

SWP Statement Hits U.S. Govt. Mid-East Aims

Arab Freedom Fight Hailed by Nat'l Committee

The following is the text of a statement on the Middle East adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party.

The invasion of Egypt, launched by the governments of Great Britain, France and Israel in the blitzkrieg style perfected by the German and Japanese imperialists, constitutes one more warning to mankind of the increasing tendency of capitalism in its death agony to try to cut through its unbearable contradictions by armed force. The swift collapse of the military adventure, on the other hand, testifies to the power of the revolutionary colonial and proletarian forces which block the drive toward the atomic destruction of World War III. The Suez crisis, consequently, called fresh attention to the tendency toward suicide that outlived capitalism displays in its pursuit of imperialist aims in the world of today; and demonstrated anew how realistic the struggle is for socialism as the alternative to this self-destructive system that threatens to take civilization with it to the grave.

GANGSTER-LIKE PLOT

The world was given another lesson in the disasters that secret diplomacy can prepare. Unrestrained by public scrutiny and debate, Britain and France, the aggressor powers, conspired like gangsters with the Ben-Gurion regime of Israel to invade Egypt, seize the Suez Canal and crush the Egyptian government. They coolly plotted the timing of the assault, robbery and murder, the division of roles as well as the booty, and the legal defense they would put up for their carefully organized crime. The entire Arab world and all Europe had to suffer the cost of this imperialist statismanship.

The world was likewise given another lesson on the inadvisability of leaving war-making powers in the hands of an imperialist government. Neither Eden, Mollet nor Ben-Gurion consulted their parliaments, still less the people, about starting a conflict that might take them over the brink into World War III. The plotters appear to have drawn inspiration from Truman's success in plunging America into the civil war in Korea without consulting Congress, for, in imitation of Truman, they labeled their war a "police action."

The new "police action" undertaken by the British, French and Israeli gangsters cast a revealing light on the

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Kremlin Policies Failing In Hungary and Poland

By George Lavan

JAN. 3 — Two months after the launching of its all-out military assault on revolutionary Budapest, the Kremlin finds itself faced with two impossible alternatives for Hungary.

The first is the old Stalinist policy of naked force. This was resorted to on Nov. 4. While Russian tanks, artillery and troops were able to crush military resistance of the Hungarians, they have not been able to crush the workers' councils and the spirit of resistance. Consequently the Kremlin's puppet government has been unable to consolidate its power, restore production or stabilize the political situation.

The other alternative is a "Polish solution" for Hungary. Promises of such a "solution" have been made implicitly and explicitly by the Kadar regime ever since it was installed by Russian tanks. It would entail concessions to Hungarian national aspirations, economic concessions to the workers, and an end to the governmental tyranny of outright Kremlin stooges.

But a "Polish solution" is now clear, is no solution at all. It is a half-way house on the road to a final showdown between the Kremlin and native bureaucracy in the subject country and the working class. Such a "solution" solves nothing; it merely postpones. While it may appear to get the Kremlin off the hook temporarily, it gives the working class of the subject country time to better organize itself thus increasing its strength for the next battle.

This is vividly illustrated by the course of events in Poland. Less than three months ago the Gomulka wing of the Communist Party bureaucracy in that country came to power. Its strongest argument in the negotiations with the top Moscow leaders was that the factory workers had been armed and were standing by, ready to go into action if the Russian Army attacked. The "solution" negotiated made little national, economic and political concessions to Poland.

One leg of the Gomulka regime thus stands on the working class and the other on the communist meadow to the Kremlin bureaucracy. Unfortunately for it, the Polish working class has been steadily moving to the left, putting the Gomulka regime in the anomalous position of doing a split that never stops.

Workers and factory workers



KADAR

have been driving out hated managers, bureaucrats are being expelled from the unions, the rank and file of the Communist Party are campaigning to de-Stalinize the party. Gomulka urges the workers to restrain themselves. At the same time he seeks support among non-working-class sections of the population and from the Catholic hierarchy as a counterweight to the proletariat. A N. Y. Times dispatch from Warsaw (Dec. 2), describes Gomulka's plan as "an end to the de-Stalinization struggle in his party says: 'The basis of the trade would be acceptance of the concessions obtained from the Soviet Union and the curbing of those who regard the October revolution as only the first stage in total liberation from Moscow control.'

