Trial of 12 CP Leaders Opens in N.Y.

103 cases receiving "unfavorable de-

Percentagewise, these figures may

seem small, but they do not reflect the

terror unleashed in the ranks of the

Civil Service. The slightest deviation

from the political norm makes a Fed-

eral employe suspect and membership

in any of a host of organizations,

many of which are honest socialist

groups that consider Stalinism their

worst enemy, means loss of employ-

ment and perhaps criminal prosecu-

A more realistic appraisal of the ef-

fects of the "loyalty" investigations

can be seen from the hysteria sur-

rounding the Hiss-Chambers affair

and the cases of such men as Dr.

Frank P. Graham, president of the

University of North Carolina and the

Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Stud-

ies, whose only "crime" seems to be

a willingness to sponsor liberal causes.

This campaign will become further

intensified if a bill submitted to Con-

gress by Attorney General Tom C.

Clark becomes law. Ostensibly aimed

at espionage, the proposed bill asks

an end to the ban against wire-tap-

ping, suspension of the statute of lim-

itations, and stiff penalties for per-

sons found negligent in the protection

of secret documents, war industry

areas and key shipping facilities. Last

point in the bill calls for registration

of all persons "schooled in espionage

The over-all pattern emerging from

this proposed legislation and the ac-

tivities of various governmental agen-

cies since the end of the war shows a

conscious trend towards a regimental

control of the people in preparation

for the next war. Just as the economy

of the nation is geared more and more

to a permanent war basis, so consti-

tutional rights usually discarded only

in time of war are being whittled

(Continued on page 3)

The first elections in Israel will

take place on January 25 to elect 120

members of a Constituent Assembly

which will adopt a constitution. Vot-

ing is by the list method of propor-

tional representation. Only 250 sig-

natures are necessary to validate a

There are 21 lists being presented

to the voters, including three Arab

lists. These 21 lists actually repre-

sent nine major blocs, with the re-

mainder being representatives of spe-

cial groups such as the Sephardic

(Oriental) Jews, Yemmenites, women,

two personal lists and splinter ten-

The MAPAI - Palestinian Labor

Party-is considered the largest sin-

gle party despite the fact that it re-

ceived fewer votes than the compo-

nent parts of Mapam. It is a social-

democratic party adhering to the

Second International. It has the over-

whelming support of the city workers

and sizable strength in the agricul-

tural colonies. It polled about 54 per

cent of the Histadruth vote. It takes

for itself major credit for the estab-

lishment of the Jewish state by par-

tition. Its program stresses coloniza-

dencies of the religious bloc.

MAJOR PARTIES

By AL FINDLEY

or sabotage in foreign countries."

CLARK'S NEW PROPOSAL

terminations"

The Federal government unlimbered a new weapon in the home-front campaign against its imperialist rival, Russia, when the trial of eleven U.S. Communist Party leaders opened last week in a courtroom jammed with reporters and photographers and guarded by 400 New York policemen. Trial of the twelfth, William Z. Foster, may be held separately on motion of U. S. attorney John F. X. McGohey, because of the defendant's ill health.

After two years of legal harassment, the Department of Justice for the second time invoked the infamous Smith Act to charge the defendants, all members of the CP central committee, with teaching and advocating overthrow of the government. This Act, under which 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted in Minneapolis in 1941, is a legislative evasion of the constitutional right that previously forbade conviction except on proof of an overt act.

"LOYALTY" CAMPAIGN

The trial marks a new step in the government's postwar activities against U. S. agents of its erstwhile allies in the Kremlin. By openly challenging the right of political existence for the CP the Federal authorities go beyond the legal subterfuges used in the immediate past and pose civil rights questions of prime importance to all minority parties.

Until now postwar efforts to supties have taken the form of intimidation through specific legal charges. Numerous CP members have been picked up by immigration officials on charges of illegal entry, false statements and other technicalities.

Others, either members or fellow travelers, have been convicted of contempt for refusal to answer questions put to them by Congressional and state investigating committees. Widest in scope is the "loyalty" check on 2,350,097 Federal employes and applicants conducted by the FBI on orders of President Truman. This purge, according to an FBI report recently released, resulted in the intensive investigation of some 7,000 cases with

Rank and File Completes Win In UE Local 601

EAST PITTSBURGH, Jan. 8-Following the sweep of rank and file candidates for top office in Westinghouse Local 601 of the United Electrical Workers last week, the victory over the Stalinists was made complete when 11 out of 14 Division Stewards were elected on the Rank and File

Division stewards, together with the union officers, comprise the executive board which now has 17 Rank and File members out of 20 posts.

Still to be elected this week is the chief steward who will be the twentyfirst member of the board.

Thus far two candidates for the position are Division Steward Mike Fitzpatrick who was recently elected on the Rank and File slate, and his brother Tom Fitzpatrick who was defeated for President of the Local on the Stalinist "Progressive" ticket.

The vote will be held by approximately 400 elected stewards.

If Mike Fitzpatrick wins there will have to be a re-election in his division for the position he will have to give

Rumor that William Harper, a defeated Progressive candidate, might break from the Stalinist ticket and run independently for the post seems

well founded. If so, it will begin the break up of the once unshakeable Stalinist caucus. As Legislative Machinery Begins to Grind:

Lobbies Grease Congress Wheels

By SUSAN GREEN

The legislative machinery of the country is in place, is oiled up, and is ready for production. The messages from the White House have been delivered. All Congressional committees have been constituted. The wheels of legislative production are turning.

Already a number of bills have been introduced. Public hearings are being arranged. Witnesses have been summoned or have asked to appear.

All this is the visible equipment used in making the laws by which we live. This 81st Congress will be legislating on matters of war or peace, of housing, of social security, of health, of civil rights, of unemployment or employment for the workers.

UNDER THE SURFACE

This visible equipment that we have seen going into action in these first weeks of January is, however, only part of the mechanics of legisating. It is only the part that shows. Government is very like an icebergthere is more, much more under the surface than above.

Under the surface is, for example, general ideology of the men and women who will be making the laws for us. Both Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, are men and women limited in their conceptions and in their actions by the boundaries set by capitalism. In legislating on domestic issues they will be basically loyal to private enterprise and the profit system. In legislating on foreign issues they will be subtley motivated by the ingrained desire to further the interests and power of American capitalism. This is the fundamental ideological coloration of the

The "liberalism" that was voted into office last November may change the shade slightly but hardly the color of the Congress. It is a "liberalism" stemming primarily from the desire of politicians to save capitalism from communism by making the former more acceptable to the people. No small consideration is the growing conviction of politicians that these days "liberalism" pays off in votes. The "liberalism" in the 81st Congress cannot be identified with the will of the people to struggle for a better and

of lawyers, businessmen, brokers, col-

tives. The Mapai also demands chang-

ing the boundaries of the original

partition and calls for the annexation

of Western Galilee, Jaffa and Jeru-

salem by Israel. As to the Arabs, the

Mapai is against their return but pro-

in other Arab states.

strengthened.

poses to help resettle Arab refugees

In foreign affairs, the Mapai is the

main advocate of neutrality between

the Western and Eastern imperialist

blocs. Opponents accuse the Mapai,

and not without reason, of TENDING

The Mapai has made the question

of immediate peace versus continued

war one of its main election issues.

succeed, the Mapai would be greatly

The MAPAM-United Labor Party

-a fusion of Hashomer Hatzair, Ach-

duth Avodah and Left Paole Zion-

is the rival of the Mapai for working

class votes. Neither the Mapai nor

Mapam propose a socialist economy.

Both propose a "mixed and controlled

economy." The Mapam accuses the

21 Lists Make Bid in Israel Election

Discusses Party Alignments; Sees Immigrants Big Unknown in Forecasting Outcome of Election

pledged to private interests whom they will represent on the floors of Congress.

How many true representatives of the people are there? How many steel, auto, textile workers sit in Congress? How many housewives?

So this is some of the sub-surface substance of the Congress that will be legislating for the people. But this is not all. Congress will be beset by the swarm of lobbyists that have already descended upon Washington for their sub-surface participation in the making of the laws. The lobbyists have another function too-they influence the distribution of government contracts. Today Washington is the biggest business center on earth.

Lobbyists' methods are devious. There is the social touch; cocktail parties, dinners, dances, to which the right people are invited. Sometimes they are given by women in the social register who seemingly have nothing to do with the dirty business of politics. Robert Allen, broadcasting from Washington on January 9, told of the massing of this army of lobbyists, and he reported on one of the first social functions of the season attended by some 200 incorruptible legislators. The cost of such shindigs should not be mentioned to housewives waiting at the meat counters, or they might get mad.

