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New Century Publishers, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

# THE SUMMIT FAILURE

HOW PEACE CAN BE  
WON

By GUS HALL

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

THIS PAMPHLET is based on a speech by Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A., delivered on May 25, 1960, at a meeting in New York City under the auspices of the weekly newspaper, THE WORKER.

A former steelworker and Navy veteran, Mr. Hall helped organize the C.I.O. Steelworkers Union in the 1930's. He is one of the Communist leaders convicted and imprisoned during the years of the McCarthyite witchhunting hysteria. He is the author of numerous pamphlets including *Your Stake in the 1960 Elections*, *Our Sights to the Future*, *Peace Can Be Won*, and *Marxism and Negro Liberation*, all published by New Century Publishers.

Published by

NEW CENTURY PUBLISHERS, 832 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.  
June, 1960



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PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

ers, the Negro people, the dirt farmers, the youth need to take a hand in formulating and carrying out a policy of peace and democracy. The monopolists have had a free hand too long!





We must conclude a pact to end all atomic and nuclear testing.

We must agree and start upon the process of disarmament. The above steps would show the world that the United States is sincere and honest in its talk of peace. Only such steps will end double-dealing.

We need not draw any conclusions that war is inevitable. That war is still possible, and that capitalism breeds factors that push in the direction of war—this has always been true. What this new situation further underscores, however, is that peace does not walk in unassisted. It will come as a product of movement and struggle—of movement and struggle that is prodded and helped by objective developments.

These are times of movement. Old alliances, old relations—all are going through great change. Among all of us on the broad left—we Americans who have a deeper understanding of our nation's problems, who want a more basic change of the direction our country is following—there is now in a new way, in the context of the new conditions, the urgent need for greater unity and activity. Not unity for the purpose of withdrawing into isolation, but unity so as to be a greater force to initiate, to prod, to guide the broader mass movements of the people. We Communists, as a matter of policy, are re-examining all such relations and will be eager to join all others in such joint endeavors.

The question remains: What is to be done? Where do we go from here? There can be no doubt—peace still can be won. This Summit setback need not be fatal. Above all we, the American people, must take courage and demand an end to all cold-war policies and provocations. We must work for and demand a sincere, honest policy of negotiation for peace and peaceful coexistence.

We must repair the damage at the Summit by making the 1960 elections into elections for peace. We can repair it by having a peace committee on every block, in every shop, in every township and in every apartment house. Let every political leader, every candidate, know that he or she is being closely watched and checked by such committees. The work-

## THE SUMMIT FAILURE

By GUS HALL

**T**HE central and most crucial issues of our time—peace, coexistence of nations with different social systems, raising to the level of international law the settling of all problems without the use of arms, putting an end to atomic bomb tests, the relaxation of war dangers—all these came up for solution at the Summit.

To the regret of all who love peace more than profits, at least for the time being a solution was not forthcoming.

Let the people the world over judge for themselves whether or not they have done their very best toward the solution of these problems. To be sure, we as a people will not escape the assessment others will make of what has been done in our name. But what is more important than anything else is that we must *ourselves* make judgment and be our own severest critics.

We, the members of the Communist Party, U.S.A., will actively participate in the ensuing national debate in the spirit of the following statement by Walter Lippmann:

In a situation like ours the damage to our prestige would be irreparable if we all rallied around the President and pretended to think that there was nothing seriously wrong. For that would prove to the world that the blunders will not be corrected but will be continued. . . .

And we will join in the spirit of Jackie Robinson when he said:



But I think it is the right and duty of each of us to look long and hard at the situation we are in and to call a spade a spade. And we can no longer speak about saving face, we must worry about saving humanity.

But we reject as false the advice given by the *New York Times* when, in its editorial of May 20, it says:

The United States Government and the people of the United States have no apologies to make to themselves or to anyone else for the use of high-flying reconnaissance planes as a means of self-protection....

The old *New York Times* has itself during this crisis shown ineptitude and confusion. It has itself been caught in all the lies that it sees fit to print.

### HOW THE PEOPLE RESPONDED

Americans as a whole during this crisis have shown mature and deep understanding. They have refused to be panicked. They have refused to be misled or sidetracked from their course in the struggle for peace. The mass actions for peace since the failure of the Summit have been very impressive demonstrations of how the people feel about these developments. We have a right to draw courage and confidence from these actions.

The New York-San Francisco wave of mass activities has set the pace for the whole country.