Despite the handwriting on the wall in Poland, Kremlin policy in Hungary develops steadily toward a "Polish solution." Economic prostration of the country makes any settlement, no matter how temporary.

The Jan. 3 N. Y. Times dispatch from Budapest predicts imminent publication of a "Kadar Plan," which it says has been worked out with Soviet consent by the puppet powers.

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Eisenhower Asks Congress For War Power in Mid-East

Racists Use Violence and Frame-Ups To Combat Bus Integration Movement

By Fred Halsted

Reaction to bus integration increased this week in the form of violence and legal subterfuge by white-supremacist gangs and city officials in the three centers of the fight: Montgomery, Tallahassee, and Birmingham. Where the integrated bus movement is based on action, however, it appeared assured of success.

In Montgomery, where integrated riding has been an accomplished fact since Dec. 21, night bus service has been suspended as a result of gunfire attacks on buses. The ban began the night of Dec. 28 after a Negro laundry worker, Mrs. Rosa Parks, 42, was struck by a sniper's bullet which crashed through the side of the bus in which she was riding. The bullet pierced one of her legs and shattered the other. At least four sniper attacks on Montgomery buses have occurred since integration began. City police, under the command of White Citizen's Council member Clyde Sellers, have made no arrests.

Rev. Martin Luther King, president of the Montgomery Association which led the boycott of Jim Crow buses, has announced that MIA is now preparing an attack on other forms of segregation in Montgomery. The plan: call for action to assure voting rights for Negroes and to end segregated schools and recreational facilities.

Rev. Martin Luther King (right) seated in the front part of a Montgomery Ala. bus in conversation with Rev. Glenn Smiley, a friendly white minister from New York.



Rev. Martin Luther King (right) seated in the front part of a Montgomery Ala. bus in conversation with Rev. Glenn Smiley, a friendly white minister from New York.

In spite of threats from the racist City Commission and acts of violence by racist gangs, Negroes in Tallahassee successfully took in the front of the buses after ending their seven-month-old boycott, Dec. 24. On Jan. 1, Florida Governor Leroy Collins declared a "state of emergency" and suspended bus service indefinitely. The move came several hours after rocks had smashed four windows in the home of Rev. C. K. Steele, President of the Inter-Civic Council, which led the bus boycott.

Rev. Steele denounced the Governor's action and said of the violent incidents that "the people of the White Citizen's Council were trying to impress the government that there is a state of emergency."

In Birmingham, where over 20 Negroes were arrested, Dec. 28, for taking non-segregated seats on buses, the leadership of the protest movement has called off the mass action to await a court test of the city's segregation law.

In the evening of the day of the arrests, two spirited mass meet-

ings were held by the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (formed after the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was banned in Alabama). At the second meeting a wire was read from Rev. King of Montgomery telling the Birmingham people to continue the mass protest.

"Much discussion followed," reports the Dec. 27 Christian Science Monitor, "with the entire audience responding in a standing vote to continue riding the buses on a desegregated basis." The following day, however, Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth (a personally courageous man whose home had been bombed the day before the arrests) announced that the executive council of the ACMHR had called off the mass riding policy in favor of awaiting the court action. Birmingham city officials are planning to change the charges against those arrested to "disorderly conduct," in order to avoid a direct court test of the city's segregation law.

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'Fix' Is on in Rule 22 Fight

By John Thayer

Northern liberals are preparing public opinion for a defeat of their much publicized move to change Senate Rule 22 on the opening day of Congress and for the October resolution as only the first stage in total separation from the South.

Rule 22 permits the filibustering to death of civil rights bills. It provides that debate on a bill cannot be ended by a majority of the Senate calling for a vote on the bill. To bring a bill to a vote under this rule requires that 67 out of 100 senators of the Senate be voted to please the Southern Democrats and win white-supremacist support at the Democratic national convention.

