

Rank-and-File Group In Bakery Union

(See Page 4)

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XXI - No. 51

NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1957

PRICE 10c

Seasons Greetings, 1957

MERRY CHRISTMAS!



Jobless Total in Steady Climb Throughout U.S.

Unemployment in November reached 3.2 million according to the conservative estimates of the U.S. Departments of Labor and Commerce and total employment declined. This was the highest jobless figure for any November since 1949 — a recession year. It marked an increase of 680,000 over October.

Personal income dropped \$1 billion for the month of November, the bulk of this drop among production workers in durable goods (television, auto, refrigerator, etc.) manufacturing industries. This particular statistic reflected not only the climbing unemployment, but also the cut in the work week in some plants and shops.

Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, Chief Economist of the United States Chamber of Commerce has warned the American business community to expect a recession "at least as severe" as the downturn of 1949 and 1954.

The approaching Xmas season — holiday spirit, general good cheer and the rest — did not deter the business executives of the nation from mapping out layoff plans. A news round-up by the Wall Street Journal (Dec. 18) tells the grim story. Many of the familiar big names of American industry admit plans for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes

General Motors, Trailmobile, Radio Corporation of America, Philco, Ford Motor, General Electric and Westinghouse.

STEEL PRODUCTION FALLS
The steel industry has been steadily cutting back production, and industry spokesmen predict that the month of December will be their worst month. Non-ferrous metal producers (copper, aluminum, etc.) have what they call their private recession which is now a year and half old.

The metal working industry as a whole is dropping in production. All commodities in movement as reflected by car loading figures show a decline. Meanwhile, U.S. exports are shrinking. For a number of reasons foreign countries are finding it more difficult to put out dollars to buy American goods and are imposing controls that cut down imports from the U.S.

In short, these and many other reports on the economic situation point up re-emergence of traditional difficulties of the capitalist economy when its productive powers outproduce the available market. Big Business spokesmen, their press agents and crystal-ball gazers are united in a hope that the end of 1958 will see a resumption of business prosperity. They base their hope upon a new and bigger arms program

stimulated by the missile development.

Many favored corporations are in for more lush profits but it is not assured that the missile program will mean a significant jump in employment. For one thing, while more Federal money will pour into that program it will undoubtedly be accompanied by a cut in what has now become obsolete or less important military fields.

Little Rock Negro Student Suspended

Minnie Jean Brown, 16 years old, one of the nine Negro students who have braved racist terror and harassment to attend Central High School in Little Rock, Ark. was suspended by school authorities last week for a minimum of 3 days. According to the school superintendent, a white boy in the school cafeteria blocked the aisle through which Miss Brown was carrying a tray of food. "She lost her temper," the superintendent said, "and dumped her food on the white boy." The boy was not suspended. Another school official said the students present said the incident "could have been an accident."

Racists Win Voting Curb In Alabama

Alabama racists struck a new blow at the Constitutional rights of Negroes when they jammed through passage of a referendum, Dec. 17, abolishing Macon County which has a predominantly Negro population. The county will now be divided among neighboring counties to fragment its Negro vote.

The measure, which was sponsored by State Senator Sam Englehardt, leader of the Alabama White Citizens Councils, will next go before a state legislative committee for ironing out of legal loopholes.

HIGH VOTE AGAINST

While the white supremacists won passage of the measure, the vote on it was far from the victory they anticipated with the results indicating little popular enthusiasm for it. With 1,900 of Alabama's 2,780 counties reporting, the measure has a majority of 58,000 votes to 40,000.

Particularly significant was the number of people who did not vote on the issue at all. Only 25% of the state's registered voters took a stand on the referendum. Of eight state-wide issues that won passage only one polled a lower vote than the Macon County measure.

In Mobile County, the second largest in the state, the proposition was defeated by a five to three vote. In Jefferson County, the most populated in the state, it barely squeaked through by a margin of 15,000 votes to 14,000.

Meanwhile, the action was assailed by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In a statement issued Dec. 18, he declared that with this deprivation of the political rights of Alabama Negroes, "Congress . . . should reduce the number of its Representatives from Alabama in compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment . . ." The amendment provides for reduction of representation in proportion to the number of citizens illegally deprived of their vote.