The tremendous success of the New York mass actions of the Negro people, the trade unions, the old people and the peace forces is exciting evidence that this is a new day. The recent midnight peace march through mid-town New York, following the inspiring meeting of 20,000 in Madison Square Garden organized by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, gave us a feeling that something new has been added. The American people have begun to recapture the spirit of mass action and mass protest.

Some of our fellow Americans have criticized the Eisenhower Administration for giving the Soviets the instruments with which to wreck the Summit.

Such criticism does not honestly and frankly face up to the facts. It comes from those who want to be critical but do not have the courage to do so without wrapping it up in an anti-Soviet package.

Such a method never gets down to the real causes; it gets lost. And it contains the same fraud and falsehood that were used as a smokescreen to promote the very policies the critic means to challenge. Such an examination will not lead to a frank or a basic look at such policies in a way that would lead to a change or a correction.

The idea of coexistence, of settling all issues without the use of armed force, is an answer to a world of H-bombs and intercontinental ballistic missiles. It is an answer to a world in which there exists a system of socialist nations whose basic outlook, flowing from the very nature of their society, is the securing of peace. The failure of the Summit does not change this fact. This world needs peace and coexistence now as much as it did a week ago. In fact, the world does co-exist. The forces who try to undermine this and who place obstacles on the path of further developing this concept must be exposed and defeated. There is no realistic substitute for this policy. The alternative to coexistence is war.

What is a realistic policy for today?

First, it must become official government policy to end all double-dealing. This will happen only if we take concrete steps in this direction, such as starting to dismantle the network of overseas bases. You cannot talk of peace while you have an atomic cannon sticking in every window and door of the Soviet Union and China. It is from these nests of war that the danger of accidental war is the greatest.

We must withdraw our forces from the territory of China. We must recognize realities and give full diplomatic recognition to China and its 650 million people.

We must withdraw our support from all of the reactionary puppet governments around the world.



icy and decisions of the government. The elected government bodies have become adjuncts and servicing organizations to these powerful secretive bodies under no one's control.

Furthermore, how can we ourselves, much less the rest of the world, have any confidence in our future when our entire missile program is in the hands of ex-Nazis—when it is directed by the ex-Nazi Von Braun, and when the policy maker who is constantly testifying and speaking publicly in the field of nuclear armaments is the ex-fascist, fanatical Horthy Hungarian, Teller. This fanatic campaigns constantly for more tests, for greater appropriations.

Now it has been disclosed that in addition to his salary he gets \$1,000 per day as a consultant for the munitions monopolists. In one year he picked up \$25,000 from General Dynamics alone. This is one of the corporations that Senator Symington, another campaigner for more arms, is connected with. This is the corporation that manufactures the Atlas missile. Here is the kind of situation that breeds irresponsible actions and provocations.

Only a few days before the Summit, as his contribution in preparing for it, this inhuman sadist stated: "Not disarmament but more and better nuclear weapons into the hands of more friendly nations should be the immediate goal of the United States."

Should the world close its eyes to such public statements? To ignore them would be a betrayal of the struggle for peace.

If there ever was a mess in Washington there is surely one now. It is not a mess in fur coats and deep freezers. It is a mess in basic policy. A change here and a change there will not suffice. The people must begin to think in terms of a complete housecleaning.

### A PROGRAM FOR PEACE

The situation is one which calls for leaders with courage and vision, leaders who will place peace above profits and above the interests of their bridge partners. There are such forces in American political life. They need the support and encouragement of the people's movement for peace.

The people of San Francisco put up a magnificent one-week fight against the Un-American Activities Committee. They capped it with a protest rally of 8,000 people. And a day later they followed it with a rally for peace of 3,500.

The period of conformity to handed-down standards is coming to an end.

The cold war forces are alarmed. Cyrus Eaton says hello to Khrushchev at the airport and there is a demand for his arrest. Adlai Stevenson raises the question of investigating the fiasco and he is called an appeaser. And Senator Dirksen has now concluded it was Stevenson who torpedoed the Summit.

But these McCarthy-like threats will be of no avail.

There is now arising in the United States a new alliance of political forces. It brings together many forces, but it draws its strength from the grass roots of labor, the Negro people, the students, and the poor farmers.