Lobbyists also generously supply technical information to legislators drafting laws - information guaranteed to be strictly untinted! They get themselves to testify before legislative committees, presenting the views they sponsor. Mainly and above all, they try to win over key congressmen.

Expert lobbyists "earn" as much as \$25,000 a year plus elaborate expense accounts. In 1947 a real estate lobbyist received a fee of \$250 a day plus an expense account. Back of the important lobbyists are large staffs of researchers. While the law requires lobbyists to register, many conceal the identity of their clients by registering as employed by law firms, and up to date the registration requirement has meant nothing at all.

In 1947, out of 676 registered lobbyists, 317 represented business. The number of lobbyists does not by any Concretely, the Congress is made up means determine their strength. It is the money behind them that counts; professors, local politicians risen needless to say, business supplies its to higher estate. Some are definitely lobbyists with the wherewithal.

tion, social legislation and coopera- Mapai of not giving predominance to The Mapam continues the anti-cleri-

the cooperative sections of the econ-

omy. This writer has seen little sub-

stantiation of that charge. The Ma-

pam, like the Mapai, is willing to

form a coalition government. Here

again the difference between Mapai

and Mapam seems more verbal than

The Mapam wants to retain as

much independence for the workers'

institutions as possible, that is, social

legislation paid for by the govern-

ment but administered by workers.

There is, of course, the powerful NAM lobby representing all business. At its recent convention NAM pledged itself and its money to fight to retain the Taft-Hartley law or to preserve the main provisions in other legislation. Under the surface, NAM is going to have a lot to do with what hap-

pens to the Taft-Hartley law. Another powerful lobby that will be working overtime ON Congress is the real estate fraternity. If they can't prevent a rent control law, they want at least to tone it down to suit real estate interests. Another thing this lobby is out to do is to kill public housing. The building business does not find a housing shortage bad for profits, and objects to government interference. Under the surface, the landlords and the real estate interests will also be legislators.

LABOR'S INTERVENTION

With this fuller view of the mechanics of producing legislation, one must fear for the future.

(Continued on page 2)

"Peace" Moves Begin as China Regime Totters

The political picture in China began to balance itself this week to comply with stern military reality. Following hard on the heels of the final collapse of all KMT (Kuomintang) power north of the Yangtse came two major developments:

1. The Central Government's Executive Yuan decided to send a mission to CP headquarters to negotiate peace terms.

2. In cautious ambiguities, Nanking announced its intention of removing the government to Canton in the South, putting several hundred miles between itself and the Stalinist armies. In all probability Canton will become the political capital while For-

mosa is utilized as a military training and regroupment base. The decision of the Executive Yuan, while a very important

indication of political trends, is not decisive in its peace aims, for Chiang has not indicated where he stands on the new proposal although his general position is clearly opposed to serious peace proposals to the "bandits."

It may be that he has not indicated his position, out of cautious discretion. But it is a fact that he alone is the decisive power in the KMT. As the base of support has narrowed. disintegration spread and localism become dominant, Chiang at the apex of the enfeebled hierarchy has become even more the absolute ruler. If Chiang bars the way the "peace" factions may first have to find ways of removing him and in such a struggle the fate of the entire regime would be in question.

Even if the Yuan's committee has been given the necessary authority, it is still doubtful if the CP will deal with these emissaries. In recent weeks Stalinist headquarters have been busy arranging alliances with all kinds of political groups in South China in order to ease its conquest of this area. Marshall Li. of the anti-Nanking KMT "Revolutionary Committee," has played a prominent role in bringing together CP leaders with the warlords of Yunnan and other South China provinces. These tactics indicate the determination of the CP to by-pass Nanking entirely for the present.

(Continued on page 4)

What Will Stalinist China Victory Mean?

By JACK BRAD

Stalinist armies continued to mop up in North China with great strides this past week as Central Government troops pulled back to the Yangtze River as the next defense line. The biggest gains for the CP were in the easy and bloodless conquest of Tientsin and Tangku, its port. Only Peiping still stands, but it is only a matter of time before it too surrenders.

Tientsin is a city of two million people, the main port of North China, and contains one third of the textile industry of all China. Because for years it was the center of international concessions for the North, it is a relatively modern city with good port facilities and rail connections. Its fall is a great blow to the position of the government in international commerce, as well as militar-

The most interesting aspect of

calist tradition of the socialist move-

ment and advocates separation of

religion and state, while the Mapai

The real differences, however, are

in the field of foreign affairs. The

Mapam wants to continue the war,

insists on an independent Arab state

and proposes the Arab Stalinists as

the rulers of this state. In substance

this also means the giving up of

Western Galilee. The Mapam dema-

(Continued on page 3)

is willing to compromise.

these otherwise clearly foreshadowed military events is that the leadership of the "peace movements" in all of these Northern cities which are completely surrounded by Stalinist armies and have been for monthsthese movements which made possible the bloodless victories of the Stalinists - are completely under the leadership of bourgeois groups. As noted in LABOR ACTION several weeks ago, the announcement of the Shanghai City Council, going over the head of Chiang, in a direct appeal to Mao Tse-tung for direct negotiations, was an attempt by the urban compradores to arrive at an understanding which would salvage their basic economic position.

It is now clear that THIS bourgeoisie, despised and enfeebled by the rulers of the Kuomintang, this class which has no political party of its own, not to speak of military power, is now the driving force for negotiations with the CP at all costs, using its City Councils as the instrument

WORKERS PASSIVE

The working class has played no role in the civil war so far and it is unlikely that it will in the immediate military events to come. The workers do not rise to greet the Stalinist armies, nor do they play a role in the "peace movements."

The CP has been alienated from the cities for twenty years. In August, 1948, it held its first national labor conference in Harbin at which it launched a new Chinese Labor Federation under its own auspices in an attempt to gain control of the urban working class. However, at this conference the CP advised the workers that their main task was "to prepare themselves for the arrival of the lib-

(Continued on page 4)

toward a Western or American direction. While preferring a weak, independent Arab state in Eastern Pal-Dutch Victories Bring No Peace in Indonesia estine, it is not opposed to allowing Abdullah and Egypt to divide Arab

Tanmalaka Reported Leading Guerrillas in Republican Areas; Underground Government Formed

Should the negotiations at Rhodes By S. PITT

First news of the whereabouts of Tanmalaka, so - called "Trotskyist" leader in Indonesia, and consistent fighter for national independence under working class leadership in Indonesia, was received this week. The New York Times reports a Reuters dispatch that Tanmalaka is one of the leaders of the Republican guerrilla armies on West Java. This area has been one of the primary strongholds of the Republic since its inception. (See article on Tanmalaka by Jack Brad in last week's LABOR ACTION. It is the first extensive account of Tanmalaka's activity to be published in this country.-Ed.)

Throughout Indonesia guerrilla warfare has increased, become coordinated and organized under the leadership of a temporary Republican regime established on Sumatra. If there were any doubts before, it is now abundantly clear that the Republic will continue to struggle.

As a matter of fact, even the Indonesian puppet governments established by the Dutch are proving recalcitrant. Several of the governments resigned as protests against the Dutch action. The puppets feel that

now is the time for the extraction of greater concessions from the Dutch. In this they are taking advantage of the struggle of the Republic. It begins to appear that the Dutch will be unable to reestablish the pre-war status even in those areas where their military victory has been topped with a political structure of native feudalism, such as in some parts of Sumatra and the Sunda Islands.

WIDE REPERCUSSIONS

On the contrary, like the French in Indo-China, the Dutch are becoming increasingly involved in a long war which threatens the diplomatic and economic position not only of the colonies, but also of Holland itself. It is estimated that the Dutch are now spending at the rate of close to a half billion dollars annually on the Indonesian war. This amount is about equal to the total annual ERP allotments to Holland.

The international repercussions continue to spread. The United States, motivated by the fear of collapse of the entire position of imperialism in Asia, which is caught between the reactionary Dutch and the Chinese Stalinists, is utilizing the United Nations and its "Good Offices Commit-

tee" as its instrument for moderation conference will be printed in an early of the Dutch attack. Under Secretary of State Lovatt openly condemned Holland and demanded, in an unprecedented statement, that it release the Republican officials and deal with them to alleviate the Indonesian conflict.

