

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 stop dilly-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

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 30-day 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, interpreted 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 officials 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

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Truman Prepares Ambitious Plan For Control of World by Dollar

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

By AL and ED FINDLEY

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

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, cast their ballot for the Mapai.

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 per cent.

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 vote, 49,220.

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 percentage of the votes than did the United Revisionist ticket in the last Zionist elections.

Despite its small size, Beigin's party 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 Yem-

ente. Given a "crisis" in Arab-Jewish relations 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 state.

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

expected that the Mapai will transfer 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

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Cites Growing Sentiment In UAW for Political Action

By WALTER JASON

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 America.

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

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

Wagner Act." What are they? The cooling off period and fact-finding boards, which President Murray of the CIO denounced on December 4, 1945, over a nation-wide radio broadcast, after Truman recommended them to Congress.

Fact-finding boards? A rather sensitive point in Reuther circles. Remember when President Truman's fact-finding board first cut down the GM strike demands from 30 cents to 19½ 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

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 politics 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 Dewey, was George Edwards, the UAW'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

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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-

Will He or Won't He Get Injunction Power?



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 before it.

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

CP's Lawyers Attack Jury Setup

Present Evidence That Blue-Ribbon Panels Come from Upper Class

By WYATT LEE

The trial of eleven Communist Party leaders was still in its preliminary stages as the third week of hearings continued in Federal Court in New York. The battery of defense attorneys 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 the defense called numerous witnesses.

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 decision.

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

other earmarks of solid, substantial American citizenship. Negroes, Jews, "foreigners" and other unreliable characters are not welcome, if not definitely excluded, as charged by the defense.

To prove their contention, the defense 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 members.

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

working class neighborhoods. Occupational 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 system.

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 college.

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?

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 firemen to act as firebosses. The fireman, 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 shift.

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 firemen 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 the law.

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

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 "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 labor.

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!

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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!

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 J. Jeffries, 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 at 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.

GOSSE'S SUCCESS
Within a few weeks, the tactic of "capturing" the Democratic Party will be put to a severe test.

It's almost ironic, 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.

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 get-

ting Louis Rabaut back in Congress. men the UAW elected three months ago?

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

Injunction Use Unsettled --

(Continued from page 1)
Democrats get together, they will be able to put "teeth" into the labor bill.

If the administration bill were to become law, there would be an end of some of the more obnoxious provisions 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 union welfare and retirement funds, the limitation on union political activities, the ban on unionization of foremen and the ban on strikes by government workers.

Retained in the administration bill is the ban on secondary boycotts, which would impair labor's effectiveness, and also the ban on jurisdictional strikes. In both these instances the power of court injunction would remain in the National Labor Relations Board.

The Republicans will try to extend 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 plenty of delay.

FILIBUSTER FIGHT
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 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 Southern Democrats, as for instance on labor legislation.

LEGALIZED TAPPING
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

Clark. He wishes to legalize wiretapping and to permit evidence so procured to be used in court hearings.

This attempt to rob an individual of his privacy will be fought by the labor, liberal and socialist movements. Labor leaders are slated to appear at the hearings to oppose Clark's bill.

On the issue of general housing there are now three bills up for consideration: the administration bill calling for 1,050,000 new units in seven years; the Republican bill introduced 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.

With the population of the country at around 143,000,000 two years ago, and the number of families at around 35,000,000 in 1940, the generous administration provision for 1,050,000 new units in seven years won't go very far to solve the housing 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.

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 Clark. He wishes to legalize wiretapping and to permit evidence so procured to be used in court hearings. This attempt to rob an individual of his privacy will be fought by the labor, liberal and socialist movements. Labor leaders are slated to appear at the hearings to oppose Clark's bill.

OHIO NOTES:

New Organization Contests Government Loyalty Purge

By JOE CLARK

CLEVELAND—A new organization to be known as the Federal Employees Defense Committee was organized last week in Cleveland and New York. One of the principal organizers was Gertram A. Washington, who is also president of the Cleveland branch of the National Alliance of Postal Workers, a score of whose members face discharge on grounds of disloyalty.

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

In a statement announcing the formation of the committee, B. A. Washington 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 checked the loyalty of more than 2,000,000 federal workers, and the probing is still going on.

Washington, in his statement, said he felt confident that Federal workers in other cities would join the new committee. He revealed that the committee's legal action would also challenge Attorney General Tom Clark's authority under the presidential order to brand certain organizations as subversive.

Ten years ago another attorney general, Cummings, recommended a bill authorizing wiretapping under certain circumstances—and supposedly 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.

