Bill Leaves Injunction Issue Open

By SUSAN GREEN

Unable to risk a rebellion by labor leaders smack at the beginning of his administration, President Truman got his Senate whip, Lucas, to put pressure on Senator Thomas, chairman of the Senate Labor Committee, to stopdilly-dallying on Taft-Hartley repeal. The result was that all eight Democrats on the committee voted for, and all five Republicans voted against, a resolution for the repeal of T-H, for the restoration of the Wagner Act and for committee hearings up till

> Will He or Won't He **Get Injunction Power?**



703 - IPEN

February 10 on amendments to the Wagner Act. Thus was the ground laid for the introduction to the committee of the administration's proposed labor bill, which is now be-

Before taking up the administration's bill, it should be noted that this one-package proposition is not what the labor leaders wanted. Labor leaders wanted a two-package procedure: first and without delay, the repeal of T-H and the restoration of the Wagner Act as the law of the

land; then at a more leisurely pace and with greater thoroughness of discussion, the legislation of amendments to the Wagner Act. Thus the Wagner Act, more favorable to labor, would be the law while the protracted discussion on amendments took place.

Under the one-package procedure the restrictive T-H Act remains the law until amendments to the Wagner Act are agreed upon. However, it is not likely that labor officials will press on this point.

FLIES IN THE OINTMENT

The most publicized feature of the administration bill is that it would discontinue the right of court injunction in what is called "national paralysis strikes" such as mine, railroad, etc. Whereas T-H provides for an 80-day strike delay with power of the president to resort to court injunction — which power President Truman has used-the new administration bill would provide for a 30day cooling-off period without specifying any court injunction powers.

There are several flies in this ointment. Labor leaders question the worth of the omission of court injunction powers from the administration bill, feeling that the government will resort to injunctions if it wants to, bolstered by court decisions of the past. Government lawyers, interviewed by newspaper men, interpret the administration bill as "implying" injunction. Democratic Senators who will be acting on the bill if it is voted out of committee, do not believe the President really wants to be stripped of the power of court injunction in the case of "national paralysis strikes."

But Drew Pearson really let the cat out of the bag. He said that the President indeed wants the power of court injunction but hesitated at arousing the ire of labor officialdom and concluded he doesn't need to because, forsooth, the Senate is sure to include the power of injunction in any bill. Certainly if the Republicans -spearheaded by Senator Taft with his fifteen amendments to the Wagner Act as a starter-and the Southern

(Continued on page 2)

Truman Prepares Ambitious Plan For Control of World by Dollar

Israel Vote a Mandate for Peace; Labor Government Is a Possibility

A clear mandate for immediate peace and decisive repudiation of the pro-war and pro-Russian parties highlight the first national election in

The Mapai (Labor Party of Israel) campaigning on the issue of "peace or war" in Palestine and "neutrality" between Washington and the Moscow Axis, emerged with a commanding plurality. 152,972 voters, 35.82 per cent of the total, east their ballot for the

The Mapam (United Workers Party) which gave high priority to a pro-Russian orientation and de facto alliance with the "people's democracies" in its election campaign, was a distant second with 63,107 votes or 14.77

Mapai with its allied Arab party received close to three times as many votes as the Mapam.

BEIGIN REPUDIATED

Beigin's rifle-waving, ultra nationalist Freedom (Heiruth) Movement, which campaigned for an aggressive war of expansion until all Palestine is conquered by Israel, despite its anti - British, underground prestige and chauvinist appeal was decisively repudiated, even in its traditional urban strongholds such as Jerusalem. It received only 11.5 per cent of the

The Irgunists did, however, succeed in taking over the Revisionist-Jabotinsky movement. The rump Revisionist Party which refused to merge with Beigin's party was virtually wiped out, amassing less than 1 per cent of the vote. It is to be noted that the combined Beigin - Revisionist slates had a smaller percenatge of the votes than did the United Revisionist ticket in the last Zionist elections.

Despite its small size. Beigin's represents a continuing threat to Israel's democratic character. Its aggressive expansionist foreign policy and anti-Histadrut activities find enthusiastic support among large sections of the United Religious Bloc, the General Zionists and the communal groupings-Sephardic and Yemrelations and internal discontent, the Freedom Movement's present minority position can serve as a springboard for a new leadership bid, which even if not successful, could endanger the security and freedom of the new

ARAB REPRESENTATION

The Arab population will be represented in the Constituent Assembly by either five or six deputies:-two of them CP representatives, 2 from the Arabs of Nazareth-a Stalinist controlled non-party slate, one from the Arab Workers Party-sponsored by the Mapai, and possibly one from the Arab Peoples Party, sponsored by the Mapam. The latter two parties did not obtain the minimum of 3500 votes needed to elect representatives. It is

the 400 votes needed by the Arab Workers Party. Whether the Mapam will be able or willing to transfer 700 votes that its Arab affiliate needs is more problematical.

The CP made out relatively well. Its ticket got 14,999 votes-3.5 per cent. It is estimated that a majority of these, approximately 15,000 votes. came from Arabs. This CP victory grows out of three developments previously analyzed in LABOR ACTION: First, its virtual monopoly in Arab areas during the early days of Israeli victory. Second, the merger of the CP and the Arab League for National Liberation, as a result of which the CP occupied a unique position of being the only well organized political (Continued on page 3)

Some of the i's are being dotted and t's crossed in President Truman's inaugural speech on the theme of the "American Cen-

Indications are growing that behind Point 4 in this speechthe point which has excited the most attention—is a deliberate orientation by the government toward a planned and large-scale commando raid by the American dollar for economic domination and exploitation of every part of the world still open to it.

The key words in Truman's Point 4 were:

"We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of undeveloped areas."

That was all. Immediately the question sprang up: what does

The theory that the statement was made "off the cuff" and really didn't mean anything in particular might be tenable if Truman had tossed them off on some passing occasion; he has put his foot in his mouth before this. But inaugural addresses, and this one on foreign policy in particular, are not extemporaneous pieces of elocution.

Last week both Truman and Secretary of State Acheson added that Point 4 had been in the background of American policy for a long time. Acheson, at his press conference last Wednes-

> day, added the information that a State Department group was working on the details of a plan to implement Point 4.

The next day at his own press conference, Truman demonstrated on a globe of the world behind his desk. Pointing to the outlines of Asia and Africa, he informed the correspondents that the idea of Point 4 had been in his mind ever since the launching of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan in 1947.

Well, what is the idea of Point 4? Unless there is a lot of smoke with no fire, it is a plan for the seizure by Washington of all the richest and loosest investment market areas of the world, in particular the areas hitherto dominated by the Western European capitalist countries, who are now to be supplanted by the new imperialist super-giant of the world,

United States finance capital. Seizure? That may sound as if the marines will be landing. Nothing of the sort, of course; such crude resorts may come some time later; not to begin with. The imperialism of the United States does not work that way. It has a more persuasive weaponeconomic wealth and power such as the Western European countries can-

not compete with. The keynote of the Truman Plan for the American Century is sounded in a sober, figure-studded article in the authoritative magazine of American business. Business Week, for January 29, on the "real meaning" of Point 4. It starts off:

"The United States plans to do for world trade in this century what Britain did in the nineteenth-with a big difference in aim and technique."

Truman won't have the specific program worked out for another six months, it says, but "the essence of the 'Truman Plan' seems clear enough: Pump into the world's underdeveloped areas an investment of one anda half billion to two billion dollars a year in public loans and private money. This is definitely not a short-

(Continued on page 3)

face a political dispute here. Their

fight-a fight for their very lives and

limbs-is with the government even

more than with the operators. And

the government in West Virginia is a

Democratic administration that labor

itself worked hard to elect! Already,

working men elected to office on the

Democratic ticket are getting the

Cites Growing Sentiment In UAW for Political Action

DETROIT - In its symptomatic importance, the tone, atmosphere and political trends revealed at the recent UAW-CIO national educational conference have much weight, for this union remains a most sensitive barometer of advanced working class thinking and political development in

Although this conference lacked the formal authority of a union gathering, such as a national convention, nevertheless its surprising character -and its response to political questions was surprising to everyone from Walter Reuther down to the ACTU people there-is bound to have an important effect on the coming July convention of the UAW-CIO.

For all politically-wise circles in Detroit are talking about this conference: the ranks who returned by

Builds CIO Political Machine in Toledo



RICHARD GOSSER

and large praise it highly, and the politicians estimate it with an eye to the national convention. The conference didn't fit into the pigeonhole it had been assigned, after the Truman victory last November. Quite the contrary. Readers of LABOR ACTION know

the way the pro-labor and/or third party sentiment, shown in the delegates' responses to Robert Lynd's speech and to George Baldanzi's references to "democratic socialism," marked the high point of the conference. What does this signify?

In our judgment, the tempo of developments toward a labor - third party movement is faster than first seemed the case after the Truman victory, although still slower than appeared the case in event of a Truman defeat (as seen in everyone's pre-November prognosis).

A brief review of political events in the UAW and the CIO after Tru-

man's victory can serve to bring us up to date and provide us with a sound vantage point to view the period ahead.

Right after November 3, Gus Scholle, Michigan CIO president, kissed all third party movements goodbye, and prepared for a long and comfortable stay in the Democratic Party. Certainly this was popular among the ranks, and perhaps no one was more surprised than Scholle when he was privately called down by Reuther et al. for making himself the spokesman for the UAW-CIO. After all, even before November 3, the Reuther political sharpshooters knew that Governor G. Mennen Williams was not going to be their boy. and it would be a mistake to put all their eggs in one basket.

As a matter of fact, this fear of taking responsibility for the course of the Democratic Party both in Michigan and Washington is one of the important reasons why even the national CIO now speaks of "keeping PAC independent," and "building our own political machine."

For both the UAW-CIO and national CIO leaders have fewer illusions, in our opinion, about the possibility of realizing a "Fair Deal" than the ranks, many of whom are taking Truman at his word. In 1945-46-47-48, the CIO top leaders have had their fingers burned many times by Harry Truman, and while they publicly make no mention of the past, it rancors in their memory.

Only this week, President Truman announced his "improvements to the

fact-finding board first cut down the GM strike demands from 30 cents to 191/2 cents, and then the Truman administration let GM ignore them, and President Truman permitted a steel price increase and broke the principle for which the UAW was fighting? BUILD POLITICAL FENCES

cooling off period and fact - finding

boards, which President Murray of

the CIO denounced on December 4,

1945, over a nation-wide radio broad-

cast, after Truman recommended

Fact-finding boards? A rather sen-

sitive point in Reuther circles. Re-

member when President Truman's

them to Congress.