N. Y. Subway Workers Hit Sellouts by Quill

By Fred Halstead

New York City's eight-day subway strike, which ended Dec. 16 when striking motormen voted to return to work, was basically a militant rank-and-file revolt against low-wage, sweetheart agreements between the employing Transit Authority and the bureaucracy of the Transport Workers Union headed by Michael J. Quill.

Here is the background of the strike: Negotiations for a new contract covering 32,000 hourly paid employees on the city-owned subway system were scheduled to begin around the first of the year. Present wages are low, ranging from \$1.79 per hour for porters to \$2.32 for motormen. Purchasing power of a motorman's take-home pay is actually lower than it was in 1941.

Despite all kind of militant-sounding demagoguery by Quill, there had never been a subway strike by the TWU to correct these shameful low wages. The TWU is the industrial union to which the transit workers had until recently generally adhered.

In 1955, Quill made a deal — based on his political connections with the Democratic Party machine — with the Transit Authority, a joint city-state body appointed by Mayor Wagner and Governor Harriman.

QUILL'S GIVEAWAYS

The TA recognized the TWU as sole bargaining agent for subway employees and gave it a dues check-off. The next contract provided for insignificant wage increases. It actually resulted in a loss to the workers by giving up the right to sick pay for the first day of illness and by securing the union's cooperation in a program of increased work loads, particularly affecting the motormen.

Quill hailed this contract as a great victory and brutally suppressed opposition to it within the TWU. The lack of democracy within the TWU tended to force the widespread discontent into activity outside the union and a number of craft unions were formed seeking separate bargaining rights. One of these, the Motormen's Benevolent Association, was established in 1956.

That summer it led a brief strike over conditions.

The MBA, all of whose officers are working motormen, claimed 2,600 of the 3,197 motormen and demanded the right to represent them in the coming negotiations. The Transit Authority announced it would deal with only one union, the one which would win a system-wide representation election scheduled for Dec. 16. Since the TWU was the only established union claiming system-wide membership, it could not lose. On Sunday, Dec. 8, a meeting of 1,200 MBA members voted to strike the next morning — protesting the election and demanding craft recognition.

Mayor Wagner declared the strike "illegal." The TA announced it would operate the subways and replace anyone who struck. Four of the MBA leaders, Theodore Loos, MBA president, Augustine Johnson, Edwin Kiser and Louis Steinfield were arrested minutes before the 5 A. M. strike deadline.

Quill, who claimed 2,300 of the

motormen, ordered 200 of his "organizers" to terminals to "advise our people to remain at work." He loudly declared: "The subway strike is not going to happen." But the motormen walked out just the same.

In court proceedings against the strike leaders, it was revealed that the Transit Authority was using labor spies against the MBA. A "bug" microphone was discovered in the MBA office and a reporter found evidence of a wire-tap on the MBA phone.

The New York Herald Tribune ran an editorial entitled: "Fire the Strikers." The N.Y. Times insisted on no compromise with the "illegal" strike.

Both the New York City CIO Council, headed by Quill, and the Central Trades and Labor Council denounced the strikers and insisted on "no compromise" by the city government. Not a single prominent AFL-CIO leader spoke out publicly against the strike-breaking and labor-spying used against the motormen.

(Continued on page 4)

Allies Insist U.S. Govt. Must Talk with USSR

Face Thorny Problems



President Eisenhower (left) and British Prime Minister Macmillan during their Bermuda conference last spring. Shortly afterward Britain announced major arms cuts, declaring there is no present defense against the consequence of nuclear attack. At the current NATO conference Macmillan is supporting the idea of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

Indonesian Army Takes Control of Dutch Holding

DEC. 19 — The Indonesian Army last week took over control of virtually all Dutch-owned properties in the country. Many of these had been seized by the workers

in the course of a campaign against Dutch imperialism that began Dec. 3. Total Dutch investments in the islands—the former Dutch East Indies—are estimated from \$1 to \$1.5 billion.

The Army chief of staff, Abdul Harris Nasution, has ordered all army commanders throughout the country to place Dutch enterprises under their management. At the same time he has forbidden the workers from carrying through any further seizures. In practice, army control means little change in the management of the Dutch holdings. "In most cases," writes Walter Briggs from Jakarta in the Nov. 16 New York Herald Tribune, "Dutch enterprises have continued to operate with Dutchmen in control, and an Indonesian corporal stays posted outside as a symbol of the Army's protection and the nation's authority."