However, the United States has been unable to organize an effective UN bloc because of its commitments to support Holland and because of the British and French colonial structure as well. It is caught in a dilemma between the needs of expediency and its long term commit-

Protests against the Dutch action continued in many parts of the world. The Socialist Leader, London paper of the Independent Labor Party, reports that the Congress of Peoples Against Imperialism, headed by Fenner Brockway, led a delegation of protests to the Dutch Ambassador in

ASIA CONFERENCE

While the UN continued its feeble gestures, all eyes were centered on New Delhi where the Conference of Asiatic States is scheduled to convene on January 20. (A report of this posals.

edition of LABOR ACTION.)

While Western diplomats were apprehensive of the actions of this conference, and by the fact of its very existence, some of its leaders, apparently frightened by the boldness and the implications of their own acts, were seeking to reassure Western embassies that nothing too serious need be feared. The Indian delegate to the United Nations, B. R. Rau, assured U.S. representatives that the conference had no intention of bypassing or going beyond the framework of the UN. However, Nehru, the real moving spirit behind the conference, must face the problem of the advances of Stalinism in Asia as well as the Dutch war. To deal with both of these problems simultaneously will require more boldness than is possible within the UN.

It also remains to be seen whether the Indonesians and delegates from several of the Socialist Parties in Asiatic countries will accept do-nothing policy. At the 1947 conference, the Viet Namese and Indonesian delegates presented minority resolutions which went far beyond official pro-

In Next Week's Labor Action:

In the month of January falls the anniversary of the death of three of the socialist movement's greatest leaders.

Lenin

Liebknecht

Luxembura

Next week's LABOR ACTION will carry an article on the "Three Ls" and on what their struggle for socialism means for American socialists today.

With the

NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

Politics Keys Ohio C10 Convention

CLEVELAND, Jan. 15-Holding the spotlight in Cleveland labor circles this week-end is the state convention of the CIO, which has drawn 1,200 delegates, representing some 400,000 members of affiliated unions all over the state. The time of the convention has been chiefly taken up with struggles between the right and the "left," or as we may now say, between the Trumanites and the Stalinists. The high point came Friday night, January 14, when Allan Haywood, CIO national vice - president, gave a long speech, bitterly denouncing the Stalinists in the CIO. Haywood charged them with "giving aid and comfort to the forces of reaction and being mainly responsible for the destruction of many CIO unions through secessionist movements, membership raids and factional feuds."

Haywood also accused them of being "drifting souls who thought they knew more than the organized labor movement, and divided the labor movement by jumping the gun and endorsing Wallace immediately before the national CIO and its PAC voted to support Truman."

"We are here today to condemn you of the third party," Haywood said. "We have a right to condemn you. If you had your way we would have had Dewey as President instead of Truman, and the same reactionary Congress that gave us the Taft-Hartley Bill."

KROLL BANS RESOLUTION

The Stalinists submitted, among others, a resolution directed chiefly at Philip Murray, national CIO head, but the convention chairman, Jack Kroll, would not permit it to come before the body. He ruled, "It does not come under the jurisdiction of any state council to act on a resolution condemning national CIO pol-

A number of resolutions were adopted calling for price controls, guaranteed annual wages, increase in state unemployment compensation from \$21 a week maximum to \$30, repeal of the Ferguson Act, which bans strikes by public employees, and adoption of a state FEPC law patterned after New York and Connecticut laws, and also several changes in the Ohio tax set-up.

The Murray wing will move to oust four vice-presidents when election for officers is held on January 15. In view of the convention decisions so far, there seems little doubt that this

(Continued from page 1)

But, we are told, labor also main-

tains a powerful lobby in Washington.

True, and an illuminating comment

it is on the labor bureaucrats who

find the methods of business most

compatible with their own outlook.

True, but the labor lobby was not

powerful enough to prevent the pas-

sage of the Taft-Hartley law! How-

ever, when the CIO and AFL organ-

ized the voting power of the working

people in the election, the pro-Taft-

Hartley candidates of the NAM were

At the sub-surface game of lebby-

ing, business will always have the

edge on labor because labor's strength

does not lie in such "business meth-

will be accomplished. As was to be expected, the Stalinists fought bitterly against any support of the Marshall Plan but it was voted anyway.

One important result of the convention, though this will not be accomplished immediately, will be a switch in control of the Cleveland Industrial Union Council. This is scheduled for sometime in February. The Stalinists have had complete control of the Council for a long time, but it appears they are now doomed to de-

LEANS TO POLITICS

In opening the convention with a "keynote" address, the chairman, Jack Kroll, expressed confidence that President Truman, and Ohio's new Governor, Frank Lausche, would follow through on campaign promises to labor unions and the electorate. He also told the convention that the CIO Political Action Committee, of which he is the national director, had pledged itself to secure the defeat of Senator Robert A. Taft if Taft runs for reelection in 1950. Kroll stressed the im-





ROBERT A. TAFT portance of "remaining vigilant to see that no restrictive legislation aimed at labor unions is passed in Ohio."

ods." Labor must stand on its open,

avowed, recognized power of over-

whelming numbers, of indispensabil-

ity in production, of its common in-

In spite of the optimism expressed

by Phil Murray and Bill Green+

along with constant reminders to the

Democratic Party that it owes its vic-

tory to labor-the fact remains that

this 81st Congress is not too different

from others. And the fact also re-

mains that to date Phil Murray and

Bill Green have done nothing to give

political expression to labor's power

in an independent labor party. They

refuse to break through the capitalist-

so uncertain and so insecure.

imposed limits which make the future

last November. Along with this

honeymoon celebration goes the al-

most complete discreditment of the

Stalinists. But the methods used are

not always commendable. There is too

much of machine control about them;

the dictatorship of the Stalinists be-

ing displaced by a dictatorship of the

Also, the question of whether or not

Truman and Lausche will carry out

their campaign promises is something

that remains to be seen. Anything in

the way of jubilation might be pre-

mature. But for the present politics is

the theme of most of the discussion.

In a recent poll conducted by the

National Labor Relations Board at

the big plant of the Aluminum Co. of

America, the Die Casting division of

the CIO United Auto Workers won a

3 to 1 victory over the CIO Mine,

Mill & Smelter Workers Union, re-

ceiving 1,040 of the 1,418 ballots cast.

This was partly due to the failure of

the MM&SW to file the non-com-

munist-affidavits, but was also due to

the awakening of the rank and file to

the harmful and dictatorial tactics of

the Stalinists. The leader of the Die

Casters Union is Ken Eckert, a for-

mer MM&SW man. He left them last

spring when they lost a strike at the

Precision Casting Co., and were re-

placed by an AFL unit. Since that

time the MM&SW has dropped from

pears that the MM&SW may soon be

completely eliminated from the Cleve-

A back-to-work movement has been

started at the S. K. Wellman plant on

E. 51 Street where 250 members of

the Mechanics Educational Society of

America have been on strike since

November 17. The company said that

25 workers had returned to work but

the union disputed this saying only

10 had gone back. Neutral observers

said 15 had gone back, together with

a number of foreman who did not go

This outcome of the struggle is not

surprising when we remember the

following facts: since last week a

court order has limited the union to

two pickets at each gate; the AFL

building trades have sent numerous

workers through the picket lines to

install new machinery; the Teamsters

Union has permitted its members to

pass through the picket lines to de-

liver the new machinery. How could

At the Midland Steel Products Co.

1800 members of Local 486 of the

UAW are out in a dispute over safety

measures in the plant. The company

had sent home 125 workers who ob-

jected to removal of certain safety

precautions on the production line.

The union officers were discharged on

January 11, after the workers had

started a complete work stoppage.

The company has now offered to re-

duce the discharges to 30 day suspen-

sions if the strike is called off. Nego-

tiations will be resumed on January

a strike succeed under such condi-

Midland Steel

land area.

Back to Work

out on strike at all.

UAW Wins Poll

Murrayites.

All readers of LABOR ACTION are invited to attend meetings, class lectures and socials sponsored by local branches of the WORKERS PARTY. For information of WORKERS PARTY activities in cities not listed below, write to WORKERS PARTY, 4 Court Square, Long Island City 1, N. Y. The convention leans heavily to politics, a result of the Truman victory

Workers Party

AKRON: Write to Box 221.

BALTIMORE: International Fellowship House, 21 West Preston St., 2nd floor. Public forums every secend Friday of each month. Discussion group on remaining Friday evenings.