We, the Communist Party, have taken our place in the ranks of the fighters for peace and democracy from the very date of our birth. Whenever our Government or its spokesmen have taken steps towards peace, no matter how small or hesitating, we have given our support and encouragement. And so now, still in keeping with the same outlook and spirit, we condemn the war-like actions, the "blunders" that may end life for hundreds of millions of people. We condemn the "calculated risks" that may wipe out an "assumed" 60 percent of the people of the United States. We denounce these warlike conspiracies behind the backs of the people. We will bring to the surface and expose to the sunlight the war profiteers who are responsible for these policies.

### A POLICY OF DOUBLE-DEALING

That our government spokesmen lied to cover previous lies may have shocked others. But for us, especially those of us who went through the Smith Act trials, this is in keeping with old practices. We know that the Department of Justice has for years kept on its payroll a stable of professional provocateurs and liars. And we know that the De-



partment of Justice *knows* that they are liars.

We who for years have identified ourselves with, and taken part in the struggles of labor, the Negro people, the poor farmers—struggles that have been constantly attacked, maligned, misrepresented and lied about—are not too surprised to see the present gyrations of the government spokesmen and the press. When the U.S. Government breaks all international law and flaunts the sovereignty of the Soviet Union, Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Norway by sending a military plane across their borders—this they hail as being "responsible" and "vigilant." But when the Soviet Union shoots down the plane and captures the pilot, this is condemned in bellicose language as "irresponsible" and "toying with the peace of the world." This type of perversion is a continuation of the journalism that blames strikers and their unions for disturbing the peace, blames labor for the increase in the high cost of living and accuses the unions of restricting the rights of the individual. This is the same journalism that accuses the victims of the lynch mob of disturbing the tranquility of the South.

How many times have the countries building socialism, who base themselves on the ideas of Marxism, been charged with having a credo to the effect that "a thing is wrong only if it does not work, if you get caught," or that "the end justifies the means." It must be shocking to the naive who have swallowed this bait to hear our own government spokesmen now openly spouting such concepts and defending them as just and proper and necessary for the conduct of governmental affairs.



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Turkey, South Vietnam, South Africa, Cuba and other lands are seriously moving forward to make themselves the bastions of the real free world, not the phony "free world" of the monopolists. The peoples of Norway, of Denmark, are demanding that their governments re-establish their ownership over the U.S. airfields and put them to peaceful use for the good of humanity. The peoples of the world are going to draw away more and more from such blundering, cold-war actions. The policies of cold war are increasingly isolating the United States from the rest of the world.

### SECRET GOVERNMENT

One thing that these last 30 days have brought into the limelight is the chaos in Washington. Moreover, this chaos moves in a very dangerous direction. For some time there has been a slow but definite process in which those elected by the people have less and less power, and departments and government bodies who are not accountable to anyone are gathering into their hands ever greater power. Slowly the powers of the executive have increased. But what is especially alarming is the growing power of such bodies as the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Security Council.

These secretive, self-perpetuating bodies have greater power than any of those elected and responsible to the electorate, nor has any other body anything to say about what they do. They have their own private expense accounts, for which they are accountable to no one, and they work in the dark. The Pentagon has become a power in shaping both domestic and foreign policy. These are danger signals in a democracy. These bodies are usurping the powers that constitutionally belong to the people. And because of this, while the CIA was involved in all the developments of this past period, so far no senator or member of the House of Representatives has dared to raise any questions about its role or activity.

These appointed bodies and committees are all part of the cold war apparatus. They are the means through which big business and the high military bosses dictate and control pol-

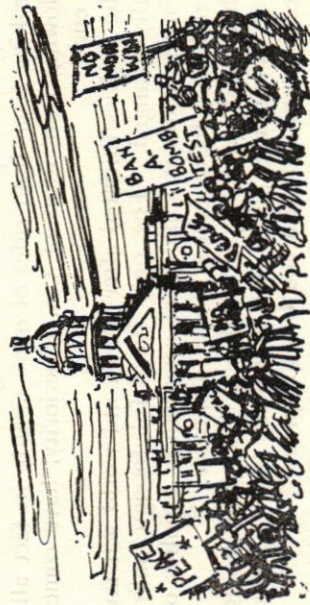
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policies have continued to serve us. His sound principles have continued to guide us." Before he died, even Dulles was beginning to see the folly of such principles.

What is interesting is that even before Ike got back to Washington, the military brass rushed to Congress and pulled a blitzkreig to panic that body into appropriating new billions for war orders based on the failure of the Summit. The day after, war stocks on the stock market starting booming. The economic news analysts reported that big business was drinking toasts to the death of the Summit, and they declared that the "peace scare" was over.

