

# Churchill Wins, But Labor Gets The Highest Vote

By George Breitman

The British capitalists won an electoral victory on Oct. 25, but not the kind they expected. Winston Churchill and his Tories are back in power, but with such a small

majority in the House of Commons that they will have considerable difficulty in carrying out their reactionary program. That was what a London bus conductor meant when he said he thought "Churchill can't play any pranks on the workers."

The workers suffered a setback, which has encouraged the capitalists everywhere. The American imperialists rejoice at having Churchill's "finger on the trigger." They believe that as prime minister he will be of greater help in their preparations for war against the Soviet Union than Attlee was, even though Attlee went along with those preparations. The British capitalists are happy because a Tory Parliament will block any further social reforms.

## STOCK MARKET SAGS

But the parliamentary crisis has not been solved, the strength of the labor movement is greater than ever, and the prospects for its continued radicalization are better rather than worse. That was why the stock market in London, which showed enthusiasm when the Tory victory was announced, sagged again when the narrowness of the victory became clear.

For a year and a half Churchill had been taunting the Labor Party with being a "minority" and therefore not representative of the wishes of the country. Now he would like this whole subject to be forgotten. In 1950, when the Laborites won a majority of seats, they failed to get an absolute majority of the popular vote but they did get the highest vote. This year the Tories were not able to do as well. Their popular vote was some 200,000 less than Labor's; instead of a landslide, they barely squeaked into office; they are faced with a Labor opposition that has a bigger mass following in the country and that received an even higher percentage of the popular vote than in 1945.

## CAPITALIST COALITION

The Tories did not make their electoral gains from those who formerly supported the Labor Party. They got them pretty much from the anti-labor Liberal Party. In 1950 the Liberals contested about three-fourths of the seats and received over 2 1/2 million votes. This year they effected an informal alliance with the Tories, failed to run candidates of their own in five-sixths of the districts, and lost almost two million middle class votes, most of

which went to the Tories and gave them the edge in "marginal" districts. They cut their own throats as a party, but they were guided by their class interests, preferring to sacrifice their party in order to bring the capitalist class back to power.

## LABOR LEFT GAINS

Thus the Labor Party held its previous support, and added to it. Still more important was the effect of the election on the internal situation in the Labor Party. In contrast to the Attlee-led right wing, the left wing led by Aneurin Bevan succeeded in re-electing every one of its supporters, many with greater majorities than in 1950. A good example was the Manchester area, where Laborites ran in two com-

(Continued on page 3)

# Wm. Hood Interviewed on Policies of New Negro Group

DETROIT, Oct. 26 — The new National Negro Labor Council will fight for economic, social and political equality, William R. Hood, provisional president of the organization, told The Militant in an hour-long interview here on the eve of the Council's founding national convention in Cincinnati.

## FOR MILITANT ACTION

"We propose to lead the Negro people and our white allies to fight against the second-class citizenship imposed on the Negro people in this country," he said. "Our basic aim is first-class citizenship. We will use mass struggle methods. We contemplate such movements as the March-on-Washington Movement. The existing organizations which speak in the name of the Negro people have failed. We invite all those who want to continue to fight to cooperate with us."

Hood himself has a rich background of experience in Negro and labor struggles. He is recording secretary of UAW Local 600, largest local union in the world. He was a leader of the fight on behalf of an FEPC ordinance in Detroit.

He was born in Georgia in 1910, came to Detroit in 1942 and went to work at Ford's. He went through the mill in the plant as well as the political and union struggles of the UAW, where he served the union in various offices. He is particularly

# U.S. Casualties Up In Korea Fighting

U.S. Korea casualties have now reached the total of 95,592, according to the Defense Department. This includes 14,393 killed, 68,641 wounded, and 12,558 missing. It does not include other non-battle injuries. Actual total U.S. casualties in Korea are well over 160,000.

The casualties announced this past week alone were 2,595. This is almost double the average weekly casualty rate for the 16 months of the war.

The only way to stop the slaughter is for the American people to demand: "Bring the troops home now!"

# New Taxes Rob Labor; Battle Looms on Wages

## The Haunting Shadow



# Brief for Legless Vet Filed in Appeals Court

Attorneys for James Kutcher, legless veteran discharged from his \$40 per week clerk's job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party, filed a brief in his behalf with the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington on Oct. 23. The Kutcher case is the only test of the "loyalty" purge procedure now in the higher courts.

The brief strongly challenges the Truman administration's purge methods, maintaining that the loyalty boards fired Kutcher solely because of membership in an organization which has been designated as "subversive" without any hearing or due process of law.

## BRIEF'S ARGUMENTS

Kutcher's lawyers, Joseph Rauh and M. J. Myer, contend that this is wrong on several counts:

1. James Kutcher was fired solely because of one piece of evidence: his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. This is an attempt to fix guilt by association, or, as the brief puts it, "guilt by osmosis." The lawyers point out that, in its very last term, the Supreme Court twice repudiated efforts to incorporate this new and dangerous principle into U.S. law.

2. "No hearing was provided on the question whether the Socialist Workers Party is an organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government by force and violence. How did the government determine that the SWP is 'subversive'? This was done, says the brief, entirely on the basis of the so-called 'subversive list' of the U.S. Attorney General. But the Supreme Court recently ruled that 'the list is a purely hearsay declaration by the Attorney General. . . It has no competency to prove the subversive character of the listed organization.' . . ."

In other words, it is only one man's opinion, and doesn't prove a thing. That is what the U.S. Court of Appeals has already ruled about this list in the Remington case.

3. The brief holds to the "clear and present danger" doctrine. It holds that "legislation which infringes upon the First Amendment (the free speech amendment to the constitution) must be commensurate with the existent danger." Thus the lawyers stand that the government has no right to infringe upon freedom unless it can prove a "clear and present danger" that some immediate "harm" will result from the exercise of such freedom.

"Constitutional warrant to use a scalpel," the lawyers say, "does not authorize use of a meat cleaver. . ."

Finally, the brief differentiates this case from the case of Dorothy Bailey, also purged for "disloyalty" from the government service, in which the Court decided against the appeal. In the Bailey case, the complaint was made that the hearing she received was defective. In the Kutcher case, on the contrary, there was no hearing.

## THREE YEAR FIGHT

Since his dismissal in 1948, Kutcher has taken his appeal through the various channels of the Loyalty Board apparatus, into federal court, and now to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which is the last step before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Simultaneously, the case was taken to the labor and liberal movements, where groups representing millions of people protested his purge and demanded his reinstatement.

The defense of James Kutcher is being conducted by the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee. Contributions to aid in the case may be sent to the committee at 19 West 10th Street, N. Y. C.

# Steel Barons, Government Move to Block Pay Demands

Battle lines are being drawn for the coming showdown on the wage front. The big push is expected to begin with the presentation of wage demands by the CIO United Steelworkers who have served notice on the steel corporations that the union wanted to negotiate a new contract.

Philip Murray, CIO president and head of the steelworkers, has declared that the union expects "substantial wage increases," along with improved welfare and pension plans.