WANT BIGGER SHARE

This does not mean, however, that government seizures of Dutch properties are mere formalities. The Indonesian capitalist class, whose interests the government represents, wants to weaken Dutch imperialism's hold on the economy and gain a greater share for itself. Furthermore, the seizures allow the government to invite U.S. capital to replace Dutch ownership in the enterprises on terms that give more leeway to Indonesian interests. It is for this limited goal that the Indonesian government initiated the take-over policy. But Indonesian capitalists fear the workers carrying through the seizures, because whenever this happened in the past two weeks the workers

established control over the Dutch holdings. This is a revolutionary step in the direction of eliminating capitalist ownership altogether. To block it, the army has hastened to take over the Dutch properties.

The Communist Party leadership is also opposed to workers' seizures and to workers' control. "For the most part the Indonesian workers who began taking over Dutch enterprises two weeks ago were not affiliated with the Communist Party as has been widely but inaccurately reported in the outside world," wrote Tillman Durdin in the Dec. 16 New York Times. Most of the worker groups were affiliated with the Nationalist party and the union that took over the Dutch KPM shipping company headquarters had the reputation of being an anti-Communist union.

"Communist-line members of the National Advisory Council [top advisory body to Indonesian President Sukarno] are known to have actually spoken against the worker take-overs and called such moves ill-disciplined 'anarcho-syndicalism.' The Communists advocated an orderly program of government take-overs such as the system that now has been put into effect."

Despite Army chief Nasution's prohibition of further worker seizures of Dutch property, the movement has spread from Java — principal island of Indonesia — to Sumatra and Borneo. This is a new development for these islands which have been centers of rightist rebellions against the Sukarno government during the past year.

AEC Admits Radiation Danger By Cutting 'Safe' Limit 67 Pct.

In a damaging admission about its long efforts to deliberately minimize the extent of the risk involved in exposure to atomic radiation, the Atomic Energy Commission announced Dec. 10 that it has ordered a 67% cut in the permissible levels of radiation exposure for atomic workers and for those living in the area of atomic facilities. The AEC action serves to underscore the real extent of the danger involved in atomic radiation, which is also the basis for the world-wide demand to halt nuclear-arms testing. The decision also confirms the charges made by leading geneticists of the danger to future generations caused by exposure to such radiation.

The new regulations are aimed primarily at limiting exposure during the reproductive years, particularly up to the age of 30. For the first time a limit is set on the total accumulated exposure that an atomic worker may receive over the years.

NATO Meeting Votes Renewed Negotiations

By George Lavan

U.S. imperialism suffered a setback in foreign policy at the recent Paris conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The NATO nations, whom the U.S. State Department has heretofore al-

ways been able to cajole or bulldoze into line, almost unanimously insisted that some sort of negotiations with the Soviet Union be entered into.

In the week prior to the conference Washington had cavalierly dismissed, as unworthy of consideration and mere "mischievous-making," the letters of Soviet Premier Bulganin to NATO powers in which he proposed negotiations to lessen the military tensions between the Soviet and capitalist blocs. Eisenhower and Dulles arrived in Europe with such words of refusal on their lips. The U.S. did not even have the subject on its proposed agenda for the confab of the rulers of the 15 NATO nations. But these spokesmen for the America's Big Business government not only had to spend most of their time on this subject and to eat their earlier words, but they ended up voting for discussions with Soviet representatives in the near future.

NO PRESSURE FOR AGREEMENT

There is no indication that the NATO nations who forced the recommendation for talks with the Soviet diplomats insist that any agreement come out of these talks. There is certainly no indication that they are demanding a "big-deal" compromise of conflicts between imperialism,

and the Soviet bloc on a world scale. Why then were the NATO politicians so insistent that talks with the USSR be begun? What is their aim?

There has been a tremendous rise in anti-war feeling among the masses of all countries since sputnik announced the age of missile warfare. The prospect of H-bomb destruction from rockets that fly 10,000 miles per hour and descend from outer space, thus beyond interception by any plane — in fact unstoppable, has horrified the people of Europe. All the more so since their politicians have aligned their countries in a military pact against the nation now most advanced in rocketry — the USSR. In every European parliament the opposition parties are taking advantage of this popular feeling to make things difficult for the parties in office.