BUFFALO: 639 Main St., 2nd floor. Office hours, 11 a.m.-2 p.m., Monday through Friday. Open meetings

Sunday evenings. Discussion groups Thursday evenings. CHICAGO: 800 West North Ave. Tel.: MIChigan 9003. Office hours: Wed-nesdays after 4:00 p.m. Meetings: Every Wednesday at 8:30 p.m.

CLEVELAND: WP Branch meets Sundays, 8:00 p.m., in the Croatian Home Association (6314 St. Clair Ave. Write to Bernard Douglas, Box 1130, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

1130, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DETROIT: 9016 12th St. Meetings Fridays: 8:15 p.m.

LOS ANGELES: 3314 So. Grand, Los Angeles 7. Tel.: Richmond 7-3230 (if no answer, phone AX 2-9067). Office hours, 2 to 5 p.m. daily.

NEWARK: 248 Market St., Newark 2. Open house Friday evenings.

NEW YORK CITY:

CITY CENTER: 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. Open every day from 10 a.m.

floor. Open every day from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m. Wednesday and Thursday until 10:30 p.m. Tel.,: WAtkins

CENTRAL BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:16 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor. CHELSEA BRANCH: Thursday, 8:15 p.m., at the City Center, 114 West 14th St., 3rd floor.

B'KLYN - BROWNSVILLE BRANCH: Wednesday, 8:15 p.m., at the De Luxe Palace, 538 Howard Ave. (near

Pitkin Ave.). SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE

BRONX UNIT: Meets every Sunday night, Wilkins Hall, 1330 Wilkins MANHATTAN UNIT: Open forums, Friday nights, 8:15, at WP City Center, 114 West 14th St.

BROOKLYN UNIT: Open forums every other week. For more information write to SYL, 114 W. 14th St., New York City. PHILADELPHIA: 1139 West Girard

Ave., 3rd floor. Meetings Wednes-days at 8:00 p.m. Open House, Sundays 7:30-10.

PITTSBURGH: Write to P. O. Box 6623, Pittsburgh 11. READING: Write to P. O. Box 1671.

SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA: Write to Labor Action, 466 Tenth St., Room 212, Oakland 7, Calif.

SAN PEDRO: Write to Labor Action,

SEATTLE: Write to P. O. Box 29, University Post Office, Seattle 5. ST. LOUIS: Write to Douglas Bridge, O. Box 3414, Maplewood Branch, P. O. Box 3414, Maplewood, Mo.

YOUNGSTOWN: Write to J. P. Wal-

Discuss "Civil Rights and the Loyalty Purge" at Philadelphia Labor Action Forum

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 9-The Labor Action Forum on "Civil Rights and the Loyalty Purge" featured two invited speakers on special phases of the general topic. Irving Orchant, a member of the James Kutcher Civil Rights Committee, spoke on the firing of James Kutcher, a legless veteran, from his Veterans Administration clerk job and Frank Carner, "poor security risk" from Local 107, UE-CIO, discussed a "New Industrial Blacklist."

Chairman Joseph Arnold, in his introductory remarks, cited the growing list of civil rights violations in the few years since the end of the war fought allegedly for the Four Freedoms. The chairman continued by stating that the main target of this attack has been the radical political groups and that thousands of individuals in federal and private employment have been discriminated against through use of the concept of "guilt by association" with organizations placed on Attorney General Clark's subversive list.

The speaker for the Kutcher Committee related the details of this

clearest and most brutal case of political discrimination that has occurred in the loyalty purge. James Kutcher has been fired and denied reinstatement in his job with the Veterans Administration because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Frank Carner related details of the strike by Local 107, UE-CIO, last July which forced the Westinghouse Corporation to rehire Herbert Lewin and himself, who had been labeled "poor security risks," and the continuing efforts of the CIO in their be-

As is customary in this Sunday evening series of Labor Action Forums, questions and discussion closed the meeting.

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a membership of 6,000 in 23 plants to a mere 1,200 in nine plants. About 600 of these went to AFL groups and the others to Eckert's group. It ap-

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

No. 6: Minority amendments to the draft International Resolution, and discussion articles on the same resolution; documents of the Jewish Bund movement (presented for

No. 7: Draft resolution on the Situation in the United States and Our Next Tasks.

resignation. (Reply by Max Shachtman to follow.)

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

These are:

information) on the Jewish question.

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Strike Still On

17.

The strike of 1,800 members of the International Association of Machinists against the Warner & Swasey Co., which started December 27, is still going on. C. Russell Turner of the Federal Conciliation and Mediation Service is trying for a settlement, so far without success. The dispute is over wage increases, and is the first in this plant for many years.

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By JULIUS FALK and JACK MAXWELL

Tracking the AYD

This is the way the AYD ends, This is the way the AYD ends, This is the way the AYD ends, Not with a bang but a whimper.

Our apologies for this profane revision of T. S. Eliot, but we can think of no more fitting epitaph to the unlamented self-dissolution of the American Youth for Democracy (AYD).

This Stalinist front youth organization, initiated with much pomp and bombast in 1943, has quietly passed away; its unobtrusive end standing in marked contrast to all the noisy and expensive efforts of the Communist Party to build it into an impressive mass youth front, This organization, which received enough publicity in its five years to fill many issues of the Sunday papers, has passed off the American scene so quietly that neither the press nor many AYD members were aware of it. In true bureaucratic fashion the AYD was dissolved from above, without serious discussion among its rank and file, leaving many of its members unaware of the fact that their organization was no longer among the liv-

The first we heard of the AYD's demise was a leaflet distributed by its former chapter at the City College of New York (CCNY). The leaflet announced the end of AYD as a national organization, but informed the students that some local chapters would continue to function.

We attempted to check on the story by calling up the local and national offices of AYD, thinking that they might have been kept open for a few weeks. But, no luck; their phones were disconnected. We then called up the Stalinist Jefferson School. But they claimed complete ignorance. The Daily Worker was next. We asked them if they had a recent story on the disappearance of the AYD. The Daily Worker librarian told us that they never heard of such a thing and referred us to the New York County Committee of the Communist Party! We dutifully called up the Communist Party. The response from this quarter was likewise a disavowal of all knowledge about the AYD's sorrowful end and an indignant query as to why the Daily Worker should have referred us to them in the first place!

Can ANYONE send us a few details about the AYD before we go into mourning?

The dissolution of the AYD, increasing the political vacuum on the American campus, brightens the prospects for the growth of a socialist student movement. Many AYDers will be repelled by the Stalinists' manipulation of CP-inspired organizations. From this experience with Stalinism, it can be expected that non-Stalinist AYDers will be more receptive than heretofore to genuinely progressive organizations.

SHAKE-UP COMING?

A promise of the AYD's burial was indicated during the last convention of its founding fathers, the Communist Party. At that time, the Communist Party, dissatisfied with the inability of the AYD to grow, decided on two courses of action with regard to youth work: one was to build a new mass youth front out of the remnants of AYD and an anticipated large youth section of the Wallace party; the second line of attack was to build a new Young Communist League which would draw members out of those sucked into the new front organization.

This, however, was before the Wallaceite debacle at the recent national elections. Following its defeat at the

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polls, the bottom fell out of the Wallace movement, dubbed the Progressive Party. The Young Progressive Party on campus, which looked so promising to the Stalinists before the elections, virtually collapsed. It has scarcely been heard from since then. With the now fading prospects for a significant Young Progressive Party and the total collapse of AYD, the Communist Party's chances for a large youth affiliate have gone by the

This defeat for the Stalinists may have a larger meaning. The Communist Party not only looked toward the Progressive Party and its youth section as a fruitful arena for recruiting to a new Young Communist League, but as a powerful instrument in the labor movement and source of new members for the Communist Party itself. The failure of the Wallace movement may well presage a shake-up in the Communist Party. In all totalitarian parties mistakes must be punished. Therefore, it is not out of the question that the William Z. Foster (national chairman of the Communist Party) leadership which pressed most persistently for building up the Wallace movement, will be challenged for leadership. The expenditure of time and energy by the Stalinists on the Wallace organization resulted in a weakening of the Communist Party, a loss of membership, without a compensatory mass Wallace movement from which to recoup its losses and expand.

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 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 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.

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Editorials

Defend the CP?

