

21 Lists Make Bid in Israel Election

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

By AL FINDLEY

The first elections in Israel will take place on January 25 to elect 120 members of a Constituent Assembly which will adopt a constitution. Voting is by the list method of proportional representation. Only 250 signatures are necessary to validate a national list.

There are 21 lists being presented to the voters, including three Arab lists. These 21 lists actually represent nine major blocs, with the remainder being representatives of special groups such as the Sephardic (Oriental) Jews, Yemenites, women, two personal lists and splinter tendencies of the religious bloc.

MAJOR PARTIES

The MAPAI—Palestinian Labor Party—is considered the largest single party despite the fact that it received fewer votes than the component parts of Mapam. It is a social-democratic party adhering to the Second International. It has the overwhelming support of the city workers and sizable strength in the agricultural colonies. It polled about 54 per cent of the Histadruth vote. It takes for itself major credit for the establishment of the Jewish state by partition. Its program stresses coloniza-

tion, social legislation and cooperatives. The Mapai also demands changing the boundaries of the original partition and calls for the annexation of Western Galilee, Jaffa and Jerusalem by Israel. As to the Arabs, the Mapai is against their return but proposes to help resettle Arab refugees in other Arab states.

In foreign affairs, the Mapai is the main advocate of neutrality between the Western and Eastern imperialist blocs. Opponents accuse the Mapai, and not without reason, of TENDING toward a Western or American direction. While preferring a weak, independent Arab state in Eastern Palestine, it is not opposed to allowing Abdullah and Egypt to divide Arab Palestine.

The Mapai has made the question of immediate peace versus continued war one of its main election issues. Should the negotiations at Rhodes succeed, the Mapai would be greatly strengthened.

The MAPAM—United Labor Party—a fusion of Hashomer Hatzair, Achduth Avodah and Left Paole Zion—is the rival of the Mapai for working class votes. Neither the Mapai nor Mapam propose a socialist economy. Both propose a "mixed and controlled economy." The Mapam accuses the

Mapai of not giving predominance to the cooperative sections of the economy. This writer has seen little substantiation of that charge. The Mapam, like the Mapai, is willing to form a coalition government. Here again the difference between Mapai and Mapam seems more verbal than real.

The Mapam wants to retain as much independence for the workers' institutions as possible, that is, social legislation paid for by the government but administered by workers.

The Mapam continues the anti-clerical tradition of the socialist movement and advocates separation of religion and state, while the Mapai is willing to compromise.

The real differences, however, are in the field of foreign affairs. The Mapam wants to continue the war, insists on an independent Arab state and proposes the Arab Stalinists as the rulers of this state. In substance this also means the giving up of Western Galilee. The Mapam dema-

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Dutch Victories Bring N

Tanmalaka Reported Leading Guerrillas in Repu

By S. PITT

First news of the whereabouts of Tanmalaka, so-called "Trotskyist" leader in Indonesia, and consistent fighter for national independence under working class leadership in Indonesia, was received this week. The New York Times reports a Reuters dispatch that Tanmalaka is one of the leaders of the Republican guerrilla armies on West Java. This area has been one of the primary

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

HIDE PERSECUTIONS

Discusses Lists as Israel Prepares To Elect Its Constituent Assembly

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

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

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

OTHER PARTIES

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROBABLE OUTCOME

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

Only a rash man would make hard and fast predictions of the outcome of

the elections, after the fate suffered by Gallup and Roper. But certain general guides do exist. Were the elections held with the same population as last year, the religious bloc would probably be the greatest gainers, since they now have added forces in the Agudath Israel and others, that did not participate in previous elections. The Mapam would lose in percentage, since it had already engaged its maximum forces. Thus, Mapam total in the Histadruth was 40,000 votes and in last National Assembly election 43,000 votes. The small range of votes shows that Mapam has small support outside of its core in Histadruth and at best can only hope to maintain its existing proportion of the votes. The Mapam vote may also be adversely affected by the current anti-Zionist campaign in Russia, Rumania and Hungary.

The Mapai, which in the last elections had less votes than the component parts of the Mapam, has, however, a greater fluctuating voting support, and observers expect the Mapai to reach its maximum in this election. Recent U. S. action in restraining England and in pressuring Cuba and Canada to grant recognition, may aid the Mapai.

The Progressive Party is not expected to greatly change its proportion of votes, but may achieve a balance of power.

The Heiruth Party and Revisionist vote will probably exceed their past vote of 13.7 per cent, since now Beigin is openly the head of the ticket. The question is how greatly will they increase their vote. Estimates range around 5 to 10 per cent.

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

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

CP Trial - -

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