Thus chief executives of the NATO powers (14 of them were there, all except Portuguese dictator Salazar) felt it was stupidity or selfish unconcern for the U.S. to stubbornly refuse even to engage in the high-level discussions publicly proposed by the Soviet rulers.

This refusal, the European politicians believe, only serves to confirm the healthy suspicions of the masses of the people in

(Continued on page 2)

Foster Renews Warfare On Daily Worker Editor

By Harry Ring

William Z. Foster has launched a renewal of open factional warfare against the wing of the Communist Party leadership headed by Daily Worker editor John

Gates. Foster's battle cry is the need to "liquidate . . . the revisionism which has almost wrecked the Party. At the same time party secretary Eugene Dennis who has tried to play a balance-of-power role in the fight, is branded by Foster as having "done much to deepen and prolong the Party crisis. . . . Dennis has never taken a firm stand against Revisionism, a course which has tended to appease and conciliate it."

Foster's attack is contained in a lengthy document written last October and now being generally circulated among the members of the Communist Party. Its first section also appears in the December issue of the Political Affairs, with the balance slated for publication next month.

Some of the material is identical with that contained in a recent article by Foster in the Soviet publication Communist and reported in the Dec. 9 N.Y. Times. There Foster also assails Gates for "revisionism." The present article is fashioned as a polemic against Alexander Bittleman, a Dennis supporter, who wrote a twelve-installment tract in the Daily Worker last October entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look."

Aiming beyond Bittleman, Foster charges the Gates group with responsibility for the crisis that has gripped the CP for the past year and a half. He writes: "The Revisionist campaign of liquidationism . . . is what immediately precipitated the Party into crisis . . . Veteran Party members . . . collapsed un-

(Continued on page 4)

Sputnik, 'Eggheads' And U.S. Students

By Milton Alvin

The launching of the Soviet Sputniks has produced something new in the thinking of the American ruling class. They have suddenly become aware of the fact that science and the study of scientific subjects are not held in high esteem by American youth. Attempts are being made to overcome this lack of appreciation. In the television program "Wide World," sponsored by the General Motors Corporation, the world's largest profit maker, a serious effort to convince the audience that the pursuit of scientific studies is necessary and rewarding led to a series of crude but revealing facts regarding the status of science in America.

It seems that high school students are, in the main, not interested in studying science. The reasons they give vary from the difficulties of the subject matter to the relatively low esteem in which the scientists are held by the public.

'EGGHEAD' IN COMEBACK

Underlying this particular effort over TV was an attempt to rehabilitate the so-called "egghead," one of the victims of the witch hunt. Some of the eminent scientists interviewed and the narrator, Dave Garrow, made specific reference to the fact that "eggheads," that is, people who think, should be revered and not ridiculed.

The naval commander of the atomic submarine Nautilus, who appeared on the program, referred to lectures he attended at the University of California given by Dr. Oppenheimer, a prominent victim of the witch hunt during its McCarthyite period.

The entire program, in the words of its narrator, Garrow, sought to answer the question of what happens to the American child, who at the age of six shows a lively interest around him, and who at sixteen is no longer interested in science.

The one-and-a-half hour attempt only hinted at the correct answer. In American society, where the symbols of success are the Cadillac car and the mink coat, the youth quickly learn that a career in the world of science does not reward one on this scale. All media of mass publicity make heroes and heroines of those who achieve the pinnacle whether they be movie stars, gangsters, athletes or corporation executives. One must be a "star" of some kind to reach the goal.

Contributions to the welfare

The British Electrical Union Election

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

In the past few weeks the Electrical Trades Union, the last Stalinist-controlled trade union in Britain has been subjected to a fierce attack through every medium of capitalist propaganda. The focal point of the attack is an election recently held for an important union post, in which the candidates were Les Cannon, who resigned from the Communist Party a year ago in protest at the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, and a Stalinist candidate called Frazer. Cannon was sacked from his job as a paid official of the ETU several months earlier, allegedly on economy grounds, but in fact—so many members believed—because of his opposition to Stalinism. It was natural that much interest should center on the election, since if Cannon won he would be a constant thorn in the flesh of leaders whose methods and affairs he knew far more about than was healthy for them.

