full.

WALLACE ISSUE

As has been the case in all debates at this convention, the debate on political action was a running fight between the Murray wing and the Communist Party (Stalinist) line delegates. They were mercilessly attacked for their support of the Wallace movement. The chief line of attack was that the Stalinists had plugged

for Wallace with the hope of defeating Truman and electing Dewey.

The tragedy which marks this whole convention was repeated in this debate. Because of the hesitation among all delegates to oppose Murray on any question lest they be lumped with the Stalinists, it is left to these completely discredited individuals and unions to make what are in appearance the most progressive speeches.

The issue on this question was not only what kind of political policy will the CIO pursue in the future. The Stalinists made little or no effort to justify their support of Wallace. They conducted their whole fight on the right of a CIO international union to adopt its own policies in political matters. Reid Robinson of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers pointed out that the CIO itself started as a minority movement in the AFL. "Had we accepted the majority vote of the AFL at the 1935 convention and walked away from that convention and accepted the position of craft union organization we wouldn't have this organization discussing anything here today. And I say to you that it is necessary to consider the wishes of the minority on a question like

(Continued on page 4)

CP Caucus Loses, But IP Tactics Repel Many in AVC

By CHARLES STEWART

CLEVELAND—The third annual convention of the American Veterans Committee held here over the Thanksgiving weekend found the organization rent from top to bottom over how to fight Communist Party influence inside its ranks.

Though the AVC still represents the most progressive, militant veterans' organization in the field, the AVC membership registered at this convention a decline from a high of 100,000 a year ago to some 20,000 today. In general, the convention reflected predominantly middle-class composition. There were, for example, so many representatives of the

legal profession present that many speakers opened their remarks by saying that they weren't lawyers. Many of the delegates had clearly received their pre-war education in one or another part of the radical movement. Significantly absent was any widespread representation of the labor movement.

The forces at the convention took organizational form in three caucuses and one grouping. These were the Independent Progressive, the Progressive and the Build AVC Caucus, and the grouping known as the Labor Vets.

The Progressive caucus is the new name of the Communist Party caucus. Called the Unity caucus at Mil-

waukee last year, they changed the name to Progressive to make it conform with Wallace's party and to muddle some unwary delegates who might confuse it with the liberal independent Progressives. The object of the caucus, of course, is to convert the AVC into a front organization for Stalinist views, a channel through which to serve Kremlin policy. (See LABOR ACTION two weeks ago for a history of Stalinist infiltration. Ed.)

The Independent-Progressive caucus is a coalition of diverse anti-Stalinist elements. These are divided on how to handle the Stalinists. Some are liberals recoiling from the Stalinist take-over policy, repelled by the international crimes of Stalin-

ism, and whipped up by the press and government drive against the CP. Some of these, having come too late to the struggle against Stalinism, are already tired of fighting by democratic and educational methods. They want a job done quickly and brutally. The strategy for this group is furnished by the experienced ex-Socialist, Gus Tyler. At first inclined to have a long term perspective, Tyler capitulated to the frenzy of those who demanded quick action. There is also a sizable minority of liberals within IP who cannot see the logic of combatting Communist totalitarianism by undemocratic methods. The spokesman for this group is Bernie Bellush. He betrays the weakness of his type

group was the weakest ever. During the past year it had lost support to the two polar forces of the convention—the IP and the Stalinists. The key leader at this time was Paul Meyer of the Columbia chapter. He came to the convention ready to build his group around a pointed resolution against the Communist Party, calling for no expulsions, but without mentioning the Stalinist Progressive Caucus. Incensed at the undemocratic acts against the Stalinists, this group falsely placed the totalitarian program and policy of the Stalinist caucus on the same level as the undemocratic excesses of the IP. Unable to choose between the two basic programmatic caucuses, it was

split down the middle by the second day of the convention. This development was aided by inviting anyone who agreed with them to join their steering committee. The Stalinists just walked in and fought against Meyer, with the result that Stalinists supported Build AVC candidates and vice versa.

CENTRAL ISSUE

The central issue of the convention was Stalinism and the fight took on a variety of forms.

Richard Crohn, a member of the Stalinist caucus, violated an AVC ruling by allowing his name as an AVCer to be used in the advertising
(Continued on page 4)

Moving Government to South Will Do Little to Help Chiang

Kuomintang Regime Faces Decisive Defeat - -

(Continued from page 1) country nor city masses, neither middle class, industrialists, intellectuals, lower gentry nor foreign capitalists support it.

of the weakness of the regime. He is not the man to lead any struggle in determined fashion. He is a secondary and dependent creature.

concessions in return for U. S. aid, which, if effectuated, would throw China back to the days of Treaty Ports. This regression in national sovereignty would be made in order to prosecute the civil war more effectively.

to no avail and with it a great program of economic reform in the cities. The only consequences were the grinding down of the middle classes who were forced to surrender their small savings and forcing the workers into hunger strikes.

same Sun who was the opposition candidate to General Li for the vice-presidency when Li was the candidate of Ambassador Stuart and the pro-U. S. group in the Kuomintang.

The Big Wind at the CIO

PORTLAND, Ore., Nov. 24—Many hours of valuable time of the national CIO convention have been spent in listening to soothing speeches from a parade of government and religious big-shots.

of the most outstanding episodes of the history of our movement." Aside from the soft soap, several speakers advocated policies which are against the policies adopted or which are going to be adopted by this convention.

All the pressures of a thousand years which are now grinding up and destroying the long-rotted fabric of this out-lived and by-passed social order are now operative against the Kuomintang as its chief political representative.

Another, more striking example of the blind alley of the Kuomintang is its selection of Sun Fo for premier. It is known that there were no candidates for the post. But of all the possibilities, Sun is perhaps the worst choice from the viewpoint of the regime's basic aim at this time.

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Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor...

On Civil Rights And Stalinists

It is some time since the letter from Ernest Erber, declaring for a policy of non-support to the indicted Stalinist leaders under the Smith Act, was published in LABOR ACTION.

thing that will give renewed prestige to their rapidly sagging position on the American scene. There is one more angle that deserves attention. The Stalinists do not have state power in the U. S., the capitalists do. The fascists represent a rival form of that state power.

only partially been completed. Complete and genuine national independence can be gained only under the leadership of the proletariat. As long as the bourgeoisie is in control of China, that class will remain (in a broad sense) the agent of imperialism.

may not occupy China but will certainly be available to train and arm native troops and to put down any revolts that the natives cannot handle. The Stalinists' social base is primarily among the petty bourgeoisie of town and country, disgruntled warlords, and declassed elements (bandits).

carry less and less weight. If the workers and peasants can rid themselves of their apathy they can change the course of history in the near future. To the degree that the armed force of the Kuomintang disintegrates and to the corresponding degree that the masses take up arms on their own, to that degree does the state power pass from the Kuomintang to the Soviet power.