Representative Cannon of Missouri, in trying to find authority for such provocative actions as the U-2 flight, said: "Before occupying the promised land, Moses by the commandment of the Lord sent out from the wilderness of Paran ten men under the direction of Joshua to spy out the land." The Cannons of Missouri and of other states may as well learn the cold fact that the socialist lands are not about to be conquered or occupied. Yes, they are the promised land, but not for imperialist exploitation, not for the capitalists. They are the promised land for the peoples who are building socialism.



For Wall Street's dream of piracy, this has been a period of great shock and bewilderment. The peoples of South Korea,

That the Eisenhower Administration is exposed as engaging in double-dealing, in keeping two sets of books, one for the world and the American public and the other for the war profiteers, does not come as a shock to us. I am also sure this double bookkeeping comes as no surprise to the eighteen million Negro Americans who have been forced to deal with and fight against such double standards since their first arrival in this country.

Some say Premier Khrushchev should have accepted Ike's pledge to suspend the military provocations for the time being and should have agreed to go through with the Summit meetings. Such feelings are understandable but they are not realistic. The fact is that up to this very moment, no responsible government spokesman has condemned this provocative action. This still remains announced government policy. Eisenhower's statement that these flights will be suspended does not even do what is customary in such cases—that is, amongst responsible, civilized nations—namely, to make a formal apology and agree to discontinue such flights entirely.

Let us see how this conduct in international affairs looks in a country like China. The Chinese People's Government has now protested against 98 such illegal, provocative United States military flights. The U.S. Government has refused to take note of these protests and has refused to change this policy or to apologize. Instead it remains silent and behaves as if these provocations are not taking place. Should we be surprised that under these conditions the world does not accept the casual statement that such flights have been suspended? How could any self-respecting nation talk of peace with spokesmen who so openly flaunt the elementary rules of peace?

Representative Cannon of Missouri, speaking in Congress, said that this "has been throughout recorded history an integral part of warfare." But as even Mr. Cannon should know, we are not at war. The world is at peace. The claim that everyone conducts espionage does not hold water either. The world does not forget that this was a plane—the same



kind of vehicle that could carry H-bombs. We Americans must ask ourselves, and responsible Americans have asked: What would have happened—what would have been the orders to our planes that are over our cities 24 hours a day loaded with A-bombs—if a Soviet plane had penetrated our air space half way across the country?

How can anyone seriously discuss the settlement of world tensions with a head of Government whose Secretary of Defense, from the meeting hall and on the very day that the conference is to open, issues orders for a world-wide military alert and check of its war potential? We Americans cannot overlook the fact that this Secretary of Defense was playing with planes that are loaded with A-bombs and this fiasco could have been the fiasco to end all fiascos. Even more, on coming back to Washington, this head of all our armed forces stated that he had decided the Summit would not be a success, therefore he ordered the alert. This military man so decided! Is not this the most dangerous and irresponsible kind of brinkmanship?

The simple truth is that to continue discussing peace under such conditions would be to condone double-dealing, to condone actions of war and preparations for war camouflaged with talk of peace. To conduct discussions under such circumstances would be to betray the cause of peace itself.

But again, there is nothing surprising in all this. Is this not the same Administration that only a few years ago went into the Pacific, brutally removed the population of a number of islands, set up A-bomb testing grounds on Bikini, poisoned their fishing areas, and permitted a shower of radioactive fallout on these peoples. And when they protested they also did not get so much as an apology or a pledge to stop such tests. Maybe if we, the people of the United States, had then raised a cry against such indecent, immoral and inhuman and illegal conduct against defenseless people, there would now be different standards of conduct by our government in world affairs. We who know about Willie McGee, the Parker Lynching, Tom Mooney, the brutality against our comrade Henry Winston, the Rosenbergs, Sacco

that was to fly from one end of the Soviet Union to the other taking pictures, tapping radar, and carrying on other such espionage activities.