The steel barons and their agents in the government are mobilizing to "hold the wage line." E. G. Grace, chairman of Bethlehem Steel, has made it clear that the corporations will fight both at the bargaining table and through the WSB to block any wage increases.

Brazzely announcing that there was "no justification" whatever for higher wages, Grace issued a virtual ultimatum to the effect that his company is "in no position to volunteer a wage increase." Under the current wage stabilization formula it is estimated that steelworkers "might get an increase of four cents an hour."

Grace flatly announced that he would not agree to any "direct or indirect" breaches in the wage stabilization formula. "If it's to be done, powers higher than I will have to do it," he said.

Hastening to the support of the steel profiteers, defense mobilizer Charles E. Wilson warned that a steel strike "must be and will be avoided" in the name of "national security." Wilson, while not siding openly with Grace against the wage rise, backed him up by raising the fake issue of inflation, of which the workers have been the severest sufferers. "But if wages go up," claimed Wilson, "it follows, as the night the day, prices must go up too."

The Wage Stabilization Board is naturally lined up on the side of the corporations. The industry members on the WSB have already submitted a "minority report" calling for "curbs on pensions and welfare plans." One industry member, G. Maynard Smith of Atlanta, issued a "warning" several weeks ago to employers who agree to over-ceiling rates. He pointed out that

"of 20,769 applications filed with the WSB up to Oct. 5, only seven involved cases in which the employer did not join."

This open directive to the employers to "get tough" was accompanied by Smith's boast that the WSB has done a "good job" in freezing wages, and proposes to do even better.

Congress meanwhile is solidly behind the wage freezers. On Oct. 28 a House of Representatives subcommittee issued a special report praising the Consumers Price Index which serves as "the controlling figure in the basic regulations of the WSB." It comes up in most of the wage contracts which are up for renegotiation.

This report "emphasized that the index was not, and was not intended to be, a true cost of living ratio," and the House subcommittee recommended that the bureau continue its present practice of "excluding income taxes from the index." (N. Y. Times, Oct. 29.)

This heavily doctored index obviously plays a major role in the wage freeze offensive of Big Business. Emil Rieve, president of the CIO Textile Workers Union and one of the labor members of the WSB, has correctly charged that this agency has "loaded the dice" against labor. The exclusion of the taxes from the estimation of living costs is the biggest part of this whole wage-freeze offensive.

"I don't know how long this unfair situation is going to last before a blow-up takes place," said Rieve.

The take-home pay and the living standards of the workers have been nosediving. With the savage bite taken out by the new taxes and the new price rises which the OPS is now handing out lavishly, the patience of the workers has indeed worn very thin. It is time the official labor leaders stopped whining about the "unfair situation" and broke with the chief government wage-freezing agency — the Wage Stabilization Board and its phony cost-of-living index.

# LABOR MUST SUPPORT DOCK WORKERS' STRIKE

## An Editorial

Insurgent dock workers in the Port of New York are waging a magnificent struggle against great odds which has aroused the respect and admiration of every trade union militant. For three weeks now, they have fought off every attempt to break their strike against the sell-out agreement cooked up between union president Joseph Ryan and the employers.

From the beginning they had to beat back the gangs of professional strikebreakers and muscle-men recruited and led by Ryan's gun-toting henchmen.

Their picket line demonstrations in front of City Hall, held in defiance of out-of-bounds restrictions, compelled the city authorities to curb the brutality of the mounted cops.

They sent one of Truman's sharpshooting mediators back to Washington with his inflated ego punctured by their uncompromising rejection of his strikebreaking return-to-work-and-we'll-negotiate-afterwards plea.

When Truman himself called for a return to work on the basis of the Ryan contract in the interest of "national defense" the dock workers indignantly spurned the siren call of the White House strikebreaker.

The rebel strike against Ryan has raised a great hue and cry about corruption, racketeering and crime on the waterfront. Capitalist politicians are demanding investigations. Capitalist newspapers print pious editorials deploring the situation. All advise the men to return to work and let the ward heeled and editorial writers fix things up.

But the men have learned better. The city authorities have investigated and whitewashed the Ryan gang so often it has become a standing joke in the community. The newspapers have published reams of lurid exposes of crime and corruption with no visible effect on Ryan or his marauding gangster crew. The dock workers have been the long suffering victims and it is the dock workers themselves who will have to clean up the filthy mess. But they can't be expected to do it alone!

The Ryan waterfront cesspool is stinking up the whole labor movement. In the elementary interests of sanitary hygiene the organized labor movement in New York must come to the aid of the striking longshoremen.

# NEW CANNON PAMPHLET TELLS TRUTH ON PEACE

By John G. Wright

What are the prospects for a real peace? If you are seeking a concise, clear and truthful answer to this question which is agitating so many millions, you will find it in the 48-page pamphlet, *The Road to Peace*, by James P. Cannon, just issued by Pioneer Publishers.

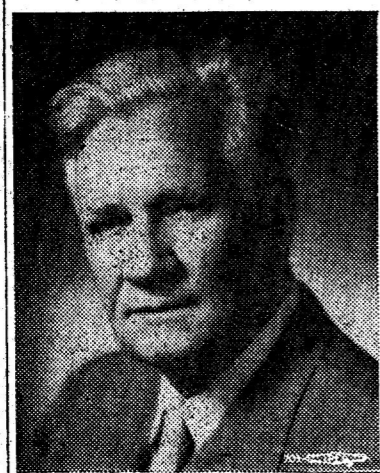
Few are so qualified as Cannon to treat with this vital issue. He brings to it a long experience of socialist struggle against imperialist war. As a young man he opposed World War I and has continued the fight ever since. On the eve of this country's entry into World War II, he, together with 17 other leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, was railroaded to jail for taking a principled stand against the war.

In this lifelong anti-war struggle, there was never anything visionary. Cannon has participated as a fighter for the new and better world, the socialist order, the only guarantee of peace and progress. This revolutionary socialist outlook, permeating every line of his pamphlet, makes his analysis and conclusions fruitful and significant.

## ROLE OF PACIFISM

Cannon is keenly aware of the role that pacifism and pacifist illusions play in clearing the path for the warmakers. The young generation of workers has little knowledge of the era in the Twenties when the European imperialists and their opposite numbers on our soil kept feeding mankind with one pacifist concoction after another.

Even less known are the years before World War I when the then powerful socialist parties in the Second International were debilitated by pacifism. Because of these bitter experiences, the socialist anti-war struggle has always included the exposure of pacifism, which lulls the people into false security, diverting them



JAMES P. CANNON

from the effective avenues of struggle.

In our days the chief spreaders of pacifism are the Stalinists. That is why Cannon devotes so much attention to the exposure of the current Stalinist "peace campaign," a concoction of deception and hypocrisy, of impudence and ignorance which the Stalinists try to substitute for Marxism.

## STALINIST AIM

The aim of all this Stalinist "monkey-chatter about the possibility of a solid, enduring peace," explains Cannon, is to strike a deal with the American imperialists. "In my opinion," he writes, "a formal agreement is possible, and even probable. But such an agreement, if finally arrived at, can only be limited, conditional and temporary. The result of such an agreement can be nothing more than an uneasy truce."

