

LABOR ACTION

Independent Socialist Weekly

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LONDON LETTER

Right-Wing Labor Bureaucracy Has the Ax Out for Bevan

By ALLAN VAUGHAN

LONDON, Oct. 7—Delegates to the Labor Party conference at Morecambe are now reporting back to their constituency (branch) party organizations. From all reports it is clear that, although on the surface there was a more or less general support for all the National Executive Committee's policy statements, the conference revealed the tremendous gap between the old leadership of the party and the rank and file of the movement.

The salient features of the conference were the following:

(1) The Bevan group, as has already been reported, captured 6 out of the 7 possible seats among those allotted on the NEC to the constituency division. (Actually, the seventh seat, held by James Griffiths, was not contested by the Bevanites.) This provoked one of the most brutal assaults on the rank and file in living memory, by Arthur Deakin and Sir William Lawther.

The unabashed intervention by Arthur Deakin (leader of the Transport Workers) on the side of the defeated right wing, particularly his pointed remarks about the financial strings which bind the Labor Party to his union, only strengthened the hand of the Bevan group. The conference for all practical purposes crowned Aneurin Bevan as the leader of the Labor Party, and today *Tribune* (the Bevanite organ, which has just expanded to weekly publication) is the mouthpiece not just of a small group of left-wing Labor MPs but the unofficial organ of the Labor Party rank and file.

TO LEFT, BUT—

(2) The conference shifted well to the left on the arms issue, but, though the NEC Home Policy statement "Facing the Facts" (unanimously supported by the NEC) was passed with a large majority, a separate resolution moved by Walter Padley of the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers calling for a re-

duction in armaments was defeated by only a million weighted votes.

(3) The conference went on record for more nationalization and economic planning in general. Aneurin Bevan summed up the feeling of the delegates when he wound up his speech in the debate on unemployment with these words: "Socialist planning at home, socialist planning in the Commonwealth, socialist planning in Europe—that is the only answer. America hasn't the answer; Russia hasn't. We have it. Let's back it."

(4) The Bevan group was victorious with a coalition of forces which embraced not only left-wing anti-Stalinists (such as Walter Padley of the USDAW) but also pro-Stalinists (such as Jack Stanley of the Construction Engineering Union and Jim Figgins of the Railwaymen), pacifists, and Socialist Outlook supporters. From what has been reported back so far, there can be little doubt that there was very strong pro-USSR feeling at the conference. That is different from pro-CP feeling—even the most pro-Stalinist Labor Party rank-and-filers have an ingrained contempt for the CP.

PRO-STALINISM

It is the last-mentioned feature of the conference which is worth elaborating on, if only for the reason that the capitalist press here (and, it must be admitted rather regretfully, the Labor Party's *Daily Herald* too) has completely thrown out of focus the real relation of forces behind Bevan's victory.

First of all, there was no "conspiracy" by Bevan to capture control of the NEC. On the contrary Bevan went out of his way not to organize any rank-and-file support over the heads of the NEC. It is completely untrue that Bevan "canvassed" for votes, al-

(Turn to last page)

It's A-B-C

The workers are producing more.

From 1948 to 1950, output per man-hour increased almost 70 per cent—or an average rate of 3½ per cent per year. The rise was 6.3 per cent in 1950 or double the average rate for the previous 17 years.

This great increase in productivity can easily be explained. First, there have been enormous strides in technology—in building of new and better plants and equipment. As a result, each worker's capacity to produce has gone up about 50 per cent from 1945 to 1951.

But if we're not getting the benefits of our increased output—then who is?

Industry is making more.

What we don't get goes into increased profits before taxes.

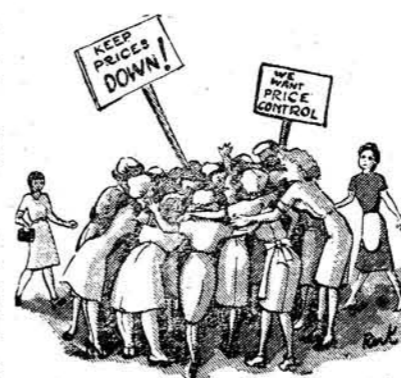
In 1949, industry made a profit of \$1,045 per year on each worker. After Korea, profits on each worker were \$1,619 by 1951, an increase of 55 per cent.

The *Magazine of Wall Street* says that profits will be even bigger in 1952.

But workers are eating less!

The average person is eating:

- 5.3 per cent less food.
- 7.6 per cent less butter.
- 6.6 per cent less milk products.
- 10 per cent less meat.
- 7.4 per cent less vegetables.
- 14.7 per cent less wheat flour.



- 13.9 per cent less fresh fruit.
- 17.6 per cent less coffee.

As might be expected, workers are eating less of the foods which have gone up most in price. Butter is now about 83 cents a pound. So people buy more margarine, which is about 31 cents a pound. The *August Wall Street Journal* says: "From about 17 pounds in 1940, per-capita butter-eating tumbled to about 9 pounds last year. Margarine use, meanwhile, soared from less than 2½ pounds per capita in 1940 to about 7 pounds last year."

People are able to buy less and less of foods which are rich in proteins and vitamins, and are forced to eat more starchy foods. People today are eating 27 per cent more beans than they did in 1933—lowest year of the depression.

—From *Ford Facts* (UAW Local 600).

Liberal Party Gets New Support by N.Y. Labor

NEW YORK, Oct. 9—New trade-union support for the Liberal Party, which may have larger possible consequences for the near future, has appeared in the form of an endorsement of the Liberal candidates by the largest New York local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers (CIO).

This action, which is of greater significance than may appear on the surface, was taken at a membership meeting of Local 25 on September 24. Its importance is two-fold: (1) It raises the possibility of adding the Amalgamated's forces to those of the International Ladies Garment Workers and the Hatters, the two unions which are now the labor mainstays of the Liberal Party. Full support by the men's clothing union would mean a big step forward for the party and greatly add to its labor base. (2) Louis Hollander, the general manager of the Amalgamated, is also the president of the New York State CIO.

ENDORSE COUNTS

Local 25 is the main local of the union in the city. At the membership meeting, its officers, Trade Manager Joseph Gold, and A. Hershkowitz of the union's insurance department urged the workers to cast their votes for Stevenson on the Liberal Party line. Even more significantly, they also appealed for support for George S. Counts, the independent candidate whom the Liberal Party is running both against the Democratic machine's Cashmore and the Republican Ives.

The meeting, which was unusually well attended, gave the speeches enthusiastic applause.

The Amalgamated has never before been a supporter of the Liberal Party but has worked through the CIO-PAC. It is widely believed that the top officials of the union who spoke at the meeting would not have done so unless they had a green light from the Hollander leadership.

This step should be viewed particularly in the context of the dis-

pute which broke out in the New York CIO on the Cashmore nomination. The Democratic bosses had callously insisted on running their machine hack in spite of the opposition of most sections of their labor supporters, believing that the latter would come around to Cashmore's support once the nomination was shoved down their throats. The CIO state convention referred policy on the senatorial race to the Executive Committee. Here Cashmore was reluctantly endorsed with many abstentions. Hollander was among those who fought the Cashmore endorsement, especially against Mike Quill, president of the city CIO.

"FORTUNATELY . . ."

Joseph Gold, who substituted at the Local 25 meeting for the absent Hollander, stressed that in nominating Cashmore the Democrats had failed to consider the wishes of labor as well as Cashmore's own lack of qualifications. "Fortunately," he said, "we in New York have the Liberal Party and through this party we will have an opportunity to oppose Cashmore. Through the Liberal Party we will have an opportunity to vote against Cashmore and for Dr. Counts, whom the Liberal Party designates."

Gold's words are a more cutting commentary on the general policy of the labor movement than perhaps he realizes or intends. "Fortunately we in New York have the Liberal Party . . ." means: "Fortunately we are not compelled to accept the Democrats' candidates simply because we have nowhere else to go," which is the situation that labor has typically faced because of its refusal to form an independent political party of its own.

Independent socialists have reason to welcome this development and particularly the additional support thrown to the Liberal Party's leading independent candidate, George S. Counts for senator. LABOR ACTION once again urges all New York readers to cast their ballot for Counts and for all other Liberal Party candidates running independently of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and give the fullest encouragement to all manifestations of independence from the old-party machines on the part of the Liberal Party.

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CLOAK-AND-DOLLAR MAN:

Mr. Irving Brown of the AFL in Europe

By HAL DRAPER

A new, even if somewhat shopworn, cloak-and-dagger figure is being built up in some sections of the right-wing American press. And he is actually a "trade-unionist," formally at any rate. Last month's *Reader's Digest*, the reactionary magazine which is not given to praising labor, contained a trumpet blast for him; the current (Oct. 13) issue of the *New Leader* gives him another boost. We have before us a "hero" of the Struggle Against Communism in Europe.

His name is Irving Brown. He has the post of European representative of the AFL, where he is a protégé of Jay Lovestone, who was once one of the most unprincipled maneuverers in the leadership of the American Stalinist movement and is now an equally shady figure (in two senses) as the head of the AFL's international work. Brown's political past has paralleled Lovestone's from the days of "Lovestoneite" Stalinism to their present services for American imperialism.

The paean in the *Reader's Digest* is a rather crude job but it will be interesting to counterpose the reality. The article is by Donald Robinson, who has acted as laureate for other union bureaucrats, and it is entitled "Mr. Brown vs. Generalissimo Stalin." As you see, it is a personal duel, and that is virtually how the *Digest's* penman describes it.

