

## 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 statemanship.

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 (Continued on page 2)

## 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," it 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 limited national, economic and political concessions to Poland.

One leg of the Gomulka regime thus stands on the working class and the other on the commitments to the Kremlin bureaucracy. Unfortunately for it, the Polish working class has been steadily moving to the left, putting the Gomulka regime in the unendurable position of doing a split that never stops. Miners 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 (Jan. 2), describing Gomulka's pleas for an end to the de-Stalinization struggle in his party, says: "The basis of the truce 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 urgent some 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 premier (Continued on page 4)

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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 Halstead

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 Jordan, 22, 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 sniping attacks on Montgomery buses have occurred since integration began. City police, under the command of White Citizens' 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 plans call for action to secure voting rights for Negroes and to end segregated schools and recreational facilities.

### TALLAHASSEE

In spite of threats from the racist City Commission and acts of violence by racist gangs, Negroes in Tallahassee successfully rode 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



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.

Governor's action and said of the violent incidents that "the people of the White Citizens' Council were trying to impress the governor that there is a state of emergency." In Birmingham, where over 20 Negroes were arrested, Dec. 26, 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 asking 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 ACOMHR 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.

## 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. State Department dropped its short-lived pose as an opponent of colonialism and proclaimed its intention to take over the struggle of the Arab masses for liberation from foreign domination is the object of the Administration's war threat. This rapid shedding of the pacifist, anti-colonial mask of the U.S. State Department gives quick confirmation to the analysis of the Mid-East crisis reached by the recent meeting of the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party (see resolution published on this page).

### SYRIANS PROTEST

The Eisenhower Administration tries to justify this military threat on the ground that the Mid-East countries are in danger of Soviet aggression, of Communist subversion or of aggression by a power dominated by the Soviet Union. This formula is broad enough to permit movement of U.S. troops into the area at any time.

The Syrian ambassador, Farid Zeineddine, was quick to protest to the United States. On Dec. 31 he called on Assistant Secretary of State, William Rountree, and said that "United States services as protector of the Middle East... would not be welcomed by the Arab nations."

Dr. Zeineddine pointed out that under the UN charter, which the U.S. pretended to defend as against Britain and France, a country can use its armed forces for other than its national purposes only if those forces are placed under United Nations' command. He also stated that Syria has not "sought, accepted or undertaken" any actions with the United States outside of the United Nations.

Egyptian spokesmen inquired, "Does the United States seek to replace 'imperialist and colonialist' influence with its own form of domination?"

State Department officials motivate the declaration of U.S. intention to use troops in the Middle East — now referred to as the "Eisenhower Doctrine" — by what they call a "power vacuum" in the Arab countries created by the collapse of influence of Britain and France. As Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the New York Times, points out, Dec. 2, that, "The great question mark in the Middle East is who will take the leadership... the United Nations, the United States or the Soviet Union."

### ARABS ARE THERE

Thus, Baldwin makes it clear that the imperialist powers think there is a "vacuum" where outside agencies are not in control. But the Arab masses who have been fighting to end foreign domination occupy that "vacuum" and want to achieve their independence. The Eisenhower Doctrine is aimed primarily to prevent this revolutionary victory.

Baldwin quotes an American observer who describes the revolution as the "Arab tide," the waves of which are "political and economic revolution, a cultural renaissance, an anti-colonialism,

anti-Western feeling and a desire for unity. The Arabs, asleep for 700 years, are now ripping 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 carved out an area of the world as its exclusive preserve and threatened war against any nation that might intervene.

The Monroe Doctrine, proclaimed 133 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 (Continued on page 3)

## 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 250% 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; 58 cents in 1950; 52 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 117.3, 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.

## '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 only a very brief "fight" on their part, besides.

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 64 or two-thirds of the Senators (not just those present but two-thirds of those present and absent) must vote for closure to end debate. This in turn means that Southern Senators can block closure in any debate and so the filibuster goes on until the bill is dropped.

### THEY PROMISE EACH TIME

Each Congress lasts for two years and on opening day the Senate adopts its rules of procedure. Once they have been adopted, a bill merely to consider a motion to amend the rules requires the unanimous consent of the Senate. Thus a fight to change Rule 22 is feasible only on the opening day.

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 1955, 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.

The reaction of the Negro voters to the Democratic Party's sellouts on civil rights so clearly demonstrated in the 1956 elections frightened the Northern liberals. They are trying to wipe out the voters' memory of their past sellouts 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 1955 sellout on Rule 22.

Humphrey and Douglas are now preparing in advance their excuses for what promises to be a very short-lived, token attempt to change the filibuster rule. "They served notice that they would attempt to force consideration of rules changes when the Senate reassembled Jan. 3," a New York Times interview (Dec. 27, 1956) with them reports. "But they said they would not attempt to hold up other Senate business indefinitely for that purpose."

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 pledging 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 dispense the pie for the coming two years. While they may succeed in not provoking Southern Democrat 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 sight isn't too different when it takes place on the Senate floor.



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, Mollet 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, by-passed 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 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 stage 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 diplomacy.