The reaction of the Negro voters in the Democratic Party's self-touts on civil rights are clearly demonstrated in the 1956 elections. They are trying to wipe out the voters' memory of their past self-touts by a great deal of talk about how strongly they favor civil rights.

As proof of this they have been promising ever since election day a fight against Rule 22. The strategists, or more precisely the chief talkers about this fight, are Senators Humphrey and Douglas, the very men who presided over the 1956 self-tout on Rule 22.

For decades liberal Senators from the North have promised

their Negro and labor constituents that they would fight to change Rule 22 on opening day. They used to make perfunctory motions to that effect enough of a show to permit them to tell the voters they had tried—but last time they sank to a new low. When Congress convened in January 1956, the liberal bloc, headed by Sen. Humphrey (D-Minn.) and Sen. Douglas (D-Ill.), decided not even to introduce a motion to change Rule 22. This breaking of their pledged word by every liberal in the Senate was calculated to please the Southern Democrats and win white-supremacist support at the Democratic national convention.

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Only at the opening of Congress can "undemocratic" Rule 22 be changed. Its adoption condemns to the legislative graveyard all effective civil rights for two years. Civil rights is the most important single domestic issue confronting the American people today. Yet the liberals are plotting in advance to get their token fight against Rule 22 over quickly lest they "hold up" other Senate business."

THE 'FIX'

The liberals plan to make enough of a pretense in their "fight" to amend Rule 22 to persuade Negro and labor voters in their constituencies that they are supporters of civil liberties. But not long enough to arouse the wrath of Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.), who runs the Senate and who will determine the fight for the coming two years. While they may succeed in not provoking Southern Democratic Johnson too much, it is doubtful that they will be successful in taking in Negro and labor voters. These voters have seen too many fixed prizefights. Many can detect a boxer in the ring "taking a dive." The fight isn't too different when it takes place on the Senate floor.

Peace Pretenses Dropped As U.S. Seeks to Impose Rule Over Arab Nations

By Myra Tanner Weiss

DEC. 2 — The Eisenhower Administration abandoned all pretense of championing a peaceful solution of the Mid-East crisis with the announcement, Dec. 27, that it would ask Congress to give the President power to use U.S. troops in that area. The U.S., 700 years, are now rapping through the centuries pretty fast.

The "Eisenhower Doctrine" represents a new move in the struggle for U.S. domination of the world. It is the fourth time the Wall Street government in Washington has dared out as area of the world as its exclusive preserve and threatened war against any nation that might interfere.

The Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed 183 years ago declared Latin America under the "protection" of the United States and threatened that "any attempt on their [the European powers'] part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." At the turn of the century, Secretary of State John Hay proclaimed the "open door" policy in China which threatened

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Your 1939 Dollar Is Now Worth 50 Cents at Grocery

According to a UP compilation of government figures, the purchasing power of the dollar is now just one half of what it was in 1939.

The survey, printed Dec. 21, shows ever-rising food costs to be the major factor in shrinking the value of the consumer's dollar. Food costs are now 200% higher than they were in 1939. Rents are up more than 50% over what they were in 1939, and clothing costs more than doubled.

The shrinkage of the dollar's purchasing capacity has proceeded steadily over the years from 1939 to now. The purchasing power of a 1939 dollar fell to 71 cents in 1946; 68 cents in 1950; 62 cents in 1955; and 50 cents today.

PRICES IN NEW JUMP

Meanwhile, a new cost-of-living hike in November of 0.1% — the eighth increase in the past nine months — has pushed consumer prices to a new record high.

According to figures released, Dec. 21, by the Federal government's Bureau of Labor Statistics, the new increase brings the cost-of-living index to 117.8, or 17.8% higher than the 1947-49 average. (The bureau's figures, while showing the trend, always minimize the true extent of the cost-of-living rise.) The bureau's computations for mid-November show that prices were cut 0.2% over the previous month but that every other classification in the index had risen.