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

Correspondence Department

About six weeks ago the proceedings of a recent conference of the National Youth Council for Independent Political Action (NYCIPA) were reported and discussed in this column.

coming an effective force in the fight for an independent labor party. The lumping together of revolutionary socialists, reformist socialists, Stalinists and fascists under the label, "undemocratic and totalitarian" is preposterous and vituperous.

Sincerely, Julius Falk, National Secretary, for the National Bureau."

New Republic and YPSL

In a recent issue of the "New Republic" we find the following item: "The National Youth Council for Independent Political Action, reported in our last column, ran into a theoretical snag when the SYL (Youth Section of the Workers Party, a Trotskyist offshoot) sought affiliation with the NYCIPA."

Relief Bazaar in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 22—Budget-wise families in Southern California will be given a treat on Saturday and Sunday, December 4 and 5, when the American Committee for European Workers Relief will hold a pre-Christmas bazaar at 126 North St. Louis Street in Los Angeles.

SYL Replies

Below is the reply which was sent to the NYCIPA by the SYL National Bureau.

It is also obvious to us by now that the YPSL leadership is looking very hard for a way out of the proposed debate for fear of not being able to defend a position which has led it to the conclusion that we should be excluded from "all voluntary organizations."

Anti-Frat Department

The fraternities on campus have on the whole been the academic cradle of prejudice and stupidity. That this "fraternal" tradition is going to be defended to the last bit of bigoted energy by the "brothers" was shown by their action at a national convention of fraternities held last week.

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In Latin America: Stalinism And Counter Revolution at Work

By JUAN REY

Three revolts have shaken Peru in the last few weeks: 1) that of Colonel Llosa in Arequipa province; 2) the Callao uprising, ascribed to the APRA; 3) the revolt led by General Odría which terminated in the ousting of President Bustamante. The military counter-revolution was the consequence of the political defeat of the APRA, in particular, of the abortive Callao "revolution," ascribed to the APRA by the Bustamante government. Although our evaluation that this abortive "revolution" ended in a counter-revolution is correct (see last week's LABOR ACTION—Ed.), we must complete our analysis with new facts received from trustworthy sources, which throw

Editorial note: While it is impossible for the author of this article or LABOR ACTION to vouch for the authenticity of the "Rancagua document," the central and unimpeachable fact remains that Stalinism has entered into an open alliance with the military and feudo-bourgeois reaction throughout Latin-America. This coalition of native totalitarianism and Stalinism represents a serious danger to the very existence of the organized Latin-American working class movement. Yesterday, Stalinism supported American imperialism and its "Democratic" colonial agents; today it supports the anti-American sector of the feudo-bourgeoisie—but always the Stalinist line conforms to the reactionary interests of the Russian ruling class and its foreign policy.—A. S.

much light on the reactionary role of Stalinism, and particularly on the intense and effective work of Eudocio Ravines, prominent Peruvian Stalinist, suspected of being the secret agent of the MVD (GPU).

The Chilean Socialists, headed by Bernardo Ibanez, have published an extensive "Rancagua Document," discovered in a local branch of the Chilean Stalinist party long before the Peruvian events. This document reveals an extensive and secret plan directed against the APRA as well as against the Chilean, Bolivian, and other governments; the point of the plan being to crush the anti-Stalinist working class and petty-bourgeois democratic forces, and to overthrow the governments of Peru, Chile and Bolivia in order to install totalitarian dictatorships even though they might be rightist or militarist in character.

The Chilean Minister of Interior after reading the document declared that "This information indicates that E. R. (Eudocio Ravines) is pursuing a wide plan of bringing together all the anti-Aprista, anti-government, and anti-American forces. His influence in the rightist group is strong and proven by the large contributions of money which he receives." . . . "R. (Ravines) thinks that money and action will do the trick, and counts on the unmistakable readiness of the Peruvian government to engage in anti-Aprista acts."

DIRECTED AGAINST ANTI-STALINISTS

Ravines is a mysterious personage. After his stay in Moscow, he became the supervisor of the Communist parties in Central America and Mexico. In 1936 he came to Chile as supervisor of the CPCh, and became its boss and "purger." In 1945 the dictator Manuel Prado brought him to Lima to counteract the power of the APRA. Since then, Ravines (with government support) has dedicated himself to fabricating crimes and attacks on the union movement and the APRA.

According to the Rancagua document, the Stalinist effort has been directed mainly against the anti-Stalinist working-class forces, especially the Peruvian APRA, Chilean Socialism, the CIT (Inter-American Labor Federation), as well as the bourgeois democratic and anti-Russian governments. The document states "The situation is splendid and the plan is developing normally. This does not mean that we can rest content and that we shall not give R. (Ravines) the aid he requests, particularly with respect to the task entrusted him by L. (presumably Lombardo Tolezano). We must cooperate and see to it that the congress is defeated as it should be" (here the reference is to the CIT congress held in Lima). The document recommends that the actions of the leaders of the Peruvian Federation of Labor, Sabrosa and Aliaga, and Ibanez of Chile, be watched because "they continue to harm the Continent with their betrayals."

Without being able to quote more extensively from the Stalinist document, we can say that events completely confirm its plan, directives and program. In Peru three revolutions have taken place secretly directed by Ravines. When the Llosa uprising was defeated in Arequipa, an "opposition" group was formed inside the APRA which incited a revolt in Callao. Trustworthy sources reveal that the central leadership of the APRA knew nothing of the Callao action, but that it was the work of an opposition group led by Ravines' agents. Haya de la Torre, leader of the APRA, was surprised in bed by the police in the middle of the "revolution." All that Ravines needed was the "action," since he had the money and the "willingness" of the Bustamante government to engage in anti-Aprista actions.

The Bustamante government persecuted the APRA, declaring it outside the law and blaming it for the aborted revolution, while the secret Russian agent Ravines rubbed his hands, feeling sure of "control of the rightists." A few days after the Callao incident the Odría revolution broke out. Bustamante was forced to leave the presidential palace. In La Paz, Bolivia, Colonel Llosa declared that Ravines was with the military junta. The Odría government has outlawed the Peruvian Communist party, but Ravines has

been invited to collaborate, assuming the role of the counselor and "gray eminence" of the Peruvian military government. It appears that the persecution of the APRA and the entire Peruvian working-class left is due to the plan elaborated by Ravines.