(Continued on page 2)

# 'U.S. News' Vies with Colliers In Lying About War Both Want

By Tom Conlan

The conservative weekly U.S. News pretends to carry an "answer" to Colliers' "preview" of World War III. The editors of both periodicals, along with the rest of the capitalist press, are in complete agreement on promoting this war with might and main. But they apparently differ on how best to deceive the people about the war.

As against Colliers' lies about a quick and easy war, the U.S. News prefers to lie about the past and the present. Without mentioning any names, but obviously referring to Colliers, the U.S. News disclaims any enthusiasm for a direct onslaught on the Soviet Union. "War that U.S. prepares for would blow up much of the world, if started.

Nobody wins, all lose, that war," they say piously.

What, then, is their own special view? It is this, that World War III is not something in the near or distant future. It "is here." It has been with us for the last five years, ever since March 1947 and it "is being lost by U.S., won by Russia, hands down."

It is being lost and may be completely lost "by default" because this "real, modern-type war" is being waged "Russian style." Meanwhile the U.S. "seems bewildered, punch-drunk, moving toward eventual inflationary crack-up."

Everything that has happened in the last five years — from the enunciation of the "Truman Doctrine," through the expulsion of the British from Iran, down to the past and recent assassinations in the Near and Far East — all that is either the direct handiwork of "Joseph Stalin, directing World War III from the Kremlin," or has resulted from a counter-move to his operations.

Stalin sits and pushes buttons and "bloody uprisings," "guerilla war, civil war, international war," flare up on his orders from one end of our planet to the other. "Pressure fronts" — "political fronts," propaganda, sabotage, assassination are all part of these new "modern techniques" which Stalin has discovered.

This is straight out of the "Devil school" of history in which Hitler's propagandists specialized in their heyday.

That Stalin and the whole Soviet bureaucracy seek to profit from the eruption of the colonial revolution which is now sweeping in its wake the great bulk of mankind is undeniable. But that he personally engineered or exercises control over the course of events in China, Korea, Indonesia, Malaya, Indo-China and most recently in Iran, Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East is an even more outrageous distortion of history than Colliers' fraudulent World War III preview. Colliers was at least deliberately lying about something they claimed would take

(Continued on page 3)

Workers of the World, Unite!

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# Notebook of an Agitator

## THE BIG SWINDLE

For the past two weeks this space has been devoted to a critical review of the Biggest Show in Town. That's not "Guys and Dolls" or Judy Garland at the Palace, but Rudolph Halley's campaign for City Council presidency, under the auspices of Dubinsky's Liberal Party with the endorsement of Norman Thomas' Socialist Party, on the single issue of local crime and graft. And the fantastic spectacle has not been fully covered yet.

Halley himself, of course, would be no more attractive than any other political shyster trying to make hay for himself on his reputation as a "crime-buster" — one of the oldest and most familiar dodges in the American political game — if the International Ladies Garment Workers Union hadn't been dragged into sponsoring him by Dubinsky, and if the Socialist Party had not been betrayed into endorsing him by Norman Thomas.

It is this aspect of the Halley campaign which justifies extended treatment, for it leads straight up to questions of transcendent importance, to wit: What is labor and socialist politics all about; and what should workers and socialists go into politics for? If the Halley catastrophe jolts some workers into a thoughtful consideration of these questions it may have, indirectly, a beneficial result never intended by its authors.

### A Sure Sign

I personally am not in favor of crime and graft, and would like to see it stopped by removing its basic cause. But when I hear anybody say or even imply that gambling is the main source of the trouble, and that the cure is to pass some more laws and shake up the police department, and thus fix things so that a man can't make a two-dollar bet with the bookmaker's runner on the corner, while betting at the race tracks is perfectly legal — when I hear anyone make that pitch I know right away that he is a liar and a faker and therefore a crook himself.

You can't even stop off-track gambling that way. The only result of such measures and the general clutter and uproar around them always has been, and always will be, that the bookies have to pay more for protection while the heat's on. Or, perhaps, you are going to get "honest cops" this time? When you get them let me know. But don't expect me to live that long.

Fred Jaffe, an experienced reporter who has covered politics and crime from the City Hall and Albany to the Kefauver hearings and knows the real score, takes a dim view of the current hue and cry.

In a round-up report for the New York Compass he refers disdainfully to "the inordinate emphasis placed on gambling in recent investigations," and the shake-down graft of the cops inseparable from it, even though this graft has been shown to run into millions of dollars a year in New York City alone. He says flatly that "the big graft is located" in Washington where "they've stopped counting the billions being spent by the Federal Government, especially for armaments."

The concentration of the crime crusaders on relatively minor items in the national aggregate of crime and graft is only a means of covering up and distracting attention from the bigger steals engineered down in Washington under the Truman administration which Halley supports. Washington is the place where the gravy train is really high-balling down the line. It's "a long train with a big red caboose." But it isn't hauling your troubles away, like the train in the popular song. It's hauling your money.

### Tax Cheating Racket

Last week I cited a few facts and figures on only two rackets — "tax amortization" (more than 10 billion dollars) and Federal Power Commission handouts to the big oil and public utility companies (a couple of billion more). Here's another item — "tax cheating." Not much of this is done by the little fellow. He is over-taxed to start with and then watched like a convict on parole. The real cheating is done by the rich who can pay for a fix.

Sylvia F. Porter, financial editor of the New York Post, says: "Tax cheating is the No. one racket in America today." She's wrong about that, but it's quite a racket just the same. "A con, servative estimate," she says, "is that as a result of tax evasion, graft, downright fraud, the Treasury is losing at least \$2 billion annually and the tax crooks have accumulated at least a \$7 billion to \$10 billion kitty just since World War II."

But even these huge sums, which begin to add up to more money than you can count unless

you went to college and studied astrology, don't tell the whole story of graft in this country. They represent only the illegal or slightly irregular forms of getting something for nothing. If all this shady business were to be miraculously stopped by a morally regenerated public administration, and if all these thieves were put in jail by a staff of fearless prosecutors and incorruptible cops under some super-Halley — are you laughing or crying? — it wouldn't change things fundamentally.

It still wouldn't touch the heart of the question of graft — if you will just broaden out the definition a little to mean by graft the appropriation of other people's money, or its equivalent, without rendering any productive service in return.

### The Big Swindle

The Big Swindle in this country is the capitalist system of exploitation which, under the euphemistic title of "free enterprise," robs the worker of the bulk of the fruits of his labor and makes the rich richer all the time. And it's all perfectly legal. Its operators are ornaments of society and pillars of the church. They don't have to dodge the law and the cops. The law and the cops are working for them, to protect their loot. Profits for 1951 are running at the rate of \$50 billion a year for which no useful or productive services whatever are rendered.