Another important aspect of the idea of "building our own political machine" comes from the realization that the union movement could have done more. More exactly, an impetus toward participation and voice in pol-

itics was inevitable after November. for the class power shown then built up a badly needed self-confidence. A concrete illustration, of some importance. Perhaps the unhappiest man over his personal misfortunes last November, next to Thomas Dew-

ey, was George Edwards the IIAW's ambitious front on the political scene. If he had only taken a chance, like Humphrey of Minnesota, he would now be in the Senate! But, like a good Reuther man, he played it safe and now he is sorry.

Nevertheless, the time has come, and Edwards is going to run for (Continued on page 2)

Coal Bosses Flout Safety Laws

Get Injunction from Supreme Court Voiding Anti-Fire Statutes By GERRY McDERMOTT

WEST VIRGINIA, January 27-Striking miners in West Virginia have been hit with a state injunction directly affecting their lives and safety. The injunction, issued by the West Virginia Supreme Court, prevents the State Mines Department from enforcing the existing state safety laws. The cold blooded mine operators want to avoid the safety laws so as to make a few pennies more profit.

The dispute arose over the question of "firebosses." Firebosses are mine safety inspectors. They are responsible for inspecting mines before each shift, testing for gas, unsafe roof, dust, and the thousand and one other hazards that lurk in mines. Under existing agreements, firebosses are supposed to be members of the union.

The operators, however, have been appointing foremen to act as firebosses. The foreman, of course, is an agent of the company. Further, his job depends on getting maximum production-on being a coal-hog. There-

fore, he is liable to order men to work under hazardous conditions in order to get out a few more tons per

Recently, rank and file miners in the McDowell and Morgantown areas struck to get enforcement of the state law and existing agreements. Under pressure of this militant action, the head of the State Mines Department put out a ruling that foremen could not be firebosses, and that other aspects of fireboss laws be enforced. The operators still refused to obey, and the strikes continued. Then the operators went to the Supreme Court and got an injunction setting aside

Thus the courts, which are always accusing labor of violating "law and order," have given the operators permission to ignore the law. The courts apparently don't care how much workers blood is spilled on the nation's coal, and the operators surely don't care.

As is so often the case, the miners

"cold shoulder" from the professional democratic office holders. It is time for the unions to form their own labor party to see that safety laws, among other things, are passed and enforced to the letter. In the meantime, lets make the Democrats come through with some of their promises to help Even before that, however, the safety threat must be met. The injunction stops the State Mines Department from enforcing the law, but it

doesn't stop the miners from enforcing. If every pit in the state would join those now on strike, the safety laws would be inspected. A union fireboss on every shift in every mine!

Present Evidence That Blue-Ribbon Panels Come from Upper Class By WYATT LEE other earmarks of solid, substantial American citizenship. Negroes, Jews, The trial of eleven Communist "foreigners" and other unreliable Party leaders was still in its prelimcharacters are not welcome, if not inary stages as the third week of

CP's Lawyers Attack Jury Setup

hearings continued in Federal Court in New York. The battery of defense To prove their contention, the deattorneys raised a host of legal objections to the proceedings and were charged by Judge Harold R. Medina with "willful, deliberate and concerted delay." Most of the defense objections, including his own right to preside, were summarily dismissed by Medina. The major controversy arose over the legality of jury system as practiced in New York and on this question

In New York, grand juries, whose task it is to conduct investigations, listen to evidence and to hand down indictments, are made up of jurors with supposedly "superior" qualifications. It was such a jury, known as "blue ribbon" juries, that handed down the indictment that brought present defendants to trial.

CHARGE DISCRIMINATION

The defense charges that such a jury is unrepresentative of the population and is chosen by discriminatory methods. Judge Medina is in an anomalous position, as he brought forth the same charges when acting as counsel for two trade union officials charged - and convicted - of racketeering. Medina carried an appeal to the Supreme Court, where the jury system was upheld by a 5-to-4 deci-

the defense called numerous wit-

As is to be expected in America, qualification for a "blue ribbon" jury most likely means the attainment of a considerable degree of financial success, a "good" address, membership in the "right" clubs and societies, and definitely excluded, as charged by the

fense called a succession of witnesses from the grand jury panel-a procession that turned out to be made up in the main of stockbrokers, retired capitalists, prosperous businessmen and a scattering of well-to-do professional men. No questions on the racial, social or economic status of the witnesses were permitted by the judge. The prosecution merely asked each witness to confirm that similar questions had not been asked before their selection as grand jury mem-

In addition, the defense began to call members of the petit jury panel, from which will be selected the jurors who will sit in judgment during the actual trial. Again discriminatory practices were charged, but Judge Medina called a halt to the evidence. Nothing had been produced, he said, that would stand up as proper evidence in the Supreme Court.

BASIC QUESTION UNTOUCHED

Next the defense called Prof. Doxey Wilkerson, head of the Jefferson School of Social Science, a CP sponsored organization in New York. Wilkerson had prepared studies that showed jurors were called from areas in New York City where residents were likely to be in the higher income brackets. His figures showed that in the past ten years 40 to 50 per cent of the jurors came from an area known as the "silk stocking district," while in the same period only one per cent came from Harlem or the lower East Side, predominantly pational categories showed a similar disparity, with 46.1 per cent listed as executives and ranging downward to five per cent for manual workers.

After a day's testimony, Judge Medina refused to accept more oral testimony from Wilkerson on these factors, though he did give permission for the defense to present the evidence in written form. Throughout the trial, though he leaned backward to give the impression of formal democracy, Judge Medina has cast doubt on the legal validity of the defense's challenge of the jury sys-

Aside from strictly legal interpretation, a matter for judges and lawyers, the defense seems to have succeeded in arousing grave doubts concerning the fairness of the jury system as practiced in New York. The press has been unable to avoid giving the picture of a parade of solid, prosperous citizens when the testifying jurors took the stand. The best the newspapers could do to discredit the line of defense was to report gleefully that three housewives among the jurors had "Jewish names," and that one stockbroker had not been to

It appears highly improbable that defense efforts to quash the indictment of the eleven Communists on these grounds will succeed. Important as the question of jury selection is, the basic question of the legality of the Smith Act under which the defendants were indicted has not yet been touched upon.

Perhaps this is a ground on which the CP partisans do not feel strong. Were they not among the most vociferous in applauding the conviction of 18 Socialist Workers Party members under the same act?

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

UAW and Political Action --

(Continued from page 1)

mayor of Detroit next fall! Labor's political power and future look good enough for the cautious Edwards to take a chance! In preparation for that event, the UAW is building its political fences in wards and precincts and getting ready for a campaign that will make the Frankensteen-for-mayor fight look like the kind of amateur affair it really was.

In our judgment, the conduct and results of the coming Detroit mayoralty campaign will be important in influencing the whole labor - third party development. A victory for Edwards will be interpreted as a triumph for the UAW-CIO, and his defeat as a blow at the union. No matter what kind of a campaign Edwards puts on-and it is highly likely that he'll try to play down the class angle -the capitalist press will insist on making it a class issue.

Of course, the kind of campaign the UAW puts on will depend on the actions of the active unionists. Their sentiment at present was reflected at the Milwaukee conference.

Although Edwards would like personally to run as a Democrat, for he is a member of that party, the present incumbent, Van Antwerp, is much more likely to get the backing of the Democratic Party machine because he was elected by it, while the UAW backed ex-Mayor Edward Jefferies, a Republican.

Two years ago, at the Wayne County CIO convention, various proposals were made to have George Edwards, run for mayor on a labor ticket. Or at least as an independent, backed by labor (the Detroit elections are "non-partisan). This idea was sneered on as "impractical," "dividing the liberal vote," and other stale arguments were used.

Yes, the political consciousness of the UAW has increased considerably since that convention. It's political self-confidence is higher. George Edwards is going to take a chance.

GOSSER'S SUCCESS

Within a few weeks, the tactic of "capturing" the Democratic Party will be put to a severe test. The state convention will show whether or not the UAW succeeded. We doubt it very much. Furthermore, we think that the recent "order" from top UAW leaders to their followers "not to take a job with the Democratic machine." is as much a recognition of the failure of this tactic as it is a step in the direction of independent political ac-

It's almost ironical, and certainly amusing, that down in Toledo, Dick Gosser's bailiwick, the UAW has succeeded in building a political machine and in establishing a working coalition with the AFL which not only elected Thomas Burke, Local 12, UAW-CIO, to Congress, but also created a permanent labor political force. This force knows it can win by its own power, while in Detroit, where all the "smart" Reutherites figure out the policy, the UAW is just beginning along these lines!

There is one thing Dick Gosser seems to understand better than the many Reutherites. To have power you've got to build a machine. He built one in the UAW-CIO and he built one in politics. The purpose of said machines is not to put friends in office but to exercize power in labor's interest and to control your own destinies.

TEMPO GAINS SPEED

We doubt if the Toledo UAW-CIO spent one-fourth as much time, money or energy behind Thomas Burke as did Detroit's East Side locals in getting Louis Rabaut back in Congress. men the UAW elected three months
And for what? So that Rabaut will ago? fight for labor's ideas, program and policies? No one ever made that claim for him. "He votes right on many issues," was what the UAW said. But why should the UAW spend thousands of dollars to put a man into Congress to do a job that any child could do, namely, vote once in a

Especially since the UAW won the election by its hard work, its terrific organization, its exenditure of funds. In retrospect this seems incredible. but the UAW man who did the job of directing the election campaign on Detroit's East Side has twice the qualifications and ability-in addition to being a working man!-as Rabaut. The UAW man, Ed Carey, goes to Lansing as a state representative, where he becomes "assistant floor leader of the Democratic caucus," while in Washington, where the UAW needs its own spokesman in Congress, Walter Reuther's lobbyists have to run around putting pressure on the

(Continued from page 1)

Democrats get together, they will be

able to put "teeth" into the labor

bill. In this case, the President will

get what he wants without taking re-

become law, there would be an end

of some of the more obnoxious pro-

visions of T-H. The administration

bill would abolish the ban on the

closed shop and the regulation of the

union shop, non-Communist affidavits

for union officers, restrictions on un-

ion welfare and retirement funds, the

limitation on union political activi-

ties, the ban on unionization of fore-

men and the ban on strikes by gov-

ernment workers. Needless to say.

there will be heated discussion around

Retained in the administration bill

is the ban on secondary boycotts.

which would impair labor's effective-

ness, and also the ban on jurisdic-

tional strikes. In both these instances

the power of court injunction would

remain in the National Labor Rela-

the hearings in the Senate Labor

Committee beyond February 10. If

the Democrats maintain their solid

bloc, their opponents will not be able

to hold up the bill. However, once the

bill gets to the floor of the Senate,

the sparks will fly and there will be

In the Senate Rules Committee,

discussions proceed on changing the

right of filibuster. This is preliminary

to tackling the President's civil rights

program. The Republicans seem to

have taken the lead, strange as this

may seem. They approve cloture on

a two-thirds vote. Some Republicans

came out for a simple majority vote.

but this idea didn't get too far with

the Republicans as a whole, who are

evidently trying to ride two horses.