RULES MUST BE UPHOLD

He did not win. Five branches where solid majorities for Cannon were a certainty had their votes disqualified. Because of the Cannon majorities? Oh no, protested the ETU leaders. Nothing of the kind. There were voting irregularities. The rules were broken. For thirty years the general secretary had been charged with examining union elections and making sure that the rules were observed. He would not have been doing his job if he had allowed the

votes of these five branches to be counted.

Nasty-minded critics were slow to point out that precisely similar irregularities in the voting had taken place in a branch in the north of England where the majority was for Frazer, but the leadership had turned a blind eye. And from the town of Reading came accounts from two neighboring branches, one pro-Cannon, the other pro-Frazer. Both had sent their voting returns in to the head office a couple of days late. The first had received back a letter saying this breach of the rules could not possibly be overlooked, and the vote was therefore discounted; the second a letter saying there was a breach of rules, but head office found it possible to overlook it this time, only don't let it happen again on any account.

All this of course was calculated to make a field day for the reactionary Press, which seized on such stories and ran them day after day in a crescendo of witch-hunting. A former Labor MP called Woodrow Wyatt who has won fame as a television interviewer persuaded a number of rank-and-file ETU members to appear on TV; all but one of them had their backs to the camera, and in some cases their voices were disguised; they were scared of being expelled from the union and of losing their jobs in consequence, it was said. Next day one of them accused Wyatt of sensationalizing the whole thing. He for one had never asked to be "protected" in this way, and the way the program was turned into a stunt was not his cup of tea at all, and he dissociated himself from it. Needless to say,

this ordinary ETU member's protest got very little prominence in the press.

The ETU leaders' case is that Cannon would have lost even if the votes of the disqualified branches were counted. But they refuse to put the matter to the test by holding the election again.

Now all this quite clearly raises some pretty important questions of principle for militants, socialist and rank-and-file communists inside the ETU. Clearly the capitalist Press attack on their union is not motivated by pure-minded, disinterested regard for the health and strength of that union and its effectiveness in the defense of its members. It is no coincidence that this attack comes at the same time as a general offensive, in which Britain's Tory Government has joined, against the workers' living standards, wages and jobs. Already, in such organs of the British capitalist class as *The Times* and *The Economist*, the demand has been openly raised for a general inquiry into trade unions and general legislation to curb their power. Clearly the ETU members, and other militants, must defend their union against an attack which, if successful, would be only the prelude to a more far-reaching onslaught on working-class organizations.

LEADERS TO BLAME

Equally clearly, however, the defense of the ETU as an organization by no means implies the defense of its leaders' policies and practices. On the contrary, by acting in an undemocratic (and, it might be added, uncommunist) way these leaders are simply playing into the

hands of the capitalist press and feeding them with ammunition for the attack on trade unionism. To militant electricians their employers are the main enemy—but when their leaders play into the hands of the capitalist class by misusing the rule book against critics and dissenters such as Cannon, then those who have the interests of their union at heart must come out in its defense in their own way.

The essence of the ETU leadership's action in this affair (and it is this that makes them a sitting target for red-baiting journalists) is that they are unable to answer the political criticism from the left. This of course is a reflection, in a specific form, of the crisis of British Stalinism, of its inability to cope with the truth it sought so long to hide. Against the weapon of truth ETU general secretary Frank Haxell and president Frank Foulkes can only deploy the weapon of procedure. Socialist electricians criticize them from the standpoint of principle—and they yield the rule book in reply. This formalistic approach of a bureaucracy determined to cling on to its power and privileges even if in the process the union is harried, smashed, wrecked as an effective working-class weapon, extends now to revisions in the rules, which limit members' rights in a way that is clearly directed against the left. For instance, members' right of appeal is limited, and circularization of other members is forbidden.

FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS

ETU militants are now faced with the need to take the de-

fense of their union into their own hands, and to fight on two fronts: against Fleet Street, the heart of the capitalist Press, and King Street, the heart of British Stalinism. It is a colossal task, but if not undertaken Fleet Street and King Street between them will deliver the union into the hands of the Right-wingers who are simply waiting on the sidelines. Only the militants, under Marxist leadership, can restore the confidence of ETU members in the union's leadership; restore democratic rights; end the rigging of elections and other abuses; and transform the ETU into a sound and reliable instrument of working-class advance. The militants have now launched a three-point campaign for democracy and probity inside the ETU.