Twelve leaders of the Communist Party went on trial this week in Federal Court in New York, with Judge Harold R. Medina presiding. (Eleven actually appeared for the opening of the trial; the twelfth, William Z. Foster, CP chairman, being absent because of illness.) The twelve are, roughly, the CP's top public leaders. While we are able in this issue to comment only on the opening day of the trial, which was largely devoted to legal skirmishing as defense attorneys sought postponement on the ground that a fair trial was impossible in the circumstances, the major outlines of the case on both sides are already in-

Separate indictments have been issued against each of the twelve, but the present trial will weigh a mass indictment against the twelve (or eleven, since Foster's case is now separated) on charges of conspiracy to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence as defined in the Smith Act. It is expected that the trial will last for weeks, possibly months, and continue as a major news item for a long time to come, with appeals to the Supreme Court certain in the event of conviction.

The Stalinists have charged that the indictments are part of a political campaign, born in the exigencies of the U.S. conflict with Russia. That is undeniably true.

The Smith Act was enacted by Congress in 1940 and signed by Roosevelt on June 28, 1940. The first victims of the act were leading members of the Socialist Workers Party and of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544, eighteen of whom were convicted. THE STALINISTS APPLAUDED THE CON-VICTION OF THE TROTSKYIST LEADERS! That was several years ago, when Russia and the United States were allied in the war (and in dividing the post-war world), and when the Stalinists were the stormiest flag-wavers in the country. The Stalinists were no different then. Then, as now, they were essentially the agents of Russian foreign policy. They were not indicted under the Smith Act. They are now. The difference lies not in the Stalinist party, but in U.S. government policy with respect to Russia.

Once the political motivation for the trial is ascertained-and, we repeat, that lies in the arena of "cold war" diplomacy-the key issue in the trial is the constitutionality of the Smith Act. The Smith Act made freedom of speech and belief a crime. Whereas solemn legal opinion, as set down in a very famous opinion of Justice Holmes, had previously defined proof of sedition as demonstration of overt acts and "present danger," the Smith Act made circulation of views, or even the distribution of the classic, internationally renowned literature of socialism a crime. (Even that most respectable and decrepit of socialist organizations, the Socialist Party, could fall foul of the Smith Act, for some of its party institutions undoubtedly sell Karl Marx's great Communist Manifesto, which was used as evidence in the Minneapolis case.

Thus, willy-nilly, there is no alternative before labor and liberal opinion, than to oppose this prosecution of the Stalinist leaders. The American Civil Liberties Union has, for example, already protested the indictments, while noting its total opposition to everything the Stalinist party

The stand for socialists is all the more clearly indicated. For, though agents of the Kremlin tyranny are here involved, the trial itself nevertheless puts democratic processes in this country in jeopardy. Those who will suffer most in the end are socialists of whatever hue. (We remind our readers again that Trotskyist opponents of Stalinism were the first to be indicted under the Smith Act. And by extension of the anti-democratic process which underlies the trial, the labor movement in all the aspects of its independent activity is menaced.

The Stalinists are mortal enemies of labor and of freedom. But they are not being accused of having yelled loudest for a wartime no-strike pledge or for incentive pay. They are not being accused of having wrecked unions, murdered socialist opponents, misled labor. They are being charged with holding views which it is their constitutional right to hold. (And insofar as the indictment purports to charge the accused with spreading the viewpoint of Marxism, it is a flagrant libel against Marxism. Parade as they may in the garb of "socialism," the Stalinists are in actuality its murderous enemies and the "socialist" dress they wear has been monstrously redesigned.)

Much, therefore, as we detest the Stalinists, much as we must fight them in every corner of the labor movement, so much we also defend their constitutional right to the free expression of views. That is a basic democratic rights which cannot be altered without the greatest violence to essential liberties and our future.

Were it a case of some spies being trapped by the U.S. government, the matter would demand little of our attention. The Communist Party is, indeed, in an over-all sense, part of the GPU (Stalin's secret police) apparatus. But the indictment does not charge them with acts of spying, of military sabotage, or their equivalent. That sort of thing is the exclusive business of imperialist governments. They all spy on each other and employ agents in both friendly and unfriendly countries. Dealing with spies is the business of the governments involved.

Here, however, something else is involved. The indictment charges the accused with advocacy of certain views which the government arbitrarily holds to be subversive and seditious. There rests the constitutional issue. And, for socialists, it has

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special importance, because the government, among other things, charges the accused - falsely, but nevertheless charges them — with advocating socialist views.

How little the Stalinists have in common with socialism will be amply illustrated by their defense. However, we reserve discussion of this and other attendant matters for a later occasion. The government will not charge circulation of the "Protocols of Zion" or a similar piece of fascist filth (no fascist has yet been indicted under the Smith Act!).

How much the trial fits into an atmosphere of hysteria, under cover of which basic democratic rights and rational democratic procedures can be subverted, was illustrated by the opening of the trial. The Police Department publicly announced that it had assigned 400 cops to guard the trial. Cops inside, cops outside-presumably to break up demonstrations and picketing. (And since when has picketing become illegal!) So crude was the move that the New York Times editorially voiced its distaste with the whole affair (suggesting, of course, that the police might have made their arrangements with less public fanfare). The defense, of course, was quick to charge that the dramatic massing of the armed minions of the law contributed to an atmosphere of intolerance and prejudgment which conflicted with the possibility of a fair trial.

As the trial wends its way, we must judge its course with a careful eye on its far-reaching significance. Those who, in a panic of anti-Stalinism, are willing to subscribe to the indictments in what they profess to be the interests of socialism, are in actuality helping to undermine the democratic rights which are indispensable for socialism, and, at the same time, are likely contributing to the advance of Stalinism. The government's procedure is obnoxious from start to finish; and no less so because its victims are Stalinist totalitarians.

In connection with the above, we think a further point is suggested. We would not be a bit surprised if some of the big government brains were not seriously regretting their move. At a time when the Stalinists are on the run-taking a beating in union after union, with the small comfort of the Wallace debacle to rest on-the indictments give the Stalinists a made-to-order issue on which to appeal for public sentiment.

It is a fact that all who are concerned with the preservation of democratic liberties will be obliged to protest the indictments. The Stalinists will be on the lookout for enough suckers among these well-intentioned people to refurbish the tattered garments of their front movements. They will exploit it to the full, and this again calls for careful balance on the part of opponents of Sta-

That balance requires consistent opposition to the Stalinists and equally consistent opposition to any invasion of civil liberties launched under the pretext of stopping Stalinism. If anything, the whole trial demonstrates again what we have often said: the battle against Stalinism will be fought, and fought best, by the labor movement. Just as internationally, capitalist United States is incapable of halting the advance of Stalinism except by the measures of war, so, domestically, it cannot meet politically the problem of Stalinism except by warring against freedoms without which democracy cannot survive.

Wage Policy

Speaking of wage raises (as we do elsewhere on this page in a box about Harry S. Truman's wage raise): the United Auto Workers' Executive Board met last week-end and apparently decided that it would concentrate on seeking greater social security benefits in contracts instead of outright sizable wage increases. We await comment from our correspondents in the UAW on the specific merits of the proposal. Offhand, it seems to us to have considerable sensible reasoning behind it-namely, the idea that the worker's standard of living cannot be measured by money income alone, and that simple raises do not always mean a better wage.

We wish here only to submit that while it is good to see the UAW board thinking in broad social terms, there was something woefully lacking in the board's decisions, at least as reported in the New York press. Labor's standard of living has been proved time and time again to have an intimate relation to politics. The biggest blows against labor, and therefore against its living standard, were last legislated by Congress in the T-H Act. And it is obvious to everyone that the wage increases won since the war were each of them wiped out by price increases which have the closest bearing on political action (government price controls or the lack of them, etc.).

This point requires special attention in view of the fact that the president of the union pledged himself to devote his greatest energies to mobilizing the union membership and labor generally for independent political action. We think that Reuther has traveled far from his promise. We think, too, that the UAW ranks ought to remind him of it and make concrete demands for independent political action in connection with union campaigns to advance labor's economic position. (Yes, we said advance, not merely maintain. Maintaining a given standard of living may be the main job at a given moment, but the over-all need is to better, and continue to better, that

standard of living.) There will be a UAW educational conference this coming weekend at which the wage policy of the union will be discussed in one of twenty sub-conferences. Political action is also on the agenda of the conference. We think that delegates to the conference will do much for labor if they relate the two and press the union for complete execution of the commitment to independent political activity.

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Discusses Lists as Israel Prepares To Elect Its Constituent Assembly

(Continued from page 1)

gogically sidesteps this by talking of an "Israel from Dan to Aquaba." avoiding the unpopular side of this question. In general, the Mapam has a pro-Russian orientation. This pro-Stalinist orientation is not based on the support that Israel receives from Russia-although it utilizes that-but is much deeper and stems from their mistaken identification of Stalinism with socialism. While ostensibly subscribing to neutrality between East and West, the Mapam stresses neutrality from the West, and "strengthening" of ties with the East. Joining with the East, they argue in the worst Talmudical manner, is not joining a bloc since the so-called peoples democracies are not a bloc but the gathering of a progressive social movement. Such sophistry fools no one.