The new increase means that over 900,000 workers whose union contracts include escalator clauses will receive automatic increases. The members of the United Steel Workers in basic steel will receive an additional three cents an hour.

Officials of the two meat-packing unions announced their membership will get another two cents an hour.



HUMPHREY

... SWP on Rise of Revolution in Middle East

(Continued from page 1)

real role of the United Nations. In the case of Korea, Truman had no difficulty in routing the UN delegates out of bed in the middle of the night to secure official sponsorship for his intervention. Eden, Mallet and Ben-Gurion, on the other hand, correctly viewing this body as essentially dominated by Washington, whose imperialist interests in the Middle East cross theirs, bypassed the UN. They, of course, paid no attention to their own past propaganda about the UN representing the world's hope for peace. They were concerned about something more tangible — control of the Suez Canal and the fabulous oil resources of the Middle East.

Any trust the prospective victims placed in the UN only facilitated Operation Assault and Robbery. The U.S.-sponsored edition of the League of Nations was thus shown once more to be as incapable of preventing war as the previous British and French-sponsored edition. The imperialist attack on Egypt seemed especially designed to give the lie to those who foster the dangerous delusion that the road to peace lies through the East River skyscraper.

The action of the Egyptian government and the Arab masses in blocking the Suez Canal and cutting the oil lines turned the conspiracy into a disaster for the imperialists. It was they who were caught by surprise. Thereupon the Eisenhower administration ordered the invading powers to end their ill-conceived project and withdraw their military forces from Egypt. The reasons given for this were (1) to uphold the rule of law, (2) to bolster the authority of the United Nations, (3) to prevent Soviet diplomacy from taking advantage of the British-French-Israeli breach of international morals. Of the three reasons, the last one was the most seriously meant.

U. S. GAME

The influence of the Soviet Union, to the alarm of the State Department, climbed swiftly in the opening stages of the Suez crisis. To counter that influence required an impressive anti-imperialist posture. By denouncing the war as an outdated gunboat holdup, the State Department aimed, at the expense of Britain and France as colonial powers, to offset the universal disrepute in which America is held throughout the colonial world for sponsoring such despots as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Bao Dai. The U. S. hoped to emerge, in contrast to the USSR, as the champion of freedom, equality, peace, and the rights of little nations. Moscow's suppression of the Hungarian revolution greatly facilitated Washington's diplomatic maneuver.

The "moral" gain for the U. S. in the colonial world that came from taking a stand on the side of virtue has been made much of by such moralists of the Eisenhower administration as Vice-President Nixon. In view of the quick repudiation of the British and French, the Nixonites tell us, the U. S. must generously grant them forgiveness and help them pay off the wages of their sin in Port Said. The British and French, we are told, have of course forfeited their "leadership" in the Middle East; but fortunately the newly acquired ethical standing of the Eisenhower administration makes it possible to help them in this predicament by stepping into their place. The new morality obviously dovetails with some rather gross interests of dollar diplomacy.

A new relation of forces between European and American imperialism and the colonial revolution was registered by the collapse of the British-French thrust at Egypt. The complex interplay between the three and the readjustment of the balance stemmed primarily from a new rise in the colonial revolution.

1. The Arab Revolution

The movement of the Arab masses for freedom and a better life is a continuation of the great upthrust in the colonial world that began in Indochina, Indonesia, China, Malaya, Burma and Korea following World War II. The vigor of the Arab struggle has been especially marked in Algeria and Egypt. The new rise in this movement was marked by Nasser's reaction to Dulles' peremptory refusal to grant aid in the construction of the Aswan dam. Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal.

This was not the action of a "Hitler," as the imperialist press has tried to make out. It was a political response to the pressure of the masses and could be taken only as a good indication of their revolutionary mood. But both Washington and London-Paris appeared to be blind to the plain implications of this bold move by a petty-bourgeois nationalist leader.

MIDDLE EAST ASSETS

The British-French rejoinder was their now famous plot to apply military force. How this would inflame the Arab world could have been predicted by anyone with eyes to see. Nasser had no choice, if he cared to stay in office, except to block the Canal. And the Syrian government apparently acquiesced in the oil workers cutting the pipe lines running across its territory.