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 repentance of the British and French, the Nixons tell us, the U. S. must generously grant them forgiveness and help them pay off the wages of their sins 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 there 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 FEBLENESS 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 effectually 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 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 dispossession of the British and French as policy makers for imperialism in the Middle East. This signifies the accompanying dispossession 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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## BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY LEON TROTSKY

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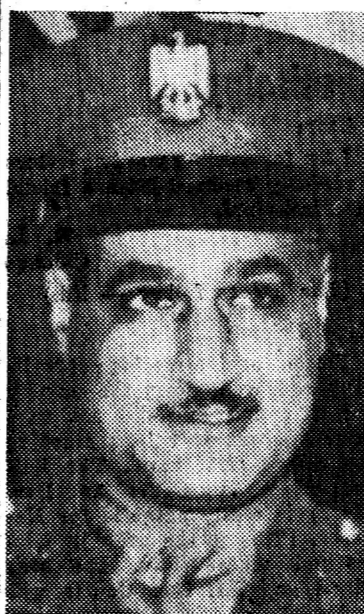
Vol. 21 - No. 1

Monday, January 7, 1957

Who Are Algeria's Leaders?

The following is the last installment of an interview given last summer to George Lavan, staff writer for The Militant, by a French socialist and active trade unionist who is well-acquainted with the Algerian movement for national independence both in Algeria and in France. Two previous installments appeared in the issues of Sept. 3 and Sept. 10, 1956.

Arab Head



GEN. NASSER of Egypt stands currently at head of Arab national independence struggles. In Algeria, his supporters are ready for compromise with French imperialism, whereas leaders tied to Messali Hadj want complete independence.

file freedom fighters are fighting for independence and not for a compromise. The French government is especially severe in its repressions against the MNA and against French radicals, journalists and others who publicize it. It hopes to deal with the FLN in the campaign of military repression in Algeria fails. [It should be noted that, subsequent to this interview, French imperialism kidnapped and imprisoned five leaders of the FLN who were flying from Morocco to Tunisia. This was one week before the French-British invasion of Egypt. See article in Militant, Dec. 3, 1956.—Ed.]

CP ROLE Q. Aren't there a lot of Algerians in France? A. Yes, about 300,000. Economic conditions in Algeria force many men to migrate to France in search of work. They send money home to their families. Q. Where do they stand on MNA and FLN? A. Almost entirely they are with Messali Hadj. They have suffered much persecution at the hands of the French police. Q. Does the French Communist Party have many members among the Algerian workers in France? A. Very few. The CP has come into conflict with the Algerian workers in France, because it has sold out on the question of independence. Q. Just what has been the CP line on the Algerian war? A. You know that the present government of Premier Mollet came out of the elections of Jan. 2, 1956. Mollet is a leader of the Socialist Party. That party campaigned on two slogans: End the war in Algeria and improve living conditions of the workers. Some of the election propaganda, especially that of the socialist youth, was very militant against war in Algeria. The Communist Party carried on similar election propaganda against the war in Algeria although not so leftist in tone. The CP has the line that while Algeria should have independence it must be closely and permanently linked to France. Theoretically, too, the CP is against unconditional independence. Instead of recognizing that the Algerian people are an oppressed nation it has concocted the theory of a "nation in formation" that is—not yet formed. When the Socialist Party gov-

ernment came to office, it betrayed its election promises about ending the Algerian war and embarked on an even larger-scale military repression. The Communist Party deputies voted for these measures. Then they abstained from voting for war measures, because of CP rank-and-file sentiment but did not vote against the Mollet government. [Only recently have the CP deputies begun to vote against Mollet.—Ed.] All the workers in the CP want to struggle against the Algerian war. Some fought the police in the streets during the demonstrations by draftees who don't want to go to Algeria. Some raise their voice in criticism inside the CP. Others wait because they have no leadership. Many doubt that the CP has a correct line on the issue. Practically the policy of the CP leadership is to carry on token opposition to the war. Their policy now is to get signatures protesting it. But when the anti-war is on a high level of mass action—as during the troop demonstrations—the CP policy is to betray it openly. They brand mass actions as "provocations" or "Trotskyist adventures."

and immediate independence. It carries on education and agitation against the imperialist slaughter in that colony. It demands that all French troops be withdrawn. It supports Messali Hadj's slogan: "Immediate ceasefire and negotiations with all the representatives of the Algerian people." The PCI newspaper, La Verite, gives the facts about what is going on in Algeria and it also publishes statements and speeches of the MNA leaders that are otherwise suppressed in France. As you may know La Verite has been repeatedly seized and fined by the French authorities and its writers face imprisonment because of its opposition to the war. The PCI has made united front appeals on issues of the Algerian war and the violation of the civil liberties of Algerians in France and of those Frenchmen who are being persecuted for supporting the Algerians. Such united front appeals have been sent to the CP and the Partisans of Peace. In a few cases such appeals have succeeded locally. Also, successful united fronts have been made with some centrist and leftist parties. However; these are small compared to the huge CP which dominates working class politics in France. Nonetheless these united fronts and appeals have caused a ferment in the ranks of the CP on the Algerian question.