In their election speeches they stress independence and the original partition resolution. These sound strange indeed coming from a party that opposed both partition and immediate independence, but advocated a 25-year trusteeship.

The Mapam does, however, take a more progressive position on the ques of Arab-Jewish relations. It advocates orienting toward the Arab masses rather than governments and the return of Arab refugees-not now. to be sure-but as part of peace trea-

OTHER PARTIES

The religious bloc is a strong factor in the present elections. It is composed of the Religious Zionists-the Misrachi and Hapoel Hamisrachiplus the anti-Zionist Agudath Israel. Their main platform, of course, is that Judaism become the state religion. They have already won a victory in the draft constitution that gives the rabbinate sole jurisdiction over personal matters like marriage, etc. The Agudath Israel opposed having women on the united list since, for religious principles, they oppose women suffrage. The Hapoel Hamisrachi was therefore given permission to have a separate "unofficial" women's list. In addition, there are two extreme orthodox splinter groups with tickets.

The right wing forces are represented by the Revisionists, the Heiruth Party formed by the Irgun and by the General Zionists. Readers of LABOR ACTION are familiar with the anti-democratic nature of the Heiruth party and the reactionary nature of the Revisionists. The overwhelming majority of the Revisionists have entered the Heiruth Party led by Menachem Beigin. A small group has, for personal reasons, put up a separate Revision list. They have not filed a complete list. Both raise the same issues in this campaign.

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We merely think that every union man, what with wage negotiations

and the like coming up, ought to study the matter. The least that can

be said for the President's bargaining methods is that they get re-

sults, and fast-no strike vote, no prolonged conferences, everything

ideas for coming bargaining sessions. With a raise from his old \$75,000

a year to \$100,000 a year, plus a \$50,000 tax free expense added to

his old \$40,000 travel allowance, the President figures to get \$110,000

net after taxes-or, taken in the gross, an estimated wage scale of

\$240,000. Just hiking his pay to the latter figure struck the Congress-

men as being a little garish. Hence, the pay plus expenses, for the

to keep up the Whtie House-butlers, yardmen, servants, etc.) And

a private plane, a private yacht, a private railroad car-all free. The

\$40,000 travel allowance is for private travel. The extra \$50,000 ex-

pense is to help the President entertain guests (outside of official state

functions, which go directly on the government bill) to help pay for

the victuals (the President has to feed the servants out of his own

has gone up. And when a union committee sits down to talk wages

with the boss, the President's wage raise should serve as absolute

proof of the need. Maybe a few gimmicks can be introduced into con-

tracts too, like tax-free expense accounts-for entertaining friends

Union message about curbing wage raises, except in a few special

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Scanning the President's emoluments might suggest a couple of

of the British; want a continuation of the elections, after the fate suffered the war; the conquest of all of Palestine and Transjordan; and oppose the current negotiations at Rhodes. In foreign affairs, the Irgun, until recently, was more pro-Russian than the Mapam. It did not hide behind a supposed neutrality, but openly advocated a pro-Russian orientation. In the last few months it has shifted towards neutrality, and, it is reported, towards a "French" orientation in the

The General Zionists list in this election is the right wing of the formerly United General Zionists and is the real and almost direct representative of the bourgeoisie of Israel and of the municipal officialdom. The liberal wing has split off, and together with the Oved Hazioni (General Zionist Workers) and the German-led Aliyah Chadashah, has formed the Progressive Party. The main personality in this realignment was the liberal, Itzchak Greenbaum. However, for some reason, he is putting up his own personal list of four people. The Progressive Party and Greenbaum are moderate Zionists and liberal capitalists. Elements of this party are the only outspoken advocates of a western orientation in foreign affairs. Greenbaum is also a staunch anticlericalist. Whether the Progressive Party is also anti-clericalist is unknown to this writer.

None of the above mentioned parties have any Arabs on their lists. However, the Mapam and the Mapai have each their own sponsored Arab list-the Arab Peoples Bloc and the Arab Workers Bloc. The Hapoel Hamisrachi claims that it is "associated" with the third Arab list-the Democratic List of Nazareth.

The only lists that have both Jewish and Arab candidates are the Stern group, the "For Jerusalem" list of the former Mayor of Jerusalem Aisler, and the Communist Party.

PROBABLE OUTCOME

The CP of Israel has 120 candidates in the field, headed by Mekanis. Of these, two are Arabs. This is a poor showing after boasting of the present strength of the Arab Stalinists at the occasion of the merger of the CP and the Arab League for National Liberation. The CP has always slavishly followed Moscow's twists and turns on the Jewish question. They followed the Stalinist line from support of pogroms and the Mufti to extreme nationalism A cooling down has now set in and the main line of the CP is Triendship and strengthening ties with "peoples democracies" and Russia, and a strict letter-of-law-application of the original partition resolution. The new title of their list is a slavish initiation of Russian terminology: "Communist and non-party list."

Only a rash man would make hard They claim credit for the expulsion and fast predictions of the outcome of

England and in pressuring Cuba and Canada to grant recognition, may aid the Mapai. The Progressive Party is not expected to greatly change its proportion of votes, but may achieve a balance of power. The Heiruth Party and Revisionist

vote will probably exceed their past vote of 13.7 per cent, since now Beigin is openly the head of the ticket. The question is how greatly will they increase their vote. Estimates range around 5 to 10 per cent. The biggest unknown factor in this

by Gallup and Roper. But certain

general guides do exist. Were the

elections held with the same popula-

tion as last year, the religious bloc

would probably be the greatest gain-

ers, since they now have added forces

in the Agudath Israel and others, that

did not participate in previous elec-

tions. The Mapam would lose in per-

centage, since it had already engaged

its maximum forces. Thus, Mapam

total in the Histadruth was 40,000

votes and in last National Assembly

election 43,000 votes. The small range

of votes shows that Mapam has small

support outside of its core in Histad-

ruth and at best can only hope to

maintain its existing proportion of the

votes. The Mapam vote may also be

adversely affected by the current

anti-Zionist campaign in Russia, Ru-

tions had less votes than the compon-

ent parts of the Mapam, has, how-

ever, a greater fluctuating voting sup-

port, and observers expect the Mapai

to reach its maximum in this election.

Recent U. S. action in restraining

The Mapai, which in the last elec-

mania and Hungary.

election are the thousands of recent immigrants. Over 400,000 are eligible to vote compared to 200,000 formerly. There is an equalizing factor in that immigrants enter sponsored by the various parties in proportion to their present representation. However, a great number of these are merely nominal party adherents, and may vote differently.

The results of the elections are therefore not assured, but may alter the present balance of power, although not to a too radical extent.

CP Trial - -

(Continued from page 1)

The opening sessions of the trial of the 11 CP leaders does not augur well for the fight to defend civil liberties. So far the attorneys for the defense have tried to delay the trial on technicalities and have devoted their main energies to denouncing all aspects of the proceedings. Just what defense they will raise on the basic political questions is not clear at this time.

To anyone with any training in socialist theory the fundamental incongruity of both prosecution and defense will be readily apparent, U. S. Attorney John F. X. McGohey can be expected to attempt to prove the continuing link from Marx to Lenin through Stalin of classic revolutionary socialist theory. He will send a parade of witnesses to the chair whose abandonment and lack of understand-

Real Target in the Trials



ing of true socialist principles can be matched only by the defendants themselves.

Nor will the accused be able to present an honest and forthright defense of their political principles. Theirs is a history of political treachery, not to the U.S., but to the working class they pretend to represent. Their role as slavish tools of their Kremlin masters should become crystal clear.

An interesting and instructive contrast in political defense can be found in reviewing the history of the first trial under the Smith Act, held in Minneapolis in 1941. Confronted with similar charges, the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party, through their attorney and fellow-defendant, Albert Goldman, courageously and outspokenly defended their point of view. These proceedings are still available and to read them while following the press reports of the current trial will prove to be an illuminating experience.

THE DP's

NEW BILL IN CONGRESS MAKES SOME AMENDS

By SUSAN GREEN

The lack of hospitality and downright inhumanity of the American government toward the displaced persons languishing in the camps of Europe, make a grim story. Here, where simple humanity is involved, there has been no program worthy of the name-and no money to speak of. However, for the Marshall Plan, for the Truman Plan, for the politics of foreign policy, there have been both plan and money.