Their first demand is for a national committee of inquiry, democratically elected by the rank and file of the union, to investigate its entire machinery and report back to the branches. Secondly, the militants are demanding that the salaries of ETU officials be cut immediately to the ordinary wage of a skilled electrician, and that all expenses be cut to the necessary out-of-pocket expenses entailed in the day-to-day business of the union.

TOO CUSHY

Despite all the talk of "economy," the steady decline in the union's funds, and the steady approach of a period of probably quite intensive class struggle in Britain, many members think Foulkes and Haxell and their immediate colleagues do themselves very well in the way of expenses, big motor-cars,

well-appointed offices and luxury hotel accommodations when they are out of London. There is no suggestion of financial dishonesty; the point is that leaders who style themselves communists, while clearly their efficiency would be impaired if they had money worries, ought at the same time to live modestly and soberly at the level of their own members.

WANT NEW ELECTION

Thirdly, the militants call for the election for which Cannon and Frazer were candidates to be held afresh, so that confidence in the union's electoral machinery can be restored and the attacks of the capitalist Press can be replied to in the most effective way: in democratic deeds.

This is the only principled way in which the crisis in the ETU can be solved. Any other way would lead to big setbacks. The Stalinists who screw their eyes up tight and cover their ears or who brand critics as "wreckers," "saboteurs," "capitalist agents" and so forth—just as some of them did over criticism of the Soviet and Eastern European bureaucracies—are themselves helping to drag the good name of communism and of trade unionism through the mud. There are many rank-and-file communists in the ETU, however, who are deeply perturbed about the way their leaders are acting, and who in conversation with Marxists are being won for a joint fight to restore the union's good name, straighten out its affairs, and make it a really militant and really democratic weapon in the hands of Britain's electricians.

... NATO VOTES TALKS WITH USSR

(Continued from page 1)

Europe and throughout the world that it is Washington rather than Moscow that is pressing towards war. To counteract this feeling and thus ease the popular pressure on themselves, the European members of NATO want the U.S. to appear willing to negotiate.

During the past weeks, prominent U.S. Big Business politicians and newspapers have similarly insisted on the need for the American government to accept negotiations with the USSR. This has been a major point of emphasis in the speeches made by George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union over the British Broadcasting Company. It was also stressed by Adlai Stevenson, 1952 and 1956 Democratic Presidential candidate, in a Dec. 13 speech in Chicago. In a Dec. 9 editorial, the *New York Post* wrote, "... no matter how frustrating the process, we must always seem ready to talk."

That the European capitalists dare force onto Wall Street imperialism a tactical move serving their own interests is a reflection of the lessened awe in which it is held since the sputniks. The failure of U.S. imperialism to master the colonial revolution, which has spread from the Far East to the Middle East and North Africa, plus the revelation that it has been surpassed in military technology, has emboldened the European capitalists to demand certain revisions and adjustments in Washington's conduct of world imperialism's affairs.

The same pressure forced the U.S. to accept a compromise on the only important proposition it had to place before the conference—the establishment of IRBM (intermediate range ballistic missiles) launching bases on European soil. This was finally voted with the proviso that any member nation not wanting such bases could refuse them. Since the U.S. could previously make arrangements with the countries individually

for such bases—and had already done so with Great Britain—the NATO approval means little. Norway and Denmark have already strongly rejected the idea of such bases on their soil—as magnets for atomic retaliation the moment war broke out. The West German delegation has also indicated it does not want any.

The motivation, aim and dimensions of the "revolt" of the European capitalist nations against U.S. policy may be found by a careful reading of the news dispatches from Paris. Correspondent Ludwell Denny reported in the Dec. 17 *New York World-Telegram*: "The German government can't accept the American missile base plan now however much Chancellor Konrad Adenauer may desire, Sputnik vs. sputternik has shaken German public support for the NATO alliance. Even Prime Minister Harold Macmillan [of Great Britain] is facing opposition to the American plan from his own Tory right wing as well as from the Labor Party. He needs time to maneuver to hold his public."