Clark. He wishes to legalize wiretapping and to permit evidence so procured to be used in court hearings. This attempt to rob an individual of his privacy will be fought by the labor, liberal and socialist movements. Labor leaders are slated to appear at the hearings to oppose Clark's bill.

WORKERS PARTY BULLETIN

Three more issues of the Workers Party Bulletin are now out, containing documents and discussion articles in preparation for the coming national convention of the party.

- No. 7: Draft resolution on the Situation in the United States and Our Next Tasks.
No. 8: Statement of Ernest Erber giving his reasons for resignation. (Reply by Max Shachtman to follow.)
No. 9: Amendments to International Resolution, by L. Shields; Mass Work, by W. Barton; Discussion by Jim Sifakis; Organize the Unemployed, by Robert Frost; Imperialist Struggle for World Domination, by E. R. McKinney.

As announced in LABOR ACTION before, the first five 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.

YOUTH and Student CORNER

By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

The following article is contributed by Barry Miller of the Chicago SYL.

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 Mabee, a 1946 Pulitzer Prize winner, is the aftermath of a six month battle over academic freedom.

Ashty, 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 to accept this responsible position without financial remuneration on the condition that he be given a free hand to reorganize the school.

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.

After six weeks of strikes and demonstrations against the new administration the students were defeated and demoralized, and Ashty was firmly in control. Then in early December his plans for the future became more evident by a speech he delivered in Detroit.

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.

New York SYL Announces 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 as follows:

- 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 Internationalist.
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.

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

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 bourgeoisie-peasant coalition).

he cites constitutional clauses to us, 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."

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."

tricked by the "typical chicanery" of 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."

What meaning can we attach then to Brad's statement (LA, Jan. 17, pg. 4) 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.

fense of the Republic out of their hands despite the fine phrases in their constitution. Class independence is not a strategic question. For the colonial working class, the strategic 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.

As Brad says, "Socialists have the special task of regrouping workers' and agricultural laborers' cadres in underground leagues of struggle."

Robert MAGNUS

state power by the Dutch. They have 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."

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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

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AN EDITORIAL

On Southeast Asian Regional Union

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 recent New Delhi Conference failed to cope seriously with this first problem. Not inviting the Viet Nameuse 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.

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 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.

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 self-balkanization of Asia.

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.

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.

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.

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 in Israel.

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.

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 unwillingness of the Israeli masses to accept the Mapam legend that Stalinism and Socialism are identical.

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.

Summary of Israel Vote

Table with 4 columns: Party, Votes, Pct., Deputies. Includes Mapai (reformist), Mapam (centrist), Arab Workers (Mapai sponsored), Arab Peoples (Mapam sponsored), Clerical, Bourgeois, Progressive, General Zionists, WIZO, Ultra-Nationalist, Heiruth, Fighters, Revisionists, Communist Party, Arabs of Nazareth, Communal Groupings, Sephardim, Yemenites.

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.

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.

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.

WORLD POLITICS

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.

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.

First, precisely what steps have been taken as of now? Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg 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.

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 sovereign rights and powers by the individual nations is implied.

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.

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.

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.

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 big 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.

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").

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.

is far overshadowed by its content in terms of power and imperialist policies.

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.

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 ideological 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.

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 people.

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.

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.

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

(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 EXPROPRIATION.

"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 capitalism 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 employees at the plant.

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

"This doesn't mean that the employee 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 employee 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 employees 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.

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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...

We refer doubters to excerpts from the tragic letter of the Chinese Trotskyists printed elsewhere in this issue...

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...

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...

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...

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..."

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...

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"...

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...

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...

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..."

When in 1945 the Russians marched into Manchuria and stripped electric dynamos, mines pumps, arsenal machines and tools, rolling stock, material and supply dumps, the CP of China made no protest whatsoever...

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...

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..."

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...

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...

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...

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."

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...

The first mention of a special GPU department occurs in 1931 when such a division was regularly established as one of the ten government departments. Already by the end of that year the GPU was busy earning its place...

monolithic, no less authoritarian, no less characterized by political terrorism and leader worship than the Russian—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...

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..."

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..."

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-desert of Upper Shensi...

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 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 enough 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 CHINESE 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...

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

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policy. It will pay its tithe to the 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 Chinese CP.

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 counter-revolutionary. 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 less despotic for this difference is not the case.

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 vulgar.

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

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A Letter From Shanghai
January 17, 1949, Shanghai, China
Dear Editor:
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 vulgar.
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

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 one-man institution of policy and without following the CP line.
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