All by himself Brown is "a one-man OSS" and "an entire diplomatic corps." He "has become a character out of an E. Phillips Oppenheim novel, meeting in dark corners with underground workers as part of his day-to-day battle with the Reds. Much of what he has done in the cloak-and-dagger realm cannot be recounted. It would endanger the lives of his associates and jeopardize their missions."

This is actually the way the *Digest* writes its comic strip about Brown.

X-Ray Vision on Superman

Since Brown's Superman exploits cannot be divulged, a check on Robinson's article can deal only with facts which are revealable.

Thus we learn that (practically due to Brown's singlehanded efforts, of course) in France "The Force Ouvrière was set up and the iron grip of the Communist CGT on the French workers was broken." This is really hot news, since up to the current date everyone has been under the impression that unfortunately the Stalinists still enjoy the support of a substantial majority of the French working-class and trade-union movement.

In fact, Brown himself still doesn't know the prodigy he performed, since he reported to the recent AFL convention (simultaneously with the publication of the Robinson article) that the CGT, the Stalinist-controlled trade-union federation, still has majority support; that "Workers do not regard other organizations as a worthwhile alternative, since the CGT still is considered the 'most left' and most anti-government"; and that "The action against the CGT still appears as a police versus CGT operation, which permits the CP to continue to exploit the revolutionary ideology of the French workers. Not until the workers can see something similar to what occurred in the Renault auto factory, where workers opposed the CP, will there be a change."

The silver lining which Brown and many others report—that the CGT is unable to get its ranks to follow it in its strikes, especially since its blatant use of the strike weapon for obviously Stalinist political purposes—is well known but can hardly be ascribed to the one-man OSS. The cloak-and-dagger man told the AFL convention that "The masses [in France] are indifferent, cynical and in a state of inertia." This is largely true (see the report on "France in 1952" in the Sept. 29 LABOR ACTION) and we will see the extent to which Brown can be credited for this.

"Brown's Boys"

"Brown and his staff," says the *New Leader*, "have served as a rallying point for the best elements of European labor who have the will to

fight Communism." Of course, there is bound to be disagreement over the standards for selecting the "best elements of European labor," but at any rate, from various people's point of view, many of the "best elements" among the European anti-Stalinists would not touch Brown and his entourage with a ten-foot pole.

This is not only because of moral or political distaste for his methods, which we will take a look at; those who might possibly be able to control their stomachs in this regard are also held back by the fact that to be labeled one of "Brown's boys" is one of the surest ways of being known as a stooge for Washington—a boughten hand, if you want to get real nasty—and of being unable to get even the ear of the mass of workers.

(That term "Brown's boys" is actually used, with the naïveté of ignorance or sheer chauvinism, by the *New Leader* to describe the European leaders who collaborate with Brown's methods. It would have approximately the same effect on an average French anti-Stalinist worker as to praise a trade-unionist for being a foreman's pet.)

More Top Secrets

The *Digest* is even more enthusiastic about Brown's achievements, since most of its audience cannot be expected to know anything whatsoever about European labor: "The results of the Brown crusade are apparent all over Europe. There is not a single Communist on the executive board of the German Federation of Labor, the Belgian, the Dutch and the Scandinavian labor federations are solidly anti-Communist," etc. To credit Brown or the AFL with (for example) the German Socialists' success in winning the labor movement away from Stalinist influence is the sort of thing that could be published (let alone believed) only in an American periodical.

The facts about Brown's labors which the *Digest* does choose to divulge are not happy auguries for the top secrets which are left to the gullible reader's romantic imagination.

This buildup, with all stops pulled out, for Irving Brown in the reactionary *Reader's Digest* might itself excite suspicion about the kind of Struggle Against Communism which this paladin carries on in the dark corners of Europe, and about what kind of dagger he carries in his cloak. Such suspicion would be pardonable in itself, and it is not without justification.

The "Personal" Policy

For a quite different picture of the one-man OSS, we can go to the leading bourgeois newspaper of Paris, *Le Monde*. To be sure, *Le Monde* is no uncritical admirer of the American way; it is indeed more the mouthpiece of French governmental and bourgeois circles; but it is needless to add that it cannot be suspected of secret Stalinist sympathies nor of any more "anti-Americanism" than characterizes every section of Europe, including the "pro-Americans."

A series of articles in *Le Monde* this past summer threw a little light on Mr. Irving Brown in the course of discussing "France in the Crossfire of Propaganda." The fourth article in the series by Pierre Drouin took up the propaganda situation in the French trade-union movement. (The title of this article, in the issue of June 17, is a droll untranslatable pun. It would go: "Agitate the Masses Before Using" if we add that the same word is also used for "Shake Well Before Using.")

While M. Drouin gives the Stalinist CGT a virulent raking-over, his tone about Brown is one of restrained nuances. ("Mr. Irving Brown is the Orson Welles of American trade-unionism . . ." he begins the passage.)

Drouin gives a key quotation of Brown's sentiments: "It is not by means of propaganda," the AFL ambassador told him, "that one can first of all struggle against communism. When I used to carry on my trade-union campaigns in the shops, I did not begin by distributing leaflets but I made an effort to find men, to build a nucleus. The leaflets came later." On the European scale

it is the same thing. It is necessary to put effective people in good spots."

This indicates what the French call the "personal" policy of the AFL apparatus there. That is a delicate way of putting it. Few of them have too many doubts on how a good part of the AFL's money (a cool million dollars so far, according to the *Reader's Digest* article) is used. The magazine *Révolution Proletarienne* refers glancingly to the AFL's slush fund with the remark that "the most indulgent" call it "squandering." It is necessary to record that it is—well, widely believed that more than a few cents have gone to plain-and-simple bribing or buying of men away from the Stalinists. This would doubtlessly be denied by Brown, who is merely . . . finding men.

Arm of the State Department

Drouin also records that the CIO man (he does not make clear whether he's talking about the CIO staff in Paris) "reproach" the AFL for using State Department funds. If that is the opinion in these quarters, it is not surprising that Brown—and "Brown's boys"—are widely looked on by French trade-unionists as an arm of the State Department. People who are willing to tie up with foreign money may be considered "reliable anti-Communists" and "the best elements" in America but in France there is something of an aroma that hovers about them.

"The leaflets," said Brown, "came later." No doubt, Brown's boys finance leaflets too, but the AFL rep is by no means reticent about what their most important content should be.

"Our task," he told Drouin, "is to carry on a vanguard struggle, to explain American policy, and also to influence it. Whether Mr. Bevan likes it or not, America is in such a position today that it is forced to play a leading role in the world."

Brown, as well as the top AFL leaders, have made plain what they mean by the American "vanguard role." They feel that practically everybody in Europe is "soft" before the menace of Communism and have to be toughened up in the American way.

"Being a realist, Mr. Irving Brown does not long hesitate, it is well known, about the choice of methods to struggle against communism. . . . In his speech on December 13, 1951 at the American Club of Brussels, he even gave France precise advice: abolish the CGT's right to trade-union representation; return to the ranks of free trade-unionism the activists who were purged for having given their support to the Vichy regime [Nazi collaborators]."

Drouin continues: "Meanwhile it is in direct action and tit-for-tat that Mr. Irving Brown sees the surest means to liberate certain centers from the 'Communist terror.'"

This frankly means "anti-Communist terror," and less frankly, terror backed by the benevolence of the government. The prime example in France—and something of a scandalous example among those who do not consider "Brown's boys" as the "best elements"—is that of the so-called Mediterranean Committee which is virtually a Brown creature. He had found his man, one Pierre Ferri-Pisani, among the Marseilles dockers—described flatteringly as a "steely Corsican" by the *Digest*—and poured AFL money in to build it up.

Goon Squad

Both the fulsome *Digest* article and the *Le Monde* writer agree on one thing about it: they both represent it as a glorified goon squad.

Robinson's description, in full, of the Mediterranean Committee's trade-union activity can hardly be suspected of being a savage attack: "The committee organized vigilante groups in every port, dependable, hard-fisted men ready to do battle with Red goon squads. [This no doubt also required . . . finding men, and the legitimate expenses were naturally met.—H. D.]

"In Marseilles, Ferri-Pisani personally led a number of stalwarts on a visit to local Communist bosses. 'If your goons beat up any more stevedores,' Ferri-Pisani announced, 'we will not do a thing to them. Not a thing. But we will break the skull of each of you gentlemen.' "The Communist chiefs continued their terroristic methods. But after several of them landed in the Marseilles hospitals, terrorism ceased.

"By similar methods, it was stopped in the other French, Italian and Greek ports. . . ."

To Robinson, who apparently assumes without the necessity of discussion that the CP's hold over the docks was based simply on its use of terror—which was no doubt present—the above account is simply too, too thrilling, showing how the tough-fisted American Way shows the light to the effete European decadents. At least, once one finds men.

Drouin quotes Brown's man, the steely Corsican: "If the Communists put the needle on a propaganda record under my window, I can either install a more powerful loud-speaker beside it, or I can destroy theirs. I will choose the second solution. Propaganda by action is the best."

(Continued on page 3)

IUE-CIO Convention Beset by Old Problems: Union Democracy and Beating the GE Chain

By JOHN WILLIAMS

The 4th annual convention of the IUE-CIO—the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers—held in Pittsburgh during the week of October 6, brought up the same issues as at previous conventions. The difference this year was only that the passage of time had further aggravated the problems, while leaving the basic issues unsolved.