'BRINK OF APPEASEMENT'

In the Dec. 19 *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* Roscoe Drummond reports from Paris: "This [to gain time] is why such a rocklike ally as Chancellor Konrad Adenauer wants, without surrendering any basic position of his pro-Western policy, to explore the negotiating potential of the Bulgarian letters to NATO before accepting American missiles. He is not fooled by Moscow and he is not wishful. He knows that he must reshape German public opinion before he can do otherwise and he needs time to do it. In varying degrees that is true in most of the NATO countries. . . It is accurate to say that there was no appeasement sentiment at the NATO conference table. But there is a new kind of brinkmanship—a willingness to venture to the brink of appeasement in the hope that nobody will be pushed over."

Robert C. Doty, reporting the conference for the *New York Times* (Dec. 19), wrote: "... political and public opinion among member nations indicated that popular support for the decisions taken here could be obtained only if measures for the military, political and economic strengthening of the alliance were accompanied by proof that Western Allies were ready to discuss with the Soviet Union ways of easing world tension." And further, "... in rallying world opinion to the support of the West, the leaders of the Atlantic Pact nations must be prepared to demonstrate at every juncture that they prefer a settlement of the conflict with communism by negotiation to a continuation of the conflict."

NATO PURPOSE

The plan to create NATO, the greatest peacetime military coalition in history, was conceived by U.S. imperialism along with the Marshall plan. Its formal founding took place in 1949. It was the center of the system of mili-

Will They Meet Again?



President Eisenhower (right) and Soviet Premier Bulganin at the Geneva conference in July 1955. At that time world pressure against the mounting war drive compelled the U.S. to put on a show of negotiating the issues of the cold war. Since the launching of Sputnik numerous figures in top U.S. circles are proposing a renewal of the posture of negotiations.

tary alliances and air bases around the USSR that constituted U.S. preparation to launch an attack—"preventive war" was the nicer name—on the Soviet Union and its East European buffer states. With economic and armaments aid the capitalist nations of Western Europe were to build up big armies. The U.S. would build air bases on their territory. The NATO armies would then have the mission of defending these air bases and stopping or holding up the Red Army and its tanks while the U.S. with its air superiority atom-bombed the USSR to impotence.

But the U.S. timetable for preventive war could not be carried out even when the military preparations had all been completed. Revolution swept Asia. The imperialists were compelled to retire or were driven out of one country after another. Worse yet China was swept by social revolution upsetting the whole balance of world power. The U.S. had to divert its main energies to trying to stop and throw back the wave of revolution in Asia. The difficulty of this task was brought home by the impossibility of winning even the war in Korea short of an all-out effort.

In addition, the U.S. monopoly of the A-bomb, on which the preventive war policy so heavily depended, was broken. The USSR succeeded in exploding the atom long before the date U.S. military planners had assumed it could. Woe was piled upon woe in 1953 when the revolutionary army in Viet Nam triumphed in the great battle at Dienbienphu and the USSR exploded an H-bomb.

and by propaganda and diplomatic maneuvers to persuade the world's peoples that it is peace-loving.

But it doesn't want to start a peace fever among its allies leading them to dismantle the war machines so painstakingly built up. More important is that it does not wish to undo the war-psychologizing of the American people—the result of ten years' assiduous political and propaganda labor, which has made possible the maintenance of the witch hunt so useful in keeping labor politically impotent and economically docile. Finally, the need to prop up the crisis-ridden capitalist economy with arms spending adds to Washington's reluctance to strike a consistent peace posture such as at the 1955 Geneva Conference.

The reaction of the NATO allies to sputnik is to demand that the U.S. put on a renewed show of negotiation with the USSR. Certainly the common people of the globe will welcome any tangible lessening of the war danger coming out of such negotiations—for example, the ending of the nuclear testing that poisons the atmosphere.

SOURCE OF WAR DRIVE

An overall diplomatic agreement between the USSR and the U.S. for an end to the cold war would be desirable for the Soviet bloc countries, since their systems require no wars, and for the working people of the world. It could be desirable to the imperialist governments only for a limited time at the very best. No "sacred" treaty will prevent imperialism from launching war when the circumstances become favorable—or even, if desperate enough, while they are still unfavorable—for the very workings of the economic system of capitalism impels it to war. Consequently, while the Soviet leaders, who pretend to be Marxists, are perfectly justified in an agreement with imperialism that would slow the latter's war drive, they have no justification for telling the world's masses that if the imperialists do sign a co-existence treaty the danger of war will have been permanently ended. That will have been ended only when capitalism has been ended.