They are being very militant to

change the rules, with an eye on the

Negro vote for 1950. On the other

hand, on some issues they will have

to rely on a coalition with the South-

ern Democrats, as for instance on

labor legislation. The Southerners

consider the Republican resolution

calling for cloture on a two-thirds

The Republicans will try to extend

these points.

tions Board.

plenty of delay.

FILIBUSTER FIGHT

If the administration bill were to

sponsibility for it-a neat trick!

These ideas are percolating more and more in the UAW-CIO. For ten years the UAW militants spent most of their time building political power within the union because they understood control of the machinery was necessary if you "wanted to do things your way." The virtual collapse of the anti-Reuther faction signifies the end of that kind of epoch. Now the period has arrived where the central ob is building political power in government "to get things done our way." From November's taste of power to building labor's political machine, to transferring the experiences and lestions of the faction fights of the old days into political struggles of tomorrow-that is the UAW's problem today. Far more union activists understand that than most people thought. The Milwaukee conference indicates

The tempo toward a labor - third party movement, retarded seriously in November, from a short-term point of view, already gains speed.

Injunction Use Unsettled --

thirds vote is a big vote to get for

To show how "reasonable" they are,

the Southern Senators have expressed

their willingness to go along with

a change in rules to protect issues

of national security and foreign re-

lations from the filibuster, but they

want the opportunity to kill civil

Action is under way on housing and

rent control. A procedure has been

agreed upon between Senate and

House leaders. The House committee

is to go ahead with the legislation

to extend rent controls while the

Senate committee will take up gen-

eral housing legislation. This should

On the issue of general housing

there are now three bills up for con-

sideration; the administration bill

calling for 1,050,000 new units in sev-

en years; the Republican bill intro-

duced in the Senate providing for

600,000 new units in six years; and

another Republican bill introduced

in the House fixing the number of

new units at 800,000 in six years.

Most people have a fuzzy idea of

what a "unit" is. Is it an apartment

house? Is it any house, apartment or

private? A unit, be it known, is the

living quarters for one family, namely

one single apartment or one single

With the population of the coun-

try at around 143,000,000 two years

ago, and the number of families at

around 35,000,000 in 1940, the gener-

ous administration provision for

1,050,000 new units in seven years

won't go very far to solve the hous-

ing shortage; 800,000 units in six years

will make less difference; and 600,000

in six years will be indeed a tiny

drop in the bucket. Thus government

aid to housing doesn't look too prom-

ising at its best-and private enter-

prise has very little to worry about

A law that must be dragged from

the small-item department of the

news and given full publicity, is the

one asked for by Attorney General

closing debate.

rights legislation.

expedite matters.

private house.

on this score

LEGALIZED TAPPING

HOUSING AND RENTS

vote as not too distasteful-a two- Clark. He wishes to legalize wire-

OHIO NOTES:

New Organization Contests Government Loyalty Purge

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND-A new organization to se known as the Federal Employees Defense Committee was organized ast week in Cleveland and New York. One of the principal organizers was Bertram A. Washington, who is also president of the Cleveland branch of the National Alliance of Postal Workers, a score of whose members race discharge on grounds of disloyany.

The new organization charges that President Truman's loyalty order reverses the American concept or jusdce, and the United States Court or the District of Columbia will be asked to declare the order unconstitutional. Government workers throughout the nation will be asked to join in the

In a statement announcing the formation of the committee, B. A. Wasnington disclosed that a New York law firm headed by O. J. Rogge, a former assistant U.S. Attorney General, had been retained to file the suit. Under the order, the FBI has

tapping and to permit evidence so

procured to be used in court hearings.

of his privacy will be fought by the

labor, liberal and socialist movements.

Labor leaders are slated to appear at

Ten years ago another attorney

general, Cummings, recommended a

bill authorizing wiretapping under

certain circumstances-and supposed-

with the red spy rings to justify ev-

the opposition must speak up and

WORKERS PARTY BULLETIN

Three more issues of the Workers Party Bulletin are

No. 7: Draft resolution on the Situation in the United

No. 8: Statement of Ernest Erber giving his reasons for

No. 9: Amendments to International Resolution, by L.

As announced in LABOR ACTION before, the first five

Shields; Mass Work, by W. Barton; Discussion by Jim Sifa-

kis; Organize the Unemployed, by Robert Frost; Imperial-

of these convention discussion bulletins are also available.

Bulletins are fifteen cents each, or you can subscribe to all

(beginning with No. 1) at \$1.50 for ten issues. Order di-

rectly from Workers Party, 4 Court Square, Long Island

ist Struggle for World Domination, by E. R. McKinney.

resignation. (Reply by Max Shachtman to follow.)

now out, containing documents and discussion articles in

preparation for the coming national convention of the

from becoming law.

These are:

City 1, N. Y.

States and Our Next Tasks.

the hearings to oppose Clark's bill.

This attempt to rob an individual

checked the loyalty of more tnan 2,000,000 federal workers, and the probing is still going on. Six hundred and nineteen persons have resigned ouring the check-ups and 4,758 cases have been turned over to the Civil zervice Commission for its decisions.

communism," said Rogge, in a prepared news release, "The sole issue is the failure of the government, in its search for disloyal employees, to provide adequate safeguards for the individuals against malicious gossip, racial and religious prejudice and anonmous informants. The order denies the accused the right to confront his accuser and examine the witnesses against him. It deprives government employees of their constitutional rights of free speech, free assembly, free thought and free association. 10 gives the attorney general extraordinary and dangerous power to decide without benefit of judicial process or review, what organizations are supversive and therefore a political sin to roin It makes past membership in organizations which were perfectly legal at the time punishable by dismis-

ne felt confident that Federal workers on other cities would join the new committee. He revealed that the committee's legal action would also chalenge Attorney General Tom Clark's authority under the presidential order to brand certain organizations as subversive. In compiling his list, publicized about a year ago, Clark acted "without due process of law," a constitutional guarantee, Washington maintained.

Twenty-nine postal workers here ly with certain safeguards to personal rights. This bill failed to become a law only because Congress adjourned before the Senate could act on amendments desired by the House. Today, ery infringement of personal liberty. speak loud to prevent the Clark bill

"This case has nothing to do with

Washington, in his statement, said

are facing charges and 28 of them have been given hearings. One of the 28, H. E. Early, has been suspended. His lawyer has filed an appeal with Jesse M. Donaldson, the Postmaster General, but pending the appeal Early is off the payroll. He has seven children and is looking for another job.

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

The following article is contributed by Barry Miller of the Chicago

The recent firing of five members of the Olivet College faculty, including Tucker P. Smith, Socialist Party vice - presidential candidate in the recent elections, and Dr. Carlton Mabbe, a 1946 Pulitzer Prize winner. is the aftermath of a six month battle over academic freedom. That Abrey Ashby, Olivet College president, can feel free enough from interference or unfavorable publicity to dismiss five leading members of the faculty without cause is proof that academic freedom at Olivet has been buried.

Ashby, an Olivet alumnus and a former vice-president of the National Broadcasting Company, was appointed to the presidency of the college last spring. Although he never had any educational experience, he agreed accept this responsible position without financial remuneration on the condition that he be given a free hand to reorganize the school. Ashby was strongly backed by his fellow conservative alumni members who had graduated from the school years before the progressive educational techniques were introduced into the

His first act upon assuming the presidency was to fire in violation of a faculty constitution and a contract renewal the leading member of the faculty, T. Barton Akeley, and his wife, the school librarian, Students immediately rallied to Akeley's support and demanded that the administration show cause for firing the best liked and most capable faculty member. The new administration replied with threats, intimidation and assurances that the "anarchy" in the school would at last come to an end. The students organized themselves into a "Student Action Committee" and refused to register for the new school term until the Akeleys' dismissal was investigated.

After six weeks of strikes and demonstrations against the new administration the students were defeated and demoralized, and Ashby was firmly in control. Then in early December his plans for the future became more evident by a speech he delivered in Detroit. He stated at this. time that 90 per cent of the striking students were of a certain "race" from a certain American "city." Shortly thereafter when he was cornered and queried by angry students in the Olivet church he awkwardly tried to escape his predicament by claiming that he had been referring to the "human race." However, he was unable to account for the genetic origin of the remaining 10 per cent. of the striking students.

Ashby and his alumni colleagues, with the docile submission of the Board of Trustees, plan to remake Olivet in the light of their own past. The plan calls for a bigger and better football team (just after the Akeleys were dismissed Ashby dug down into the shallow college treasury and bought new scarlet uniforms for the football team), more fraternities, more authority, and less free expression between students and faculty. Apparently, in addition to the ban against ideas, another important part of Ashby's plans includes the exclusion of students of particular "races" from entrance into the school.

TUCKER SMITH-"SOCIALIST"

When one leafs through the obituary of liberal arts, Olivet College, died 1948, he will return nothing but praise for the persistent efforts of Olivet students in defending their own educational program against the combined onslaught of a new president, the old alumni, and the Board of Trustees. However, the observer could not have a similar feeling for the faculty which stood either passively by during the height of the crisis or unwittingly but actively stooged for the Ashby administration.

It is perhaps ironical that the second group of faculty members to be given the axe by Ashby should include Tucker Smith, a Socialist Party big shot and head of the tiny American Federation of Teachers, Local 1,000, in Olivet. One would think that as a socialist and union leader, Smith would take his union out on strike in protest against the unfair dismissal of one of its members and would then assume the responsibility of

leadership of a combined studentfaculty strike against the Ashby administration. The situation was ripe for almost every faculty member was behind Akeley. But a different course seems to have been taken. Aside from advice, in which they always abound, the faculty did not lift a hand to assist the striking students. They opposed striking for fear that the administration would have cause to close down the school (Smith agreed). But is this argument not familiar to a socialist and union leader?