From the end of the war till last year, when the 80th Congress passed a law which intensified rather than solved the DP problem, only a trickle of unhappy people was able to find refuge here. Since the passage of the law, the disappointment of the DPs has broadened into a river, but the immigration is still a trickle.

Although the law provides for the entrance into this country of 205,000 war victims—a small enough number-in two years, in the first six months of the operation of the law only 2,500 persons were "screened" for entrance. That means that in 25 per cent of the time, only one per cent of the quota has been covered. This masterful result was accomplished by the 80th Congress in two ways. First, it enacted so many requirements and restrictions that it is as hard for a DP to get into the United States as it is for that proverbial rich man into heaven. Second, it provided so little money and so inadequate a staff, that the extensive "screening" process is as slow as molasses. This is the set-up of the present DP law.

UNREASONABLE REQUIREMENTS

The requirements and restrictions themselves are flagrantly unreasonable and discriminatory.

Arbitrarily, and without rhyme or reason, the law sets December 1945 as the date when DPs must have arrived in the camps in order to be eligible for entrance into this country. Critics point out that many camps did not even keep records until after that date. Furthermore, whole blocks of people are automatically excluded by this restriction, as for example the 15,000 Jews who fled from the anti-Semitic pogroms in Kielce, Poland, after the 1945 deadline.

The provision that at least 30 per cent of DPs admitted must be farmers and that at least 40 per cent must come from the Baltic states is frankly discriminatory against both Jews and Catholics. The Jews of Europe may be noted for many things, but certainly not for being farmers -they haven't been permitted to be. While in the Baltic states the Catholics are a mere handful. Critics of the law have contended that it favors persons of "German ethnic origin."

Another abominable restriction is that requiring that a DP must have a definite job and a definite home waiting for him here before he is permitted to enter. Three thousand miles removed from the scene, a DP must have well-nigh magic powers to fulfill this requirement. The regular immigration laws of the country make no such outrageous demand. To add to the complexity, the law provides

that its own preferences and priorities must be reconciled with the preferences and priorities established by American organizations which concern themselves with DP immigration.

NEW RILL PROPOSED

The most scathing condemnation of the present system was made by Ugo Carusi, chairman of the DP Commission which the law established. Returning from a trip to Europe to find out what was holding up the entrance of DPs, he termed the law "absolutely unworkable."

There is already in the hopper of the new 81st Congress a DP bill to replace the present monstrosity. Senators McGrath and Neely, both Democrats, are sponsoring the new bill. It would extend eligibility to persons who entered DP camps as late as April 1947. It would eliminate the provision requiring 30 per cent of the DPs to be farmers and at least 40 per cent to come from the Baltic states. The new law would strike out the requirement of a job and a home before a DP may come to America, and demand instead that each United States sponsor guarantee that his DP will not be a public charge.

The McGrath-Neely bill also seeks to double the number of war victims to be admitted, bringing it up to 400,000, but in double the time. It would extend eligibility to refugees from Russia, make special provision for 3,000 war orphans, and insure transportation of DPs to their destination in the United States.

Although the McGrath-Neely bill is not the perfect answer to the DP problem, its passage is urgent to replace the inhuman, discriminatory law on the books—and quickly!

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Alienated from City, Communist Party Leaders Develop Bureaucratic Economic Theory

What Will Stalinist Victory in China Mean? --

(Continued from page 1) eration armies," but not to organize independent action or even actions coordinated with these armies. The CP prepared for its military victories over the cities by urging the workers to remain passive and to take no part until the Stalinist regime was established in the cities. Only under the new regime were the workers instructed to submit themselves to Stalinist organizations and control, and then the proper role would be assigned to them.

That is why the workers today are silent and defenseless, caught between Kuomintang terror and Stalinist manipulation. This is one of the most ominous developments in the Chinese civil war.

DISINTEGRATING RULE

KMT China is disintegrating politically as well as militarily. The rally of generals which Chiang attempted to call to implement his determination to continue the war has failed. Generals from North, West, South and coastal areas failed to come to Nanking-clearly indicating their intention not to leave their fortunes in Chiang's hands. One of the major reasons for the ability of the local warlords to challenge implicitly Chiang's power is that the major forces of the Central Government were committed in the disastrous struggle for North China and now no longer exist. The remaining armies in the KMT (Kuomintang) areas are largely local armies organized, officered and paid by local warlords.

Chiang is left with several tens of thousands of personal elite troops. With these he can continue indefinitely to maintain the legal fiction of his regime as against his political enemies inside the KMT. But these troops cannot successfully defend him against the CP armies. There is

No Hypocrite, He!

"If American business can justify to itself expenditures to defend, explain and promote the democratic economy in which it operates and prospers, why should it not go a step further and logically lend its financial support to privately endowed high education? If business wishes to preserve the system in which it has flowered, its leaders should think seriously about its responsibility."-Dr. Henry T. Heald, president of the Illinois School of Technology, in his annual report, December 1.

Two days after Dr. Heald made this report he set up a committee of 27 big business representatives to advise him on "curriculum, scholarships, fellowships, research, projects and job placement." The committee is headed by the vice-president of Swift & Co. and the vice-chairmen are top executives from General Armour RCA etc. So it seems the old prexy wasn't kidding. He really wants the capitalists right in there directing the classrooms.

Should We Tell Him?

"By looking over the businessmen's role in America's past we hope to arrive at some ideas about what place the businessman will occupy in the nation's future."-Professor P. H. Buck, provost of the Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University.

With the Deep Thinkers

"Our economic problems were neither solved nor licked by the election."-Trends, organ of the National Association of Manufacturer.

The Democratic Army For the Brass Only

"Yesterday the Army announced restrictions fobidding marriage in Germany by enlisted soldiers under the rank of sergeant-except in special cases. Officers, civilians and sergeants are not much affected by the new rules. They can still marry Germans, but must wait six months."-Associated Press, January 17.

In Coming Issues:

An analysis of the crisis in Greece.

The new pamphlet by Earl Browder ("Americus") and the latest developments in the American CP.

An interpretation of the election results in Israel.

The new labor legislation and the political role of the unions.

LA call to political action. The New Delhi Conference

of South Asia nations. Discussion articles.

much rumor that Chiang intends to only the peasantry can make the ones of increased production the of the regime in Manchuria, she remove to Formosa. Since there remain several alternatives, this is not vet certain.

However, it should be noted that even Formosa is not a certain haven. For when in 1945 the KMT took over Formosa from the Japanese, the rapacity of its rule and its large-scale looting of the island's wealth forced the people to open revolt. In 1946 the island was torn with rebellion which was suppressed with the bloody methods characteristic of this doomed regime. It is said that to this day the prisons of Formosa are filled and the hills give shelter to thousands of guerrillas. The CP has not controlled these revolting elements to

BUREAUCRATIC THEORY

Chinese Stalinism is now for the first time taking over large cities. This party, which has had no urban connections for two decades, whose leadership comes from the peasantry and is oriented toward it and which has developed the unique theory that

Moving to Canton Won't Help Him



CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Chinese revolution, now must face the more complex modern problems of urban society. The theory of the CP, as expounded by Mao and his theoretician second-in-command. Liu, is that the peculiar conditions of Asia require the organization of national revolution within an agrarian framework, with the CP substituting itself for the working class as the cohesive and leadership factor which no insurrectionary group in history has been able to create for itself. This bureaucratic and manipulative theory has been successful for the countryside. It has sharp limits for a Stalinist organization of the entire coun-

There are extremely narrow limits to any agrarian program within an agrarian framework. In modern times the problems of agriculture cannot be seriously dealt with except from the cities, from industry, from the viewpoint of modern urban classes. Only a modern mentality can revolutionize the superstitions, the family system, the illiteracy and raise production per man and per acre, because all these things can be effectuated only if they are organized under the leadership of the cities.

A small example will illustrate. It is possible to increase the production of cotton and silk within the village, and by its own primitive means, on the basis of a change in the social structure such as abolition of landlordism and distribution of land to peasants. However, these agricultural products cannot be processed by modern industry unless a measure of uniform quality enters into them. In other words, the needs of industry require standardization of agricultural product in order to be able to utilize them. If industry needs are not placed prior to and in a determining relationship to this production, then the simple increase in agricultural output will not be of national benefit. This small example is meant to in-

dicate that even in the simplest technical matters as well as in the larger

"Peace" Moves --

(Continued from page 1)

The "peace" terms issued by the CP last week call for the removal of Chiang and Vice - President Li Tsung-jen, scrapping of the KMT constitution, punishment of CP-designated "war criminals" and establishment of a coalition under CP con-This program expresses the clear intention of the Stalinists not to deal with Nanking or any of its

factions. These proposals constitute a point-by-point rejection of Chiang's New Year's Day "peace proposals."