Eisenhower Asks War Powers

(Continued from page 1) war against any power that would try to interfere with U.S. profit-interests there. The Truman Doctrine in 1947 declared Greece and Turkey under the "protection" of U.S. guns. And now the Middle East is declared the "territory" of Wall Street. It is becoming increasingly evident that U.S. Big Business, balked in its preparations for war against the Soviet Union, decided to use the pause to move its European competitors out of the remnants of their empires and assume direct control of an ever-growing sector of the capitalist world. This was one of the reasons for the July 1956 Geneva Conference, where the stalemate in the cold war was registered. Eisenhower met with Congressional leaders during the New Year holidays to prepare for the legislative acceptance of the new major turn in foreign

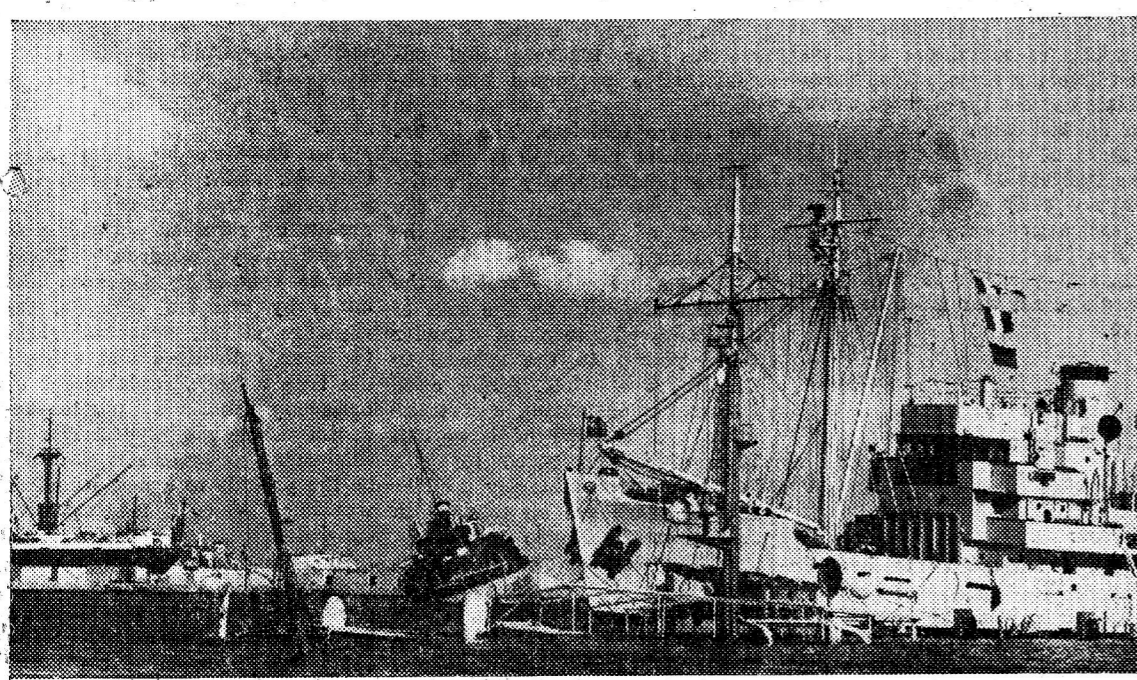
policy. If Congress yields its war-making power to the Administration a second time—and there is every indication that it will—there will be two areas where U.S. troops can be sent by decision of the President alone. Less than a year ago Congress gave Eisenhower the power to decide if this country should go to war to defend Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan [Formosa]. With this threat of immediate U.S. intervention, the exiled Chinese tyrant felt free to raid and kill to his heart's content. The nationalists on Taiwan boasted that in just one year, 1956, they killed 1,262 on the Chinese mainland with raids and artillery fire. They bragged of destroying 156 junks and other small craft in addition to barracks, bridges, etc. But the adoption of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" holds far more danger of immediate war

for the Middle East than does last year's decision for China. The Chinese revolution scored a victory against foreign imperialism decisive enough to deter war plans in Asia. The Arab revolution is still in its beginning stages and the U.S. imperialists hope to crush it before it gets any stronger. The editors of the N. Y. Times, Dec 31, pointed out that the Eisenhower Doctrine "involves the risk of provoking war." Therefore, say the editors, the decision to use U.S. troops in the Middle East "ought to be made by the people themselves and the nearest we can come to that is to have it made, or ratified, by the national legislature." The editors do not explain why the decision cannot be made by the American people. But the people will have to do the fighting. They alone should have the power to decide by referendum vote.