Two important features are to be noted in the relation between the Arab revolution and world imperialism. The Middle East contains the world's greatest known reservoirs of oil. The Middle East straddles the most important communication line of the British Empire.

The capacity to control these gives the Arab revolution extraordinary striking power. Coming on top of the

Eden Hangs in Effigy



British Prime Minister Anthony Eden hangs in effigy in Port Said as Egyptian people express their determination to end imperialist rule. This demonstration took place as British and French forces withdrew from the country. Above effigy of Eden is portrait of Egyptian President Nasser.

losses already inflicted on the colonial empires of France, Britain and Holland, the loss of control over Middle-Eastern oil and the Suez Canal has a qualitative impact on the whole rotten structure of European capitalism. The full meaning of this radical alteration in the world situation has yet to dawn on the imperialist statesmen.

2. British and French Decline

Britain and France, embroiled in colonial revolts and uprisings since the end of World War II, have proved incapable of preventing the steady shrinkage of their empires.

By the end of World War I, they were already finished as first-rate powers. On the one side, the victory of the October 1917 revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky cost them their holdings in Russia. On the other, the rise of the United States displaced them from their leading positions in the world capitalist structure.

In the twenties and thirties, their decline proceeded at an accelerated rate, mostly to the advantage of American imperialism.

They were further undermined by the victory of the Soviet Union in World War II, suffering particularly from the collapse of capitalism in Eastern Europe. With the added erosion of the colonial revolution since then, France has been nearing the level formerly occupied by Italy, and Britain the level occupied by France. The imperialist leaders of both countries, however, have refused to recognize the real situation, trying to follow policies incommensurate with their actual power.

The rise of the revolution in the Middle East, following what had happened in the Far East, gave them an intimation of their altered status, but they saw it only as a threat to positions they still retained, not as an alteration in relative strength that had already occurred. The threat France felt was loss of her holdings in North Africa; Britain, loss of control of her "life line" through Suez. To recognize the full sovereignty of Egypt signified closing the Middle Eastern gate to the colonial wealth on which these empires were once based and which they dream of some day regaining. It meant putting control of the main source of oil on which their economies have become dependent in the hands of former subjects embittered by generations of colonial oppression. It spelled a further rise in the revolutionary pressure in Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and other areas where the colonial peoples are on the march. Thus the British and French imperialists saw themselves at a decisive turning point, faced with recognizing and accepting a decline such as Spain and Holland had suffered before them. How could they accept defeat at the hands of an Egypt? Closing their eyes to reality, they chose the test of arms.

SHOW FEEBLENESS AT START

Even here the British and French revealed their weakness. They themselves felt that their main hope of success rested on surprise — diversion of the victim by Israel and then a stab in the back by Britain and France. On top of this, the timing had to be calculated not on events in the Middle East but on the election campaigns of Eisenhower and Stevenson. As if to provide the proper omen for the success of their enterprise, the British staged and launched their invasion of Egypt from the island of Cyprus, itself the scene of a valiant struggle for liberation from imperialism which British terror has proved incapable of stifling.

The test of strength did not need to be dragged out. In response to the British and French bombers and paratroopers, the Nasser regime wielded the two potent weapons at the disposal of the Arab people. The Suez Canal was effectively blocked from end to end; all the oil lines but one were cut. Instead of safeguarding their oil supply, regaining the Canal, and toppling Nasser, as they had hoped, the British and French within a few days of their surprise attack found themselves hanging from the noose which they had tied. In this unexpected way they registered the new relation of forces in the

Middle East between European imperialism and the colonial revolution.

At the same time, as if to nail down the victory of the Arab people, the powerful British working class staged mass anti-war demonstrations that could leave no doubt about their readiness to move quickly and far to the left if the Conservatives persisted in Eden's "police action." These demonstrations alone spelled the doom of any attempt to carry on the war against Egypt.