That's the racket that keeps the workers poor. Things work out so that even the fully employed and better paid workers, in these times of artificial boom, barely manage to keep their heads above water; while "one-third of the nation," now, as in Roosevelt's time, still live in direst poverty with incomes far below what it takes to maintain a "modest but adequate" standard of living.

This disproportion has been operating for a long, long time. We have now reached the point where 2 or 3 percent of the population own 40 or 50 percent of the private property of the United States. They dominate the whole banking, industrial and commercial system of the country. They run the government to suit themselves, in their own interests. This government has appropriated \$90 billion this year for military purposes. Every dollar of this astronomical sum represents values produced by the workers.

They have to give up this money without being consulted and have no say in how it is to be spent. It is to be spent for the armaments of war which the workers will be called upon to fight. They got your money, and now they want your life. That's the way things are working out under American capitalism on the strictly legal plane.

How do you like that? Don't you think these things should be talked about in election campaigns when all the people are listening? Rudolph Halley, who is in the spotlight as candidate for President of City Council, doesn't think so. On the contrary, he supports this system and thinks it's fine. In supporting Halley in this election campaign, the so-called "socialists," with Norman Thomas as their bellwether, are, in the strict and literal sense of the word, supporting capitalism and war.

### The Debs Tradition

Debs didn't conduct election campaigns that way. In his acceptance speech opening his 1904 campaign, he said: "The Socialist Party . . . throws down the gage of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system." In his 1908 campaign he wrote: "The Socialist Party is the political expression of what is known as 'the class struggle.'" These are not isolated expressions; Gene talked that way all the time. Labor and socialist politics made sense when Debs campaigned.

The Socialist Party of Norman Thomas has abandoned the class struggle politics of Debs in favor of a Democratic Party careerist who advocates a "new reformism," which he translates into a "fight against crime." But they still inconspicuously remember Debs' birthday. They held another "Annual Debs' Day Dinner" last week at Schwartz restaurant, with Norman Thomas, of course, as one of the speakers.

They pushed the date ahead a little — Gene's birthday comes on Nov. 5 — in order, I suppose, to utilize the occasion for the benefit of Halley's campaign. If the diners felt a slight tremor of the building, accompanied by a rumbling sound, it wasn't caused by the subway train rolling by. That was probably Debs turning over in his grave.

— J. P. C.

## Mounted Cops Patrol Docks



Mounted police patrol Staten Island pier as AFL longshoremen's strike spread along East Coast to Boston and Baltimore. Longshoremen have protested the use of the police to protect Joseph Ryan's scabs.

# Trigger-happy Churchill: A War-Lord's Record

By Harry Frankel

In editorials congratulating Winston Churchill on his return to power in Britain, the N. Y. Times and the N. Y. Daily Mirror call him "Britain's Happy Warrior" and "the old warrior." The figures of speech are appropriate. Churchill's present war against British labor is the culmination of a lifetime devoted to war: war against peoples who wanted freedom and independence, war against the first workers' state (the USSR), imperialism war, and class war against the British workers.

Churchill is an old man. He has not gone to war himself for half a century. But he has pushed wars, instigated wars, and compelled others to wage them. His record shows him to be the foremost warmonger of our times, and all of his wars have been for reactionary purposes.

### CAVALRY OFFICER

Harrow and Sandhurst, the exclusive schools of the British snobocracy, nurtured him in his youth on the Tory view of the inferiority of all peoples outside his exclusive circle of English aristocrats. He started his warlike career, aptly enough, as a cavalry officer. In that capacity, he participated in the imperialist wars that forced the Egyptians, against their will, to sign the Anglo-Egyptian pact which actually gave control of the Sudan to the British. It is this very "treaty" which Winston Churchill helped to force on Egypt,

that the Egyptians have now denounced.

It is no surprise that the Egyptians, again seeing Winston Churchill's finger on the trigger, fear that he will try to finish today the dirty job he started in person 53 years ago. The big Egyptian nationalist daily, Al Misri, writes:

"Churchill has come back to power, recalling to the world the souvenirs of war and of destruction. He brings to the fore in the spirits of all men pictures of blood, rivers of blood, of cities destroyed, of total demolitions, of human lives destroyed, of the halting of civilization." Al Misri says further that Churchill, now in power again, wants to "infect on the world the same butcheries."

### FIVE WARS

After his role as cavalry officer in the anti-Egyptian wars, Churchill plunged into the Boer war as a war correspondent. He was captured, but that did not daunt his martial spirit. By the time he came to New York to lecture in 1906, he was already the belligerent veteran of no fewer than five wars of colonial conquest. But from then on, he was to delegate to others the job of doing the actual fighting in the wars he promoted.

In 1910 and 1911, during the British strikes of that period, Churchill was Minister of Internal Affairs in the British Cabinet. He distinguished himself as an enemy of the British workers by calling out the army

to hound strikers in Liverpool and elsewhere.

Churchill, his finger still on the trigger, was First Lord of the British Admiralty in 1914, when British imperialism went to war in defense of its Empire. He had disagreements with other leading British politicians at that time. Churchill held the view that war was bound to come. Could this have been wishful thinking? Observers of 1914 saw signs in Churchill that would make it seem so. His "happy face" was noted when the war actually started. Even Asquith, prime minister in 1914, refers to Churchill a little sarcastically as having on "all his war paint, longing for a sea fight."

### "UNFINISHED TASK"

When the first World War ended, Winston Churchill, enraged by the success of the first workers' revolution in history, the Russian Revolution of 1917, became the chief advocate of war against the young workers' state. He organized and spearheaded the anti-Soviet imperialist intervention of 14 nations.

Churchill, in 1919, did not want to see warfare end so long as there remained what he called "the unfinished task" of the first World War: the overthrow of the Soviet Union and the restoration of capitalism.

He called for "arming and equipping the anti-Bolshevik forces from our own immense supply of munitions." It "naturally followed," he said, "that we should try to combine all the border states hostile to the Bolsheviks into one system of war and diplomacy and get everyone else to do as much as possible."

### NEW NAME, SAME OBJECT

This policy, advocated by Churchill in 1919, sounds familiar. Today, it is called the "policy of containment." At that time, it was called the "cordons sanitaire." Its object is the same now as then: war against the USSR and restoration of capitalism. Churchill failed in 1919, but his finger is again on the trigger.

In 1939, the smell of powder returned once again to the old war-dog's nostrils. He was pleased, and he writes of the start of the Second World War:

"I felt a serenity of mind, and was conscious of a kind of uplifted detachment from human and personal affairs. The glory of old England . . . thrilled my being and seemed to lift our fate from those spheres so far removed from earthly facts and physical sensation."

It is fitting that this man should have given the signal for the mobilization for World War III, in which the capitalist class hopes to complete the job that Churchill started in 1919: the destruction of the Soviet Union. On March 5, 1946, shortly after being booted out of office by the British workers in the 1945 Labor Party sweep, Churchill came to Fulton, Missouri, and made his famous war speech that marked the opening of the cold war.

### FIRST ACT SYMBOLIC

Churchill is back in power again in Britain. His first act was to appoint himself Minister of Defense, head of the armed forces. The American capitalists, intent upon their war drive, are delighted to see the trigger-happy warrior in office.