WHY THE DIVISION

Q. Why are there two—what are their differences? A. Before 1953 the Algerian independence movement was united in the MTLD (Movement for Democratic Liberties), which was headed by Messali Hadj and was the successor to previous movements which he had headed until they were outlawed by the French government. The character of the MTLD was strongly working class. In the party were also middle-class or petty bourgeois elements—lawyers and professional men. A number of these were elected as deputies. The MTLD availed itself of the services of these educated and articulate middle-class Algerians as spokesmen of the wrongs done Algeria. However, some of them became victims of compromising tendencies and elements. At the Congress of the MTLD in Belgium there was a split and compromisers or reformists were expelled. The two representatives of the MTLD in Cairo supported the petty bourgeois tendency which had been expelled. They began the FLN. They had the support of the Nasser regime in Egypt. When the MNA (this was the new name adopted by the MTLD) sent a representative to Cairo he was jailed by the Nasser government. Undoubtedly Nasser has fear of the repercussions in Egypt if the movement led by Messali Hadj triumphs in Algeria and nationalizes the land and carries out other deep-going social reforms. Ferhat Abbas, a former leader of the reformist tendency in Algeria—his policy may be compared to that of Bourguiba in Tunisia—went to Cairo, apparently without interference from

Where British Imperialism Met Defeat



The Suez Canal remains blocked by ships sunk as a result of the British-French-Israeli assault on Egypt. Arab blocking of the Suez Canal and cutting of vital oil pipelines drove home to the British and French imperialists the hard fact that their long-time grip on this area of the world is now definitively broken.

the French authorities, to become the leader of the FLN. In speeches he has declared that the FLN does not demand independence now but that the theoretical right of Algeria to independence be recognized. He has also promised that all French property in Algeria will be respected if his movement comes to power. HADJ'S DEMANDS MNA-leader Messali Hadj's principal slogan is for a Constituent Assembly to be elected by all the people of Algeria regardless of race, religion, etc. This Constituent Assembly would decide the future political, economic and social status of Algeria. Ferhat Abbas opposes the slogan of a Constituent Assembly, he is for a provisional government. In Algeria the situation is different. In Algeria a war is on. Some of the freedom fighters support the FLN and others support Messali and the MNA. Some who are fighting in FLN guerrilla bands still regard Messali Hadj as the leader of the Algerian struggle. One thing is beyond question, that all the rank-and-

World Events

SYRIA accused Britain, France, Turkey and Iraq of instigating a plot to overthrow the Syrian government and replace it with one friendly to the imperialist powers who control Iraq's oil. The new government was to have dissolved Parliament and called for elections after arresting and "possibly killing" leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties, the accusation said. The charges were contained in a court order read at a hearing, Dec. 26, for Syrians accused of being involved in the plot. Significantly, Israel was not mentioned as a partner in the scheme. Recently, Syrian propaganda has been directed mainly against the imperialist powers and Iraq (which is a member of the U.S.-backed Baghdad Pact) rather than against Israel. Syria, where British and French oil lines were blown up in solidarity with the Egyptians when Suez was attacked, is one of the centers of the Arab revolution for national independence.

those countries, instruments of imperialism, and frequently, the protection of the Catholic Church." All the listed governments are stoutly supported by the U.S. State Department, as is the semi-dictatorial regime in Argentina, about which the Second International remained silent.

U.S. NEWSMEN IN CHINA face severe punishment by the U.S. State Department upon their return to this country. The State Dept. arbitrarily decreed last August that U.S. reporters could not enter China even though Peking had lifted its ban on such entry. This attempt to hide truth from the American public was defied by William Worthly, a reporter for the Baltimore Afro-American, who entered China, Dec. 24, from British controlled Hong Kong. Later it was disclosed that Edmund Stevens and Philip Harrington of Look Magazine had entered China by way of Soviet Asia. The State Department announced last week that it would revoke the passports of the three and consider other legal action, possibly confiscation of their family bank accounts. An editorial in the Dec. 29 issue of the trade paper, Editor and Publisher, challenged the right of the State Department to punish the correspondents.

"FRANCO'S POWER would surely collapse today without American aid," said Pablo Casals, world renowned Spanish cellist who has lived in exile since the fascist dictator's victory in Spain. Casals said, at his 80th birthday celebration in San Juan, Puerto Rico, in December, that he has "great affection for the United States," but would continue to refuse invitations to the continental U.S. in protest against American aid to Franco.

IRAQ HIT ISRAEL as the "chief enemy" in its recent propaganda, according to the Dec. 17 N. Y. Times. Iraqi premier Nuri es-Said charged in a speech, Dec. 16, that Egypt was going soft toward Israel. Nuri said that on the other hand, his government insists on "eradication of Israel and the return of the world's vagrants and usurpers to their native lands." Despite this, U.S. liberals supporting the Israeli government of Ben Gurion denounced Egypt and Syria in a full-page ad in the Dec. 18 New York Times and came to the defense of Iraq. They warned that "anti-British and anti-Western influences threaten the government of Iraq despite its awareness of the Russian menace."