At the height of the student strike in late September Ashby promised the faculty that he would submit the Akeley case to arbitration and would permit the students to register without taking any punitive actions against them. The students agreed to these terms but then at a joint meeting of the striking students and the faculty Ashby doublecrossed them. He announced that "no punitive actions" meant that every student would be placed on probation subject to review by him, that many of the traditional rights which students previously possessed would be denied, that scholarships and fellowships would be presented on the basis of good conduct, etc.

One would then expect a socialist to arise and denounce this fraudulent betrayal of both the students and the faculty by the president and, thereupon possibly this time if not before assume leadership of the strike. The "socialist" did arise, but only to explain that this wasn't bad, that probation had no meaning because everyone's on probation. The students' reply on the other hand was a unanimous rejection of the new president's terms and a continuation of the strike. Even after Smith and the faculty had an opportunity to think things over they did not denounce or criticize the president's betrayal openly.

Smith's local of the AFT to my knowledge never had a principled excuse for not striking. If it was just a tactical question which prevented them from striking we would expect them to fight the administration and assist the students (whom they repeatedly patted on the backs) in another way. The faculty statement supporting the student demands was very weak. They did not help in the major effort of the student strikea publicity drive. Students dug into their own pockets to pay for mimeograph ink and paper while a more than ample sum could have come on Smith's initiative from the AFT.

The failure of the faculty to strike and the continual hesitation and timidity displayed by Trucker Smith is inexcusable. In October, Tucker Smith left Olivet to travel through the Midwest to find issues upon which he could wage his campaign. For his failure to raise and fight a local issue he can now leave Olivet to find a new.job.

New York SYL **Announces Classes**

NEW YORK SYL CLASSES

The New York units of the Socialist Youth League have planned three study classes which will begin on January 31. There will be six weekly sessions of each class. The classes are

I. The Principles of Leninism

Classes will be held every Monday night beginning January 31 at 7:15 p.m. The instructor will be Hal Draper, editor of America's leading Marxist magazine, The New International.

II. An Economic Analysis of Capitalism

Classes will be held every Monday night beginning January 31 at 9:00 p.m. The instructor will be Abe Kimbay, economist and lecturer.

III. Readings in Marxism

This class will be organized on a seminar basis with particular emphasis on student participation. Classes will be held every Tuesday night at 8:30 o'clock beginning February 1.

The tuition fee will be 25 cents for each session and one dollar for a series ticket to six sessions of one

For more information about the classes write to: Socialist Youth League, 114 West 14th St., New York 11, N. Y.

Readers of Labor Action Take the Floor.

Socialist Policy In Indonesia

Editor:

Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution as applied to semi-colonial countries has proved false in many respects, as testified by the latest WP draft resolution on the international question. In Egypt, India, China, etc., national sovereignty has been attained under the leadership of the bourgeoisie (or at least through a bourgeoispeasant coalition). At the same time a complete bourgeois or democratic revolution has not occurred, the land problem has not been solved, etc. This has been caused more by the breakup and decay of the British and French colonial empires than by the strength of the indigenous capitalist class. But this has only been the case in the large semi-colonies. Up until now, as far as I know, no COLONIAL country has attained its independence under the leadership of the bour-

Now Jack Brad's article (on Tanmalaka) sows illusions in this respect. On the one hand he says that the republican forces are dedicated to the fight for national independence, and

while on the other hand he says, and rightly so, that "the greatest danger is of compromise, that sections of the Republican leadership will seek to come to agreement with the Dutch." But hasn't this already happened? It was the "Renville truce" which gave the Stalinists their opportunity to revolt. The Republican government was losing its popular support, by its failure to institute a revolutionary policy; by its vacillating, compromising character.

Here, it seems to me, we have the classical example of the impotence of the colonial bourgeoisie. William Barton states, in the December 27 issue of LA (page 2) that "Many observers believe that the Republican armies could have driven the Dutch off the islands if the original fighting had continued." He goes on to say that the Republican leaders were

> ORDER YOUR BOOKS THROUGH LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE, 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

their own leaders, as anyone would suspect IN ADVANCE who knew the "typical" character of the colonial bourgeoisie!

Again, in the January 10 issue of LA, we hear that "the backbone of the Republic (that is, after their complete annihilation by the Dutch) has straightened up and nowhere is compromise spoken of seriously." Instead of putting ramrods in the backbone of the Republican bourgeoisie, LA should be warning the workers and peasants of Indonesia that the flabbiness of this backbone is directly proportional to the size of its purse.

What meaning can we attach then

to Brad's statement (LA, Jan. 17, pg. that "the strategy (?) of class independence must be developed in a democratic manner, with utmost loyalty (?) to the Republic." This is nothing less than an invitation for the workers and peasants of Indonesia (and Tanmalaka?) to keep the class struggle within legal (democratic) bounds. The Republican government with its social-democratic caretakers is hindering the struggle for national independence! The workers must attempt to sweep these compromisers away and take the de-

he cites constitutional clauses to us, tricked by the "typical chicanery" of fense of the Republic out of their state power by the Dutch. They have hands despite the fine phrases in their constitution. Class independence is not a strategical question. For the colonial working class, the strategical question is when and in what way they shall materially aid the bourgeoisie, and when the time has come for a break with the compromisers. That time has now come. The Republican forces have been delivered of

lost a political, not a military battle. As Brad says, "Socialists have the special task of regrouping workers' and agricultural laborers' cadres in underground leagues of struggle." This is correct. Let me only add that this task must be accompanied by a fierce ideological struggle against the bankrupts of the Republican government. Robert MAGNUS

GET YOUR COPY OF THE NEW PAMPHLET JUST PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS PARTY-

> **NEXT—A LABOR PARTY!** by Jack Ranger

A Hard-Hitting, Meaty, Simple Presentation of the Need for an Independent Labor Party

25 Cents for Single Copies 20 Cents ea., bundles of 10-50 18 Cents ea., bundles over 50

Order from: Workers Party 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

HANDY WAY TO SUBSCRIBE



LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interest of Socialism 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y.

subscription: NEW RENEWAL ☐ Six months (26 issues) at 50 cents ☐ One year (52 issues) at \$1.00

. 9			100
NAME			
	(PLEASE PRINT)		
CITY	ZONE	STATE	
☐ Bill me	☐ Payment enclosed (stamps, current	ncy or posts	al note)

AN EDITORIAL_

With the end of World War II the pent-up forces of national freedom in Asia burst the bonds of ages to fill the political vacuum left by the defeat of Japan and the eclipse of European empire. In particular the weakening of the British raj, at the time when the independence movement had achieved great power and unity, created the final conditions for fulfilling the immediate aspirations of India, Burma and Ceylon.

Not all of Asia succeeded equally. In Indo-China and Indonesia. France and Holland were restored to rule by British soldiers and American lend-lease. In Korea, Russia and the U. S., with cynical disregard for their own pledges, divided a nation with a 2,000 year history and created a battle-ground of conflict. In China, the U. S. and Russia waged strategic war; the victory of Chinese Stalinism is a victory for Russian foreign policy.

Imperialism is not yet finished in Asia. Like a wounded beast it hits out in all directions seeking to hold on to the last. Asia is not yet free, and the remaining enslavement is a constant threat to the new-free nations. That hard-won independence is threatened has been made abundantly clear by the recent events in Indonesia where the subject areas became the base for the attack on the Republic; and in Indo-China where Loas and Cambodia are the base for the French war against Viet Nam. Wherever freedom has not yet been won the imperialists rush to re-establish the old

No People Can Fight Alone

While capitalist imperialism remains a threat. a new power has cast its shadow over Asia. Russia has already exhibited its imperialist appetites in Iran, Sinkiang, Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia. It now reaches out for China, having already, with American aquiescence at Yalta, reestablished its sphere of influence as in tsarist times in Manchuria. In addition, it acquired Southern Sakhalin and the Kuriles in the Pacific. Russia is the only power which emerged from the war with an enlarged and extended empire. In the North it has virtually taken over the former positions of Japan. In the South it reaches out to Iran and the entire middle East, to Tibet and Afganistan. The triumph of Chinese Stalinism will bring it to the borders of India and Burma. In Indo-China it will exert a powerful attraction over the Viet Namese independence movement.

There will be no peace, no stability in the new states of Asia while the world powers struggle for mastery. The whirlpool of the inter-imperialist struggle threatens all. Not even India can withstand these pressures whose ultimate end will be war, World War III in which Asia has no stake, no reason, no right to fight in. Defense against European imperialism, against the Russian menace and freedom to build without hindrance on the hard won foundations of independence, freedom from fear of war - these are essential to national independence.

Yet no one nation of Asia can achieve this alone. No nation anywhere can hope to abstain from the struggle of the giants single-handedly. Europe already knows this. All the peoples of the worlds are being squeezed into one or the other of the two camps.

The New Delhi Conference

In Asia exists, however, particularly favorable conditions and particularly demanding social forces for the creation of a united Third Camp of Free Colonial Peoples of South East Asia. The opportunity is present here as nowhere else for an arena of liberty to be erected. By unity of all the Asian people it would be possible to erect such a new force, which could resist the multiple pressures of both camps. Such a powerful union would assist the struggles of the Viet Namese and Indonesians in the first place. Such disinterested assistance would be a strong guarantee against Stalinism: One such achievement - united effort for the freedom of these embattled people would at once be a warning against all international greed and create the cement of unity

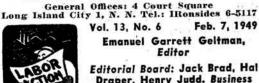
The recent New Delhi Conference failed to cope seriously with this first problem. Not inviting the Viet Namese was a serious error. The Conference of half the world's people need not have placed its reliance on the UN which is the public forum of the inter-imperialist conflict and has proved its complete futility. The Conference need not have lent its ear so freely to British and American "advice." It had a mandate from the freedom loving people of Asia to act in Asia's defense. The Conference marked a step backward from the efforts of the 1947 Delhi non-governmental conference. Futile resolutions, which were the sole products of this conference, compromise the struggle rather than aid it. The political attraction of Chinese Stalinism will not be offset by such gestures. Yet the trepidation in the Western press and chancillaries, and the vituperation of the Stalinists at the mere calling of this conference, indicates the profound potential In Asian unity.

There is an irony in simple national independence. For in our present world to achieve this elemental right is no longer enough. In all the new states of Asia there is an uncertainty about direction-of the future and the glimmerings of disillusionment as new difficulties loom mountain high on all sides. The European nations too find their independence daily more onerous. The tendency toward regional political and economic unity is a world tendency.