The Yuan's action is probably more of an attempt to assuage the defeatist groups in its own ranks than a serious effort, at least at this stage. However, great political changes are long overdue in KMT politics. The events of the next few weeks will undoubtedly move in that direction.

leadership of the city is essential. Present Stalinist policy in China denies this. It denies the leadership of both the working class and the capitalist class. When this policy begins to fall on the shoals of failure, the Stalinists will be forced to reorient and such a change can only be carried out at the price of widespread distress. All China will be made to pay for the failure of the working class to take over the revolution. Working class leadership and proltarian orientation would place an entirely different face on the nature of the social transformation in China.

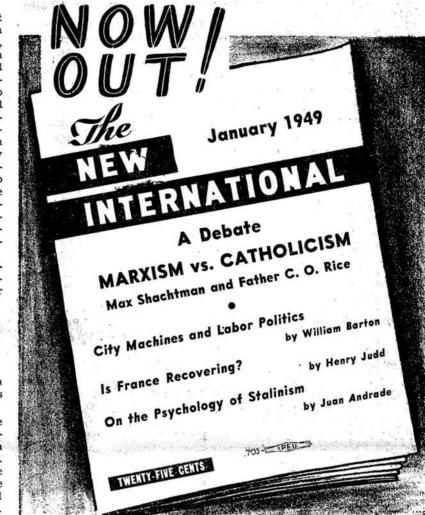
ECONOMIC DISASTER

Stalinists are amazingly silent on Manchuria. The Iron Curtain has dropped. They do not invite delegations of newspapermen to visit the cities of Mukden, Harbin, Dairen and Changchung, where they have ruled for years, as they used to invite them when they were in Yenan. The only reporter to have made public news from Manchuria is the Stalinist publicity agent, Anna Louise Strong. Like the rest of the handouts

spoke glowingly about land distribution and the advances made by the petty bourgeoisie in tiny industries. She has not one word to say about the fate of the huge heavy industry which the Russians stripped in 1945. Are they producing? How much? What is the destination of their products? What is the extent of Russian control?

There are indications that the Russians have established tight control of Manchurian industry. This huge modern industrial complex, the greatest in Asia, was considered essential to Chinese recovery. Without it China must start from scratch. Fully 75 to 85 per cent of all industry in China was in Manchuria. The Chinese CP cannot fight the Russians on this crucial life and death question. The entire question of industrialization, then, assumes an extremely black aspect under the Stalinist victories, for which again all China will have to pay.

For the country as a whole, from the viewpoint of its potential as well as its need, the Stalinist victory is an economic disaster.



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-by GEORGE STONE, Editor, Socialist Leader-

New Foreign Secretary for Britain?

On January 18, Parliament re-assembles, and it is expected that members will make Palestine an immediate issue for discussion. Despite the attempts of the press to magnify the incident of the shooting down of British Spitfires, there is undoubtedly a general feeling that Bevin is wrong and that the British Government is not so innocent as it tries to appear. Bevin will come in for severe criticism from members of his own party and he will have to moderate his Middle East policy considerably if he wants to quench his critics' thirst for his blood.

There is considerable speculation here as to whether Bevin will resign if Parliament does not endorse his actions, but it is my opinion that he will not. Why should he? One cannot believe that Bevin has made vital decisions on the subject of Palestine without prior consultation with members of the Cabinet, in particular, the Prime Minister, and, therefore, if Parliament rejected Bevin on this issue, it would be tantamount to a call for the resignation of the entire Government. The critics will undoubtedly give full vent to their feelings but the Government will continue to carry the confidence of the majority

Apart from this immediate issue, however, it is known that Bevin's health has been causing him anxiety for some time and it is reasoanble to assume that Mr. Attlee has given some consideration to the question of his successor. Hector McNeil, Bevin's second-in-command, has undertaken quite a lot of difficult jobs for the Foreign Office and has proved himself a capable administrator, but he doesn't measure up to the Foreign Secretaryship. If it were not for the fact that Morgan Phillips, secretary of the Labor Party, has proved to be such a capable manager of the party machine. I have a hunch that he would be given the post. Morgan Phillips has shown considerable interest in international matters and has been on nearly all the official missions of the Labor Party to other countries. Moreover, he is ambitious and will not be content to spend the rest of his life as a party functionary. My hunch about the Foreign Secretaryship may prove to be wrong but I am right on the target in stating that Phillips is hitching his wagon to other stars.

Some Cabinet Changes Indicated

Whatever Mr. Attlee's intentions about the Foreign Secretaryship, there can be no doubt that he has already made up his mind on certain changes in other Ministerial fields. These have not yet been made public because it is intended that the announcement of the changes shall coincide with the publication of the report of the Lynskey Tribunal. John Belcher, MP, one of the key witnesses at the investigation, has resigned his Ministerial position with the Board of Trade, and the necessity of appointing a successor has provided Mr. Attlee with the opportunity of making other changes. Whether these will be as sweeping as sections of the daily press infer, it is too early to say, but there seems to be general agreement that Mr. A. V. Alexander, Minister of Defense, will be deposed. Here again the prophets may be confounded, for Alexander's actions give the impression of being stamped with Cabinet approval.

Report of Lynskey Tribunal Coming

It is expected that the Tribunal report will be published within the the next week or so and I will be commenting on it fairly fully in my next article. Meantime, my impression is that it will not be as sensational as at . first expected. The investigation has revealed what many of us already knew, but it is hoped that these exposures of business conduct will impress upon the general public the necessity of cleaning up the world of commerce.

Of the several Labor men involved in the proceedings, George Gibson, former chairman of the Trade Union Council, Director of the Bank of England, and Chairman of the North-West Electricity Board, undoubtedly

Indeed, the Attorney General in his final address to the Tribunal said: "The position of Mr. Gibson in this case will require, in my submission, very serious consideration by the Tribunal." He added: "You may well think fit that what Mr. Gibson said in answer to the questions put to him on this very matter gravely shakes your confidence in his liability."

Since the conclusion of the hearing, Gibson has resigned his directorship of the Bank of England but has stated that he does not intend to resign from the Chairmanship of the North-West Electricity Board. The salary of the latter position is 4,500 pounds sterling per annum, whilst that of the Bank of England was only 1,500 pounds sterling. Gibson has a five-year contract with the Electricity Board and it may well be that the terms of the contract are sufficient to prevent his removal from that Board, whatever the Tribunal may say of him in their report. Incidentally, Gibson would have probably been made a peer in the New Year's honors list had he not been involved in these proceedings.

Crucial Year for Labor Party

During the Parliamentary recess there has been much activity at Labor Party headquarters. Several of the various committees have met and their reports, which are to be submitted to the National Executive at its February meeting, will form the basis of the next general election program.

It is reported that Mr. Herbert Morrison has been giving considerable attention to certain aspects of the program and it is reliably stated that he is in favor of making certain concessions to middle or professional classes. Morrison is an adroit politician and he is anxious not to lose the support of the middle-income group, but in his attempt to appease this section he may well alienate sections of the working class. By keeping to the middle of the road, the Labor Party is running the risk of losing support from those on the side; by swinging over heavily to a positive program of socialist planning it would, at least, carry the big majority of the workers at the polls. It is the growing doubt in the minds of many workers as to whether the Labor Party REALLY represents their interests, which is causing many of them to desert the labor cause.

However, there will soon be a by-election which should give a more or less true reflection of the attitude of the people. This is at South Hammersmith, just on the outskirts of London, where the Labor member who has just died, had a majority of 3,458 at the general election.

In view of the landslide to Labor in 1945, this was not a particularly impressive majority. If this by-election can be confined to a straight fight between Labor and Tory it should provide a pointer to the general election.

In any event, this year is a crucial one for the Labor Party and it is certain that its attitude and program for the general election will be conditioned by the outcome of the various issues to which it has to face up during the next few months.

I shall, of course, be dealing with these various issues in subsequent articles. At the moment, I will merely say that, despite all its shortcomings, the defeat of the Labor Party at the general election would constitute a major tragedy for the British working class and would put reaction right

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