However, the mass of the British working people are wise to him, and are watching him. The next time he goes for his gun, there will be trouble in Britain.

Subscribe to THE MILITANT

# Original Charges Dropped But Remington Is Re-Indicted

By John F. Petrone

The government is out to get William W. Remington, former Department of Commerce economist. If they can't get him one way, they try another. Methods are always secondary to witch-hunters. Legal traditions and procedures are followed by them when they are useful, discarded when they are not. All that counts with them is success in hounding to prison the targets of their drive to set the patterns for thought-control in the United States.

Remington was convicted last February of having perjured himself before a grand jury when he denied stoolpigeon Elizabeth Bentley's claim that he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. Under a one-count indictment, he was sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$2,000. The U.S. Court of Appeals threw out the conviction because the alleged membership had not been specifically proved. It suggested a new trial. Remington then applied to the U.S. Supreme Court to quash the indictment and thus acquit him.

To prevent this, the government went before a federal grand jury in New York and got it to reindict Remington on Oct. 25. But NOT on the basis of the old indictment.

The new indictment had five counts. All of them were based on Remington's testimony at his own trial last February. None of them was based on his testimony before the grand jury for which he had been tried in the first place. None of them even accused him of perjury when he denied ever belonging to the CP.

In effect, this meant the government was admitting that it could not convince a jury of its original charges, and that its original charges were so unfounded they had to be dropped. But there was something else that was even more sinister.

### UNHEARD OF ACTION

To try a man for perjury in testimony given in his own defense is something unheard of in American courts. If it is allowed to stand, here is the kind of thing that could happen:

Suppose a man is prosecuted for throwing a brick through

somebody's window. He denies that he threw it, and claims that he wasn't even in the vicinity and that actually he was at home at the time of the incident. Suppose he is found guilty, and sentenced to 15 days in jail. Then, according to the precedent the government is trying to set in the Remington case, he could be indicted for perjury on at least two counts — one for saying he wasn't in the vicinity, the second for saying he was at home. On each of these two counts he could be sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$2,000.

### SEVERE PENALTIES

Remington is now accused of having lied when he swore at his own trial that he never passed government secrets to Elizabeth Bentley, that he never knowingly attended Communist Party meetings, that he never paid CP dues, that he never asked anyone to join the CP, and that he did not know of the existence of the Young Communist League at Dartmouth College when he studied there.

Each of these perjury counts carries a five year prison term and \$2,000 in fines with conviction.

### DOUBLE JEOPARDY

Joseph L. Rauh Jr. of Washington, one of Remington's lawyers, charged the government with acting "vengefully" after having to drop its original charges. "We cannot believe that this vicious device to avoid the time-honored rule against double jeopardy will be sanctioned by the American people and the American courts," he said.

The American Civil Liberties Union called the new indictment a "shocking" violation of due process of law and asked Attorney General McGrath to quash it.

But there is no reason to rely on McGrath, who calls the tune on the "anti-red" witch-hunt. The "time-honored rule against double jeopardy" is itself in extreme jeopardy, along with all other basic civil liberties menaced by capitalist politicians and prosecutors motivated by a desire to promote both their careers and a police state.

## THE MILITANT ARMY

Reports from branch literature agents indicate that plans are under way to visit Militant subscribers for renewals, especially those who took their first subs to the paper during last spring's campaign.

Flint, Koniakow League champion in the campaign, has shown its determination to stay on top by sending in 18 renewals already secured in their renewal work. Flint Literature Agent Fred Perry writes that they intend to continue this work until January and expect to be sending in "a slow steady stream of subs."

"The Sam Adams series will be part of our inducements offered to prospective subscribers," he writes. Flint Militant salesmen also intend to take along the pamphlet, "The Road to Peace," containing Cannon's articles on the Stalinist peace program, first appearing in THE MILITANT, and recently published by Pioneer Publishers. Many subscribers who ordered extra copies of THE MILITANT containing these articles will be glad to have copies of the pamphlet to give to their friends.

Bea Allen writes that Detroit's literature committee has their list and are going to "go right to work" on renewals. It's important that a subscriber doesn't miss any issues," she writes, "and after all the work of the campaign we want to see that they don't go to waste."

Sales have been good at union meetings, Bea reports. "At one meeting attended by eight people, five Militants were sold, while one member contributed 20c. to the paper. At another meeting 16 Militants were sold. One comrade tried selling at the unemployment compensation lines after a layoff at one of the major plants, and the first week sold 10 papers in a few minutes. The following week he went back again and sold 16."

Bert Deck writes to increase Chicago's Militant bundle. "Our salespeople found that there was an excellent response to the higher taxes story in last week's Militant," he reports. "This is apparently an issue which workers are feeling more sharply every day. Helen sold 25 papers in a little over an hour plugging that story. Sales have been good at schools. Manny is selling an average of 10 a week to friends on the campus, and last week we sold a number of Militants, Fourth Internationals, and party pamphlets at Roosevelt College to students attending the Weiss-Lerner Debate."

Cleveland Literature Agent Jean Simon reports that 15 Militants were sold at a civil liberties forum jointly sponsored by the Cleveland Civil Liberties Union and Cleveland College. "It was the issue which headlined the new civil rights emergency committee, and was particularly appropriate," she writes. "The issue before last, featuring the tax article by Harry Frankel, and our socialist analysis of the developments in the British Labor Party, sold well on the campus. Dot and I sold 12 papers between classes. Dot, who is a crackerjack salesman, sold nine of these."

We were glad to hear from Helen S. that Minneapolis Literature Agent Pauline is feeling much better now. Helen is taking Pauline's place until she is back, and reports Minneapolis plans for literature work. "Our November and December expirations are surely a sight to behold!" she writes, "but we are starting in right away to visit our Militant friends, talk about the paper and our other literature, and get renewals. The Militant keeps up its usual high standard of printing all of the news that's fit to print — and isn't printed in the capitalist press! Last week, Doris, Harry, and Larry sold 41 copies of THE MILITANT with the big civil rights headline on the campus in a very short space of time."

## Japanese Stalinists Launch Big Purge

The Japanese Communist Party, gle against Factionalists," adopted being subjected to a major purge. This is disclosed by an article in the Aug. 10 issue of the Cominform weekly, For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy, reporting a resolution "On Strug-

ferences with the leadership is kept carefully hidden. In the customary Stalinist manner, the resolution claims that "the hostile elements" turned out to be "nothing else but spies."

That the opposition is quite strong numerically is admitted by the reference in the Cominform dispatch to "many honest people" who falling "to understand the complex political situation" in Japan "became victims of provocateurs, spies and crafty adventurers sent into the Party by enemy intelligence organs."

That more than one grouping is involved is indicated by another reference to "all kinds of factionalists" in the Japanese Stalinist ranks.

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## Socialism and British Elections

Capitalist politicians and editors in this country are trying to create the impression that the British election represents a "repudiation" of socialism. Their aim, of course, is to persuade American workers that socialism is done and has no future either in Britain or anywhere else. But nothing is further from the truth.