The plain fact is that Asiatic nationalism reaches a dead end almost simultaneously with the fruition of its desires. Nationalism, which claims to speak for the whole nation, cannot bring social peace because each Asiatic country is an amalgam of many peoples, who, fired with this same nationalism, seek to narrow it still further to mean separation for their own community. Communal strife in India, existence of communal parties in Indonesia, the war of the Karens which

LABOR ACTION

A Paper in the Interest of Socialism Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Co. 114 W. 14th St., New York City 11, N. Y.



Draper, Henry Judd. Business Manager: Joseph Roan Subscription Rate: \$1.00 a Year; 50¢ for 6 Mos (\$1.25 and 65¢ for Canada and Foreign)
Re-entered as Second-Class Matter, May 24,
1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.,
under the Act of March 3, 1874

is tearing Burma apart, conflicts tomorrow in China - the artificial political units created by imperialism tend to fall with it and to separate into small units. The tendency is toward the selfbalkanization of Asia. Only free federalism, which guarantees complete cultural autonomy and the right to separation can reverse this centrifugal tendency. Such a program must go beyond the framework of nationalism, however, with its restrictive politics.

Path of Social Revolution

The common need of all South East Asia is to supplement and strengthen freedom by a functioning economy which can raise the peoples' living conditions. Not only the heritage of imperialism but the dead hand of traditional feudalism must be replaced by a new, modern economy. If poverty, disease, ignorance, superstition, illiteracy, indignities in social relations, hunger and recurrent famines, daily violences against human valuesif all these things are not eradicated, the new freedom will prove empty.

Imperialism was everywhere the guarantee of the continuation of feudalism. This was its ally in maintaining its rule. The rooting out of feudalism is the indispensable need for survival of the nations. Unless such an effort is carried through, the peoples will have no alternative to Stalinism. National economic construction is not sufficient, for the weight of these traditional economic elements of popular oppression is encrusted with centuries. Nothing less than social revolution will suffice.

Within national boundaries the creation of modern economy suffers from a multitude of limiting factors which tend in two disastrous directions: 1) dependence on the former imperialist master or on the U.S.; 2) strengthening of the never fully ruptured ties between the national capitalist and feudal classes. Capitalism in the Western sense, has no future in Asia. Regardless of which party rules, in none of these states can peaceful, enduring capitalism come into being in these days of world capitalist disintegration.

Thus, the Indian Socialist S. K. Das, writes: ... a rising standard of living for the peoples of Asia can be secured only on the basis of a socialist economy. The experience of India emphasizes this point, and India is the country which has progressed most of the Asiatic countries. And yet, India finds itself today unable to overcome the contradiction between the low purchasing power of the masses and production based on a profit economy. In order to break the vicious circle,

one has to strike at the roots of the capitalist system, introduce production for use and harness the entire resources of the people to economic reconstruction through planning. But who will do that? Certainly not nationalists, who claim to serve the interests of capitalists and landlords as members of the nation.'

Toward Asian Unity

The way out of this dilemma also lies in Asian unity. In this vast area of one billion people there is an abundance of everything. The tin of Malaya, the hemp and steel of India, the rice of Burma, the oil and rubber of Indonesia, the talents of all these countries combined, contain the possibilities of a regional international economy organized on a division of labor depending on local resources and skills which could raise the peoples lives to a modern standard. This is the awe-inspiring potential for one half of mankind. And it is the means of guaranteeing freedom from war, imperialism or new oppressive classes. The march toward such a goal, could inspire tens of millions who today are spectators in the erection of national states.

South East Asian union or federation will not be forged in a brief period. The first steps in such a direction have occurred in the series of international conferences since 1946. The Asian Relations Organization created by the 1947 Delhi Conference exists, though feebly. It can be revived. This can serve as a medium for technical and cultural exchange immediately.

The most important and basic next step is a conference of all socialist and national revolutionary parties of South East Asia to create a unified center, to define a common program and goal, to assist in the common struggles, to be an example and serve a leadership.

R. Lohia, leading Indian Socialist has written: "The third rather difficult possibility is that of national and positive politics. That would be the politics of steering clear of the two big powerful combinations, the American combination and the Russian combination, not of following a middle course between the two but of initiating and struggling for positive policies of freedom, social reconstruction, progress and the pursuit of happiness. On the Socialists of Asia, therefore, rests a very heavy burden. To save Asia from the ruin of communal politics and the ineptitude of 'hangeron' politics is the great task today."

For all genuine socialist it is necessary to enter the mass socialist parties where such exist, as in India, to engage in struggle for such a program.

Results of Israel Elections Are a Mandate for Peace - -

(Continued from page 1)

formation with both Jews and Arabs on its ticket. Third, the aid given the Arab Stalinists by the Mapam financed and sponsored Arab groupings Israel. As a result of the Minister of Labor Bentov's (Mapam) generosity, Arab Stalinists had control of Arab employment in the Nazareth area through their administration of the government labor ex-

Only by the relatively late entry of Mapai and Mapam, financed and sponsored Arab groupings, were the Stalinists prevented from capturing the entire Arab vote. As it is, they will speak through more than half of the Arabs sitting in the Constituent Assembly.

MAPAM'S POOR SHOWING

The poor showing of the Mapam, despite the prestige of its Palmach commandos and strong Kibbutz (collective farm) bases, reflects the unwillingess of the Israeli masses to accept the Mapam legend that Stalinism and Socialism are

The Mapam lost votes because it made its pro-Russian orientation a main issue in the election campaign. Were it not for the fact that it had a virtual monopoly of education and political agitation in many isolated communal settlements it might not have nosed out the United Religious Bloc to become the second largest party. The Mapam also tail-ended Russian policy in Palestine in opposing current negotiated peace efforts with Abdullah. As a result, the war-weary masses of Israel lumped the Mapam with the pro-war parties who favor continuation of the Palestine war.

Summary of Israel Vote

	Votes	Pct.	Deputies
Mapai (reformist)1	52,972	35.82	43
Mapam (centrist, pro- Stalinist	63,107	14.77	18
Arab Workers (Mapai sponsored)	3,173	0+	. 1
Arab Peoples (Mapam sponsored	2,794	0+	1(?)
Clerical		V	
United Religious Bloc (analogous to Chris- tian Socialists of It-	F0 000		
aly)			15
Religious Women	2,184	0+	0
Bourgeois			
Progressive ("New Deal" moderates)	17,680	4.14	5
General Zionists (con- servatives)	22,524	5.27	7
WIZO (liberal femi- nists)	4,700	1+	1
Greenbaum List	2,488	0+	0
Ultra-Nationalist			
Heiruth (Irgunist)	49,220	11.52	14
Fighters (Sternist)	5,299	1.24	1
Revisionists	2,844	0+	0
Stalinist			
Communist Party	14,999	3.50	4
'Arabs of Nazareth (Stalinist dominated,			
non-party)		1.72	2
Communal Groupings		E	
Sephardim	15,017	3.51	5
Yemenites		1+	1
A supplied the second second second			

This "defeat" of the Mapam should serve as a lesson to all sincere militants in the Mapam that pro-Stalinism will lead progressively to Mapam's isolation and destruction. Pro-Stalinism can hardly be a salable commodity among Israel's masses originating from Eastern Europe,

DICKER ON GOVERNMENT

Dickering about the composition of the new government began as soon as the early returns trickled in. Four variants were proposed. (1) An all labor government based on the Mapai-Mapam, Arab Workers Party and Arab Peoples Party majority; (2) a broad, national coalition similar to that of the provisional government, modified to more accurately reflect the new relationship of ces; (3) a coalition of the Mapai, the United Religious Bloc, Progressive Party and Communal Groups, excluding the Heiruth and Mapam, and (4) a Mapai-Mapam-CP government. The last was called for by the Mapam and the CP.

However, the decision appear to rest with the Mapai. It is in a pivotal position. It appears to be able to decide whether it wants to bloc with the bourgeois center or with the Mapam. The Mapai elements who favor a labor government would be immeasurably strengthened if the Mapam didn't make the adoption of a pro-Russian orientation a cardinal demand. Unless the Mapam loses some of its reactionary, suicidal infatuation with Stalinist Russia, the reformist class collaborationists in the Mapai will find it easy to swing the Mapai into a bourgeois-labor coalition. Unfortunately, this is the more probable variant.

The Mapai may, however, be able to wring sufficient foreign policy concessions from the Mapam to make a labor government a feasible project. Domestic policy differences are relatively surmountable. Even if the acquiescence of the entire Manam could not be obtained, the Mapai could split that party and effect a new realignment of the socialist movement in Israel.

An independent labor government, free of entanglements with Moscow or Washington-London, is the type of government that seems best'able to assure the peace, security and progressive character of the new Israeli state.

LEON TROTSKY'S

"THE NEW COURSE"

Get this historic essay on Russia, together with Max Shachtman's study of the development of Russian totalitarianism.

NOW ON SALE: \$1.00

(paper bound) 265 pages

Originally \$1.50

Order from:

Workers Party Publications 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

On Southeast Asian Regional Union WORLD ROLLINGS

Council of Europe:

The unification of Western Europe is bound to come, in some form or manner. The entire European crisis, still growing in intensity, is forcing the still relatively independent nations of Western Europe to unify. So the question no longer is shall there be a United Western Europe, but HOW shall Europe be united, by WHOM shall it be unified and WHAT shall be the objectives and purposes of this unification?

With the announced formation of a "Council of Europe" by the five powers who have signed the Brussels military defense pact, the problem is again presented to us, but now with a force and acuteness as never before. Cautious as the first steps have been, the ice has been broken, a principle of "unity" has been laid down and additional steps are now inevitable. The above questions, then, are now living realities and any revolutionary movement must plunge into this stream and try to chart its own course.

First, precisely what steps have been taken as of now? Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxemburg have declared their intention of forming a council, composed of two bodies. A "ministerial committee" composed of government ministers will meet in secret to take decisions. A public "consultative committee," elected by participating countries as they choose, will have only advisory powers. Other Western European nations will be invited to join, and the seat of the Council of Europe will be in the famous Alsace-Rhine city of Strasbourg.