One may say that the Soviet leaders showed patience and tact and tried to save the Summit. They tried to give Eisenhower a way out by saying that most likely he did not know about it. But Ike would have none of that, and went blundering ahead after being caught not only red-handed but in a web of outright lies. He boasted that it was a spy plane and that they had been at this game for some time. He arrogantly announced that they would continue to ignore the rights of sovereign states and international law whenever they thought it necessary. And they actually publicly announced the date on which such flights would resume. The date was *the same day as the opening of the Summit conference.*

### THE COLD WAR MUST END

The undeniable fact is that as long as the basic policies of the cold war continue, there can be no successful negotiations at the Summit. Yes, we have reached a new phase in world relations. What the Summit proves beyond the shadow of a doubt is that all policies of "massive retaliation," of dealing from "positions of strength," of double-dealing, of speaking from both sides of one's mouth, in fact all policies flowing from ideas of U.S. superiority, have come to a dead end.

The policies initiated after the second world war must be basically changed. The only successful foreign policy for the United States is a policy of coexistence, a policy of live and let live, a basic, honest policy of peace.

This latest stage of the cold war, the stage of double-dealing by talking peace but preparing for war, has now crashed. It crashed with the U-2 spy plane.

Yet, after all that has happened, when the realities of life have so decisively rejected the Dulles policy of brinkmanship, only this morning Secretary of State Herrer again states to the world concerning John Foster Dulles: "His wise



Before Adenauer's arrival, a correspondent asks Eisenhower:

When we move into these new negotiations on Berlin could you tell us whether we will be guided by the same standards, namely, that any solution must guarantee Allied rights and protect the freedom of West Berliners?

Eisenhower replies:

I can't guarantee anything of this kind for the simple reason I don't know what kind of a solution may finally prove acceptable, as I say, but you must start out with this. The situation is abnormal. It was brought about by a truce, a military truce, after the end of the war, an armistice, and it put strangely a few—or a number of free people—in a very awkward position.

Now we have got to find a system that will be really acceptable to all the people in that region.

Now, here is a news item from a conference held on March 16, after Adenauer left. The President is indirectly quoted by the *New York Times* as follows:

President Eisenhower said at a news conference that he was determined to stand fast on Allied rights in Berlin. He is prepared to talk with Premier Khrushchev about Berlin, the President said, but not to allow the West's position there to be weakened.

Which Eisenhower is the world to take at face value? Under Secretary of State Dillon tops this by his public statement: "We are determined to maintain our presence in Berlin." And almost daily all of the public officials, starting with Eisenhower, make statements that they have no confidence in the Summit, that no one should expect much from it, and that they are going only because there is nothing else to be done about it.

Then, as a part of this pattern of development and in this setting, comes the provocative flight of the military plane

and Vanzetti—we should not be taken by surprise at such conduct.

## HOW THE COLD WAR BEGAN

Most Americans who have expressed criticism of the Eisenhower Administration have castigated it for its blunders and its clumsiness, for lying and ineptness. We Communists have no quarrel with this as far as it goes. But we must ask: Is this really the whole story? If we look deeper, I am sure we will see that these are only surface manifestations of the real problems involved. This is important because one could very easily draw the erroneous conclusion that if Washington would only stop making stupid blunders, everything would be alright. Even Rockefeller is against blunders, while fully supporting the war policy. What has to be understood is that *the policy itself* is the blunder.

A deeper investigation will show that these blunders are only the warning ice floes heralding the dangerous, immovable iceberg. These are the warnings of a crisis in policy—warnings that say we must change course. What is now appearing on the surface is a crisis in the cold war policy—an old policy that has deep roots.

During the past 15 years or so, this policy has been called by many names: "containment," "massive retaliation," "preventive war," "brinkmanship," and so on. But essentially it is all one and the same cold-war policy. Its architects are many—Acheson, Dulles, Truman and others. But in essence it remains the same aggressive imperialist policy of war. The aim is not war for the sake of war, but rather domination for the purpose of exploitation of other peoples.

After the close of the second world war, the big Wall Street corporations "cased the joint." Like the pirates they are, they saw the world as ripe for the taking. Most countries were weak from the war against the Nazi armies. The people were tired, and sick of war. The profit-greedy men of capital had the monopoly on the new, terrifying weapon. They had the only stockpile of A-bombs in the world. They had already calculated that after they had shown the power of this bomb



by dropping it on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the war-weary nations of the world would capitulate out of fear. And so was started the most massive drive ever launched by a group of monopoly giants to control the world. Great Britain was easily reduced to the role of a junior partner. Japan was under the heel of an occupation authority. West Germany was also in safe hands, under the direction of their own hand-picked occupation superintendent.