CUBA'S DICTATOR, Fulgencio Batista is conducting a reign of terror throughout the country against political opponents allegedly involved in last month's rebellion. Twenty-one bodies, some hanging to trees, were found in the 48 hours preceding Dec. 28 near roads and on streets of towns in Oriente Province, says the Dec. 29 N. Y. Times. No trials, warnings or announcements preceded these executions. The Latin-American Consultative Committee of the Socialist (Second) International passed a resolution in Buenos Aires, Dec. 24, which said the present governments of Colombia, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Paraguay and Venezuela represented "unheard-of political barbarism, the expression of the feudal classes in

...SWP on Arab National Independence Struggle

(Continued from page 2) brazen defense of the Kremlin's suppression of the Hungarian revolution. It was the French Social Democrats, of course, who were directly responsible for the imperialist attack, since they headed the government in this they continued their treacherous role of defending capitalism. The Stalinists, by their whole previous course, gave objective aid to the social-democratic Mollet government's assault on Egypt. Thus the French working class, disarmed and disoriented by its leaders, failed, in contrast to the British, to turn to action on a mass scale to halt the imperialist attack. By following the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful co-existence," the Stalinist leaders made it possible for Mollet to plunge France into war without an effectual domestic opposition. The delusory character of the slogan of "peaceful co-existence" as a way to enduring peace was glaringly shown in both Hungary and Egypt. While the Stalin-bureaucracy was demonstrating its congenital incapacity to co-exist peacefully with the Hungarian workers, the British and French imperialists showed their inability to co-exist peacefully even with the bourgeois nationalism of the colonial world. On the other hand, the Arab masses, by pressing forward in their revolution and thereby disrupting the status quo for imperialism, demonstrated that the way to deal a stinging defeat to the warmongers is through the class struggle. At the same time, the Hungarian workers, revolting against Stalinist rule and thereby disrupting the status quo for Stalinism, inspired the proletariat throughout the world with fresh hope for the cause of revolutionary socialism, the only genuine road to enduring peace.

In both instances, events themselves offered powerful confirmation of the Marxist thesis that it is illusory and reactionary to try to maintain the status quo in the class struggle; that there is no peace today, only alternations between cold and hot war in a world of turmoil and bloodshed from which mankind can emerge only by restoring proletarian democracy to the Soviet Union and by carrying forward the socialist revolution in the capitalist centers.

The Nasser Regime

In the absence of a revolutionary working-class party, Egypt's struggle against imperialism has come under the leadership of vacillating petty-bourgeois elements which always stand ready for a deal with the foreign violator at the expense of the masses. In Egypt and throughout the Arab world, the great need is for revolutionary parties of the working people that will lead the masses in a consistent fight to the very end for national independence and socialist reconstruction. However, the vacillations of a petty-bourgeois leadership such as the Nasser grouping reflect to one degree or another the ebb and flow of the struggle between the imperialists on the one hand and the proletariat and peasantry on the other, a struggle in which the colonial bourgeoisie in its various layers becomes enmeshed. While displaying much greater sensitivity to the imperialist pressure, petty-bourgeois leaders of the Nasser type do respond to the pressure of the masses they temporarily head, and when that pressure is sufficient they can go quite far, in some instances much farther than they themselves anticipate. This was the case with the Nasser regime.

NASSER'S LIMITED GOAL

The Nasser regime was considerably strengthened by its militant resistance against the imperialist invaders. Such resistance deserves the full material support of class-conscious workers everywhere. However, it would be wrong to grant political support to the regime. It is true that Nasser undertook revolutionary measures, first nationalizing the Suez Canal and then blocking it to prevent its seizure by the imperialists. However, Nasser's aims are not socialist. They are limited by the perspective of strengthening Egyptian capitalism. As against imperialism, this is completely progressive but the aim is too narrow to fit the Arab revolution in its potential development and must eventually be superseded. Nasser's own action of nationalizing the Suez Canal, the measure demanded by the situation, reveals the tendency of the struggle he heads to pass beyond narrow capitalist limits. Undoubtedly without wishing it, most likely without even knowing it, Nasser gave fresh validity to Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. The coming stages of the struggle will reveal more clearly the contradiction faced by the Nasser regime, of con-

tinuing the course toward nationalization at the expense of Egypt's capitalist structure, or of making peace with world imperialism. The aims of the Nasser regime indicate that in the final analysis the latter course will be the preferred one — if world imperialism will permit it.

Striking testimony to the bourgeois limitations of Nasser's course was evident in the failure of the Egyptian military dictator to appeal for solidarity from the world working class. This was consistent with the reactionary laws passed in Egypt against the socialist movement. Yet the strongest support the Egyptian struggle found abroad was from British labor, in the very heart of the enemy camp. The capacity of the Arab revolution to rally proletarian support abroad was thus proved in almost laboratory fashion.

The fact is that the Arab revolution links in with the world socialist revolution and therefore requires a revolutionary socialist leadership to express its aims and carry them forward to fruition. Creation of this leadership is bound to be facilitated in the long run by Egypt's victory in the Suez crisis despite the temporary strengthening of bourgeois nationalism.

Our Tasks

In America it is the clear duty of class-conscious workers to support the Egyptian anti-imperialist struggle while refusing to place political confidence in its present leadership. Such support includes defending the Nasser regime against the imperialist attempts to picture it as "fascist" and to unseat it. The question of what kind of government Egypt needs is for the Egyptian people themselves to decide.