NOT AN ISOLATED DEVELOPMENT

Even by the most conservative standards, these proposals are cautious and limited. In reality, a consultative and advisory body is proposed and, in terms of bourgeois law and formalism, no surrender of soveregin rights and powers by the individual nations is implied. The precise functions and powers of the council have not even been clarified and remain to be worked out. Thus, still passing judgment purely in terms of accepted formalities and so-called international law, we are presented with a cautious step forward on the road to a European unification of the type dreamed of by such liberals as Count Sforza and other parliamentarians. But it is too easy to be deceived by such formalities. The proposal is far different in its real content.

To begin with, it takes place at a moment when European economic recovery has advanced to a point where a bloc of the nations involved would have a specific meaning in terms of power, both economic and military. The worst of the economic collapse has been overcome and Western Europe is again a going concern, by comparison with the end of the war, capable of some independent action as a power bloc. The fact that unity has not advanced any further than outlined above is primarlyy due to differences between France and the British Labor government as to how unity shall take place and who shall be its leader and spokes-

Furthermore, one must understand the situation in which the Council concept is put forward. It is far from an isolated development. It is an intimate part of the forthcoming North Atlantic military security pact and cannot be separated from this proposed American alliance for a common military front against Russia. In another sense, the Council of Europe is a development of the Marshall Plan, which foresaw first the economic restoration of Western Europe, then its remilitarization with American help, and finally its actual transformation into a solid and powerful bulwark against Russian advance and for war with Russia. Step by step, this American strategy has been advancing, with many overlapping parts to it, of course.

We must thus see this new move as a part of the entire international picture. In Europe, at any rate, Stalinism is on the defensive and in considerable retreat. Russia forms its Eastern European economic alliance, as America (by remote control) advances its Western European alliance. Stalin proposes new peace talks and Truman proposes a "world fair deal." But the real direction is toward a deepening of both the world and European split between the two power camps. In this sense, we cannot be deceived by the formal appearance of this new step toward European unity, a result much desired by socialists, since this appearance is far overshadowed by its content in terms of power and imperialist politics.

SOCIALIST VIEW OF EUROPEAN UNITY

But this judgment does not cover anything. Slogans and formations for the unity of Europe have long been familiar. Equally familiar has been the socialist analysis of these slogans (particularly when advanced by Churchill and, recently, the Pope) and their counterproposal for the socialist unification of Europe, under revolutionary governments. Till now, both conceptions -bourgeois and socialist-have been abstractions. Now the bourgeois concept of unity begins to take on reality! The question is not before every socialist in Europe: how shall he respond? Shall he limit himself to analysing and condemning, more or less in the same terms that we have, the Council of Europe? Shall he continue in the tradition of an unconditional rejection, based on long hostility, of the unity slogan when advanced by his enemies? Shall he, likewise, maintain his traditional silence before this slogan because the Stalinist movements of Western Europe, directed by Moscow, have directed with considerable success a campaign of con-stant abust against the unity idea? And, finally, shall he continue his abstract answer of a "Socialist Europe" even when confronted by what will be the undoubtedly growing reality of a bourgeois united Western Europe?

It is clear that we would consider such an approach as wrong, limited and fatal, from the viewpoint of attempting to win influence. Worst of all, it would give the bourgeois leaders of the Western unity idea the ideologic leadership over what is undoubtedly a widespread and popular demand in Europe; it would permit them to run off with the ball almost at will. Now is the moment for Europe's revolutionary socialists to consider, concretely and specifically, the idea advanced to them by the Workers Party-namely, that they shall become the popular champions of the idea that Western Europe must form a democratic federation, popularly elected, and brought about by labor and social democratic governments

In a word, socialists must counterpose-in specific and realistic terms—THEIR conception of a "Council of Europe" to the bureaucratic, manufactured-from-above. power and military-dominated Council of Europe which the reactionary politicians wish to impose upon the peole. This cannot be the empty abstraction of a "Socialist Europe," any more than it can be the reactionary bloc proposed by the Big Five of Western Europe. It must be something new, worked out by the anti-Stalinist socialists of Western Europe who are by far best equipped to give this conception both scope and realism.

For example, it is proposed that the new "Council" shall consist of government-appointed representatives who shall meet in secret, etc. To condemn this is not only easy, but not enough. Let us propose a democratically-elected Western European Constituent Assembly, composed of representatives from all participating nations on a population basis, who shall publicly draw up a constitution for the new Western European Federation. This same thing must be worked out for all political, social and economic aspects of the new unity. The real question is: shall the coming European Union be a power instrument in the hands of reactionary forces who, by transmission, shall force it to operate for America: or shall it be a people's union, in the interests of peace and social progress?

There must be a struggle organized around this, and only Europe's socialists can do it. Stalinism cannot, because it desires the disunion and disintegration of Western Europe; its campaign can be purely negative and thus reactionary. Again, circumstances have arisen to give the real socialists of Europe a splendid opportunity for political propaganda and activity. They cannot complain of a lack of opportunities. We hope they shall take advantage of this newest chance and use it to their own interests. They can again establish contact with progressive masses who are going in their direction. But they must begin now, today, in their press and propaganda.

Henry JUDD

(The above column is contributed as part of the discussion on Western Union, opened in LABOR AC-TION several weeks ago with the publication of a resolution on Western Union drafted by the Political Committee of the WP.

Truman's Ambitious Plan

(Continued from page 1)

term proposition; it looks ahead through the '50s to the '60s and '70s."

Loans and investments-sounds like a pure-and-simple business proposition! At bottom, of course, that is what imperialism in all its forms is-a business proposition. We will see shortly where the hig stick comes in on this particular business proposition.

The investment program is bound to be big, if Point 4 is to have a shadow of reality. Rough estimates of needs for capital in the "underdeveloped areas" add up to at least 30 billion dollars for the next decade or so -compare this with the figure for the original Marshall Plan of 17 billion dollars. Of the 30 billion, 8 billion are estimated for Latin America, 6 billion for Africa, 10 billion for Southeast Asia. The latter two areas constitute the chunk of the globe which Truman laid his hand on in his press-conference remarks.

This ought to be compared also with the figures for U.S. investment in 1947, just to get an idea of their size. In that year U.S. companies and individuals made direct investments abroad of a record \$666 million (that was "million," not "billion"). Of this 455 million tyas for petroleum development in Latin America and the Middle East.

Besides U. S. private investment capital, the grandiose program-based, says Business Week, on "the belief that U. S. capital-like British capital in the nineteenth century-must act as the generating force behind the expansion of world industry and trade". -calls for a correspondingly ambitious program of loans. Here the program, according to reports, looks forward to a special role for the World Bank and the Export-Import Bank. There are already World Bank expeditionary forces casing the joint in India, Turkey, Colombia and Peru, and talking to London officials about doing a job on the British colonies

(what's left of them-mainly in Africa).

GUARANTEED PROFIT

The World Bank is looking to lending at the rate of about \$500 million a year. The Export-Import Bank has \$900 million for the purpose, now going out at loan at the rate of \$300 million a year.

"However, Export-Import may take on a new function—the guarantee of private investments . . . encouraging equity capital to go into Latin-America, and Southeast Asia . . . it would operate on a world-wide basis, take over ECA's convertibility guarantee for investments in Marshall Plan countries." (Business Week.)

The guarantee here referred to is a guarantee that invested capital PLUS A 100 PER CENT PROFIT OVER A 12-YEAR PERIOD will be convertible into dollars in case of exchange restrictions. But this is not the only guarantee for private investors which is contemplated: the rest is guarantees against war loss or LOSS OF CAPITAL BY EXPROPRI-ATION.

"The insurance against expropriation would probably please U.S. companies most of all. With the government committed to paying the bill, they expect better diplomatic protection for their whole operation abroad. This is where a new international charter for investments (or bilateral treaties) would come in."

WORLD EMPIRE

In another place, Business Week says: "Treaties guaranteeing fair treatment of U.S. capital would be needed to supplement this guarantee." Any one of these "underdeveloped countries" which might get ideas about running its OWN economic life would have to deal, not merely with a private investor out to turn a profit on a horse trade, but with Truman and Acheson-and (just in case) General Bradley.

The picture which appears can be

described in unemotional business terms (as Business Week does, in its own way) or it can be described in more political terms-the drive of American canitalism to dominate the world by the power of the dollar backed up by the atomic bomb.

Either way, it adds up to the same thing. The sun never set on the British Empire-as long as it lasted. The sun will never set on the American greenback, Truman hopes.

Ain't It a Pity? Workers Won't Read "Employee" Papers

"The advertising manager of a very large, very old company, which for the first time is planning to publish an employees' magazine received a rather disillusioning report from the editor of a company publication which is distributed to employes at the

"'Immediately after the distribution,' he admitted, 'the gutters are filled with copies of the paper.'

"This doesn't mean that the employe publication referred to is worthless-but it at least suggests that the answer to industrial relations problems hasn't necessarily been found once a decision has been made to issue an employe magazine or newspaper.

"Actually, of course, it is poor technique to distribute copies of a house publication at the plant. For one thing, union stewards, as a matter of principle, tend to pooh-pooh anything issued by the company and to discourage its circulation. In addition, the wives and families of employes are an important part of the readership. and hence to reach them as well as those on the payroll, the publication should be mailed to home addresses, where it will undoubtedly get much more attention and interest."-From 'Footnotes" by G. D. Crain, Jr., in Advertising Age, January 3, 1949,

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CHINA CP AND ITS OBJECTIVES

Are the Chinese Stalinists Different?

By JACK BRAD

Are the Chinese Stalinists different? The very question is one of the more cruel hoaxes of our time, yet many people honestly believe that somehow the CP of China is not like other Stalinist parties.

We refer doubters to excerpts from the tragic letter of the Chinese Trotskyists printed elsewhere in this issue. This letter tells more about the Communist Party than scores of volumes by innocent and not so innocent apologists.

We are not referring here to the economic or political program of the Chinese CP, but only to its internal regime, to its attitude toward factions, relationship between members and leaders, freedom of internal expression - those organizational characteristics which determine whether or not a party is democratic, whether its sets its own policies or is subservient to alien powers.

Thus Harold Isaacs in his book, The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution, indicates that such was the case as long ago as the Great Revolution of 1925-27, through its Russian advisers, Borodin and Bluecher. The Russian mission had greater authority than the leaders of the party. In his novel, Man's Fate, André Malraux's hero does not go to Chen Duhsien or the other party leaders to get a reversal of policy; he travels 1500 miles to Hankow to see Borodin. It was the Stalin-Zinoviev majority in the Russian CP which, through its control of the Comintern, ordered those policies which resulted in the disastrous blood bath of 1927.