One big obstacle blocked the success of their drive—the Soviet Union. This, therefore, became their chief target. The Soviet Union was made to appear as the villain, and was painted as the main source of danger to the world. The thieves cried, "Stop, thief!"

Some might say that this is a fable, that I am manufacturing this story. But is it? Even in 1945, before the first successful explosion of the A-bomb, Truman saw it as a weapon in the drive that had already been launched. His present son-in-law, Mr. Daniels, reports how at Potsdam, while waiting for the news of the A-bomb explosion, Truman said: "If it explodes, as I think it will, I'll certainly have a hammer on those people, the Russians."

On March 4th of this year, Governor Rockefeller reviewed this piece of history as follows:

After the war we had a nuclear stockpile which was a monopoly. We developed a capacity to destroy any nation of the world at will. And let us note right here that the use of nuclear weapons is the basis for American strategy. We can't say we can't use nuclear weapons. Because that is our strategy as a nation, that is our policy."

I can't say I have ever agreed with the head of the world's oil monopoly more fully. That has been and that is indeed still the basic policy. It is *this* policy that is now bankrupt. And what is most important, it is bankrupt not for a moment, not temporarily, but for all time.

In his private diary, the late Senator Vandenberg relates how the F.D.R. policy of cooperation on a world basis was

if it had not been for America's delaying tactics." A member of Eisenhower's Science Advisory Committee, Dr. Hans Bethe, said: "The Russians have got the impression, and I think rightly, that whenever one demand has been fulfilled, we make another."

This same pattern has been followed for many years, starting with the founding convention of the United Nations in San Francisco. One can trace it throughout all the negotiations around the banning of the atom bomb, disarmament and peaceful use of atomic energy.

## UNDERMINING THE SUMMIT

The date for the Summit meeting was set. This was the meeting to set the stage and put the machinery in motion for peace and disarmament. This was a gathering at which some understanding might be reached on what even Eisenhower called the abnormal situation of Berlin.

But no sooner was the conference set than Washington announced its intention of placing nuclear weapons in the hands of the vindictive, Nazi-infested West German militarists. This was followed by the signing of a military pact with Japan which provides for aggressive war bases for the United States for the next ten years. This, in turn, was followed by the aggressive, war-like speeches of Secretary of State Herter, of Under Secretary Dillon and others on Berlin.

Just picture this scene, if you will. Here we are approaching the most important meeting of our time. The President makes an announcement from the golf course that he will spend only a few days at the Summit because he had a date with one of the few remaining fascist dictators left, the dictator of Portugal. Therefore he will let Vice-President Nixon take over from him. And a few days before the Summit, West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer makes one of his regular pilgrimages to Washington. Ike completely forgets his statement about the abnormal status of Berlin and joins in a public statement pledging that there will be no change in this abnormal situation.



liberation initiated a world-wide drive for peace and peaceful coexistence. No force in the world has been able to resist or ignore this drive. And even some in the ranks of big business began to have serious questions—not, to be sure, about the morality of their policy, but rather about the practicality of carrying it out in the new world situation. And so the cold-war policy of brinkmanship began to flounder.

Its supporters and its spokesmen faced a dilemma. They could neither carry out their policy nor did they want to give it up. Hoping against all odds that some developments at home would rescue them from this difficult situation, they were ready to do anything except give up their dream of conquest. This is the background from which was born the policy of double-dealing, of taking hesitating steps in the direction of peace, of taking part in negotiations, of even basking in the sunlight of the spirit of Geneva and Camp David while at the same time continuing the policies of the cold war in most sectors of activity. This double-dealing has given Washington the appearance of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Thus, Eisenhower reached some understanding at Camp David in the direction of peace, but then went to Congress and asked for the largest peace-time war budget on record.

The double-dealing is not difficult to document. The path is strewn with rejections of proposals by the Soviet Union for disarmament. But the picture is even more sinister. On a number of occasions, the U.S.—usually because of the prodding and pressure of one or another of its allies—has put forth proposals moving in the direction of peace. But every time the Soviet Union has stated its agreement to a given proposal, the United States has shifted its position and placed itself in *opposition to its own proposals*.