3. Wall Street Moves In

Under the domination of Big Business, the main strategic line of American foreign policy since 1945 has been the preparation of World War III, the goal being conquest of the Soviet Union and the colonial areas. This goal, however, has proved elusive. The rise of the USSR as a world power and the continual deepening and expansion of the colonial revolution have forced one protraction after another in the time schedule. Even the essential tasks of converting Germany and Japan into military springboards have proved far more difficult to carry out than the war-planners foresaw.

Thanks to the counter-revolutionary policies of Stalinism, Wall Street was able to salvage European capitalism from the post-war revolutionary waves that would otherwise have brought Workers and Farmers Governments to power throughout the continent. The salvage job consisted of economic reconstruction carried out through huge financial grants. Hand in hand with this, the Truman and Eisenhower administrations organized the most sweeping military alliances the world has seen. The key pin in this elaborate structure is the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in which Britain and France occupy leading positions.

THE BEST-LAID PLANS

The build-up for the big war, however, has not been carried out smoothly by Washington's NATO partners. Despite the best of intentions, they found their common project continually upset by domestic resistance and by the advance of the colonial revolution which progressively undermined the basis of British and French power. The Suez crisis brought this diversion from the main goal to a new high point. What is more, the British-French action held the utmost danger. Continuation of this old-type colonial war could have no other effect, in view of the evident state of mind of the Arab masses, than to bring the colonial revolution to explosive heights of irreparable consequence to the whole structure of world capitalism.

Washington moved in swiftly to restrain its partners from their suicidal course. Its price for this psychiatric service was dispossessing of the British and French as policy makers for imperialism in the Middle East. This signifies the accompanying dispossessing of the British and French from many colonial markets and sources of raw material still in their hands. It is a continuation of the process long ago analyzed by Trotsky of American imperialism inheriting the empires of the British and French.

Wall Street is not opposed in principle to the use of armed force against a colonial people, as it demonstrated convincingly enough in Korea, to cite only the latest example. But it has economic resources denied to the British and French imperialists which permit use of an alternate policy. Washington counts in the main on buying off the Arab revolution with dollars; that is, buying off its leaders largely at the expense of the British and French.

At the same time, the plight of the British and French at home could not be overlooked by the Eisenhower administration. Here the original aims of the NATO alliance asserted themselves. The result of these considerations was an emergency aid plan that looks remarkably like the Marshall Plan of ten years ago which was supposed to have already put European capitalism back on its feet.

In the new balance of forces, Wall Street emerges as a gainer in the Suez crisis, but its gains are wholly at the expense of European imperialism. The major advance was made by the Arab revolution. This, together with the defeat suffered by the British and French, signified a further weakening of world capitalism as a whole and a strengthening of the cause of revolutionary socialism.

New Forces Set Off

The clash over the Suez Canal served to measure the new interrelations in the Middle East. The conflict, however, had its own logic. It touched off other developments of great significance.

Egypt's victory resounded throughout the colonial world, raising the self-confidence and courage of the freedom fighters. In the Middle East itself the insurgent masses were given a vivid demonstration of their own power against the combined strength of Britain and France. It will not take them long to absorb the meaning of this lesson. They can be expected to press forward now with renewed energy and determination. This is already evident in Syria.

In Great Britain the working class swung into immediate action in one of the most stirring demonstrations of international solidarity the world has seen in years. The quickness of the response was particularly impressive, for it implied the development of a revolutionary socialist opposition to the war at extraordinary speed. For the first time in British history, the Labor Party leadership was found in opposition to the government during war. This indicated the depth and extent of the mass pressure in Britain.

Such domestic opposition in the first days of the war clearly spelled a profound sharpening of the class struggle in Britain if the attack on Egypt were pressed. The British capitalists did well to hesitate, to draw back and to send Eden to Jamaica for a vacation. As it was, deep rifts appeared in the Conservative Party and the entire political equilibrium was upset, the left wing of the Labor Party clearly gaining from the shift. All this augurs well for the coming period when the economic consequences of the closure of the Suez Canal and the loss of oil and basic raw materials from the East begin to be felt more severely in England.