The issues may be summed up under two headings—(1) union democracy, and (2) elimination of the rival Stalinist-led independent United Electrical Workers (UE), at least from the two big chains, Westinghouse and General Electric, and especially from GE where the proportion is roughly 5-3 in favor of the IUE-CIO.

GE Shadow

The GE negotiations, which were still going on at the time of the convention, were the subject of much discussion. The union was in a bad position.

The UE had just settled with GE, undermining the CIO union's negotiations. In this settlement the UE had given up two holidays which had fallen on Saturday. While the 7-to-13-cent company offer was identical with the one accepted by the IUE-CIO, the UE had taken less on pensions, profit-sharing and incentive protection.

The union's leadership, headed by James Carey, had correctly called the UE set-

tlement a sellout and had prepared to take on the company in a strike. They began to take strike votes in the locals.

Then came the big crusher. Local 201 (Lynn, Mass.), the biggest GE local in the IUE-CIO, with 20,000 workers, voted against a strike.

The tradition of no-struggle left by the UE from previous years was so strong that it could not be overcome. The weak leadership of the local could not overcome the conservative UE tradition of toadying to the bosses. Decision against a strike vote also came from another, smaller GE local. The whole strike vote had to be called off.

Per-Capita Issue

In the name of strengthening the union for the fight with GE, Carey had previously proposed a 25-cent per-capita tax increase. Locals, which were giving 75 cents to the international, would now have to give \$1 per capita, if the proposal were passed.

Undoubtedly Carey was on basically solid ground when he asked for more money to fight GE. But as is too often true of Carey, he decided to ram the per-capita tax increase through in bureaucratic fashion. In two previous conventions he had followed the same course.

What Carey cannot seem to understand is that the delegates in the main are

people who not long ago went through a period of struggles on democratic issues with the Stalinist-led UE. They will not be dominated by bureaucratic measures, whether the Stalinists' or Carey's.

On this issue of the per-capita hike, the first bureaucratic act came when the IUE-CIO News announced previous to the convention that the Executive Board, which consists of district presidents and secretaries, had voted unanimously in favor of the increase. No such vote had taken place.

What made it worse was the fact that some district leaders had been announcing that as far as they knew there was no increase contemplated. When the news was published, it put these district leaders in an embarrassing spot, to say the least. They were kept busy trying to explain that they really didn't know.

Roughshod

At the convention Carey attempted to run roughshod. He realized that a large group of delegates were there committed by their locals to vote against an increase. As has been the case in the past when increases were asked, there had been no preparation in the ranks to explain the need.

At caucuses and on the floor, Carey accused those who were against the increase of being obstructionist, etc. He tried to steamroller delegates who insisted on democratic procedures. He tried to pass off a hand vote of delegates as being in favor of the increase, despite the fact that he knew that one raised hand might represent only one vote while another might represent as much as 30 votes! A rollcall was the only democratic procedure under the circumstances. The same thing had occurred at the last national convention of the union.

When the question was forced to a rollcall vote, the per-capita increase was defeated by the proportion of 52 to 48 per cent.

On Friday, when most delegates had gone home, Carey succeeded in passing a 15-cent per-capita tax increase!

Opposition

Carey concentrated most of his fire against District 4, which consists of New York City and North New Jersey area. This district, the largest in the international, representing 65,000 workers, again led the fight against all the bureaucratic and undemocratic procedures which Carey employed.

They were not, however, alone. They were joined by

delegates from all over the union.

Delegates like District 4's president Weibrauch and the same district's secretary Paul Jennings rose to oppose Carey, who had apparently gone off the deep end in his actions. Jennings and Weibrauch were known to all the delegates from the old UE days as among the most effective opponents of the old Stalinist leadership. They were no Johnny-come-latties. They had done more than Carey to organize the fight against Matles and Fitzgerald, back then. When they spoke for democracy, they stood on firm ground and were listened to by the delegates.

No Harmony

Although the N. Y. *Times* carried a story that at the close of the convention there was harmony, this is far from the truth. Carey is out for blood, particularly the leadership of District 4, whom he accuses of being dominated by radicals, etc.

He is trying to make a Lewis- or Murray-type union out of the IUE-CIO but he cannot just slough off the tradition of struggle against

IN PHILADELPHIA—

Guilty Until Proved Innocent, Says Judge of Accused CPer

By FRANK HARPER

PHILADELPHIA, October 3—Agents of the FBI last week arrested Eric Winston, a metallurgist, on charges of perjury in filling out a Defense Department Security questionnaire. Charges were made that in May 1951 Winston concealed his membership in the Communist Party. On Saturday the prisoner was released after a bail bond of \$5000 was posted by the Civil Rights Congress. About six months ago Winston had been fired from his job at SKF Industries because he was "a poor security risk."

The distinguishing feature of this case is this: Winston's trial on the technical charges is still to be held but he has already been judged on the real issue of suspected Communist associations by a representative of the courts.

Newspaper reports credit Judge Allan K. Grim with remarks quite alien to the democratic tradition. Harry Levitan, attorney for the defendant, pleaded for a reduction of bail, stating that Winston was a workingman who had a sick wife and two small children. Levitan added that his client was a man of excellent reputation. The judge denied the reduction in bail, stating that no member of the Communist Party could have any reputation but an evil one. Furthermore, he claimed that the community was indeed fortunate that Winston's Communist Party membership was discovered before he was able to gain access to classified work.

GRIM ECHO

Winston may or may not be guilty of the charge against him—which, remember, is perjury in filling out a government questionnaire—but the judge already

bureaucracy that exists in the union. Lewis can be and is boss of his union but Carey is not able to do likewise.

Because he has depended on red-baiters to organize the struggle against the UE at General Electric, he has lost important NLRB elections, particularly in the big GE plant at Schenectady. Since the GE chain remains split, it is impossible to wage an effective struggle against the corporation.

As long as UE remains a representative of a considerable number of GE workers, the IUE-CIO is in a weak position. To make matters even worse, GE is an important pattern-setter for the whole industry. The elimination of UE influence from both GE and Westinghouse therefore remains the central task of the union.

In order to ensure an effective struggle against the bosses and the UE, a democratic and healthy union life is an absolutely indispensable prerequisite. The last convention has shown that there is a healthy force in the union which will not be terrorized into silence, and which is militant and progressive in its policies.

"knows" he is guilty, even before he is given a trial.

The judge has certainly prejudiced the case against Winston. He insinuates that the defendant would be capable of and desirous of committing espionage and sabotage—crimes of greater magnitude than the one charged. Before the trial he assumes that the perjury charge is true and uses this as a basis to deny a reduction in bail.

The Winston case illustrates very well the evils of the loyalty program. It is based on men's thoughts and beliefs, not on actions. Judge Grim is caught up too, and considers the defendant guilty of those acts which in Grim's mind must inevitably follow from the beliefs which he believes Winston to hold.

The judge is merely echoing the opinions of higher government officials who state that all Communists should be behind bars. The charge may be violation of the Smith Act, state sedition laws, contempt, perjury, or any other which accomplishes the desired result. They see the CP only as an international spy ring and not at all as a political movement competing on a global scale for the minds of men—a political movement which must be fought but which cannot be abolished by police-state procedures.

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The ISL Program in Brief

The Independent Socialist League stands for socialist democracy and against the two systems of exploitation which now divide the world: capitalism and Stalinism.

Capitalism cannot be reformed or liberalized, by any Fair Deal or other deal, so as to give the people freedom, abundance, security or peace. It must be abolished and replaced by a new social system, in which the people own and control the basic sectors of the economy, democratically controlling their own economic and political destinies.

Stalinism, in Russia and wherever it holds power, is a brutal totalitarianism—a new form of exploitation. Its agents in every country, the Communist Parties, are unrelenting enemies of socialism and have nothing in common with socialism—which cannot exist without effective democratic control by the people.

These two camps of capitalism and Stalinism are today at each other's throats in a worldwide imperialist rivalry for domination. This struggle can only lead to the most frightful war in history so long as the people leave the capitalist and Stalinist rulers in power. Independent Socialism stands for building and strengthening the Third Camp of the people against both war blocs.

The ISL, as a Marxist movement, looks to the working class and its ever-present struggle as the basic progressive force in society. The ISL is organized to spread the ideas of socialism in the labor movement and among all other sections of the people.

At the same time, Independent Socialists participate actively in every struggle to better the people's lot now—such as the fight for higher living standards, against Jim Crow and anti-Semitism, in defense of civil liberties and the trade-union movement. We seek to join together with all other militants in the labor movement as a left force working for the formation of an independent labor party and other progressive policies.

The fight for democracy and the fight for socialism are inseparable. There can be no lasting and genuine democracy without socialism, and there can be no socialism without democracy. To enroll under this banner, join the Independent Socialist League!

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UNESCO MAKES ITS CONTRIBUTIONS

By CARL DARTON

It's a sad commentary on the cultural and intellectual level of American society today that anything resembling a progressive and healthy social trend is suspect and open to reactionary attack. This is illustrated by the current reaction against United States participation in the activities of the United Nations, particularly UNESCO, its Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Superpatriots are alarmed because UNESCO takes seriously the original purpose of the UN to look on the world as a community of peoples.