After watching the present negotiations in Geneva, the columnist Marquis Childs reported: "The Soviets have made one concession after another, coming around time after time to the Western view." He further reports British spokesmen as saying: "A treaty with adequate guarantees could have been reached possibly any time during the past nine months

deliberately destroyed and replaced with the present policy of cold war. Truman met the Soviet spokesmen and in the most insulting manner placed impossible demands on them. Vandenberg reports how Secretary of State Stettinius, of U.S. Steel fame, excitedly hailed this turn of events. He said: "Stettinius immediately met our delegation and gave us a thrilling message. The new President has just sent a blunt message to Stalin including a general demand for Frisco cooperation. This is the best news in months. FDR's appeasement of Russia is over. Russia may withdraw from the United Nations conference. If it does, the conference will proceed without Russia." And he ended by saying: "Now we are getting somewhere."

In speaking to his Cabinet at the time, Truman expressed the following thought about the founding convention of the United Nations in San Francisco: "If the Russians did not wish to join us in San Francisco, they could go to hell." And just so no one gets the idea that Eisenhower is a newcomer to this policy, let us see what *he* said in 1949 when he was President of Columbia University. He was a member of a committee there, studying the interesting subject "American Education and International Tensions." The committee's report stated in part: "East-West tensions will keep the world in a state of cold war for years to come. We must maintain our part in the cold war."

It is necessary for all Americans to recall this background in order to see in proper perspective the present policies and the present crisis in international relations.

## WALL STREET PIRACY

The basic idea of American big business taking over the riches of the world was born in the lair of the high lords of finance in Wall Street. Their men in public life gave the idea an acceptable political cloak. Their ideologists set to work to cover this contemplated piracy with an ideological sugar-coating. Thus were born such cold-war phrases as "the iron curtain," "the fight for survival," "the Communist menace," and many others. The rise of McCarthyism with its



hysteria was an integral part of this conspiracy. The plan was carefully laid out. Each step was carefully calculated.

And so there began the build-up of the most extensive chain of overseas military bases ever seen. The United States now has no less than 250 overseas military bases in 70 foreign lands.

So, too, was born the policy of military and financial alliances anchored on the corrupt, dictatorial, hated puppet governments of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee, on the present reactionary government of South Viet Nam, on Franco, Salazar, Batista and Trujillo, on the dictators of Turkey and Greece.

And so, also, our national life was molded to fit the pattern of the cold war.

Most of the top leaders of the trade unions fell into step. The AFL set up its own world-wide arm under the leadership of the political swindler Jay Lovestone, for the purpose of disarming and disrupting the unity of the trade unions all over the world. For this same purpose the State Department assigned representatives of labor to its main embassies. The unions put on their own anti-Communist drive, which has continued unabated to this day. Only a few weeks ago, in the name of the AFL-CIO, Lovestone and Meany, with the blessing of Adenauer, staged a labor conference rigged in support of the cold-war policy and against any agreement at the Summit.

The world was at peace, but the war budgets grew bigger and bigger and the war profits rolled in. The world was at peace, but taxes kept going up to pay for all these elaborate schemes of conquest. The world was at peace, but the cold-war tensions were fired by every possible means. The plans were being executed. Dulles put the State Department into a jet plane and was in perpetual motion, flying from one corner of the world to another.

The policy of conquest was not without success. The overseas private investments of Wall Street rose from \$7.3 billion in 1940 to \$27.1 billion in 1958. Now these figures run over \$90 billion. These are the official figures, but many



sources such as *Fortune* magazine admit the right figure is at the \$50-\$60 billion level. The profit rate on these investments runs 12 to 20 percent. From 1946 to 1957, the volume of profits for Wall Street from these investments rose 250 percent.

### NEW COLD-WAR TACTICS

But as they say, the best-laid plans of mice and men do go astray. The world did not sit still or wait to be pushed around by Wall Street. The first setback was the stubborn refusal of the Soviet Union to buckle under. This was followed by the victory of the Chinese people over the peanut dictator Chiang Kai-shek. And then came the most shattering of all developments—the break in the monopoly of the A-bomb.

Soviet scientists surprised the world with their accomplishment. But this was only the first of many shocks and surprises to come. The powerful new world system of socialist nations has made its appearance. This socialist world has outstripped all world records in the rate of economic growth. The sputniks and the payloads to the moon have all heralded the superiority of socialist science. And during all these years the world movement for peace has grown stronger and gathered ever new forces.

In the midst of all these developments there has taken place another unnerving and shattering blow to the plans of the cold warriors. Under the leadership of the Soviet Union, the socialist nations in cooperation with a large bloc of neutral nations and the colonial peoples, in the process of