REPERCUSSIONS ON CONTINENT

The events in Peru have had their repercussions on the entire continent. In Chile, connections between the Stalinists and the military circles have been discovered; in Bolivia the leaders of the Stalinist PIR planned a coup in an understanding with ex-president General Toro. Besides this, a wide totalitarian plan, supported by a general strike of miners, railroad and factory workers, was prepared in order to overthrow the Hertzog government. The miners and factory workers are controlled by the MNR (Nazi) party; the railroad workers under Stalinist control. The Nazi-Stalinist blow failed but the danger continues to exist.

The plan against the APRA was linked with workers' actions to take place in Bolivia, particularly in the mines, and in northern Chile which is also a mining district. In Paraguay a totalitarian military coup was also prepared. The famous assassination of the newspaperman Grana Garland in Lima (ascribed to the APRA) which touched off the campaign of the Peruvian reactionaries against the APRA and the workers' movement, was really the work of the MVD and Ravines, according to the Rancagua document. The Peruvian government attorney-general, who knew about the assassination, worked as the tool, perhaps indirectly, of Ravines and tried to blame Bernardo Ibanez, president of the CIT and head of the Chilean Socialist Party as "author" of the Rancagua document. But recent events, the Stalinist alliances with the totalitarian parties, and Ravines' activities tend to confirm and prove that this document contained instructions from the central Stalinist leadership in Latin-America which is located in Mexico.

The Stalinist document reveals only the personal and concrete details of the political tactic outlined: the alliance with the native-Nazi and totalitarian forces in Latin-America against the anti-Stalinist workers' movement and the anti-Stalinist bourgeoisie. It must be admitted that the MVD and Ravines have had complete success in this action. The campaign against the APRA initiated with Grana Garland's assassination in Lima set the Peruvian reaction and its military circles into motion. The same Bustamante government which emerged from the elections thanks to APRA support was pushed toward an anti-Aprista and anti-working class policy, a policy which ultimately brought about its downfall. Lacking a working class base, Stalinism knew how to manage and direct the Peruvian feudo-bourgeoisie and militarists against the petty-bourgeoisie democracy represented by APRA, and the workers' movement.

A similar series of events seems to be occurring in Chile, where the reactionary militarists are acting as the instruments of Stalinism. In Bolivia, the party of Liberalism, the party of the big mining interests acted in conjunction with the Stalinist PIR. In the service of the most reactionary right-wing elements, the Stalinist "political line" does not shrink from provocations, assassinations, "revolutions" and penetration of the United States intelligence service, which has often fallen into the traps set by the MVD and acted as its instrument. If it is true that the American embassy had a hand in the Callao events (the American ambassador in Lima having been asked to leave Peru) then he played the part of Ravines' puppet. On the other hand, we have much information which proves that the American secret service in Bolivia also plays the part of a tool in the hands of the MVD, favoring the PIR and the MNR in their joint action against the government, and combatting the anti-Stalinist sectors of the working class. It is not however our task to teach the American diplomatic service and the FBI the methods of struggle against the MVD. They learned enough at Bogota.

AGAINST STALINISM AND BOURGEOISIE

Our task consists of tearing away the mask and exposing the reactionary politics of Stalinism in Latin-America, which, lacking its own bases and incapable of independent action, gives all its support to the most reactionary Nazi and military groups on the continent, trying to "maneuver" them against the anti-Stalinist workers' movement. We believe that the activities of the Stalinist agent Ravines in Peru will convince many workers of this.

Our second task consists of forging an independent working-class front directed against both the feudo-bourgeoisie as well as against the totalitarianism, and giving support to the APRA, the Chilean Socialists, and the CIT, in its struggle against the Stalinists. Part of this task is the initiation of a campaign in defense of the APRA leaders, the trade unions, and the APRA prisoners in Lima who are threatened with capital punishment by the hangman, Odría, and his native Machigueli, Ravines.

Liberty for Haya de la Torre, leader of the APRA, Sabrosa, leader of the Peruvian Labor Federation, and hundreds of other union and labor leaders being tortured today in Lima's jails.

The Bazaar

As announced in previous editions of LABOR ACTION, the American Committee for European Workers Relief is holding its annual bazaar on Friday and Saturday, Dec. 10th and 11th at its headquarters, 130 W. 23rd St., New York.

Already a large selection of articles have been accumulated through donations by the Committee's friends and by canvassing stores. They include silverware, jewelry, French perfumes, toys, new baby clothes, fur coats and curries from a number of foreign countries. Also available will be new and rare books. Most of these objects make fine Christmas presents.

The proceeds from the bazaar are the major means by which the Committee's aid to independent socialists, trade union militants and antifascists in Europe is carried on. We have shown in past issues how this aid continues to be as needed as ever.

This being the last edition of LABOR ACTION before the bazaar, we wish once more to impress upon YOU that the Committee's international aid depends upon YOUR support of the annual bazaar.

WORLD POLITICS

THE RUHR: (Part 2)

Last week we described the economic and productive revival of the Ruhr, Europe's greatest industrial concentration center, and the struggle for its products now freshly revived among the great powers. Secretary of State Marshall has indicated that the British and Americans intend a full speed ahead course for their plan, despite the French objections, and that the latter can only expect minor concessions which change nothing in principle. The Ruhr, then, is about to enter upon a new phase in its existence—a period of trusteeship nominally held by Germans, with strict supervision and regulation of distribution by America, first of all, and the other powers.

It would be a mistaken idea to believe that this new phase means a step in the direction of a revival of the old German, monopolist and cartelized Ruhr heavy industry—the economic heart and soul of the Nazi Empire. The old cartels have definitely been smashed, and they will not return because they symbolized—above all for America—German power and rivalry. Even if the new Ruhr trusteeship employs many of the former owners, plant managers, superintendents and personnel (the question of whether they were or were not Nazis plays no part in their choice by the military governments as trustees), this does not mean a return of the old system because these men return to work and management under entirely different circumstances and conditions, with a new role to play. Dream and conspiracy are they will among themselves for a revival of the Ruhr cartels, the real power is held by America and Britain which will determine the limits of production, set the market possibilities, and intervene whenever necessity demands it.

Behind the new Ruhr trusteeship stand cartels and monopolies, but they are those of America and the about to be created government monopoly of England. The Ruhr trusteeship cannot be the powerful rival and the mighty industrial Empire that once existed under an independent Germany.

This, then, is the imperialist solution to the Ruhr problem. Stalinist Russia is firmly and coldly squeezed out of the entire proceedings; France will be partly quieted by concessions and bribes; the German capitalists are offered a chance to resume business again; and the American colossus, by its sheer weight, effectively controls the management, distribution and productive levels of this whole area. The Ruhr solution then is a clear illustration not only of the real international relationships of our time, but proof of where real power resides. At the moment, it is a big victory for American imperialism and partly offsets its current defeat in China, for example.