An honest analysis of the election results shows that there was no important shift to the right even in a Britain that was becoming fed up with the austerity policies of a half-hearted Labor Party government that was willing to cut social services under the pressure of Washington's war preparations program.

What happened was that the Liberal Party, an opponent of socialism like the Tories, encouraged most of its supporters to vote for Churchill's candidates. A greater number and a higher percentage of the electorate voted Labor this year than in 1945 and 1950! As the N.Y. Herald Tribune admitted in an editorial on Oct. 28, "the shift in parliamentary representation results more from the accidents of the voting pattern in the constituencies than from a shift in public attitudes."

How can anyone claim that socialism is repudiated in Britain when the party representing socialism in the public mind continues to grow in strength both in absolute and proportionate numbers?

Furthermore, one of the most notable features of the election was the strength shown by the candidates associated with the Laborite left wing led by Aneurin Bevan. Their appeals were more radical than those of Attlee; their program was interpreted as "more socialism, not less."

Anyhow, socialism could not be repudiated in Britain because it had not been introduced there. The Labor government carried through a number of semi-socialist and pseudo-socialist measures, some of them progressive and worthy of defense, but it did not abolish capitalism and really make a definitive start at socialist reconstruction.

The nationalization program provides one example. Nationalizing industry is necessary for the building of socialism. But the Attlee leadership failed to nationalize more than one-fifth of Britain's industries; it put a heavy drain on the economy by paying the former owners far more than their bankrupt industries were worth; it refused to enlist the initiative of the workers by turning over management and control of the nationalized industries to democratically elected committees of the workers and technicians. By "going slow" it encouraged the British capitalists to hope and work for "another chance."

Or take foreign policy as another example of the differences between Attlee and genuine socialists. The right-wing Laborites were willing to subordinate the needs and interests of the British workers to those of the American capitalists, to lower the living standards of the masses for the sake of imperialist war preparations. That's not socialism, but its opposite.

The Attlee policy aimed at the reform of capitalism, not its abolition. This, if anything, is what has been repudiated, or at least is being discredited, in the minds of the British workers—and not in the rightward direction of supporting capitalism, but in the leftward direction of regrouping the Labor Party around a more radical program.

When genuine socialism comes to Britain, the measures it takes will be so decisive, the support it evokes will be so overwhelming, that the capitalists will never get another chance to save their decaying system.

## The Negro Labor Council

Some 1,000 delegates met in Cincinnati last weekend to launch the National Negro Labor Council. Most of the delegates came from independent unions expelled from the CIO on the charge of being Stalinist-led. But there were enough CIO unionists present to indicate that the conference was successful despite the attacks on it as "communist inspired."

It is safe to say that redbaiting will not scare the Negro people from participating in the struggle for equal rights. All they need ask of the red baiters is: "If you don't like the organization we are trying to build, why don't you provide a more effective instrument of struggle?"

Why don't the AFL and CIO leaders take for their own the program of the Cincinnati conference? Their very failure to fight for such a program — indeed, some of the unions are themselves practicing discrimination — has led Negro labor militants to seek an effective organizational instrument to combat Jim Crow, discrimination and segregation.

The Council made a good start in this respect; it adopted a fighting program, and it has enough of a following to begin serious work.

But there is an entirely different problem in relation to Stalinist influence inside the Councils which has nothing to do with redbaiting and which is its very opposite. The Stalinist record in the Negro struggle for equal rights is an open book. The Negro people have seen organizations built and scuttled by the Stalinists when it served the interests of the Kremlin's foreign policy to do so.

What, then, should militants distrustful of the Stalinists do in relation to the Negro Labor Council? Our advice is: Join it. Build councils in localities where none yet exist. Get into it and build it into the type of organization the Negro people need and want.

The fight for Negro equality is a tough one. There is room in it for all political tendencies willing to participate in the struggle. The best guarantee for the growth and effectiveness of the Councils is that they be joined and supported by the consistent militants who have never swerved in their struggle for Negro rights and whose only interest in this struggle is to abolish, once and for all, the shameful system of Jim Crow, segregation and exploitation.

## TWIN CITIES SOCIALIST FORUM

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## 'U.S. News' Peddles Own Pro-War Lies

(Continued from Page 1)

place in the future. The U.S. News is lying about the greatest revolutionary events of our time. The events in the Far and Near East are connected directly with the last war and not with any war that is to come or is supposedly already in progress. The insurgent colonial peoples from China down are not the obedient slaves of Stalin; they are millions who have risen against colonial slavery and refuse any longer to be the thralls of any master, old or new. There is no question that the U.S. is losing out among these hundreds of millions. But it is not because of any machinations by the Kremlin. It is because Truman, the Pentagon and Wall St. have lined up with the deadliest enemies of these peoples — with the British and French colonial despots, with Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, with Franco and the Vatican.

In Western Europe other millions are growing more and more bitterly anti-American because of the rabid drive to war, because of the program of rearming the Japanese and German militarists, because their own living standards are falling even before the full effect of Washington's arms program has been felt in their own countries.

The editors of U.S. News cannot take all this into account, any more than could Colliers in its "preview" or the Washington strategists in their planning. All of them can only lie about it, each in his own fashion.

But what is the sum and substance of the conclusions which U.S. News draws from its "disagreement" with Colliers and its "criticism" of the "imaginary war" that is so "mistakenly" being planned for? The News editors want plans "modified" to launch a really effective "counter-attack." Such a counter-attack, they hint darkly, "is beginning to be considered by officials in U.S. who recognize World War III for what it is, but who are not now in power."

If what they say has any meaning at all, it is that they want to utilize at once every "modern technique" from sabotage and assassination to "international war." Editor-in-Chief David Lawrence spells it out by openly calling for "the American Churchill" to head an administration "willing to take risks in the field of counter-infiltration in the area of military help . . ." and above all, of an administration:

" . . . That is not afraid to send its troops to any frontier in the world to stop the enemy in his tracks. . . "

Lawrence and his colleagues are, of course, not asking for bigger and better Koreans. What they want is to heat up the current "cold war" into an all-out assault on China, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. They want to pull the trigger that will set off World War III; and for that they want an American carbon copy of the best-known triggerman of the last two global wars — "an American Churchill."

(Continued from Page 1)

parable districts, and where the Bevanite increased his vote and retained his seat while the Attlee M.P. was defeated.