The repercussions of the Suez crisis can be observed throughout Europe. The economic interdependence of the

world is being driven home in terms of gasoline rationing, unheated dwellings, factory shutdowns, unemployment and a new decline in the standard of living. How is humanity to take conscious control of the interlocked economic forces and prevent their disruption by imperialism except through socialism? Clearly the British-French failure in Egypt has helped prepare the ground for a new growth of revolutionary socialism in Europe.

WORLD-WIDE REPERCUSSIONS

Not the United States nor even the Soviet bloc can escape the wide effects. Eastern Europe will feel the pinch inflicted on its neighbors to the west, while America, put to fresh strain to bolster hard-hit European capitalism, will be subject to further maladjustments of its economy. In both areas, the power demonstrated by the Arab revolution can be expected to have significant political reflection, particularly in America among the Negro people.

The lessons of the British-French debacle will surely not be lost upon the people of Israel. A greater service to anti-Semitism could scarcely be conceived than that rendered by Ben-Gurion in triggering the war on Egypt. In its role as a pawn in the military invasion of Egypt, Israel acknowledged its origin as a puppet-type imperialist creation designed by Britain to counter the aspirations of the Arabs. Despite a temporary military advantage, tiny Israel cannot possibly survive by military force against the Arab world. The Israelis can find security only through cooperation with the Arab masses in a common struggle against the imperialists. In this way they will find an honorable and worthy place in the Federation of Socialist States that will eventually emerge in the Middle East.

"Peaceful Co-Existence"

Moscow attempted with considerable success at first to capitalize on the British-French war on Egypt. The Arab people were, of course, quite correct in accepting the aid that was proffered them in the struggle against their oppressors. However, Moscow's role in putting down the Hungarian revolution tended to cancel the early gains.

As the Eisenhower administration, under cover of the United Nations flag, advanced Wall Street's interests in the situation, the Kremlin withdrew from the spotlight. It was caught in the contradiction of supporting UN action in Egypt while opposing it in Hungary. Khrushchev and his cohorts decided to say less about the crimes in Egypt in hope of reaching a similar arrangement in regard to their own crimes in Hungary.

This, of course, was fully in accord with their slogan of "peaceful co-existence," which is accepted by many as a means of preventing war. The real policy which this deceptive slogan is designed to advance is maintenance of the status quo in the international class struggle. The aim is primarily maintenance of the totalitarian rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet bloc ("building socialism in one country") but necessarily includes as its concomitant maintenance of capitalist rule throughout the rest of the world.

Since both the Stalinist bureaucracy and the capitalist class are threatened by the revolutionary advances of the world proletariat and its allies, the Kremlin seeks a common front against the common danger, putting this in slogan form as "peaceful co-existence." Hence the persistence with which Soviet diplomacy rejects class-struggle policies in its defense of the Soviet Union and seeks mutual understanding with Western imperialism in meeting revolutionary pressure applied by the masses, whether in the Soviet or imperialist blocs. This is the foundation on which Moscow's foreign policy has rested since shortly after Stalin usurped power.

ROLE OF FRENCH CP

A graphic instance of the dire consequences of the Stalinist policy of "peaceful co-existence," or maintenance of the status quo, was provided by the French Communist Party in meeting the Suez crisis. In accordance with this policy, the French Stalinist leadership supported the capitalist government for years in its efforts to suppress the colonial freedom fighters. Finally, as the Stalinists became more and more discredited among the French workers, they switched to opposition. But they still proved incapable of rallying mass support for the Egyptian victim of British-French aggression.

First of all, they could not overcome the consequences of their previous counter-revolutionary course. On top of this, they aroused fresh anger and revulsion by their

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Flint UAW Local Reports Proposals for Labor Party

By William Bundy

There are hopeful signs that workers are re-examining the AFL-CIO's bankrupt political policy of staying in the Democratic party. "An increasing number of union and labor leaders think that the time has come to start building toward a labor party or at least toward a realignment in the political field," reports Frank Marquart in the December Voice of 212, Marquette, educational director of the large United Auto Workers local in Detroit. There is prominent coverage in labor party discussions in two other labor publications: Union Voice, a bulletin put out by UAW Local 6 at International Harvester, near Chicago, and Labor News, weekly paper of the Rochester (N.Y.) Central Trades and Labor Council.