VARIOUS PROPOSALS FOR SOLUTION

So much for the imperialist way of handling such affairs. Are there other proposed solutions? It is well known that among the Great Powers themselves there are variations in how to handle the future of the Ruhr. The British, for example, are not particularly keen on the American technique of recreating, under new conditions, the old Ruhr managerial caste. They go along, however, because they believe a future west German government will nationalize the Ruhr industries much in the same manner that coal has been nationalized in England, and steel is about to be—that is, under the direction and control of a governmental body and its bureaucracy. Rapidly becoming familiar with the techniques of such bureaucratic nationalization, and assuming it will take place under a Social Democratic government (prototype of the British Labor Party), the British believe such an achievement will best serve their purposes of reviving the great pre-war English-German trade which, in effect, dominated western Europe.

Equally well known is the so-called "internationalization" of the Ruhr proposed by French imperialism, and rather widely supported by types like Dulles, some American liberals, etc. While this "internationalization" has never been more than vaguely explained at best, its cardinal principle is clear enough: to destroy the juridical basis upon which rests the claim and demand of the German nation as a whole that the Ruhr remain THEIRS, as a part of the sovereign wealth and possessions of the land of the German people. Under such a type of "inter-

nationalization," of course, this historic ownership would be destroyed, and replaced by a so-called international ownership, consisting of the powerful nations who would manage, control and run the Ruhr, sharing its products according to their will. In the hands of powers like France such a formula would merely be a legal basis for any power to claim future ownership rights over the industries and resources of any nation it may have conquered. It is simply a scheme for French imperialism to gain a veto hold over the Ruhr and, as such, was rejected by America which wants the Ruhr to move and produce.

These "nationalization" and "internationalization" proposals all have a common basis in the imperialist framework, and are simply variations due to the particular desire of a particular imperialism. They are frauds. Yet for socialists the Ruhr solution remains as pressing as ever. Within Germany itself, even the Social Democracy—noted for its timidity—opposes the return of the former Ruhr magnates and the resurrection of the former managerial groups in any form. They demand, first of all, unconditional recognition of the fact that the Ruhr and its industries—extractive and manufacturing—belong to the people, to the German nation, despite its present division and its defeat in the war. Such a demand is correct and must be supported.

The German working class has built and created this great center; it is theirs and must remain theirs. They are the ones to determine its future, how it shall be controlled and what it shall be used for. In their hands, we can rest assured its coal will go to revive silent factories and its steel to rebuild destroyed cities. Tied in with the Marshall Plan, or held in escrow by French imperialism, its products will go to rebuilding Europe's newly proposed western defense system.

The Ruhr then belongs to the German nation—this must be the first and foremost slogan of socialists. Take it out of the hands of the imperialist powers. Secondly, to assure that it shall never again be used by German capitalism in the form of monopolies, cartels, trusts, etc., once its possession by a sovereign German nation has been won, the entire area must be socialized under the control of the miners who dig the coal and the workers who run the steel plants. Within Germany itself, then, the solution of the Ruhr problem is part of the struggle for the creation of a new, independent German state—free of and unhampered by any occupying forces—and making out of this state a democratic, socialist republic run by the masses of people.

SUGGESTING A BROAD PERSPECTIVE

But the problem of the Ruhr goes still further, and its solution along socialist lines is unfortunately rather remote. As the world's greatest industrial concentration, the Ruhr means far more than the rebuilding of Germany itself; it is a vital part of Europe and has always been the heart of its (the whole Continent's) existence. The Ruhr is an international center of production, and its wealth forms a part of the life blood of a vast continent. It is not enough to have the Ruhr operate in a progressive manner within the national borders of Germany itself. A unified and integrated European economy would make out of the Ruhr its foundation, producing coal and steel for all of Europe. Looking beyond national borders, German socialists must propose that the Ruhr become such a foundation for an independent and united Europe, free of both Russian and American influence, and—with the power given to it by holding the Ruhr—capable of living its own life.

Just as the solution of the Ruhr problem for the Germans cannot be separated from the need for an independent German government which has the power to freely settle the future of the Ruhr (a power it hasn't today and will never receive from the occupants); so the European solution for the Ruhr problem cannot be separated from the struggle for an independent Europe, free from Stalinism and Marshallism, and so federated that it can best utilize the resources of this mighty area in the name of all of Europe. A nationalized Ruhr, sovereign property of an independent Germany, and economically integrated into an independent and unified Europe—this is the broad perspective that European socialists should offer as against the plans of imperialism.

Henry JUDD

CIO Militants

WHERE WERE THEY AT THE CONVENTION?

By GORDON HASKELL

PORTLAND, Oregon, Nov. 25.—This tenth national convention of the CIO reflects in many ways the division of the world into the followers of U. S. capitalism on the one side and the adherents of Russian Stalinism on the other. No voice has been raised to proclaim the role of labor in America and the world as the third force which can oppose both these predatory powers and lead the way to a world organized in the interests of the common people.

At this convention only two forces are apparent to the naked eye. One is the small minority of delegates who represent the policies of the Communist Party, and the other is the vast majority who support the policies of Phillip Murray.

The readers of LABOR ACTION may well wonder: where is the UAW? Where are those delegates who represent groups or unions which have in the past gone on record for a third party and for a really militant, democratic labor movement?

The answer is that they are sitting on their hands.

MILITANTS ARE COWED

This convention will result in giving Phil Murray and the conservative-liberal ideas he represents greater power in the CIO than he ever has had before. With the complete rout of the Stalinists, no other force has appeared to take its position at the left wing of the CIO.

The militant wing is here, all right. But it is cowed and silent. Its fear of being identified with the Stalinists is so great that it dares not raise its voice in opposition either on general questions of policy, or on the completely undemocratic and bureaucratic practices used by Murray in controlling the convention.

The UAW delegation voted unanimously for the resolution which condemns any attempt to form a third party in America. The UAW delegation was prepared to fight any such statement in the resolutions committee. The resolution on political action actually passed by the resolutions committee did not contain, we are informed, the condemnation of third party efforts, but confined itself to a positive advocacy of CIO-PAC policies as carried out in the past election. However, when the printed report of the resolutions committee was distributed, the UAW delegates found that Murray had had this paragraph inserted behind the backs of the committee. Yet they apparently decided that it was "wiser" not to fight this bureaucratic trick openly and expose it from the floor.

The same goes for the undemocratic procedure announced by Murray which prevents the appearance of any minority resolutions on the floor. The resolutions committee had decided that minority reports and resolutions would be given the same privileges as those of the majority. When Murray opened the convention he simply announced that only majority resolutions would be presented, and that minority resolutions would be voted on only if the majority resolution had been defeated. The UAW delegation did not fight this undemocratic procedure from the floor.

NOT ENOUGH

It is important that every member of the UAW carefully consider the actions of their delegation at this convention. They should be compelled to give an explanation for their failure to fight for what they claim are their principles.