STALIN'S INSTRUMENTS

It was as an answer to Trotsky's criticism of this policy that Li Li-san was ordered into the terrible adventure of the Canton Commune, where the militants followed orders, hearts heavy with foreboding of certain defeat. Then Stalin pointed to the bloody flasco as an example of Trotskyist policy and used it as a polemical weapon in the Russian party. Li Li-san, who today is Stalin's agent in Manchuria, was denounced as a Trotskyist and recalled to Moscow.

Isaacs describes Li's ousting in revealing words: "A letter arriving from Moscow on November 16 (1930) ordered open warfare against him (Li Li-san) in the party. Under the personal supervision of MIF (Comintern agent to the Chinese CP-J.B.) Li Li-san was brusquely deposed—the young men so abruptly enthroned as "leaders" of the Communist Party (replacing Li-J.B.) had all been students in Moscow during the years of revolution and had won their spurs conducting witch-hunts against Trotskyist sympathizers among the students at Sun Yat-sen Universitythese docile young men became the undisputed leaders of the party. Other leaders of the party won the right to country. remain in its ranks only by degrading ing recantations."

Chow En-lai, Li's right-hand man, denounced himself: "I call upon the whole party to condemn my mistakes." Li himself became "reconstructed" and recanted in Moscow. This ignoble spectacle was the turning point in the Stalinization of the Chinese CP. After 1930 the new leadership, which owed its elevation to Moscow and had no independent stature in the Chinese struggle, became the instrument for enforcing every twist of Stalinist policy in the weakened party.

When in 1935 the Comintern held its seventh world congress in Moscow and the program of the so-called "third period" was reversed to one of "Popular Frontism," the Chinese party leadership skidded to a halt and reversed itself also. The leadership of 1930 was removed peremptorily, denounced as adventuristic and capitulationist.

All this was done without a party congress. From 1921 to 1928 the party held six congresses. Between 1928 and 1945 there were no conventions. These were the years of Stalinization. During this period two complete changes of leadership and program occurred.

The decision of the seventh world congress was part of the reorientation of Russian foreign policy to meet the threat created by the rise of Hitler. The Chinese party, not yet recovered from the butchery of Chiang. was ordered to make peace with him. Mao Tze-tung, the new leader, made his offer of peace to the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie. The party even abandoned its agrarian program, as Mao declared: "We have already adopted a decision not to confiscate land of the rich peasants. As for active anti-Japanese officers and big landowners, we can state that their estates are not subject to confisca-

The fact that the peasants did not sanction or desire this lenient policy made little difference. Nym Wales, a pro-Stalinist publicist, records the conversation of a CP leader on the change: "The people all liked the Soviet better-the landlords will perhaps like the new democracy better, but there are few landlords here to enjoy it. The people won't let the landlords vote. In general, however, the people give up to the Soviets easily. They trust the leadership of the CP to do what is right for them." (Inside Red China, page 214.)

into Manchuria and stripped electric dynamos, mines pumps, arsenal machines and tools, rolling stock, materiel and supply dumps, the CP of China made no protest whatsoever. There is a rumor, which has had wide circulation, that Mao did not like the Russian policy. But the Russians brought with them into Manchuria a ready-made leadership. Moscowtrained. These student from the Stalin school came as "Red" Army men, although they were Chinese. Their leader was none other than the completely renovated Li Li-san, who was immediately placed in the leadership of the party and made liaison man between the party and the Russian army. He retains this strategic post still today.

All China was torn with demonstrations against continued Russian occupation and the looting of Manchuria. The CP could no longer remain totally silent, though it tried. Finally, Li made a statement: "I want to tell you that the Chinese Communist is a patriot first and no matter who interferes with the rights of China he will certainly be opposed

After this fine beginning, Li stated the attitude of the CP toward Russian looting: "But I feel that the movement of machinery is not the important problem at all. Of course the Soviet Union moved some machinery but not a large amount compared to its war losses." This remarkable condoning of the looting was part of official Russian propaganda. They too claimed that what they took was but meager recompense for war losses. Apparently it did not occur to Li. the Chinese patriot, to point out that Russia had been at war with Japan exactly two weeks and its losses in those final days before surrender were small indeed, relative to its permanent acquisitions via the Yalta Pact, whereas China too had been in the war. For 15 years she had been under Japanese attack and a claim might well be made for her losses.

Both before and since the war, Russia has been busy with its own dismemberment of China. Before the war she had already established control over Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia. During the war she set up the puppet East Turkestan Republic. The spoils of Yalta gave her the main ports of Manchuria, Dairen and Harbin, control of the railroad system: and since then a stranglehold on the entire economy of this most industrialized area in all China. Russia is now engaged in a deal to take control of all Sinkiang, the largest province in China. To all of these things the CP has answered with the assurance that the greatest threat was American imperialism. By not so much as a whisper have these "patriots" protested the dismemberment of their

THE MAO CULT

There may very well have been differences of opinion over Russian policy in the Chinese CP leadership. There is no way of knowing. All opinions except the official one are kept in the Central Committee, carefully shielded from the world as well as from the CP members. Factions are forbidden, all decisions are handed down as finished. A monolithic front is maintained before the membership and the world.

The cult of Mao Tze-tung is, in its own primitive fashion, as assiduously cultivated as is the Leader cult elsewhere. The entire history of the party has been rewritten to heighten the achievements of Mao. All previous leaderships are damned and denounced, all have either been expelled, exiled or have recanted. In the literature of the party, phrases of obeisance to the superiority of Mao are always carefully included. As Anna Louise Strong, Stalinist publicist, puts it so well in her revealing essay, "The Thought of Mao Tzetung": "Since the leadership of Mao Tze-tung developed, the Chinese Communists do not consider that they have made any profound mistakes.'

Since 1928 purges have been common. Under the jargon-slogan "criticism and self-criticism," the leaderships have conducted struggles against "opportunism of the right" and "adventurism-Trotskyism of the left." In addition, nests of "capitulationists," "dogmatists," counter revolutionists of many hues, have all been exposed and treated according to their desserts. The pattern and sequence of these purges has paralleled that of the Russian party. In the early thirties, Social-Democrats were everywhere in alliance with Trotskyists, of course, and both were alleged to be in alliance with Chiang. Earlier, in 1928, Trotskyists were hounded. During the Moscow Trials, Trotskyists were again uncovered, this time as allies of Japan since Chiang was now part of the "anti-imperialist front."

GPU POWER

Since 1929, Communist China has not been a party but a state. It has existed as a distinct state power with an army and political organs. Since the founding of the Chinese "Soviets" in the South, there has existed a special GPU or political police. The first head of the Chinese GPU was Teng

The first mention of a special GPU Zone State department occurs in 1931 when such

as one of the ten government depart- less characterized by political terrormetns. Already by the end of that ism and leader worship than the Rusyear the GPU was busy earning its place, for we read in Bela Kun's Fundamental Law of the Chinese Soviets (p. 10) "at that time we already knew that the counter revolution had their central organization in our midst. Thereupon the State Political Department (GPU) [this parenthesis is in the original-J.B.] exposed several reorganizationalists. . . . This conspiracy was completely exposed . . . a purge of alien elements commenced in the party. In Hua Nang region, for instance, more than a hundred politically alien persons were expelled from the party."

Later, in July 1931, the GPU again proved its vigilance: "Lately we have discovered an organization of Trotskyists. From their depositions we learned that the Trotskyists united with the Social Democrats . . . when we began to detect the organizations of the SDP we likewise called attention to other reactionary political

Again in 1931 a GPU official reports: "We pay very great attention to confessions made by counter-revolutionaries, to their voluntary repenting. The Kiangsi Provincial government has issued regulations about admission of guilt, with sincere confessions and a truthful description of the organization and its plans being recognized as mitigating circumstances." (Quoted by Dallin from Sovety v. Kitaye, p. 270-271.)

The passion for confessions and denunciation described above can be best understood by recalling that 1931 witnessed the first Moscow Trials of engineers and Social Democrats where the pattern of confession so widely used in the later trials was first employed.

Edgar Snow refers frequently to the Chinese GPU or Cheka in Red Star Over China, as does Nym Wales in her book Inside Red China, Nym Wales describes in some detail her relations to the GPU in 1936 in Yenan. Her object is to make it out as a friendly, protective force, and no doubt it was to her. It never seems to occur to her to wonder why such an institution should exist at all in the barren half-dessert of Upper Shensin. Nor does she think to question accusations by the GPU of Trotskvism, counter-revolution and the rest of the Stalinist calendar of

DIRECTION OF STATE

In the few lines from our Shanghai friends, quoted elsewhere in this issue, it is clear that the regime of political denunciation and terror continues to be a part of Chinese Stalinism to this day. Like its counterparts everywhere, it roots out and physically exterminates its political enemies. To give this the name of "democracy" is a brand of cynicism that is common ough these days, when all values are distorted.

The claim is not made here that the Stalinists are organizing a totalitarian police state in China at one full blow. The very backwardness of the country mitigates against its easy achievement. A police state based on a ubiquitous bureaucracy requires a measure of modernization and material surpluses which are not yet at hand. BUT THIS IS THE DIRECTION OF CHI-NESE STALINISM. And in proportion as it does establish these very essential physical conditions-which under other conditions would be the guarantor of greater freedom and a better living standard—under Stalinism these material increases are precisely those instruments by which the police state is built. That is why those who are satisfied to point only to material progress serve to obscure the Stalinist inversion of the usual social process.

We do not mean here to discuss speculations about Titoist tendencies. There are such tendencies in Chinese Stalinism and its peculiar relationship to the economy of the country. The point is that Tito's party is no less

These Pamphlets Are Now Available By LEON TROTSKY

The Lesson of Spain, the Last Warning!	200
Trade Unions in the Epoch of	
Imperialist Decay	250
The Russian Revolution	100
Whither France (chapter I)	
The Communist Manifesto Today	
What Is an Insurrection?	
The Thicken or the per-	12
LABOR ACTION BOOK SERVICE	* /
4 Court Square	100

Long Island City 1, N. Y.

sian-or the Chinese party.

MONOPOLY OF POWER

The Chinese Communist Party is aiming at a monopoly of political power. All compromises with coalitions, with propertied classes in city and village will not alter this basic fact. They will permit the city bourgeoisie to retain their factories and mercantile establishments (provided they do not encroach on big industry and big commerce which will be nationalized). But they will not permit them to organize political parties to represent these interests. They will support the village tukhoa (kulak), but at the same time insist that he accept the party as his sole political

They will form unions and workers will be forced to join, but any party that arises to speak for the workers outside of officially created organizations will be dealt with as counterrevolutionary. Without political organization and power to parallel and insure economic interests the compromises and coalitions with other classes are expedients depending on the good-will or exigencies of the ruling party.