"The leadership of the AFL-CIO," said the Nov. 8 Union Voice, "should convene a conference of all unions, farm organizations and liberal organizations to evaluate the political situation today towards the end of establishing a farmer-labor party prepared to enter the Congressional elections in 1958. Now is the time."

After attacking the Republicans as obvious representatives of Big Business, Union Voice says: "... what about the Democrats? The Eastlands, Bardens, Launes, Byrds and McClellans? What about the city machines? Are they interested in passing legislation for the good of the people? Are they for an orderly transition from present industrial practices to the automated age? Can we trust them with the H bomb more than we can trust Nixon? The answer is NO."



WALTER REUTHER (President of the UAW), whose pre-Democratic Party policy is being challenged in effect by proposals in the UAW to build a labor party.

The Rochester union paper made some of the same points concluding: "... And if labor cannot find a liberal spot with either party as now constituted, there is only one thing left to do — to become the nucleus of the new alignment on the liberal side."

Other Labor Notes

The Executive Council of the International Association of Machinists in December barred nine persons from membership in the union and ousted ten others. All

were former "representatives" of the independent United Electrical Workers, 41 of whose locals have been recently absorbed by the IAW. The action followed attacks by the Buffalo CIO Council on the IAW for taking in DE locals with their leadership intact.

It may be the prerogative of the IAW executive board to appoint officials of which it does not approve, but it is up to the membership to oust—or keep elective officials. This bureaucratic master by decree is a serious violation of the rights of workers to choose their own leadership, and of the right of individual workers to hold independent political beliefs without being deprived of union membership.

A new attack against labor's political rights is under way in Flint, Michigan where in November a Federal Grand Jury began an "investigation" of the political activities of five Flint UAW local unions and the Flint CIO council. A similar investigation begun two years ago subsequently led to Federal indictment against the UAW in Detroit in an attempt to deprive the union of the right to publicize its political endorsements. The UAW was in the lower courts, and the case is now awaiting Supreme Court action. "Significantly," said a UAW statement Dec. 6, "no move has been made to investigate the campaign activities of corporations."

"Although the devices whereby corporations get around the Federal law prohibiting direct contribution to Federal office seekers are widely publicized in industry circles, no official cognizance of them is taken."

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 21

MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1957

NUMBER 1

Our Readers Take the Floor

Letters from Mississippi

Editor:

I am forwarding you two letters I recently received from a friend in Mississippi.

R. L. Chicago

(The letters follow — Ed.)

Dear Friend:

Please forgive me for not writing but I went down the country for a month and did not take your address. It helped a lot to the membership to out— or keep elective officials. This bureaucratic master by decree is a serious violation of the rights of workers to choose their own leadership, and of the right of individual workers to hold independent political beliefs without being deprived of union membership.

Station would carry the address. Yet they gave eleven hours a day to the Democratic Convention.

Now my health is slowly improving, but I doubt if I will ever be my old self again. I was too far gone and it takes money to half live now. My medicines cost about \$13.00 a month and I should have other nourishment that I am unable to provide. I am making about \$6.00 a week now. I can pick cotton about two or three hours in the morning while two months ago I could not even bring my own water. So, I am proud of that much improvement. Last winter I could not even cut my own firewood but now I can.

Clinton, Tennessee. It is blacked out, too, but Governor Clement is standing his ground so far. He has some good qualities for a young man and if he had been trained he would be very valuable to any party as he could lead the masses. He broke the Crump Machine in Tennessee and I am watching to see if he still fights for the union shop as he pledged.

Big Business has him buffeted until more union strength goes toward electing the right type of men in the legislature.

My paper is my real companion, and I take the States Times to get the semi-Southern view on the news. It is not partial like the rest of the Southern press.

H. J. Mississippi

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