They have an explanation, but it isn't good enough. It isn't good enough for men of principle to say that they will fight behind the scenes, and that they will make a very clever interpretation of the fact that the resolution on political action says that no third party is to be advocated "at this time" to mean "today" but not necessarily "tomorrow." It is not good enough for them to say that the CIO is now pretty much a Steel Workers organization as Murray has placed his men in all key regional and other national offices, and that this will have to be changed before an effective fight can be made against his conservative policies and bureaucratic practices.

It is not enough. The UAW delegation represents the largest union in the CIO with over a million members. It is not some two-by-four outfit which must fear to stand up on its feet and fight for its principles. They do not have to fear that they will be identified with the Stalinists if they have a superior program to offer the membership of the CIO.

The clever tactics of the UAW delegation and other real left-wing delegates will cost them and the membership of the CIO much in the future.



THE OLD MAN, by William Faulkner, Signet Books, 1948, 140 pp., 25 cents.

Reviewed by ABE VICTOR

William Faulkner's The Old Man is one of his minor novelettes, the story of a romantic boy who becomes so disillusioned with the world that he renounces it not for a monastery but for a prison. Yet so well formed and enveloping is the style, the concept of the human situation in Faulkner's fiction, that the essence of his approach to life is presented as clearly in this tale as in any of his major novels, superior though they may be.

Style is close, indeed, to the man and to the world in which he lives, emotional as well as social. Faulkner is in love with the south. Not that he fails to see all of its ugliness and misery. He is totally conscious of the festering racial sore (see Intruder in the Dust). He despises its more successful businessmen and officials. But he loves it to the extent that it has resisted the intrusions of the commercial, industrial, enterprising world. He despises the bourgeois milieu, not as a socialist to be sure, but as a pastoral poet. He loves that part of the south which savors of the green fields, the frontier-like courage and the sense of doom coupled with a stubborn resistance against accepting that death penalty imposed upon it by its backwardness.

THE UNSUCCESSFUL MAN

For his protagonists he chooses, therefore, the unsuccessful men of the south: courageous Negroes or Indians (Intruder in the Dust), lawyers or doctors with an ethics not of the commercial world (Sanctuary) and

women who stubbornly or insanely hold on to a romantic or unreal love (A Rose for Emily). In The Old Man the hero is a prisoner from the Missouri State Penitentiary who at one time unsuccessfully attempted a train robbery with a play pistol, a candle-burning lantern and a black handkerchief mask using pulp fiction methods. His motive was not riches, the latter being incidental to a simple desire for achieving the best in his chosen gambit. The romantic train-robber, a boy of 19, emerges a veteran prisoner at twenty-five who battles a flood, a sexual attachment, and a world of hostile, corrupt politicians and jailers with the fortitude of a hero of Greek mythology.

The Old Man develops much as would a short story. Only one character emerges in any depth. The woman is lightly sketched, more a symbol than a distinct or particular female. The other prisoner is present for contrast, the hero being tall, lean, courageous with sunburned features and Indian-black hair while his partner acts and looks "like something exposed to light by turning over rotting logs or planks." The warden, the deputy, and the state official are merely minute specimens of corruption. All interest focuses upon the twenty-five year old convict who learned his trade from reading Diamond Dick and was cheated by these fraudulent pulp-writers who sold their nostrums under assumed names.

HIS LANGUAGE

A word must be said about Faulkner's language. More than one American novelist has tried to mold the English of our time into something rich, rhythmic and conducive to im-

agery. Faulkner is one of the few who has achieved some success. At the expense of formal grammar, and by discarding completely the attempt to convey internal monologues and spoken narration replete with asides and reminiscences in the carefully composed paragraphs advocated by the American schoolteacher, Faulkner has created a language pattern of his own. For those readers who find it difficult to follow dependent clauses which stretch over two or more sentences, a momentary return to the subject will make the hurdling of numerous parenthetical thoughts simpler. The language becomes easier to follow the more one reads.

Faulkner's metaphors are replete with a love for the world which is "innocent of concrete," for pathways of red brick "worn in rich, random maroon mosaic into the black earth," and for the "sprouting cotton and corn." His hatred is for the things of steel, concrete and the "cold and voiceless . . . iron." His most despicable character, Popeye (Sanctuary) had "that vicious depthless quality of stamped tin."

Faulkner's fiction is well worth the effort to understand and his development is one of the interesting aspects of the emergence of several southern writers who have made an identification with their cultural heritage which few novelists today achieve.

(See page 4: Books Received)

THESE BOOKS ARE AVAILABLE THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE

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AND IN CHICAGO:

As part of the series of bazaars arranged by the ACEWR for European relief, the Chicago section of the ACEWR will hold its bazaar on December 10 and 11. We regret that we are unable to list the address of the bazaar, and therefore advise our readers to contact the ACEWR in Chicago. It will be worth doing!

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REPORTING THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE CIO

CIO to Launch a Wage and Organization Drive —

(Continued from page 1)

In addition, the CIO reiterated its thirteen point domestic program adopted by the CIO executive committee last August, and laid special emphasis on the campaign to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act IN TOTO. Whereas the AFL convention had voiced some qualified (and disgraceful) approval of a new labor law that would incorporate some of the Taft-Hartley provisions, the CIO called for repeal of Taft-Hartley and its substitution by the Wagner Act without amendment.

The convention adopted excellent positions on a variety of issues, as for example an increased fund for organization of the South, and the organization of the unorganized. However, its position on political action (discussed in another article in this issue) and foreign policy may do much to undermine the positive and valuable programs adopted.

STALINISTS WHIPPED

Important as the convention's action on specific political and economic issues, whether for good or bad, the over-all tone of the convention was its determination to rout the Stalinist union wreckers and Kremlin servants. Day after day, the Stalinists were whipped in an attack personally directed by Phillip Murray. Rarely have the Stalinists in the unions been subjected to such merciless pulverization. In consequence, and because they had gone so far out on the limb during the last year, they showed little fight.

Indispensable as is a consistent and unyielding attack on the Stalinists, it must nevertheless be pointed out that this attack, to say the least, left much to be desired from a progressive union point of view. For one thing it was manipulated bureaucratically by Murray, with the result that militant, progressive opposition to Stalinism was hardly voiced. The organizational and political beating given the Stalinists stands, for example, in unfavorable contrast with the repudiations of the Stalinists in UAW and NMU where the issues were clearly put and democratic procedures fully preserved.

Some of the decisions of the convention, while broad in their stated objectives, were especially designed to harass Stalinist-led unions, as that on organizing the unorganized. The convention, in this connection, authorized Murray to issue new charters in fields where the Stalinists control a union (as the United Public Workers) and otherwise to circumvent organizationally Stalinist led unions, which, it was established, had failed in their task.