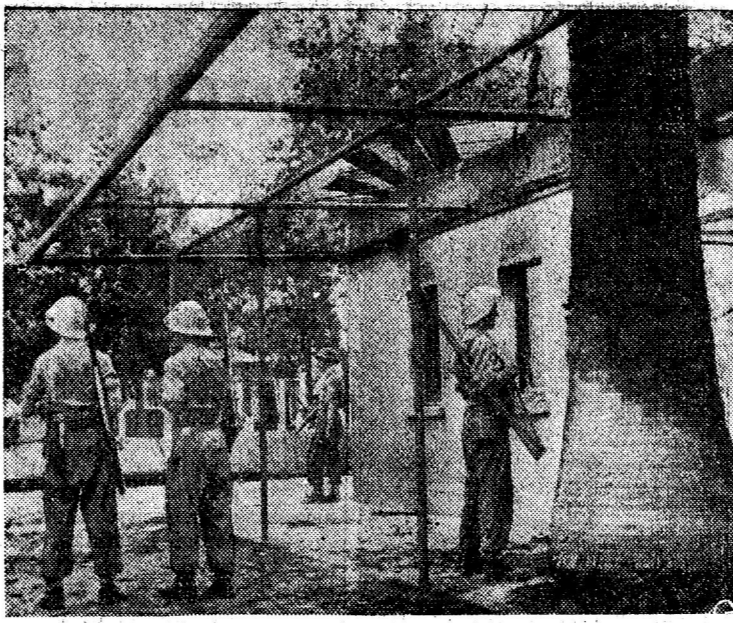
American reporters were surprised during the campaign because the Tories had not made a greater issue of "Bevanism," which expresses the British workers' hostility to reductions in social services; the huge armament budget and London's subservience to Washington's foreign policy. But the Tories evidently knew what they were doing; they realized that Bevanism is genuinely popular, and that to identify it with the Labor Party as a whole would only work to the advantage of the Labor Party.

MIDDLE CLASS SHIFT

After the election Attlee attributed Labor's loss of seats to "the fact that when it came to the point more Liberals were Conservative than Labor." This is true, but it is a condemnation of Attlee's own policy. For the strategy of the Laborite right wing was to win the Liberal vote by "moderation" and "caution" — that is, by going slow on nationalization of industry, not offending the liberal capitalists, trying to balance the budget at the expense of the workers, tagging along with Truman on foreign policy, etc.

Instead of winning middle class votes this way, Attlee succeeded only in convincing them that there were not many essential dif-

## British in Egypt



English troops are shown patrolling Ismailia's railway station, which was burned during recent anti-imperialist demonstrations in the Suez Canal Zone. The British have had to reinforce their troops in Egypt in an effort to keep themselves from being driven out of the country.

# Filipino Tenant-System Spurs Spread of Agrarian Revolution

By John Black

The mass of the Filipino people are farmers who have been oppressed by the landlord system from the time of Spanish rule to this day.

The country, overwhelmingly agricultural, resembles a huge pyramid whose base consists of tens of peasant tenants and whose thin apex is made up of caciques or landlords, with the Catholic hierarchy, which under U.S. rule succeeded in reamassing vast land-holdings, among the biggest landlords.

NO IMPROVEMENT

The peasant tenants under direct U.S. rule, did not improve their conditions or landholdings. Instead, the already large estates of the Filipino ruling layers were augmented. This trend has been accelerated in the islands despite the large increase in the population. The number of farms keeps going down. The size of the estates keeps going up.

LIVE IN POVERTY

What then happens to the agrarian population? They swell the increasing number of tenants, who live under far worse conditions than the poorest American sharecropper; others become agricultural laborers. Many of those listed as farm owners, are owners in name only; their farms are so tiny that they must sink into debt to lease additional land from the big proprietors. Formally they are owners, actually they are insolvent debtors at the mercy of the big operators.

Land concentration is most marked in those provinces where foreign holdings are largest, for example, in the sugar-cultivating areas where foreign investments are heavy.

TENANCY SYSTEMS

Tenancy systems vary with each area and with the crop. In the

rice regions the "kasama" system prevails: The landlord provides land and seed, as well as the required capital. The tenant supplies the labor and often the draft animal. He gets half of the crop after various deductions have been made. The cash payment system known as "inquilinato" is less common. Requiring a fixed annual rent for the land and leaving the tenant all the risk of crop failures; it is a gamble few can afford.

HIGH INTEREST RATES

As a rule, the tenant without cash or credit has to borrow from the landlord from the day he signs his contract. He and his family must eat and they need some cash until the harvest. The rates of interest are impossibly high, 100% for the season is common. And the year has two seasons, meaning that at the end of the year the tenant is deeper in debt. The mass of the peasants are caught in this vicious circle.

"FREE TO LEAVE"

Succeeding landlord administrations have boasted that there is no real land shortage in the islands. The peasants are "free" to pack up and leave, they say, for the isle of Mindanao, where great stretches of land are not yet under cultivation. But resettlement projects have been a failure even though favored by the government. Why should any one be eager to go into wild country without any facilities, far from any schools, medical aid, etc., only to find that the land has been bought up in the meantime by landlords and speculators who had inside information on these projects? In addition, it always turns out that the land near roads and means of transportation is already in the hands of the wealthy, making it impossible for others to bring the crops to market at competitive prices.

# Tito 'Peace Rally' Flops, Radicals Reject 'New Line'

By George Clarke

The Zagreb "Peace" Conference, recently concluded, represents another step in the abasement of Tito and Co. before the State Department, another pound of flesh paid for Wall St. loans and Pentagon arms. It followed significantly on the heels of U.S. General Lawton J. Collins' participation in the Yugoslav army maneuvers and the conclusion of a pact for the delivery of American weapons to Yugoslavia.

The conference was loudly advertised by its organizers as a move for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, for the protection of the rights of small nations, for the prevention of aggression, for the strengthening of the UN and for all the other mealy-mouthed shibboleths that confuse working class opinion and camouflage the real causes of war.

But it soon became clear, and the

conference organizers were helpless to conceal it, that its only purpose was to line up so-called "neutralist" opinion in Europe and Asia behind American imperialism in its war drive against the Soviet Union, against China and the colonial revolutions and against the revolutionary working class movement in the whole world. It was the old game of the "Judas Goats" trying to lead the sheep to the slaughter.

The Yugoslav leaders left no stone unturned to keep the real aims of the conference under a blanket. They kept out Sydney Hook, James Burnham, David Rousset and others, whose contribution to "peace" was to

brandish the atom bomb at the Soviet Union from the platforms of their own conferences in Paris and Berlin. They knew that no honest European intellectual or progressive would be found dead in the same conference with these hirelings of the State Department.

On the other side, they deliberately turned down the request of the Fourth International to attend the conference. The original grounds for the refusal were that no organizations had been invited. This was soon exploded, however, when the conference organizers failed to reply to a counter-proposal that Pierre Frank, secretary of the world Trotskyist organization, should attend the conference as an individual. They didn't want the one organization in the world independent of the Kremlin to present its program against Wall Street's counter-revolutionary war drive from a platform in Yugoslavia.

At the conference itself, the Titoites did their level best to keep such questions as the Korean war and "other burning issues," as the N. Y. Times correspondent reports, "that would produce disharmony instead of discord" off the floor. But it didn't work. British, French, Spanish, German and other delegates put the real issues directly before the conference.

The Titoites then had no alternative but to make the "neutralists" the center of their attacks and to start the drums rolling against "Russian imperialism" the "real aggressor" in the world today, according to them. For the first time since Yugoslavia's foreign policy has veered sharply to the right, an official spokesman for its government openly justified the Atlantic Pact.