In effect, the CP is establishing a sort of new "era of tutelage." It is strange that many people who denounce Chiang's fraudulent "tutelage" for the despotism it is, accept the same trappings by the CP, as good coin. That Chiang's autocracy is feudal, while the Stalinist's is anti-feudal is true; but that it is any the less despotic for this difference is not the case. In the current lexicon of political terms Stalinist economy is connoted as a "special form," or as Henry Wallace would say, it is "economic democracy."

There is no denying the transcendant importance of the abolition of feudalism, which will re-distribute wealth and increase the peasant's livelihood initially. (This will be considerably less true for workers in the cities.) However, like every class society and every totalitarianism, Chinese Stalinism will have its crises, which will be resolved in the only way open to a state with a monopoly of political power-at the expense of the people, through the imposition of great agonies and distress on whole masses, through the death and enslavement of millions, and finally through participation in imperialist war which in turn will destroy much of the economic gain.

The rising bureaucracy, precisely as economic advances are made, will tend to inhibit rather than release the unlimited energies and ingenuities of the people. It will distort the economy to the needs of Russian foreign

Russian master economically and politically. These are not guesses or speculations for they have occurred elsewhere under similar circumstances. They are part of the history of the Chinese CP. Where there is no political democracy there is no barrier to such developments.

Political democracy means the right to determine economic policy, in the first instance. Criticism and disagreement, are the profound sources of inspiration to a people's ingenuity. These are essential ingredients to the construction of modern economy, for they are essential to the modern mentality. Without freedom, economic reconstruction is a burden imposed from above. This is the path of Chi-

A Letter From Shanghai

Dear Editor:

January 17, 1949, Shanghai, China

I write with deepest gratitude for your regularly sending us The New International and the LABOR ACTION being received for some time, but I regret to say that as the civil war of China today has widespread rapidly and the Chinese "Reds'" spearheads have thrust onto the point only 30 miles north to Nanking, capital of China, very soon Nanking and Shanghai will be under the reign of them by their simple military force, so that the situation of China in the next period will not be favorable to us.

According to the recent announcement of a pro-CP newspaper in Hongkong, it was stated that the CP will purge out the Chinese Trotskyists from all fronts, etc. Furthermore I was told by a Communist here that the Trotskyists would be seriously punished as soon as they took over Shanghai. Basing ourselves on our knowledge, it is clear that the CP will keep its word after its triumph.

We are now ready to take all possible means to prevent such bad consequences from befalling us if we are careless. At the same time we beg you to stop immediately sending us The New International and the LABOR ACTION for safety sake.

Many thanks for your paying kind attention and with best regards.

Yours sincerely

(signed) C. M.

Thoughts on New York Star's Demise And the Need for a Labor Daily Paper

By WILLIAM BARTON

Last Friday morning, January 28, the publishers of the New York Star announced that they were putting out their last issue. According to their announcement, the successor to PM was still losing money, circulation was not increasing enough. So ended the last paragraph of a chapter in American journalism, a story compounded of fascinating details, frequent turns and many lessons for those interested in improving newspaper content and approach.

The plans for PM began in the late thirties. The design was to print a very striking tabloid, using all the latest journalistic techniques, to present a "liberal" slant and improve the daily reading material of those accustomed to buying papers like the sensationalist New York Daily News (Patterson) or New York Mirror (Hearst). The tone was to be folksy but sophisticated, racy but not vul-

The people involved in the planning, including those ready to become part of the incipient staff, were a loose assortment of individuals who were part of the informal "Popular Front" grouping that was typical of that period. Naturally, the Stalinists were very prominent among them. The master mind of the project was former Luce (Time, Life, Fortune) associate, Ralph Ingersoll. The financial backing came from Marshall Field.

A most conspicuous symbol of the newness of the idea was that the paper was to take no paid advertising -thereby making it more possible

that policies would not be adjusted PM moved out of the Stalinist orbit, to the wishes of the powerful purchasers of advertising space.

POLITICAL SNAGS

The first issue was published in the early summer of 1940. The prospectus stated that it was against anyone who "pushed people around." Within a short time the paper had achieved a reputation and circulation all over the country despite its glaring shortcomings as a newspaper. It was what many people claimed they had long waited for. Its audacious muckraking did not pull punches. Its format, its many photographs, its breezy features were very attractive. Instead of accepting advertisements, it published lists of the best buys. Its staff of journalists, many very young, signed all articles. It was particularly favorable in its labor coverage, something not typical of American newspapers. It combined its modernism in technique and knowledge with an old-fashioned crusading spirit that infected contributors like famed humorist Frank Sullivan, who became a man interested in "causes" instead of mere But, being a highly politicalized

newspaper, it became early involved in the political snags that were to mark much of its history. By the time of the first issue, the Stalinists on the staff (and among its readers and backers) were on the outs with the liberals. This was the time of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, when the CP was mostly anti-British, Ingersoll and the directing staff were, on the contrary, the most pro-British representatives of the American press in the early days of the war. In fact, the editorials and many of the articles became hysterical in denunciations of all those who differed with the policy of allout allegiance to the Allied camp. The break with the Stalinists, simmering from the very beginning, reached its active culmination in the firing of Stalinoid labor editor Leo Huberman, against the wishes of much of the staff.

The loss of possible Stalinist readers was allayed by the German invasion of Russia. Ingersoll's hysterical pro-Allied editorials now had a much wider appeal. With the entrance of the U. S. into the war, the paper became super-patriotic, though still occasionally critical of some of the directors of political and economic life. The pro-labor identification still had some validity, but this became increasingly muddier with the wild attacks on John L. Lewis. More and more during the war years it assumed a greater resemblance to a Stalinist fellow traveler sheet. The loss of control by advertisers

may have given the staff some independence, but the power of Ingersoll was also something to contend with. The man who created PM was also the person who, very early in the game, antagonized many of its potential supporters by editing it as his personal organ. When he left for the war, the quality of the paper improved considerably, but the political line was still so violently patriotic and pro-Roosevelt that the easy atmosphere of the first months could not be recreated. Many original purchasers stopped buying what they considered the fellow traveler's version of a Hearst paper. Circulation increased, but it was not among the type of people who could form a steady center of influence for further extension. The Sunday supplement was syndicated and distributed nationally, but Field's money was still necessary to keep it going.

CRUM TAKES OVER Ingersoll returned from the army,

now anti - British and pro - Russian, Again at the helm, he steered the newspaper even more in a fellowtraveling direction. The muckraking had become heckling instead of fresh clarification. Readers began to look elsewhere to find ideas on how to stop those who "pushed people around." The newspaper had little zest, the readers less. It was living on Field's financial transfusions alone. When this angel decided that he had had enough, and insisted that advertising be accepted, Ingersoll stepped out.

but it had little support left else-

Last year Field decided to call quits on the whole thing. Just before publication was about to be terminated. lawyer Bartley Crum stepped in and bought it. With the help of former New York Herald Tribune foreign desk chief Joseph Barnes, he hoped to revive the publication by making it something more akin to orthodox journalism, changing the name to the New York Star. (The Star, incidentally, was the only New York paper which supported Truman.) But, even though some new features were added, like cartoons by Bill Mauldin, it never got going. Few new readers were added, as the paper had little news value and could offer little competition as a "liberal" publication to the afternoon New York Post. Last week's decision to end publication may have been sudden, but it was not illogical.

The history of PM reveals the potentialities of an independent, alive newspaper. The people who are eager to receive one, and the newspapermen willing to work on one, are sufficient. It cannot compete with the specific appeal of the regularly established press. It must have something else (in addition to being a good newspaper, which neither PM nor the Star ever succeeded in becoming). That cannot be the personal, hysterical opinions of one man or the political line of the Communist Party.

LABOR DAILY NEEDED

There is a body of people that can put out and sell such a paper. It is the organized labor movement. The typographers for several years have championed the idea and offered their cooperation. There are enough members of the American Newspaper Guild, employed and unemployed, ready and willing to provide an editorial staff. Many unions and local councils already issue excellent weeklies and monthlies. When the Philadelphia Record suspended publication last year, the former staff members put out a weekly for several months, and there was common talk of establishing a permanent daily.

Several daily newspapers can be successfully published and sold by the organized labor movement in, at least, few cities. The timidity of the labor leadership on this score is amazing. Even in Britain, with a Labor Government, there are few daily labor papers. There is no conceivable reason for this. In the United States, the membership of trade unions should agitate right now for the establishment of such papers wherever feasible.

The history of PM, insofar as concerns the possibilities of an independent, aggressive paper, shows that it can be done. And the labor movement is strong enough to accomplish this without rich angels, without oneman institution of policy and without following the CP line.

Subscribers — Attention!

Check your NAME - ADDRESS - CITY - ZONE - STATE appearing on the upper left-hand corner of page one.

If there are any mistakes or if anything is left out of the address, especially the ZONE NUMBER, cut out your name and address and mail it to us with the corrections clearly printed.

13-6

If this number appears at the bot-tom of your address, your sub-scription expires with this issue.

RENEW NOW

For Books and Pamphlets by and about LENIN, LIEBKNECHT and LUXEMBURG

Write for fist to: Labor Action Book Service 4 Court Square Long Island City 1, N. Y.

New York Labor Action Forum:



SUNDAY LECTURE SERIES

Winter-Spring 1949 All lectures begin at 8:00 o'clock

February 6 RUTH FISCHER

"The Conspiracy Within the Cominform: The New Strategy of Stalinism."

February 27

MEYER SCHAPIRO "Art and the State"—a lecture illustrated with slides.

March 6 SYMPOSIUM: JACK BRAD, HENRY JUDD, A. KIMBAY

"Asia in Revolt." March 20

HAROLD BROWN

"The Meaning of Interpretation in Music."

GUENTER REIMANN "Russian Policies in Germany."

April 17 ALFRED KAZIN and IRVING HOWE "Two Novelists and Their Times: Melville and Haw-

thorne." April 24

ISAAC ROSENFELD "War and the Novelist."

May 1

MAX SHACHTMAN

"The Growing International Crisis."

TIME: Sunday Evenings at 8:00 o'Clock PLACE: Labor Action Hall, 114 West 14 St., N. Y. C. Admission: 50¢ per Lecture - S.Y.L.: 25¢