(Murray proved that the Stalinist unions by and large had been losing members. There is, however, some evidence that the CIO as a whole has been losing members, though figures to substantiate this are not available inasmuch as membership figures are not issued.)

The resolution on political action which slapped at the Wallace campaign, also contained provisions which could be used to prevent any movement in support of a labor party in the CIO. Similarly, the convention's denunciation of Stalinist foreign policy in support of Kremlin despotism, was coupled with an endorsement of U. S. imperialist policies.

CIO Executive Board Given Wide Power Over Affiliates

PORTLAND, Oregon, Nov. 25. — A resolution directed against the weaker Stalinist-controlled unions was passed by an overwhelming vote at the convention here today.

This resolution gives the National Executive Board of the CIO the power "to investigate the situations involving those affiliates of the CIO which have failed to make substantial progress in organizing the unorganized, and to take such appropriate action with respect to such affiliates, as may be appropriate and necessary to bring about effective organization of the working men and women within the jurisdiction of these affiliates."

In his speech on the resolution, Phil Murray singled out the United Office and Professional Workers union for special mention, though in previous speeches on the whole question of organizing the unorganized he had also mentioned the United Public Workers and the Retail Clerks.

Murray stated that with the exception of two unions, the organizations whose representatives have been in opposition at this convention do not represent a combined membership of over 82,000 members. "This resolution," he said, "is designed to help people; not small cliques of men who just simply want to perpetuate themselves in office and promote their selfish interests through the use of a charter issued them by the CIO."

He said, further: "I am not asking this Convention to empower the Board to revoke charters. I am endeavoring through the mechanisms created for us through the framework of our own Constitution to work out agreements, where possible, with the

The convention was entirely in Murray's hands and gave clear evidence that the CIO was to be dominated by the Steel Workers Union. In election of the executive committee, despite the sweeping assault on the Stalinists, there was no attempt made to exclude Albert J. Fitzgerald, president of the UE, who is the principal union leader in the Stalinist orbit and generally the Stalinists' main spokesman (possibly because he isn't a full-fledged party man). Fitzgerald did include a criticism of Russia in his remarks on the political action resolution in which he defended his relations with the Wallace party.

His remarks are reported to have provoked dissension in the delegation of the UE, which is the largest union under Stalinist domination. There was some speculation as to whether this meant that Fitzgerald would pull a Quill or Curran, and the speculation was furthered by Murray's failure to oppose Fitzgerald for a vice-presidency.

The executive board, meeting in sessions before and after the convention, equally concentrated its fire on the Stalinists. Before the convention, it reorganized the New York City Industrial Union Council, and handed its property over to the State CIO Council. After the convention, the Board ordered the Farm Equipment union, which had been dominated by the Stalinists, into the Auto workers union.

CP Caucus Loses in AVC --

(Continued from page 1)

for an ALP organized Wallace rally. A fact-finding board found him guilty and suspended him for six months. At a meeting of the New York Area Council chaired by the Progressive caucus whip, Morris Pottish, Richard Cronn was seated as a delegate. When this violation of national authority was challenged, Pottish speciously claimed bias in the matter and threw the issue to the Stalinist controlled meeting. Cronn was seated.

The National Planning Committee thereupon suspended all the chapters whose delegates voted to seat until the chapters reconsidered their action. Pottish meanwhile had instituted a court case against the National office. The National Planning Committee ousted Pottish from AVC on the grounds that he knowingly aided and abetted the seating of Cronn. While Cronn and Pottish did commit serious crimes, the punishment decided by the IP leadership had the effect of depriving the Progressive caucus of 1,000 votes at the convention and stilling their chief spokesmen, Morris Pottish.

Another case in point was the ouster of Stalinist editor of the Daily Worker, John Gates. Gates, the veterans director of the Communist Party, had played no openly active role in AVC, but was brought up on charges for expulsion by an AVC founder, Wadsworth. Likely at the behest of a disgruntled IP leader who was dished out of a pie-card post. The ground for his expulsion was that Gates is a member of the CP.

Not satisfied with these undemocratic acts in the fight against Stalinism, the IP at first also proposed,

officers of those international unions which will enable this union of ours to move forward."

The resolution aroused heated debate from the representatives of UOPWA and others. It is not clear at this writing just how the CIO will proceed to reorganize these unions. The powerful unions in which the Stalinists have leadership will not be affected (UE, ILWU, FUR, etc.). The retail clerks, even though not led by Stalinists, are also probably in for a reorganization.

Obviously this resolution gives the Executive Board powers which can be abused in order to remove opponents of Murray from power in some internationals. On the other hand, there is no doubt that these little Stalinist-controlled outfits have been exactly what Murray called them, and that the CIO must have some means to bring about organization in fields in which the present unions have proved themselves unable to make progress.

NEW YEAR'S EVE IN NEW YORK

Watch for announcements of the Gala New Year's Eve Dance to be held by Local New York of the Workers Party at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th St.

Guaranteed Wage

The following is the text of a resolution (No. 25) on guaranteed minimum annual wages adopted by the CIO.

The value of guaranteed minimum annual wages to workers and the entire community has been demonstrated through numerous plans now in existence and through authoritative studies.

Unemployment due to material and power shortages will continue to slash the income of many of our members under conditions of comparatively full employment.

A growing number of industries pursue the disastrous policy of cutting production to maintain excessive prices, a policy which would not be profitable if the companies had to bear the cost of the resulting unemployment.

The fabulous profits and reserves of American industry could easily be utilized to establish trust funds for the payment of guaranteed minimum wages so that workers will not have to suffer severely through bearing the cost of unemployment during a depression resulting from these exorbitant profits.

Unemployment insurance at best cannot be substituted for work and under present laws is not adequate;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

(1) We endorse the efforts of CIO affiliates to incorporate in collective bargaining agreements provision for guaranteed minimum annual wages, or, as a partial step, for guaranteed minimum weekly wages; and

(2) That the CIO calls upon American employers to undertake necessary cooperative studies and enter into guaranteed minimum wages agreements in recognition that the maintenance of steady incomes for wage earners is properly a responsibility of industry; and

(3) That we urge that the Council of Economic Advisers carry through essential studies of guaranteed wage plans with the aid of the Department of Labor, which should be prepared to assist unions and employers in their establishment.

through the National Committee, an amendment which would require every member and prospective member to sign a loyalty pledge, stating he was not a Communist or a member of the KKK. This loyalty pledge was the main weapon that was going to be used against the Stalinists. Two things, however, intervened. One was the Cronn case and its consequent disfranchisement of 1000 members which insured convention control. The other was the profound distaste for this amendment which smacked too much of the Taft-Hartley affidavits and the activities of the Thomas Committee. So great was the dissatisfaction in IP ranks that the strategy was now to table this amendment and to propose a resolution which accomplished the same purpose. The text of this resolution is as follows:

"The totalitarian principles and destructive practices of the American Communist Party are inconsistent with the democratic and constructive program of AVC, inimical to its welfare, and Communist Party members are ineligible for membership in AVC."