Things finally took such a bad turn for the organizers that they were obliged to turn the conference over to Professor Moseley of Columbia University and Ira Hirschmann who spoke as unofficial representatives of the State Department, defending the war in Korea and the policy of "peace through force." The conference ended with the adoption of a vague program without a word about the war in Korea, the blockade of China, the Japanese "peace" treaty, the rearmament of western Germany under the command of former Nazi generals, the building of American military bases all over the world.

The European writers and intellectuals who came to the conference had been the first to flock to Yugoslavia's cause after its break with the Kremlin in 1948. They had hailed it for its independent revolutionary policy, for its struggle against bureaucracy at home and the measures it took for the free development of socialism. The Titoites learned that they can't flip anyone except paid agents from one position to another, from a struggle against imperialism to support of imperialism as Stalin has often done. In fact these intellectuals had broken with Stalinism and supported the Yugoslav struggle precisely because of their opposition to such manipulation and treachery.

capital is concentrated in the transportation network.

COUNTRY DEVASTATED

The Islands suffered terrible devastation during World War II. Among the ruling class a split occurred: one section eventually profiting from their allegiance to the U.S., but most of them growing fat by collaborating with the Japanese occupiers.

But the villagers and the city poor suffered untold hardship and losses. A single example will suffice. Before the war the peasants had 2 million water buffaloes to help raise food for 16 million people. Today only one million of these indispensable animals help raise food for 19.5 million.

ADVERSE TRADE

Promises to repay the damage inflicted by MacArthur's reconquest of the Islands have largely remained on paper. Some war surplus junk was left in the islands in the wake of U.S. withdrawal. Only small amounts have been advanced to the Philippines and these amounts were to be deducted from the expected Japanese reparations, now thrown into doubt by the U.S. pact with Japan. Among the most serious consequences of the war is the extreme worsening of the adverse trade balance.

OBSTACLES TO FREEDOM

The above indicates quite clearly the main obstacles to real freedom and independence for the overwhelming mass of Filipinos. The Quirino government of landowners, tied to Wall Street, cannot begin to solve the agrarian problem. Landowner and usurer are interested in maintaining the status quo, leaving the country to continued exploitation by foreign capital.

(Next week: The Struggle for Independence.)

# Tories Win, Labor's Vote Highest

(Continued from Page 1)

ferences between the two major parties; instead of attracting them with a bold and vigorous program, he repelled them into the arms of Churchill, who at least pretended self-confidence in his promise to improve conditions radically. And above all Attlee aided the Tory cause by presenting himself as the defender of the unpopular cold-war status quo, which enabled Churchill to win many middle class votes by promising that he would act energetically to change the status quo.

In these circumstances Bevanism, which is already strong among Labor's ranks, is certain to grow stronger and to threaten the right wing's control. It proved its own power at the polls and in the election campaign where it took the offensive and presented an aggressive program. Bevan's warning that Attlee's policy would lead to defeat will not be lost on the members who worked so hard to keep the Tories out.

The editors of the N. Y. Times try to console themselves with the hope that the Labor Party "may be weakened by Bevanism." The more the Bevanites throw their weight around the more moderate opinion will congeal around the Tories. There is also a good possibility that Aneurin Bevan, with his left-wing socialism and impractical anti-Americanism, will split the Labor Party. If so, the Conservatives are in for a long time to come." (Oct. 28)

But so far, Bevanism has strengthened and not weakened the party; without it, Labor's vote would have been much smaller. The probable consequence of the election will be to strengthen it further by producing a shift to the left inside the Labor Party as a whole. Some reporters in London even expect Attlee, now that he is out of office, to take a more "leftist" line, adapting himself to the sentiments that have proved so popular with the masses in order to counter the growth of the left wing.

Anyhow, as Jack Tait put it in the Oct. 27 N. Y. Herald Tribune, while Attlee "may move toward the left in opposition," Bevan "will literally flee to the left." In the end the Labor Party may emerge with a more radical program and leadership than it ever had before. This may or may not attract "moderates" to the Tories, but it surely will strengthen the Labor Party for a new struggle for power on a higher level.

Meanwhile the Tories' prospects are nowhere near as bright as the Times wishfully thinks, and their stay in office may even be shortened. Churchill now has to contend with deep-seated crises both at home and abroad. The trade union movement was discontented and restless even before the election, and support was growing for mass action to improve living standards and end the wage freeze. The chief restraint on such

action was the existence of the Labor government.

With that gone, union militancy and independent action can be expected to rise. Moves by Churchill to destroy the social gains of the last six years are bound to encounter fierce resistance and provoke serious social convulsions. The Tories will learn that they cannot treat the labor movement today as they did in the general strike of 1926. Things have changed a lot since then.

CHURCHILL SWEET TALK

During the war Churchill pompously declared that he had not become prime minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire. Things have changed in this field too. The colonial people don't give a hang why Churchill became prime minister; they are on the move all over the world to win their freedom, and they know that the British ruling class no longer has the strength to keep them from getting it when they fight for it. Attempts by the Tories to behave as if this was the 1930's will lead them to bloody disaster.

Churchill's awareness of these dangers probably accounted for the conciliatory "let's forget past name-calling" tone of his post-election statement. Knowing how shaky the ground is under his feet, he evidently intends to move gingerly at the start. He has already discussed the possibility of a coalition with the Liberal Party leaders, although the latter prefer

not to enter one now. It may be that he is thinking ahead to a coalition with right wing Laborites too, if the Tories are unable to hang onto power on their own.

But the Times is deluding itself if it thinks the problems of the British ruling class can be solved by such coalitions. For it leaves out of account the most important factors in the situation — the feelings and class consciousness of the working class, and the profound division of the country along class lines. The Times' own reporters testified with dismay to the sentiments of "class hate" and the "acrid atmosphere of social war" that were revealed by the campaign.

WORKERS WILL RESIST

The workers are in no mood to be sweet-talked or bamboozled into submission, either by Churchill, whom they know as a lifelong enemy, or by Attlee, whose judgment and policies they are beginning to question. If Attlee and Co. take a walk because they see they cannot control the party, they will do it without the masses. The workers did not build a party of their own, and fight to bring it to power, and sacrifice their living standards to keep it there, merely to have Churchill (or Churchill in company with Attlee) preside over the liquidation of their struggles and aspirations for socialism.

The class struggle in Britain has reached an advance stage. Its acuteness should not be un-

derestimated. Up to now the class conflict has centered on the electoral field. It would be deceptive to conclude that this state of affairs will continue. The very fact of the Tory electoral victory with its inevitable attempt to take from the workers their social gains will impel labor to defensive action on all fields.

This growing social crisis at home, amid the disintegration of the British empire, may impel Churchill to rush headlong into the war in the Tories' "last chance" return to state power. Therein lies the real danger of the Tory electoral victory. They may repeat the adventure of an outlived ruling class plunging into war, as did Russian Czarism, to avert revolution.

The workers will resist and in the process will move further to the left and produce leaders determined to avoid the errors and betrayals of 1945-51 and to assure the victory of socialism.

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