Socialists have no illusions as to the success of the UN in building a "One World." For all but the naive the UN functions as a mere arena for international imperialist diplomacy, in which the more powerful nations seek to bring their neighbors into their war camps. The UN itself can do little to prevent World War III. Rather, it is already waging in Korea under its banner a war which may be the opening chapter of the larger world war.

But socialists need not derogate some of the progressive social activities of UNESCO. In its scientific activities it represents one of the few healthy social trends today. Scientists and all others interested in the growth of science and in its contribution to the welfare of man welcome the activities of UNESCO. It is a small force against the sweep of nationalism but its contributions are varied and extensive.

Field science offices of UNESCO have been set up in South America, Istanbul and Cairo, India and Manila. These offices compile information on all scientific activities in their areas, organize lecture tours, and select candidates for scientific training abroad. They serve as clearing houses for such cooperation as the exchange of rare chemicals, bacterial cultures, seed samples, etc., and generally promote scientific aids for the improvement of health, sanitation and agriculture of their own and neighboring peoples.

Further plans call for research in the cultivation of arid zones as means of increasing the world's food supply.

As reported in the September 1 issue of *Chemical and Engineering News*: "As a world center of scientific liaison UNESCO attempts first to establish international relations between scientists in an effort to coordinate research on the major scientific problems, and second to make the knowledge of the highly developed countries available to the underdeveloped countries in order to make way for raising their living standards."

Whittling at World Barriers

For those interested in the sociology of science UNESCO publishes *Impact of Science on Society*. This review for scholars collects information on the various aspects of the social implications of science. Its success has been such that its editorial policy is being changed to include material of interest to all concerned with the advancement of society and the improvement of social conditions.

Another of UNESCO's recent activities is its effort to remove trade barriers to the exchange of knowledge. Modern technology has made it possible for books, scientific equipment and other educational material to be available on an unprecedented scale. Yet we are worse off than we were 60 to 100 years ago when book parcels could move almost unimpeded to almost any country. However, since World War I complex regulatory tariffs have been applied against the spread of knowledge. Scientific equipment is heavily taxed, film taxed by the foot and sculpture by the pound. In May a treaty sponsored by UNESCO and signed by 19 countries (not by the U. S.) ends import taxes on material of a scientific and educational nature.

These activities would appear so worthy or so innocuous as to be above suspicion from the taint of subversion. The 100-percenters and the watchdogs of American nationalism feel otherwise.

Recently the Los Angeles Board of Education, by a vote of 5 to 1, decided that a pamphlet written by their superintendent of schools, a delegate to UNESCO, should be permanently withdrawn from classroom use. It was reported to be too favorable to UNESCO, which should be avoided like "communism." Also a resolution was passed by the Veterans of Foreign Wars on August 9 condemning the use of UNESCO study programs in public schools and called for the investigation of its activities by state legislatures and the U. S. Congress.

American diplomacy accepts the UN as necessary in the present state of international politics but all who attempt to turn its activities to constructive purposes, however incidental, are condemned as "reds." One can hardly escape the conclusion that only in a socialist world will scientific and educational activities enjoy international freedom of expression.



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Assistant Editors: MARY BELL, BEN HALL, GORDON HASKELL
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READING from LEFT to RIGHT

THE CASE AGAINST ADLAI STEVENSON, by James Burnham.—*American Mercury*, October.
LETTER TO AN ENGLISH FRIEND, by Sidney Hook.—*New Leader*, October 13.

We draw attention to the above two articles, by James Burnham and Sidney Hook respectively, not because of anything noteworthy about their political content, but because of the level on which they are written. Both authors have a reputation in certain circles as men who, even if their viewpoints are objectionable, at least write with political skill. In their current efforts they descend to the status of simple hacks.

Burnham—philosophy professor and intellectual notwithstanding—fits his piece to the Hearstian style of the magazine for which he is doing his stint. (Even the grammar is bad!) His indictment of Stevenson is a slightly furnished version of Nixon (not even Eisenhower). It seems that vital to "the case against Stevenson" is the latter's earlier association with the "collectivist" liberals of the New Deal who provided the material "in which pro-Communist points of view and individual Communist agents have flourished"; that he "came to know" and pursued collaboration with Hiss (when the two of them were both working in the State Department!); that Archibald MacLeish and Claude Pepper are (or were) his friends; that Marshall Field II is the man who rents his farm; etc.

Equally important to the indictment is Stevenson's choice of Wyatt and Schlesinger for his staff. The ADA is described by Burnham as "specializing in anti-anti-Communism" (a slander copyrighted by the GOP right wing) and "looking for a new depression to save the country from." Burnham then tears into the character of Schlesinger's brother-in-law. He has no room

for even mentioning that Schlesinger is anti-Stalinist.

The other main point in the article by this political heavy thinker is that Stevenson is indecisive and Hamlet-like (look at his difficulty in making up his mind about running) and that this is very, very bad in these days when the president will have to decide "the question whether or not to launch the atomic bomb."

The article by the other professor of philosophy deplores British "anti-Americanism." Perhaps the high or low point comes when he writes that the American public "regards the policy of Washington, sometimes unjustifiably [therefore, usually justifiably?] as bumbling, half-hearted, confused and too sensitive to the wishes of other nations in the UN." (Emphasis added.) This remarkably ambiguous sentence by this lucid writer is topped off by the next remark that "The edge of our [U. S.] moral indignation has not been blunted by memory of total war," in contrast with the moral callousness presumably displayed by the British.

His most tolerant effort to account for British "anti-Americanism" is to explain that "we sometimes dislike the innocent person in whose behalf we get into a quarrel with an offensive bully," which will doubtless make the English friend feel better for being told that he is sacrificing in behalf of the U. S., innocent or not. Hook's other fog goes into his mouth when he notes, in the same spirit, that the anti-Americanism flows "from an historical situation in which Western Europe and England (the Greeks view themselves as dependent upon America (the Romans). . . ." He seems to have forgotten that the state of dependence he refers to, for analogy, was the result of an imperialist conquest of the Greeks by the Romans, not merely some unavoidable state of "dependence."

Readers Take the Floor . . .

British Labor's Road to Independence

To the Editor:

I believe you let Comrades Magnus and Bellis off too easily on their mention of the British Labor Party, even though you did object to their attempt at a historical parallel between the British "lib-lab" period and the present political policy of the American labor movement. [See letter and discussion in issue of Sept. 29—Ed.]

The fact is that no example could have been selected that was more completely different from the policy of infiltration of the old parties that the American unions are now carrying on.

The Labor Representation Committee and its forerunners, throughout the period from 1875 to 1901, when the Labor Party was founded, never raised funds for the purpose of electing ordinary Liberals. Unquestionably, in the absence of a labor party, the workers voted Liberal than Tory, but the trade-union movement didn't lift a finger to get them to do so.

The only function of the LRC was to get trade-unionists nominated as Liberal Party candidates, and, where this effort was successful, to campaign for their election. This effort could be loosely compared with the Abner campaign here [in Chicago]. It can in no way be compared with the enormous efforts and expenditures put forward by the American unions in behalf of capitalist candidates.

However, the most interesting lessons can be drawn from the way in which the Labor Party was built up during the long period when it was still only a third party in a traditionally two-party country.

The Labor Party was founded as a completely independent organization at a time when the British trade unions had organized only a small percentage of the working class and had far less social weight than that wielded by the American trade unions today. In this respect, therefore, the carefully confined lib-lab policy of the Labor Representation Committee, described above, was abandoned in favor of political independence at a time that would be comparable historically to at

least fifteen years ago for the American labor movement. The Labor Party remained the "third" party for 23 years after its foundation. In all the elections from 1901 to 1919, the Labor Party was in a position of admitting publicly that it was asking for votes without any expectation of getting enough votes to wield power. That is to say, it had to oppose head-on the argument that it was splitting the Liberal vote and thereby helping the Tories back into office.

The Labor Party, in short, had to be built by direct opposition to the theory and practice of "lesser-evilism."

It is also important to note that the emergence of the Labor Party as an independent, though still decidedly minority, force ushered in a wave of social legislation. From 1906 to 1912 the Liberal Cabinet put through Parliament far more social legislation than had ever been dreamed of throughout the long lib-lab period. All this was done to try to keep the workers' vote.

Thanks to the persistence and boldness of the Labor Party, largely led by socialists though not yet formally socialist in program, all these efforts came to naught. The attempt of the Liberal Party to appease labor merely built up its appetite and made it more determined than ever to keep building its independent party.

The Miners Union, the last big union to hold on to "lib-labism," joined the Labor Party in 1910, right in the middle of this period of Liberal-sponsored social legislation, despite the fact that "lib-labism" had enabled the miners to elect no less than 25 of their leaders to the House of Commons as Liberal candidates in the 1905 election.

It is therefore obvious that these two comrades are rash indeed when they try to draw any

parallel with the British experience to try to justify the gigantic and powerful American labor movement's policy of kowtowing to the Democratic Party.

Saul BERG
Chicago, Oct. 10.

—Or (we may add) when they suggest that perhaps Socialists should support liberal Democratic candidates against right-wing Democratic candidates. It is this that their letter proposes (not, of course, "kowtowing to the Democratic Party" in their own view).