"We instruct our incoming national leadership to continue to use all means appropriate under the constitution to keep out and clean out members of the Communist Party from our ranks."

The IP leadership also sought to gerrymander the convention by utilizing the IP controlled credentials committee to validate obviously inflated chapters. These chapters, with considerable voting strength, were either dead chapters miraculously revived overnight, or suddenly born to full-blown size.

On all these specific issues, naturally, the Stalinist caucus fought bitterly, posing as injured democrats and martyred liberals. The excesses of the IP lent an aura of sincerity to the phony poses that the Stalinists assumed. The center Build AVC caucus held a sound position on the specific issues. They were against the suspension of the New York chapters if these wrote a recantation of any sort. They held that Pottish should be suspended for an indefinite period after the convention so that he could have a voice. They were for tabling the amendment, but opposed to the resolution.

The predominant group in IP was for ouster of Gates and Pottish, for the suspension of all chapters which either didn't respond or used the words "under duress" in their statements. This section was for tabling the loyalty oath, but was willing to vote for it if tabling was defeated. Bellush, oddly enough, voted against the Gates ouster in the National Committee but voted for it at the convention. He was adamant on the loyalty pledge—he wanted no part of it. He voted for the suspension of the chapters. Bellush reflected the confused center in IP.

Small, yet by far the most consistent group at the convention, was the Labor Vets group. They consistently, by word and deed, opposed all excessive punishments. They wanted suspended chapters seated, Pottish suspended as of after the convention, Gates reinstated, the Loyalty Oath brought out on the open floor and defeated. They opposed the resolution calling for ouster of Stalinists. At the same time they did not hesitate to characterize the Communist Party as a danger in AVC, but called for fighting it by an aroused and educated membership, and growth based on the trade unions.

With mechanical control of the convention assured, the vote on all issues favored dominant IP policy. Of about 24,000 votes cast, the IP

got about 13 1/2 thousand to the opposition's 10,000. This opposition vote included many outraged liberals and anti-Communist elements. The false methods used by the IP served to underscore the danger that this method may become established policy with any opposition. There was a ripple of applause when someone urged the expulsion of Stalinists from all organizations.

The Stalinists now pose as aggrieved liberals and win sympathy from many well-meaning liberals. The Stalinists are even further entrenched in AVC, which is now a "respectable" organization. The CP mustered enough votes to indicate that on the basis of present forces they can take over AVC with ease.

POLICY DECISIONS

On policy, the convention divided according to the pattern of Washington vs. Moscow. Some positive things were, however, passed in the realm of policy. Taft-Hartley repeal and its replacement by the original Wagner Act without crippling amendments was passed. The vicious Smith gag act was opposed, and the establishment of a subversive list by the Attorney General without any judicial process was roundly denounced. The glaring contradiction in the Domestic Affairs platform is revealed in a resolution calling for the ouster of government employees who act as agents of foreign powers or act in contravention of the constitution, whatever that might be interpreted to mean. This was passed after the convention allowed James Kutcher of the SWP to address the convention and win rousing support for his fight. Another outstanding failure was the support of the peace-time draft.

The convention resulted in a Pyrrhic victory for the IP along mechanical, artificial, organizational lines. The CP won a moral victory and they have a clear perspective. Proportional Representation was passed for 1949 and the CP is going to get control. The only perspective of the IP is based on a lot of laudable "ifs." They feel that they have shown the leadership of the trade unions that AVC is anti-Communist and therefore entitled to active support in the organization of labor union chapters.

They count particularly on Philip Murray and the steel workers, and Reuther and Mazy of the auto workers. They are further angling for the ex-Labor American Legion Posts to come into AVC. Their last hope is possible merger with the more conservative Amvets. They feel that the national elections have given them friends in "high places." For all these reasons they expect a mushroom growth to 200,000 members. Then, they feel the CP won't be a problem.

In proportion as these laudable aims stay in the realm of "ifness," will the leadership become more bureaucratic in their desperate desire to oust the Stalinists. The elected leadership seems to be of a more activist character instead of the window-dressing, like Oren Root and FDR, Jr., etc., which adorned the last National Committee. If AVC moves in the direction of labor it can be saved; if not its demise is assured. We shall have to wait and see.

WP Bulletin

The latest issue of the WP Bulletin contains the Draft Resolution on the International Situation. Order from Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. 15 cents plus postage.

PAC Line --

(Continued from page 1)

this . . . On the question of political action, it is much more serious. If we in the trade union movement seek to impose upon the workers in this country any specific political party we shall sow the seeds of destruction of the trade union movement in this country."

EVERYBODY HEARD, BUT . . .

The most telling speech in behalf of the Stalinist combination was made by Fitzgerald of the United Electrical Workers. He pointed out that the fight in this convention has unleashed reactionary sentiments to the extent that when Abe Feinglass of the Fur Workers was speaking in a previous debate a few delegates had shouted "Why doesn't the dirty Jew sit down?" He vigorously insisted on the right of CIO members and officers to disagree on political questions, and to act on the basis of their convictions. He insisted that the international unions must maintain their autonomous rights on this as on other questions, and that no one must be permitted to tell them to "toe the line or get out."

Every speech by the decisive leaders of the Murray majority emphasized that once this resolution is passed every officer of the CIO is bound to abide by it.

The debate on this question was heated, with much boozing and heckling from the floor, led by the steel workers delegation. At the beginning of Fitzgerald's speech this got so bad that Murray told the delegates to cut it out. All minority delegates who wished to speak were given the floor, and heard to the end even when they went over the five-minute limit for debate.

The CIO has thus again gone on record to subordinate the political might of labor to the "unholy coalition of Northern political machines and Southern reactionaries" called the Democratic Party. They have gone further in trying by organizational control from the top to prevent any rank and file movement within the CIO from pushing for a labor party.

Takes No Stand On Conscription

PORTLAND, Ore., Nov. 24.—For the first time since the peacetime draft has become an issue in American public life the CIO has failed to take a stand on this question. This follows more or less logically from the CIO's support of the "cold war" policies of the Truman administration.

Hand in hand with this failure to take a stand on a question which is vital to every American family goes the failure to mention the general inroads the military is making in all departments of life. The Murray majority at this convention is placing all its hopes in the politics of the Truman administration. It ignores the fact that this administration has shown itself increasingly willing to permit and even to encourage the advancement of military men to positions of the highest civilian authority, as well as to permit the military to get an increasing say in labor relations through its control over contracts with private business for armaments and other military supplies.