The mask of friendship now worn by the Eisenhower administration for the countries of the Middle East makes it all the more imperative to expose Wall Street's true aims and to oppose them. The deeper involvement of American Big Business in the Middle East will tie the Arab struggle for freedom more and more directly with the battles of the working class here at home. The need for unity against the common foe will gain increasing urgency. As the real face and true intentions of Wall Street become apparent to the people of the Middle East and they react in a revolutionary manner, the American workers may well take for an example what the British workers did in demonstrating their sympathy with the victims of imperialism. By inflicting a heavy defeat on British and French imperialism, the Arab revolution dealt another setback to the war plans of America's ruling class and gave fresh impetus to the struggle for a socialist world. Inspired by this victory, revolutionary socialists in America must redouble their efforts to construct a party capable of organizing the struggle to end the rule of imperialism and to build socialism in America. That is also the best way to demonstrate international solidarity with the Arab workers.

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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 unions and labor leaders think that the time has come to start building toward a labor party—or at least toward a realignment on the political field," reports Frank Marquart in the December Voice of 212. Marquart, educational director of the large United Auto Workers local in Detroit, gave prominent coverage to 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.



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

"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, Lauches, 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."

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 Machineists 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 IAM. The action followed attacks by the Buffalo CIO Council on the IAM for taking in UE locals with their leadership intact.

It may be the prerogative of the IAM executive board to fire appointed officials of which it does not approve, but it is up to the membership to oust—or keep elective officials. This bureaucratic ouster 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 unpopular 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 a Federal indictment against the UAW in Detroit in an attempt to publicize its political endorsements. The UAW won 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."

# 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 see things first hand. The Belzoni Area (Gus Courts and Rev. Lee's) is really pathetic for Negroes. [This is the area in Mississippi where Rev. Lee was killed and Mr. Gus Courts was wounded by white supremacists because they dared register to vote. — Ed.] Crops are not too good and the landlords are almost forcing labor for nothing and selling as high as they can for cash. The M. F. C. won't take the Negro farmworker's cotton in loan and are only paying strident low middling prices for good middling cotton. 31 to 33 cents (Hill prices) for 44 to 48 cent cotton.

The Yazoo City cotton buyers won't take it for fear it is mortgaged when no white man in Humphrey County will loan a Negro a dime or sell him cotton stock on credit unless he is the foot-scraping, "yes sir chopper" type. Many are moving out by night from all over the Deltas.

I heard Farrell Dobb's acceptance address over WOAI (NBC), San Antonio, Tex., Tuesday night from 9:15 to 9:30. The beginning was like a scratched phonograph record but the body was clear.

The announcer said, "You have been listening to a transcribed address by Farrell Dobb, the presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers Party making his acceptance speech which was recorded to be presented at this time so as not to interfere with the regularly scheduled program in keeping with the rules as prescribed by the Federal Communications Commission that all political party candidates be allowed the same time on each national network. Be sure to be listening at this same time Thursday for an address by ex-president Harry Truman from St. Louis at the United Electrical and Radio Workers Convention. He will be introduced by Mr. James B. Carey, their president. Mr. Truman, as we know is endorsing the candidacy of the regular Democratic nominee Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver."

Note this: no NBC station in Mississippi has yet even mentioned the broadcast and I asked one of the announcers at a station in Jackson would they carry it, and they said no 5,000 Watt

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 \$18.00 a month and I should have other nourishment that I am unable to provide. I am making about \$5.00 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.

H. J. Mississippi

### On Election Returns

Dear Friend:

Your letter received and found me still slowly improving enough to make me feel much better. My doctor states that I will have to be under treatment quite some time yet. The result of twenty years starvation "in a land of plenty."

I was quite some time finding out that when you are alone with no one to fix for you nor to remind you, you can very easily forget to eat because of the dread of fixing for yourself. When you are young and out with the people you are always reminded, but when you get settled (old) and not interested in going out, it is much different.

Now that the sheep have been led to their slaughter and the head has no body to work with, we will have to just expect almost anything. I have not as yet forgotten the Wilson near miss nor the Roosevelt third and fourth terms march. So now we may be in for some more slaughter to give employment and to balance the economy. We poor blind devils will be carrying the ball as usual.

The new Supreme Court decision has elated the Montgomery, Ala. mass which should serve to show people what can really come from being united. Will Reuther run in '60 and would it help? pity we couldn't get a war horse like him in a real labor party to cut through the flanks of both parties.

I feel that the workers voting against the leaders was good in one way—to let the leaders know that if we must vote for a skunk we will pick our own. West Virginia was a good example. Meany is too brainwashed by Big Business to mean anything to the workers.

We had a complete black-out on our candidates after the one speech from San Antonio.

What about the Kasper trial in

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 buffaloed 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 State Times to get the semi-Southern view on the news. It is not partial like the rest of the Southern press.

H. J. Mississippi

### Scotch Reader On Pacifism

Editor:  
I was interested in the Harvey-Breitman debate on the subject of Socialism or Pacifism. The pacifists can be useful allies when we have to fight against war. The weakness of their position is that individual refusal to take part in war never stopped any war. The only effective opposition to war is mass opposition. By attending to individual objections and ignoring mass action, the pacifists neglect the strongest weapon against war.

Also, of course, by saying that the fighters on both sides are always equally guilty, they use a wrong argument. But the main thing for socialists and pacifists is that resistance against war must be collective.

J. Y. Scotland

### How Socialism Should Work

Editor:  
Am I correct as to how Socialism should proceed? Socialism should be just the same as a family. Every adult member of the family should have the duty to go to work and bring in its pay every week in order to buy all the necessities of life for the whole family.