Theory

To the Editor:
Your reproduction of material from *Masses-Information* is extremely interesting. [This refers to the article "Mao vs. Stalin in the Stalinist Empire?" in our issue of July 23, presenting the views of the French publication which specializes in analyzing Czechoslovakian affairs—Ed.] It may throw light on the emphasis placed by the CP in this country on the "Chinese Revolution." The suggestion that Moscow and Peking may be competing for influence not only in the satellite countries but in the CPs of the Far East and even possibly South America (Brazil) is not only novel but plausible. It is possible that the Stalinists in Western Europe express their opposition to Moscow precisely through the eulogizing of Mao, the "New China," and the "Chinese Revolution." By placing the "Chinese Revolution" side by side with the "Russian Revolution," the leadership of the Western CPs may be attempting to counterpose Peking to Moscow, laying the basis for a switch in the event of a break between the two great powers.

Allan VAUGHAN
London, Oct. 8.

We too thought that theory was very interesting — therefore we brought it to our readers' attention—but would caution against converting it into the key to intra-Stalinist relations, even if it is considered plausible. The eulogies to the "Chinese Revolution" by the Western CPs are quite explainable without it, for example. —Ed.

Youth and Student Corner

Franco Hasn't Succeeded in Tying Up Spanish Youth and Students

The following account of the youth in Franco Spain appeared in *Socialist Advance* for September, organ of the *British Labor League of Youth*, written by the leader of the *Spanish Socialist Youth in exile in Toulouse, France*—Ed.

Nowhere is the totalitarian character of the Franco regime more fully revealed than in the relations between the state and youth. The young people of Spain are regimented in exactly the same way as was the youth of Germany and Italy when the Axis dictators held sway.

Franco Spain permits the existence of only one organization for Spanish Youth—the Youth Front. This consists of the traditional Spanish Falangists and the National Socialist Workers' Youth Organization (J.O.N.S.). Franco's Falangist Party is, of course, the only party allowed in Spain.

The special branch of the Falangists—the Youth Front—is controlled directly by the *Caudillo* (Leader) himself, and is subdivided into two sections. These are the Spanish University Syndicate, to which all students are obliged to affiliate, and various organizations for apprentices and young workers.

These young workers are also in the grip of the National Trade Union Center—the only official trade-union organization for young people, in which all the key posts are held by the Falangists.

The Youth Front is divided into various groups according to the age of the children and young people concerned, according to their future plans in the industrial or the academic field, and according to any preferences they might have in regard to the armed forces.

Falangism Fails to Attract Them

Franco's Juvenile Falangists, Falangist Youth, cadet groups, guides, "arrows," *Pelayos* and *Marguerites*, are all part of the Youth Front controlled by the dictator.

Students are obliged, by virtue of their affiliation to S.E.U. (Spanish University Syndicate), to do 2 years' military training during their vacations.

At the end of this period they are given the rank of a lieutenant in the reserve.

Because of their favored position in society and because they belong to rich and powerful families, the regime tries to make today's students the privileged ruling militarists of tomorrow.

Has Franco succeeded in his thirteen years of dictatorship in turning Spanish youth into Fascists? A comparison between the results obtained by Francoism and those obtained by other totalitarian regimes in other countries or at other times suggests that the general cannot be altogether pleased with his results.

At the time of the Eucharistic Congress in Barcelona the Falangist Party and the Youth Front made a tremendous effort to organize a big demonstration. Officially, the number present at that demonstration was 10,000, but the real number was a great deal less. The actual march by young Falangists on the Xavier Castle (where St. Francis-Xavier was born) succeeded in mustering a mere 1,000 young people.

This, despite the fact that they were supposed to come

State Department Yields to Court With New Passport Regulations

The State Department for the first time has issued a formal set of rules and standards to govern the procedure. And it set up an entirely new agency—the Board of Passport Appeals—to rule on appeals in individual cases.

The department's action came as a result of a federal court decision last July in the case of Anne Bauer. The court had held that an applicant for a passport had not received the benefit of due process when the department turned her down without a fair

hearing. The case was initiated by the American Civil Liberties Union in its effort to liberalize passport procedures.

Under the new system, a person who had been denied a passport will be able to appear—with his lawyer—first before a hearing officer and, if necessary, before the appeals board. The board—made up of three officials who have had nothing to do with the particular case—will make final recommendations to the secretary of state.

In each case the reasons for refusing a passport will be spelled out, insofar as security requirements permit. A person will have something more definite to go on than the vague phrase "contrary to the best interests of the United States."

The ACLU is now preparing an analysis of the new regulations which it believes does not meet all the criticisms it made of the department's passport procedure in a special report issued last February.

from not one, but several Spanish provinces. Francoism has no attraction for the great mass of young Spaniards; it attracts only a handful of young people from the rich and upper middle classes of Spain.

The vast majority of young Spaniards openly reject the goal that the Falangist Party constantly proclaims as the final objective for youth—to convert them into semi-warriors or semi-monks.

Dangerous Neutrality

Juventud, the official organ of the Youth Front, deals with this problem in an article under the heading "Towards the Conquest of the Neutral Man":

"In the preceding article concerning the man who obeys—'Youth and its Interest in Politics'—I indicated the prejudice which might be felt toward Spain if our youth showed itself apolitical, neutral and without social preoccupations.

"I suggested that the basic causes of such an apolitical attitude were to be equally condemned—the lack of solidarity and the hesitation and uncertainty of choice. I finished my article with an appeal to the Youth Front to undertake the conquest of men who show themselves to be disinterested, in order to obtain from them an undertaking to devote themselves to the higher destiny of Spain.

"To persuade them to abandon their languid self-love and to embrace with all the consequences, the ideal of which human beings are capable in the matter of co-existence—of life in common."

It is hard for us to realize how dangerous is this "neutrality" on the part of Spanish youth. In a police state such as Spain the authorities see little difference between "neutrality" and open opposition.

The young Fascists and the vast numbers of young people without any political opinions whatsoever will constitute a big problem in the democratic future of Spain.

A Spain without Franco will not mean an automatic disappearance of Fascist thought, nor that its former supporters have been converted to democracy. The effects of dictatorship regimes in Europe will make themselves felt in Continental politics for years to come.

The Franco regime is constantly on the alert for any signs of anti-Franco organization. When such groups are discovered they are savagely repressed.

In prisons and in places that correspond roughly to Borstal institutions many young people are detained for anti-Franco activities—such as the distribution of literature or sending news and articles abroad.

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The Socialist Party of India After the General Elections

Did the Socialist Party suffer a setback in the general elections held in India during the past year? Is it true that the Communist Party emerged as the second most powerful force in the country's political life? What are the prospects for the largest of the socialist parties of Asia?

In this report we limit ourselves primarily to presenting the situation as the socialists themselves see it today. For this, as well as for an insight into the political mind of the Indian socialists, the detailed *Report on the Special Convention* offers an excellent opportunity.

It is now clear that the results of the election threw the Socialist Party into what may be called, without too much exaggeration, a crisis. But that expression can be misleading—it was never even used at the convention itself. For it was a crisis of over-optimism, not a crisis of decline.

At the special convention the big question, discussed with all frankness, was: *Why did we not grow as fast as we expected?* Judging by the discussion of the delegates as well as the reports of the leaders, a Western socialist is likely to feel that the anxiety evidenced by the party membership and leadership, as a result of the election, was a healthy symptom of vitality.

The special convention was held at Pachmarhi for five days, May 23-27. Present were 175 delegates from all over India, plus 254 fraternal delegates (and over a hundred members present as visitors.)

Post-Election Crisis

It was a special convention because the desire for a quick gathering with the least delay caused the party to agree on bringing together the delegates of the 1950 convention, instead of waiting to go through new delegate elections. (It had been originally scheduled, as a matter of fact, for April 23 but was delayed.) It was, in effect, an emergency consultative assembly of the party's militants to tighten up the movement in the face of the questionings which had set in, in the wake of disappointment. In addition to the 1950 convention delegates, therefore, the party in each province was allotted a quota of fraternal delegates, to widen the basis of representation.

The reason why an emergency convention was needed was candidly stated by all. The chairman of the reception committee, welcoming the delegates, said, for example:

"The general elections, have, in their wake, posed some ideological and organizational issues before us. Many of our comrades today feel disheartened, while confusion prevails among quite a few. Confounded by the Communist victories in the South and the attractive and easy way out held forth by their slogan of united front, the confusion is spreading. This is having a pronounced effect on our party organization. I trust, and I am sure, that this convention will give an effective reply to all this and will give a new faith and a new enthusiasm to party workers. This convention should also formulate in unequivocal terms the party's policy toward the Communists and other reactionaries, so that there would not be any confusion about party policy in the minds of party workers and the people."

One of the leaders, Jayaprakash Narayan, spoke of "this moment of political and ideological confusion." Lohia noted that "A shadow has fallen over the party of socialism in our land."

And yet, in spite of this strong language, which apparently reflected the psychological aftermath of the election, the facts which the convention itself discussed permitted delegates to explain from the floor (even more strongly than the leaders in their reports) that the party had suffered no real defeat but rather had taken substantial steps forward.

A key fact to be borne in mind is that while the Socialist Party was formed in 1934, it was not until only four years ago (1948) that it came out before the people as an independent organization. Until 1948 it had functioned only within the Congress Party. The Congress, or Congress Party—not to be confused with a legis-

We know that LABOR ACTION readers are greatly interested in the problems and development of Indian socialism—and rightly so. India is perhaps the key country of the Asian world, in importance and leadership, and within India it is the Socialist Party which is the main rallying center for the forces opposed to both capitalist imperialism and Stalinist tyranny. Some time ago, therefore, we recognized that one of the important tasks of LABOR ACTION is to bring to American socialists a greater acquaintance with and understanding of the situation of the socialist movement in that great subcontinent, the most important in Asia.