Every thinking worker can remember the war days when the army and navy brass stepped in to crack down on the unions under the excuse of wartime emergencies. Just as fresh in our memory is the consistent campaign waged throughout the war by the brass to poison the minds of the soldiers and sailors against organized labor. These same men, with their same way of thinking are again going to have power over millions of young Americans in the armed forces. They are gaining increasing power over other millions working in private industry. Yet the CIO leadership has nothing to say to millions of workers of the country but "you have won a great victory at the polls. Trust in the leadership of Truman and the other men you have elected."

They will live to see the day when they will have to hang their heads in shame at this "omission."

Books --

ALSO RECEIVED:

AMERICA IN PERSPECTIVE, The United States as Seen Through Foreign Eyes, edited with notes by Henry Steel Commager, a Pelican Mentor Book, 223 pp., 35 cents.

A HOUSE IN THE UPPLANDS, a novel by Erskine Caldwell, a Signet book, 142 pp., 25 cents.

INDIANS OF THE AMERICAS, by John Collier, a Mentor Pelican Book, 192 pp., 25 cents.

NO POCKETS IN A SHROUD, a novel by Horace McCoy, a Signet Book, 168 pp., 25 cents.

The Second Day: A Summary Of a Typical Convention Day

PORTLAND, Oregon, Nov. 23.—The second day of the national CIO convention has continued in the pattern set by President Phillip Murray's attack on the policies of the Communist Party (Stalinists) yesterday. The two issues discussed, organizing the unorganized and foreign policy, were devoted in the main to a running attack on the CP and only in passing to the issues themselves. It appears, that this will be the main business of the convention, regardless of what heading is up for discussion. Every vigorous attack on the Stalinists brings forth rousing cheers from the vast majority of the delegates who tend to pay little attention when other matters are being discussed.

Thus far the defense of the Stalinist leaders has been extremely weak. The same hatchmen who are notorious for their merciless treatment of minorities in their own unions seem to have little stomach to stand up to a strong and hostile majority. On the question of organizing the unorganized, the discussion revolved around two points: raiding among CIO unions and the effects of Stalinism in the CIO in preventing workers from joining it.

On the first day of the convention Murray had stated that when a union in a field with millions of potential members proves over a period of years that it cannot organize the workers, its leadership had better resign.

Flaxer of the United Public Workers took exception to these remarks, pointing out the extreme difficulties encountered in trying to organize people who work for the federal government. Murray replied that these difficulties are recognized by everyone, but that last year Flaxer himself had approached the National CIO with a suggestion that a separate federal workers national union be set up. Murray stated that it is his purpose to set up such an international and take jurisdiction away from the UPW which has proved unable to organize these workers.

BALDANZI ANSWERS MATLES

Matles of the United Electrical Workers then took the floor and stated that during the past year under the Taft-Hartley Act the whole CIO had only been able to hold 620 collective bargaining elections involving less than 100,000 workers. He stated that attacks on certain unions within the CIO such as occurred here yesterday create confusion among the workers and make them shy away from the CIO. As to raiding, he stated that the UE has instructed its officers that they are not to attempt to organize any workers belonging to other CIO unions on the pain of dismissal, regardless of raiding tactics employed against the UE. He pointed out, however, that the UE has gained a lot of experience in their fight against raids from the AF of L electrical workers, and ended: "But don't think that we won't know how to use the weapon of destruction if we are forced to maintain the integrity of our union." Remarks along similar lines were made by Ried Robinson of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers.

The chief answering speech was made by Baldanzi of the Textile Workers. Again and again he hammered away on the theme that unless the CIO cleanses itself of its internal enemies (the Stalinists) it won't be able to organize the unorganized, particularly in the South. He stated that in the Southern drive one organizer sent by "one of these internationalists" gave the workers "a CIO card with one hand and a Communist Party card with the other." He stated that in Canada when the Textile workers were engaged in a desperate fight with the AFL textile workers who happen to be led by Communists,

the United Electrical Workers had come out in condemnation of their own sister CIO union. He brought down thunderous applause by shouting: "We don't have raids in the CIO, we have revolts of workers against Communist domination."

Baldanzi repeatedly pointed out that the only way to kill reaction in the South, and the chief way to solve the problem of discrimination there is to organize the workers into powerful unions. He stated that reaction must be defeated in the separate states as well as in the federal government, and added that "the only way to change the political complexion of some of the states is to develop a strong labor movement there."

The majority resolution was adopted unanimously, as it contains only a very general statement that the CIO intends to continue organizing the unorganized, both North and South. The minority resolution which added a general condemnation of raiding inside the CIO was not formally placed before the body, due to a ruling by Murray that majority resolutions will be voted on first, and only if they are defeated will minority resolutions be considered.

The resolution of foreign policy and the debate on this question of such grave importance to all workers both of this country and the world indicated two things: The Murray majority in the CIO are completely bound to the foreign policy of the American government, and have no semblance of an independent program. On the other hand, the Stalinists have such a black record of doglike adherence to and defense of every twist and turn of Stalin's imperialist policy that neither they nor anyone who even faintly resembles them have the slightest chance of influencing the CIO on this question.

It is this question above all others which shows the inability of the U. S. labor leadership to give any kind of guidance to their own workers or to workers abroad in the crisis which grips the whole world.

The majority resolution which was passed overwhelmingly by a standing vote endorses the Marshall plan wholeheartedly. Whereas it specifically attacks Stalin's foreign policy, all it has to say to the millions of colonial peoples suffering under British, French and other "democratic" imperialism is that they should be "protected in their rights of self-determination and self-government free from military, political and economic coercion." It denies that there is any war-mongering in the U. S. It "urges increased labor participation in both the policies and administration of the program (Marshall Plan) with full recognition of the essential role of labor in insuring its success."

The only Stalinist party liners who even attempted to speak on this question were Selly of the communication workers and Feinglass of the fur workers, both of whom were booed and heckled mildly throughout. They were met with a barrage of speakers including Carey, Reuther, Murray, Van Bittner, Adolf Germer, and Harry Martin of the Newspaper Guild who is chief labor advisor to ERP Ambassador Harriman.

The speeches of all the anti-Stalinists can be summarized in a few words: "We the CIO . . . that is our flag . . ." (Pointing to the U. S. flag) and "I say, and no one will disagree with me, the U. S. A. is the greatest country in the world," to attacks by Reuther on slave labor in Russia and repeated challenges to the Stalinists to say one word critical of Russian foreign policy, to a review by Murray of the twists and turns of the CP line in foreign policy over the past decade.

International Solidarity Month

The American Committee for European Workers Relief will hold a

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