I don't admit that a member of the family should have better clothes than the others just because he may get more pay. We all have the same nature, and he needs my products as much as I need his. So if I am a farmer, he should not have the advantage over me. However, today they pay me the lowest of all workers. You can try to repair everything else, but food—you got to have!

A. C. Rochester, N. Y.

## Chicago School Segregation Hit By NAACP

CHICAGO — "The average Negro child is not getting an educational opportunity equal to that of the average white child." That is the "certain conclusion" made by the Chicago Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People after a survey of the situation in the Chicago public schools, said Willoughby Abner, president of the Chicago NAACP, as he appeared recently before a hearing of the Chicago Board of Education on its proposed 1957 budget.

"It would certainly be a conservative estimate to say that the City of Chicago spends at least 15 percent more on instruction per white child than per Negro child," said Abner in summarizing the results of the NAACP survey. In 1956, \$192 was appropriated per child for instruction in the districts with all or predominantly white pupils and \$170 per child in the districts with all or predominantly Negro pupils.

The survey revealed that salaries for teachers and administrative personnel are substantially lower in the schools in the Negro districts. The lowest expenditure per pupil per school in the predominantly white districts was higher than that of the highest of the schools in the Negro districts. The smaller salary reflects the practice of assigning the bulk of inexperienced teachers (under three years) to the schools in the Negro districts. Abner cited figures demonstrating that while there was a total of less than 10% of inexperienced teachers in the predominantly white schools there are up to 65% in schools in the Negro districts.

Hitting at the Board of Education's Jim Crow gerrymandering of the school districts, Abner pointed out that "school districts in the main follow and re-enforce racial segregation." This was graphically shown on a large scale population map showing the school districts and the concentrations of Negro population. Districts 10 and 13 follow the South Side's so-called "black belt" which has its broadest expansion in a North-South or vertical direction. The NAACP stated that "were the school boundaries drawn in an East-West or horizontal direction, integration would be favored."

The NAACP also charged that where two high schools are practically equal in distance from a given elementary school, "the scheduling of graduates from

the elementary school to the high school favors continued separation of the races rather than integration."

The NAACP called upon the Board of Education to make integration a prime factor in districting and re-districting. It advocated that bus transportation be used to bring children from crowded areas to those with empty class rooms or small classes to help equalize the class loads throughout the city. It also proposed that assignment and transfer policies be reviewed and revised to secure integrated, experienced faculties in each school with a set minimum of inexperienced teachers.

## ... Hungary

(Continued from page 1)  
and representatives of other Hungarian parties. The plan is for a "popular front" government.

The dispatch by John McCormack adds: "The revolt has produced some changes that cannot be reversed according to revolutionary sources." These include control of factories and mines by workers' councils, the right to strike, peasants' right to leave collectives and sell on the free market, replacement of one-party system by parties accepting socialism in principle. A settlement on this basis can only be the prelude to a new round of working class revolutionary struggle.

In Poland, the Kremlin overtures tried a negotiated settlement, in Hungary, a settlement by the sword. Both produced the same result: an aroused militant working class preparing for the day of political revolution. Small wonder that Khrushchev, drunk or not, tried on New Year's Eve to take back what he had said about Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and proclaimed himself a Stalinist.

At the Congress, last February, the bureaucrats tried to dole out concessions in hope of averting a political revolution. But everything has turned out wrong for them. This is because the bureaucrats can no longer do anything right save disappear. They are members of a doomed, parasitic and counter-revolutionary caste.

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By Joyce Cowley

LIFE MAGAZINE has produced a holiday fantasy, a special issue called "The American Woman." The first ten pages contain color photographs of beautiful American girls and while they are not exactly typical, they are closer to reality than the articles which follow. For example take "A Successful Wife's Achievements in Multiple Roles," "Marjorie Sutton," it starts out, "is home manager, mother, hostess and useful civic worker... She has made a career of running her home briskly and well." We learn that her husband makes \$25,000 a year; she has a maid and gardener. As a hostess, she entertains an estimated 1,500 guests a year. A final photograph shows her bouncing on a trampoline to keep her size 12 figure. So much for the average housewife.

Now let's get a rundown on the working mother: "My Wife Works and I Like It, a Husband Takes a Strong Stand in a Controversy." Here we reach a low economic level since the husband, a junior executive, only makes \$5,500 a year. His wife runs a bridal service in a department store and they are "blessed" with a loyal, experienced housekeeper. I wonder how many couples can afford such a blessing on median incomes which Life gives as \$3,552 for men and \$1,363 for women. (They explain the startling difference in earnings by saying that so many women are temporary or part time workers. But five million women with a head of the household status—which means they are the main support of dependents—have a median income of only \$1,992.)

The lead article, "Changing Roles in Modern Marriage," summarizes the opinions of five psychiatrists. They discuss the New York Career Woman Syndrome (a syndrome is a group of symptoms characterizing an ill-

ness) and illustrate with the case of a husband and wife who make \$10,000 a year each. While they admit that comparatively few wives make \$10,000—an understatement, since only 3% of all women workers make over \$3,500—they contend that the "suburban" woman and the "factory" woman suffer from essentially the same illness.