We are glad of the opportunity to do more along these lines on the basis of two publications recently issued by the Indian party, which are of the greatest interest. They deal with two closely related events of the past year: the first nation-wide general election in India, and the subsequent Special Convention of the Socialist Party. The first booklet is the *Report of the Special Convention of the Socialist Party*, containing reports, resolutions and the discussion by the delegates; and the second pamphlet is *The Political Mind of India—An Analysis of the Results of the General Elections*, by Asoka Mehta, the party's general secretary.

The main results of the elections have already been summarized in LABOR ACTION (issues of March 10 and, more fully, May 26). In this report the focus will be on the effect of the election on the Socialist Party, and on the situation and tasks of the party as it sees its problems today.

We should also add that the present report is concerned with the organizational side of the above topic. Actually, the main purpose of the SP's special convention was to take up its political program and theoretical bases, particularly a report on "doctrine" presented by Rammanohar Lohia, with the concurrence of the party leadership, seeking to concretize the movement's conceptions of socialism. Needless to say, this is of more basic importance than the organizational discussion that took place, but we postpone consideration of this for another time.—Ed.

lative body like the U. S. Congress—was the leading bourgeois-nationalist political movement of India, led by Prime Minister Nehru. Until the end of British rule, the Congress had been the rallying center of all the independence forces, including the Socialists. With independence it boiled down to its essential political character, the party representative of the bourgeoisie.

Emerged 4 Years Ago

General Secretary Asoka Mehta's report recounted the consequences of this lack of socialist independence in the previous period:

"Its organizational structure [of the SP within the Congress before 1948] was that of a group—a ginger group—and not of a party. The work we did was done within the framework of Congress discipline, and before the people there was no separate identity of ours.

"It was only in 1948, after the achievement of freedom, that we separated. It was only then that the name, the flag and the message of the party could be carried to the people.

"When we came out of the Congress in 1948, in most places we were not merely organizationally but numerically very weak. In many a district the persons who withdrew from the Congress at our behest did not exceed two figures. It is from such humble beginnings that in a short span of four years we rolled up eleven million votes.

"The Congress and the Communist Party have been functioning for many years and are known to the people. Because the work for freedom that we did was done as Congressmen [members of the Congress movement] the credit for it remained with the Congress, and it was able to capitalize for party ends the efforts of two generations of patriots. The Communist Party has been functioning for over 25 years, and the recent triumph of the Communists in China has helped them to overcome the setbacks their wrong policies, in large parts of the country for almost a decade, had given them. . . .

"During the short span of four years we had to expand fast: the accent had obviously to be on extensive propaganda as against intensive work. That notwithstanding our limited resources we were able to extend our general influence so far and so quickly ought to give us confidence for the next phase of our work."

Development of the Party

This question of "extensive" versus "intensive" work arose, as we will see, especially be-

cause of the nature of the CP's successes in the election. The CP's gains, and activity, were concentrated in a few Southern areas. The Socialist vote, like its activities, had been nationally spread. Narayan argued before the delegates:

"A nation-wide struggle was not possible till the party organization itself had become nation-wide. Either we were wrong in trying to build up a nation-wide organization, or you must understand that it was not possible to start a nation-wide struggle before at least the foundation had been laid of a national organization. . . .

"Imagine what would have been the position in the South today had such a policy [of concentrating on select areas] been followed. Till 1947 we had practically no organization in the South. We started almost from scratch. If we have secured a few seats in the South, if there are party branches in all the states, it is because some of us went to the South frequently and spent time and collected money. We could have remained in our respective provinces, Rammanohar [Lohia] in the United Provinces (U. P.) and I in Bihar. Those states would have gained, but the party would have been practically non-existent in the South.

"The party had to choose between intensive and extensive work, and, I think, the choice made of extensive work was correct."

Mehta's account of the first steps of the independent SP raised another question:

"Our organization," he related, "when we came out of the Congress, was confined to groups of active workers. It was only in 1949 that the doors of the party were thrown wide open, and through collective affiliation and mass membership, provisions were made to make the party broad-based.

"Even after the constitution of the party was changed, expansion of the organization was hampered because of the exclusive mentality shown by some of our members. Recruitment of new workers to the party was sometimes facilitated, often hampered. In many constituencies the flag of the party was virtually carried round for the first time in the elections."

Overcoming Initial Obstacles

A delegate from Bombay went into more detail on the birthpangs of the 1946-48 period, and on the views which then opposed pushing the party as distinct from Congress. The latter idea was finally accepted, but elements who did not really believe in it "acquired an undue influence and voice in shaping the party in which they did not believe and which they did not seriously or sincerely accept." These elements were appeased and "the party organization was at a standstill." The party organizers constituted an "esoteric circle" who were "either unwilling to expand or unwilling to relinquish their imagined power to newer hands as was bound to happen if the party expanded."

"In 1948," he went on, "the party decided to quit the Congress and, logically speaking, it should have immediately thrown its doors open to all who were in general agreement with the party's aims and objects. This was not done. . . .

Lohia thought it necessary to warn at Pachmarhi that "The temptation to go back to a restricted membership must also be resisted and the healthier attitude to expand the organization and to remove its defects must grow"—perhaps indicating that even now the remnants of the sectarian approach, with which the party had emerged from the Congress, was not yet completely a thing of the past.

So recently, then, has the Socialist Party of India set itself to building a genuinely independent organization and carrying its name and program to the people under its own banner.

From these new beginnings the present membership of the party, as reported to the convention, is close to 300,000. The figure is 295,554, of which 171,817 are individual memberships and 123,737 are members of affiliated organizations.

The organizational and political difficulties arising from this rate of growth—quite different from the difficulties arising from decline or stagnation—should be obvious. One thing it means is that the great bulk of the membership consists of inexperienced, politically immature workers. As is true in so many cases, they flowed into the open doors of the Socialist Party with great expectations of immediate victory.

But it is clear that exaggerated expectations of immediate victory also characterized the leaders—who, we

must also remember, were equally inexperienced as leaders of a mass political party.

Was It a Defeat?

At the Pachmarhi special convention the leaders beat their breast for their misleading over-optimism before the elections. "We were led to believe," said Mehta, "that in the absence of any serious opposition [to the Congress], apart from the Socialists, the discontented would inevitably rally round us. We failed to realize that the prospects of a big opposition vote, and the absence of a well-organized alternative to the Congress, was bound to invite groups and parties to get formed and try their luck at the polls."

In point of fact, 77 parties and groups contested the election, many formed *ad hoc*, plus many independents.

SP confidence was also inflated before the general elections by its successes in by-elections in the city of Bombay and in the state of Travancore-Cochin. Here the gains were made in straight fights against the Congress Party; the multiplicity of electoral groups did not emerge until the eve of the general elections. Also, in these by-elections, the party concentrated its forces, whereas in the general elections, they were dispersed over the country.

In his summary at the convention Mehta replied to some critics: "You say that our calculations were wrong, that we overassessed our strength and underestimated the opponents: All that we had said was that a majority of the people were against the Congress. But could anyone have foreseen the formation of a plethora of parties to fill up the space? And, moreover, do not forget that the assessment was not mine alone. The press had said throughout the pre-election period that the Socialist Party was the No. 2. Even the Congress president felt that way."

So the party got only a fourth of the seats that it had hoped to win, and this, said Mehta, "shows the measure of our failure." It was a delegate from U. P. who forcefully took the approach:

"I do not agree with the general secretary when he says that we have suffered great reverses. I think we have not. It will be wrong to think that we would have got a greater measure of success. According to me, our achievement has been quite creditable. Where we had two members in the Parliament, we now have 12. In the Bihar Assembly we had not a single member. Today we have 23 members.

"What has really happened is that our expectations and forecasts have met with a setback. The party on the whole has not suffered defeat."

The fact is that what the party had looked forward to was becoming the rallying point for all progressive opposition to the Congress. It was this that did not happen.

The CP's Gains

But as our readers know, the Socialist vote was the second largest in the election—over 11 million for Parliament and over 100 million for the state assemblies. Naturally, and not without justice, the convention emphasized heavily the proportional disparity between its total vote and the number of seats gained. This was vividly brought out in the Bombay elections.

"The public is apt to judge a party on the basis of seats won in elections," said Mehta. "In the general elections, the Socialists won just three out of 27 seats in Bombay city and were therefore written off as a spent force. In the elections to the municipal corporation that followed within two months, the Socialists won 36 as against 56 won by the Congress Party. The press hailed the results as a 'comeback' for the Socialists. In fact, the different results were due to the difference in the methods of voting and not due to any marked variation in vote. . . .

As a matter of fact, the party had gotten 28 per cent of the vote in the "comeback" municipal election and had received 30 per cent in the general elections. (In the municipal election of 1948 in the same city, it had received only 23 per cent.)

The Socialists were especially concerned to point out a baseless illusion created by the CP vote. The CP had chosen to run candidates in a few selected areas mainly where it was especially strong; some analysts wrote as if its proportions would have been maintained if it had run more candidates. But Lohia points out:

"The 12 Socialists in Parliament have each a million persons behind them. Even if the Communist Party had somehow been able to set up the same number of candidates as the Socialist Party, it could not have got that large vote, as is evident by its complete trouncing in U. P. and Bihar, where none of its candidates won, and it secured only one-tenth of a per cent and one per cent of the total votes cast."