GENEVA SMILES

Under U.S. direction the cold war began to cool off some. The war in Indo-China was settled at Geneva by a territorial compromise. Similarly with the war in Korea. In 1954, taking advantage of the Kremlin's repeated proposals for a co-existence deal, Eisenhower attended a "summit" conference in Geneva with the Soviet tops. Nothing tangible resulted, but Eisenhower emerged in the public's eyes more than ever a "man of peace." Why didn't even the Soviet leaders and the Communist newspapers throughout the world testify to the goodness and peaceful intentions of this general and head of the greatest war machine on earth?

U.S. imperialism's policy has marked contradictions. It does not give up the aim of eventual war against the Soviet bloc. Consequently it must maintain and continually expand its war machine and that of its allies despite the risks this entails. On the other hand, realizing that for an indefinite period circumstances are unfavorable for launching its war, it is not unwilling to improve its position by negotiations with its enemy

A. J. Muste Speaks at N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK, Dec. 15—A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum-For Socialist Education, was the guest speaker tonight at the Militant Labor Forum. His subject was "Radical Parties and Socialist Regroupment."

The meeting opened on an extremely moving note. Muste was introduced by Militant staff writer Art Preis, who began his activity in the union movement in the 1930's as a member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which was led by Muste. Recalling the dramatic mass struggles of the Ohio unemployed of the early 1930's and the historic Toledo auto workers strike battles of the same period, Preis paid eloquent tribute to Muste's contributions to the leadership of these struggles as well as his contributions to the education of many young militant socialists of the time.

In his presentation, Muste said the central problem confronting the radical movement is its almost total isolation from the labor movement and population generally. He felt that of the various groupings the radical pacifists had the greatest degree of influence, but the problem of isolation was common to all the groups and due primarily to the objective situation in the country. He held that the development of a program to cope with the problems posed by capitalism in the age of automation and atomic energy was the radical movement's basic need today.

MAIN PROBLEM

To advance the discussion of such a program, he said, the various groupings must take a flexible attitude including a willingness to recognize past errors in their thinking. He felt this was particularly important for the Socialist Workers Party, because it had been proven right on many questions. This, he said, might tend to lead it to feel that it had been correct on all questions.

Discussing the progress of the American Forum, he said it had met initial difficulty in organizing discussions that came to full grip with the issues at hand, but that future discussions would provide a more effective confrontation of differing views.

He declared that the basic problem was to build effective opposition to American capitalism and militarism, and that an indispensable corollary to this was support to the anti-Stalinist movement of the workers in the Soviet sphere.

Following the speech, the well-attended meeting engaged in a lengthy discussion that showed a deep interest in the problem of socialist regroupment.

Twin Cities
New Year's Eve Celebration
Dancing, Entertainment, Supper
Join with us
Tues., Dec. 31, at 9 P.M.
322 Hennepin Ave., Rm. 205
Minneapolis
Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party

Calendar of Events
Chicago
Tuesday, Dec. 31—New Year's Eve Party. Music, Dancing, Refreshments. Ausp.: Militant Labor Forum. 777 W. Adams St.
Detroit
Tuesday, Dec. 31, 9 P. M.—New Year's Eve Party. Door Prize, entertainment and favors. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Donation \$1.00.

New York
Gala Celebration
NEW YEAR'S EVE
Dancing Refreshment, Entertainment
Begins at 9 P.M.
Contribution \$1.00
116 University Place
Ausp.: Socialist Workers Party

Los Angeles
New Year's Eve Social
Tues., Dec. 31, 9 P. M.
Forum Hall
1702 East 4th Street
Ausp.: The Militant

THE MILITANT
A Weekly Newspaper Published in the Interests of the Working People
116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.
Please enter my subscription as follows:
\$1.50 for 6 months of The Militant
\$3.00 for 1 year of The Militant
Name
Street
City Zone
State

NOW AVAILABLE:
Leon Trotsky's
THE FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL
Volume II in Cloth
384 pages \$3.50
PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