### SOUTHERN 'LADIES'

In the Southern woman, it has not progressed quite as far because "the southern sense of family pride and continuity makes women enter marriage with a well-developed sense of responsibility for child-rearing and homemaking. The traditional value of 'gentility' along with the availability of servants makes the southern girl want to grow up to be a lady." The South, of course, has as many working wives and mothers as any other area, possibly more. They are the servants who make it possible for a small percentage to be "ladies," and they are Negro women. Life has nothing to say in any of the articles about two million Negro women workers. Don't they have any problems? Aren't they denying their essential femininity when they go to work in white homes? Or, as one woman author suggests, do they work because they are longing only for THINGS, instead of intellectual and spiritual activities?

The U.S. Women's Bureau used a direct approach, asked women why they worked and published the results in "Women Workers and Their Dependents." Most women said they were supporting themselves and others, 12% were buying a home, 7% wanted to educate their children and 3% said they found their jobs satisfying.

LIFE uses a different method and instead of asking the women why they work, asks the five psychiatrists. These doctors declare that American women tend

to be assertive and exploitive; which results in large numbers of career women. Career women were raised in a home where the mother was dissatisfied with the female role. She probably told her daughters that housework was dull. I find it curious that the women pointed out as shining examples of those satisfied with the female role—the busy wife with a maid and gardener and the Southern "lady" with servants available—have had little contact with scrubbing floors or doing the family wash, which may explain why they don't find it dull.

### WHERE'S THE EVIDENCE

Woman's emotional life, these psychiatrists conclude, is "colored" by her primary function in the sexual act, which requires receptivity, passivity and a desire to nurture. The sexual role of men, on the other hand, requires aggressiveness, dominance and even exploitiveness. The fundamental difficulty, they say, is that the sexes are losing their identities—women are becoming aggressive while men are growing passive and losing the "male image."

How did the psychiatrists decide that these "male" and "female" characteristics are fundamental and primary? Not from direct observation, since they claim the men and women they examine have to a large extent lost these qualities. They are evidently referring back to some period in history when all women were passive and all men domineering. This might be at the dawn of human life, except that recent anthropological research indicates the earliest human societies were dominated by women. Or possibly they are thinking of an earlier period in American history, when this country was discovered and settled. In that case, it's the first time the pioneer woman has been called passive.

Sociologists and anthropolo-

gists have produced plenty of evidence (completely ignored by LIFE) to show that men may be either aggressive or passive, and that women also may be either aggressive or passive, depending upon the needs and demands of the particular society in which they live. Where did the doctors get their "male image"? While it sounds like a cross between Superman and a gorilla of either sex (keepers can rarely get close enough to tell which is which), it's a logical ideal in a society whose outstanding characteristics are domination and exploitation. The real man is a killer. DuBois points out in "Black Reconstruction" that the Negro was never accepted as a man until he became a soldier and proved he could fire a gun or run a bayonet through an adversary as competently as a white man.

### FEW FOLLOW 'NORM'

Fortunately, very few men conform to this ideal, and LIFE's psychiatrists note sadly that 38% of the men turned down for military service were turned down because of "emotional inadaptability to military life... Most of them were emasculated males... somewhere they had lost the male image." They must have lost it a long way back, since few wars in history have been fought by volunteers. Psychiatrists (not those interviewed for LIFE) have also revealed that the criminal who kills is frequently not a strong man but a weak one, trying to live up to the aggressive ideals and expectation of this society, and prove in one moment of violence that he is a MAN.

Even within the framework of their own concepts, LIFE's articles are contradictory. They say that factory wives, too, work because they want to "enter a male environment." Then they show photographs of a garment factory and a food processing plant where all the employees are women. Farm families are de-

scribed as the most stable because each person's role is well defined, which presumably means that men are male and women are female. It makes sense for women farmers, since they are supposed to nurture, but what does the male farmer dominate—cabbages and crows?

Men might object to being called sexually exploitive (defined as "using others to one's own advantage") and claim that women exploit them, trapping them through a momentary impulse into paternity that involves lifelong ties and responsibility.

### STRUGGLE FOR CHANGE

But the basic error made is reducing human behavior to primary sexual functions, which takes it back to the animal level from which we claim to have made some advance. Even if it could be proved that female animals are passive sexually, which is unlikely, this is not necessarily a guide for human beings. People differ from animals in their conscious effort to control, improve and change their environment and thereby change their own nature. Fifty years ago, psychoanalysis was a revolutionary attempt, through greater insight and consciousness, to change the behavior of men and women, and it challenged orthodox methods of psychiatry. Now that it is generally accepted, it has in many cases degenerated into an elaborate excuse for the status quo. The "males" and "females" advocated by the doctors in LIFE are distorted reflections of a society that demands both domination and submission.

The women who initiated the fight for women's rights are described in LIFE's articles as "quaint" and "ridiculous." Most of them believed that men and women could learn to work and live together on a basis of equality and cooperation, and this would result in greater happiness for both sexes. I think it is still a realistic and desirable goal.