Mehta argued: "Inability to put up a large number of candidates is itself a serious weakness. . . . If the Congress vote is four times that of the Socialists, nobody has ever suggested that the difference should be split by half for comparison because the Congress Party had twice the number of candidates that the Socialists had put up. The votes a party actually polls ultimately indicate its strength and measure its support."

"The Communist Party has remained weak where it was weak before. It had registered marked increase in votes in states where it was already well established. . . . Only in Orissa is the increase surprisingly sharp."

Still the result brought up the question sharply of whether the SP should have concentrated its forces in favorable areas only. But—"Most of the seats we con-

stituencies, the number of seats fought failed to make a difference."

But the party resolved to pay special attention to cultivating the areas in which it had done well in the general election. These were more than merely the constituencies in which it had won. In the elections to the state assemblies, seats were won in 128 places; but in 97 the margin of defeat was by only 1000 votes; in another 57 by only 2000 votes, and there were 224 more constituencies "where our candidates stood next to the winning candidates and the proportion of votes between the two was in the neighborhood of 5-3."

Youthful Movement

But it would be an entirely false impression of the special convention to believe that the main emphasis was laid on seeing the positive side of the election results or on rationalizing its results. On the contrary, the main tone of the organizational discussion was self-criticism.

Much of this, of course, is not of immediate detailed interest to those not involved in the party. But some general features emerge.

Naturally there was much complaint of organizational weaknesses. The members, said delegates, were not active enough. The party, said others, does not yet have a really hard core of supporters around its groups. The unit organizations are weakly organized. The activity clause in the party constitution should be more strongly enforced. The full-time organizers do not involve enough part-time activists in the work; etc.

Along the same lines it was also stressed that the Socialist campaign had been carried through with far less financial resources than were proportionally expended by either the Congress or the CP: "This disproportion in resources was acutely felt in the final lap of the election work when our resources had been almost exhausted, while the rival parties were throwing in their means in a big way."

There was another organizational feature which is of more general interest: it was discussed as a weakness in the electoral work but by no means is it simply negative. This is the youthfulness of the party's activists and representatives.

"The preponderance of young people in the party gave it a certain drive, but failed to impart to it people's confidence in the measure needed. The hard work done by young people in canvassing support was often lost in a night by the shrewd counter efforts put in by older men of established social position.

"It needs to be remembered that while in the Congress, the leading elements in most districts are from among those who had been drawn to politics in the '20s. . . . with the Communists they are from persons drawn to politics in the '30s, in the case of the Socialists, they are generally from persons who came into politics in the '40s—from 1942 and after. For the first general elections, this disparity was bound to work to our disadvantage. Enthusiasm could not make up for lack of experience and traditional social esteem. In the coming elections, this disadvantage will lose much of its force."

Added Lohia: "Socialist candidates were the youngest in the country."

This fact, for all of its positive side, underlines the remarks made earlier with regard to the inexperienced and immature nature of the party membership generally.

Party and Class

Another problem was that of the affiliated organizations. As indicated above, part of the party membership is in affiliated organizations. One of the party secretaries, Prem Bhasin, complained of the loose organizational relations with the affiliates. More important, there was much uncertainty as to what relationship should exist between the party and its affiliated trade unions and peasant organizations. Some felt that "it is impossible to run two mass organizations simultaneously, and if an attempt is made to do it one or the other will inevitably suffer from neglect." Although not stated that way, the problem is clearly that of lack of experienced cadres, here also.

There was a more general problem. Said Bhasin: "Old ideas continue to dominate our minds. For a large majority of our labor workers economism is the basis of our labor movement and therefore economic struggles are considered to be the only mode of action. This method has failed to give results. Neither class nor socialist consciousness is created and we suffer on both counts."

It would seem from the reports and discussion that one of the problems of the party is over-emphasis on trade union work. Said Bhasin: ". . . we need to outgrow our narrow conception of party work. At present most of our party committees confine their activities to petty trade unions in urban areas and enrollment of Kisan Panchayat [peasant organization] members in the countryside. We will have to make a clean break with this practice if we are to forge ahead and seize the leadership of the masses. We are certainly not a party of industrial workers and poor peasants only. These sections are important no doubt but we should realize that socialism has a much wider appeal, particularly in underdeveloped areas where men and money raised from the constituency concerned; these resources were not available for diversion elsewhere. As we lacked general resources that could have been concentrated on selected developed countries like India. . . . This means that we should interest ourselves not only in economic issues and struggles but also in social, cultural and political issues that crop up daily at every place." One of the needs highlighted is intensive work among students.

Mehta said the same thing: "In most areas work was confined to limited sections of the people—such as industrial workers or landless labor. Other sections were not approached, and in some cases were even antagonized. Pronounced trade-union bias given to our work in many places prevented us from developing a 'political force.'"

Instead, the party reporters recommended a "many-pronged" approach.

Now, there cannot be the least doubt that the sentiments thus expressed are entirely valid, if the situation is as described. A revolutionary socialist party cannot and need not appeal only to industrial workers and poor peasants, even in more highly developed countries, let alone India. The question mark which pops up, if any, does not come because of the formulations used by the leadership on this question, but, to some extent from the context in which this discussion took place, namely, the discussion over the new "doctrines" proposed by Rammanohar Lohia.

Although it is not being discussed in this article, there can be little question that these "doctrinal" views (as they were called) represented a shift away from Marxism on the part of the leadership. This was openly discussed by the assembled delegates. It was in this context that a delegate, who is also a secretary of the Kisan Panchayat, rose to object:

"The party neglected the Kisan Panchayat," he said. ". . . If we fail to build up strong and powerful organizations of kisans and madosors, if we give up the class appeal, if we give up our revolutionary character and deviate from our path, our ideology and philosophy of democratic socialism will become meaningless and a farce. Our democratic and peaceful means are losing their revolutionary content and are fast deteriorating into constitutional means. And the chairman [Lohia] wants socialism to be drastic. With an organization which remains permanently geared up to election work, when constitutionalism gets hold of the party, how can our actions become drastic? Our party should become the focal point of struggles. Class consciousness should be sharpened by intensifying class struggles."

Which Way Is It Going?

To be sure, the leaders' reports gave the due emphasis to class struggle as a means, and to the development of concrete struggles in particular. Lohia's "doctrines" do not by any means necessarily gainsay this.

However, new emphasis was put on non-violence in the party's struggles for the workers and peasants, in the Gandhi tradition. Although the convention resolved to lay special stress on work in the rural areas, it was in the context of counterposing "jail-going" to direct action. This has always been a strong element in the party's ideology, but it was much strengthened at the convention, apparently in the belief that it would be helpful in differentiating the SP from the Stalinists.

It is in this connection that the SP leaders most clearly explained the gains of the CP in the South; they had led struggles. Mehta said:

"The Communists polled not merely well but heavily in areas where they have worked for long and where, recently, intensive struggles, albeit violent, have been fought. In these storm centers, the Communists seem to have gained through the repression they had invited by their actions. Wherever the Socialists had waged mass struggles, non-violent yet intensive, good response was evoked."

Lohia was even more categorical: **"The Communist Party has been willing to act, however, mischievously. Its belt of electoral victory is strictly co-terminous with the areas where it burnt and killed. . . . It must be noted that the Communist Party was thoroughly trounced where it did not burn and kill, the big northern and central belts."**

The Stalinist-led peasant movements, we are well aware, do not emphasize violence merely because it may be the most effective means to be used in the interests of the peasants—the Stalinists have their own aims, unrelated to those of the peasants and fundamentally tied to the instructions of Moscow-Peking. But if the Stalinists make a fetish of violence, the Socialists of India need not make a fetish of "jail-going."

At any rate, the point for the SP is not violence or non-violence—whatever it may believe—but its real willingness to fight militantly for the peasants' aims, and to do this consistently, as the CP cannot. "We failed to initiate a policy of struggles," said a delegate from Bengal. Insofar as this is true, it is far more important than the debate over violence or non-violence.

If we look at the organizational considerations, the summary by Asoka Mehta can hardly be considered mere tub-thumping:

"The general elections gave us a great opportunity to extend widely and systematically the influence of the party. Organizationally we were not equipped to win seats in a big way. The elections, however, have done the ploughing and the weeding, the ground is ripe for next operations, for gathering the harvest that can now be raised."

If the "failure" in the general elections—even if only a failure relative to false hopes—serves to quench illusions in the Socialist ranks about quick marches to constitutional power, it may have done a service. If, however, as other features of the convention may suggest, it has made the politically inexperienced ranks of the party a prey to panicky notions about adapting its principles in a direction away from Marxism, the special convention may mark an unfortunate watershed in the party's development. The political physiognomy of the Indian socialist movement is still in flux.

'The South Africans Are On the March...'

From the Bulletin of Americans for South African Resistance we publish the following extremely interesting firsthand report on the defiance campaign being waged against the South African Malan government by the oppressed non-whites of the country, under the leadership of the African National Congress. The issue of the struggle is well known to our readers: the monstrous racist laws and regime of the Malan government. According to current reports, from 1000 to 5000 Africans have now been arrested for civil disobedience — deliberately defying the Jim Crow laws. The movement continues to grow.

The report below consists of excerpts from two letters received from South Africa by the ASAR. The Opposition referred to is that led by the white United Party, which is less extreme in its racist program than the ruling Nationalist Party of Malan. The "Congress" refers to the African National Congress.—Ed.

Sept. 3

The United Party is confused. The Natal leader, Mitchell, said that if the defiance campaign was successful the whites would stand with the Nationalist body. On the other hand, Strauss, whilst he deplored the campaign, blamed the government for it and demanded their resignation.

What is probably happening is that the United Party are debating among themselves regarding the

strength of the movement. If they think the movement will only be strong enough to force the repeal of the pass laws, the Group Areas Act, etc., they will take advantage of it. If, however, they think the momentum of the movement will threaten white rule, they might rush to support the Nats [Nationalists].

There is a group whose ideas were ably put in an article in the press by Lewin [Julius Lewin, a liberal white]. He thought that some significant concession should be made whilst the moderates were in control of the movement. He advised South African Europeans to revise all their ideas about the Africans. The white press has the most amazing suggestions. SABRA [South African Bureau of Racial Affairs] says the Africans are now ready to rule themselves but are not yet ready to rule over Europeans. Therefore there must be apartheid (segregation), with the [African National] Congress ruling over African areas. The way in which this idea is being repeated in pro-government papers gives one the impression of government inspiration.

KURAL MASSES STIR

Sept. 16

As far as the defiance campaign is concerned, we have every reason to feel gratified at the success so far achieved. Up to now over 4,000 volunteers have been arrested in the campaign. The area of operation has been considerably widened, and in the future

will be extended to cover even more areas.

The rural areas have come into the picture, and they have come to stay. It has been my belief that when aroused the rural areas will provide the bedrock on which the solid movement will be based. For a passive resistance movement we need people whose way of life is peculiarly suited to this form of struggle. The African rural man is excellent material, and he has good reasons for disliking the present system.

Natal is in action and promises to be in the vanguard of the movement very soon. The Cape has been in the forefront so far, both as regards political tactics and action and tenacity in the face of prison prosecution. In the Cape the movement has become one in which the masses themselves are participating and are producing their own leadership.

WARNING

Last week the government made a snoop on the Cape leaders. . . . The charge is based on the Suppression of Communism Act. The bail was fixed at 100 pounds. All are to appear at Port Elizabeth on the 25th for a preparatory examination. The alternative charge is incitement to commit public violence.

The arrest [of the leaders] was celebrated by the going into action of 350 volunteers. It is interesting that those volunteers went into action with all the leaders in jail. In other words, the new commands took over efficiently in a few hours.

That should serve as a warning to the government. They must realize that here they are not dealing with an artificial protest organized by a few "Communists" as they would like all of us to believe, but with a mass movement based on real grievances of the people. Needless to say, we are not in the least perturbed. The campaign will unfold itself as planned, surely, efficiently, without excitement, without sensations. . . .

From a legal point of view the government hasn't got a case at all, but this is a political case and one can expect anything. We have decided to engage a number of senior counsel. Over the weekend 10,000 pounds have been collected for the case.

We are, of course, not placing much reliance on the legal battle. Our safety lies in the people, and we have complete confidence in them, especially our masses, both rural and urban. We have plenty of reserves, and, last, we have a healthy respect for the resources at the disposal of the government. We have a feeling that they have a Herrenvolk contempt for ours. They are in for a surprise. . . .

NO GOING BACK

[We are building] the campaign on a basis of full recognition of the consequences, and [explaining] carefully to the people the issues involved. The whites are under the mistaken impression that the Africans are tools in the hands of agitators and that they will soon return to normal. One would have to be here to realize what is happening.

The most tremendous thing that has happened is not that any definite advantages have already been gained—that is, material advantages—but that there has been a transformation in the way of thinking of the Africans, a revolutionary transformation that can not be experienced by anyone not actually present in the country. The Africans are all on the march, and whatever the result of the present defiance campaign, even if it ends in total defeat at the hands of the government, the country will never be the same again.

The government has no solution to the crisis presented by the defiance campaign. In the last week four cabinet ministers have made statements about the defiance: Strydom, Donges, Verwoerd, and Schoeman.

SMASH OR BE SMASHED

These men all had the same attitude: their line is that there are two alternatives. One is negotiation, and the other is to fight the campaign to the bitter end. Negotiation they say is impossible because the leaders of the defiance campaign are demanding unconditional surrender by the whites and complete equality. This is unthinkable, and therefore the other alternative is the only [possibility]. You can see here the Afrikaner tendency toward oversimplification at work: namely, to present two alternatives, one of which can not be tolerated. . . .

They would not like it to be known that the African National Congress demands the repeal of five acts, especially the notorious pass laws, which are merely a liability on the progress of the whole country. At any rate, the Nats have a policy toward the defiance campaign: namely, to smash it or be smashed by it.

The ideas of the Opposition [in Parliament] are pitiful. Strauss (the leader of the Opposition) is apologetic about opposition to the Nats and he deplores the defiance campaign. With a naivete that can only be matched by an infant politician, he tells the Africans that the laws they do not want were passed by Parliament and that they can only be repealed constitutionally; therefore the defiance campaign must be called off.

THE WHITE OPPOSITION

He promises that if elected [at the next General Election, which will take place in May, 1953] he will meet African leaders. He does not say which African leaders. I think he would like to sidestep the Congress and manufacture some good boys outside the ANC. At least, the Nats recognize Congress politically, although they would be the last to admit it. . . .

Donges says there can be no negotiation because there is no representative group among the Africans. The Torch Commando National Executive [a left-wing group of the white anti-Malan opposition] has passed a resolution asking the government to meet the ANC before it is too late.

The Opposition is in a state of utter confusion. A great deal of what the Nats say about the UP [United Party] is true. It has no leader and no policy. At the beginning of this campaign I predicted that the country would gradually divide up into reactionaries behind the Nats and progressives of all shades behind the ANC. That is now a reality, or almost a reality. The whites will have to form a party that is prepared to make definite changes or join Congress. . . .

The twenty leaders [that is, previously arrested] have been committed for trial after the examination, which lasted a week. The date of the trial has not yet been announced. We need plenty of funds, as you can see. Our budget is becoming bigger every month. The action of the Asian natives (in bringing the matter before the UN) will have tremendous effects. The West has to make up its mind on the question, of course.

**Vote
Socialist**

Right-Wing Ax Out for Bevan - -

(Continued from page 1)

though, to be sure, not only the pro-Stalinists but other left-wing groups helped to organize the rank-and-file support.

What is very interesting to note among the left wing is the tendency to identify the left with the USSR, and even with Stalinism itself. Unfortunately for the CP, their record is so well-known that they are quite unable to canalize this undoubtedly strong semi-Stalinist current in the Labor Party. The resolutions on the agenda advocating East-West trade, admission of China to the UN, Big Five talks, etc., etc., represent not the artificially introjected efforts of CP infiltrators but the genuine (if misguided) expression of the Left.

This fact, more than any other feature of the Labor Party, is especially galling to the CP. It is quite possible for a Labor Party member, as a Labor Party member, to put forward the CP line, complete, and get a hearing; but

it is quite impossible for a CPer, as a CPer, to get a hearing from the very same audience. This explains the mixed feelings of the *Daily Worker* here.

Undoubtedly the *Daily Worker* is jubilant about the defeat of the right wing, but there is no evidence that it takes any positive pleasure in the victory of Bevan. To put it briefly: where the Stalinists were for the defeat of the Morrisites, the genuine socialists worked for a Bevanite victory.

RIGHT WING BOILS

Be that as it may, the important news has emanated from sources other than those of the *Daily Worker*. The capitalist press is now giving the defeated right wing of the Labor Party—now almost completely discredited thanks to Arthur Deakin's delicate intervention at Morecambe—all the publicity it wants. The press is inflating the differences

—which are undoubtedly great—between the Deakinites and the Bevanites with the express purpose of driving a wedge between the trade unions and the constituency Labor Party branches.

Much to everyone's disgust, the defeated right-wingers are helping the split, instead of accepting the verdict of the conference. Hugh Gaitskell, the former Labor chancellor of the exchequer, for instance, denounced the new NEC over the weekend and said, "It is time to end the attempt at mob rule by a group of frustrated journalists, and restore the authority and leadership of the solid, sound, sensible majority of the movement." Of course, among the solid, sound, sensible majority of the movement are to be found Hugh Gaitskell, Herbert Morrison, Arthur Deakin and Clement Attlee—of this we can be sure.

CLOSE RANKS?

The next day Ian Mikardo, effectively answered Gaitskell's play to the gallery of the capitalist press, with these words: "I am sorry Mr. Gaitskell has taken his defeat in the Executive election so badly. It is unworthy of a man of his caliber to behave like a third-rate boxer who loses a fight and then bursts into tears and complains that the referee was bribed. The Labor movement, like the rest of the British nation, hasn't much time for a bad loser."

It is, of course, not beyond the bounds of possibility that Gaitskell has taken too literally the threat made by Arthur Deakin to form an anti-Bevanite faction in the constituency parties. The only trouble with such a faction is that no one is going to join it.

The victorious Bevanites have gone out of their way to make possible some sort of cooperation within the Labor movement, and this is in striking contrast with the sulking attitude of the ex-leaders. Mrs. Barbara Castle, for example, made the following statement more in hope than in expectation: "The Labor movement will close its ranks in the next few months on the line of the decisions taken at Morecambe." The tragedy is that some former leaders of our movement are prepared not only to continue the

PHILADELPHIA

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THE NATIONAL ELECTIONS

A Socialist View

Discussion led by

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Assistant Editor of Labor Action

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