

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 2, No. 14

NEW YORK, N. Y., JANUARY 16, 1950

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Open season on Harry Bridges

The government is working overtime these days to get Harry Bridges and his union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. A Federal Court is seeking to deport him; the National Labor Relations Board is trying to cripple the ILWU hiring hall that has ended the infamous shape-up system on the West Coast. For details see THE TRIALS and LABOR WEEK in the Roundup. For an example of what Bridges is fighting against in the labor movement, see below.

The CIO trials: Rule-by-goon is back again

The Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union is one of ten unions marked for expulsion from the CIO. The committee named to try FTA was composed of the same CIO leaders who have flagrantly raided FTA and other unions for more than a year. Below, C. W. Fowler, veteran labor reporter, gives an on-the-spot account of the atmosphere at the trial.

By C. W. Fowler

GUARDIAN special correspondent

WASHINGTON

I'll be judge, I'll be jury, said cunning old Fury.

I'll try the whole cause and condemn you to death.

Alice in Wonderland

THIS time there were four goons and two plainclothesmen at the door of CIO headquarters on Jackson Place. The goons ranged in weight from about 300 pounds down to around 200; from a fat youth with heavy-lidded eyes and a triple chin to a dapper looking gent with a waxed mustache and a pinstriped suit.

Their job was to guard against an "invasion" of 20 plain working men and women whose nickels and dimes had built the CIO headquarters and the reputation that CIO used to enjoy as a militant, fighting organization of American workers.

A UNION ON TRIAL: More than

nickels and dimes had gone into building the CIO. Sweat, anxiety, sacrifice of jobs and security and even lives had gone into making a union. In this case the union was the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers, and it was on trial by the leaders of the National CIO for following "Communist Party objectives" and for "violating CIO policy."

The four goons reluctantly let the FTA rank-and-file witnesses go up to the trial room; each had to sign a book first. These were the first rank-and-filers to be allowed to attend one of the series of trials now going on, and they were there only because a Federal judge in New York had ordered the CIO to admit them. Previously, the CIO had ruled there would be no witnesses, no counsel, no public hearings, no right of the union to defend itself through its membership.

THERE WAS A PRECEDENT: The trial committee was presided over by Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who told the CIO convention in Cleveland last October: "God knows I am no red-baiter." Whatever God knew, Potofsky acted at the trial just as his judicial counterpart, Harold R. Medina, in the Foley Square trial that set the pace for the CIO proceedings.

To almost every question that FTA officers and rank-and-file witnesses

directed to the charges, Potofsky replied: "Overruled," or "Objection sustained," as need be. To FTA's outlining the achievements of the union for some of the most oppressed workers in the U. S., Potofsky snapped:

"The CIO charges are not that you have failed to do a job for the workers, but that you have adhered to Communist rather than CIO policies."

A NASTY PICTURE: The rank-and-file witnesses told a story of official CIO interference, raiding, disruption and Negro-baiting in the locals of FTA over the past two years that would give any honest trade unionist a permanent blush.

Veronica Kryzan, secretary-treasurer of FTA Local 194 in the 5,000-worker Campbell Soup Co. plant in Chicago, told how the CIO United Packinghouse Workers had been ordered by national CIO to raid her local. She reported that a UPW official had said: "How about Gallagher (president of the local) and Kryzan—they're Catholics—we can use them."

Robert C. Black, co-chairman of FTA Local 22 in the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. in Winston-Salem, N. C., told how Negro workers averaged 40 cents an hour before FTA, now have a plantwide average of close to \$1.

Black told how CIO Southern Organizing Committee officials had tried to bribe him—with \$390 a month and a new car—to lead the 10,000

Reynolds workers out of FTA and into a raiding CIO union. He also told how North Carolina CIO Committee Director William Smith—white—had publicly called Moranda Smith of Local 22 a "Harlem hag" when she disagreed with him on an organizing point.

Mrs. Robbie May Riddick, president of FTA Local 26 in Suffolk, Va., told how she had seen toilets in the CIO drive headquarters in Atlanta, Ga., marked "white" and "colored." Before FTA organized in Suffolk, she added, workers averaged 20 cents an hour; now they average close to 80c.

Mrs. Adele Ellis, a silver-haired woman from Richmond, Va., told how she had been bullied and insulted by CIO Regional Director Ernest Pugh because she, as a white woman, had supported the nomination of a Negro for state CIO office.

CAN A PIECARD BLUSH? There was little attempt at badgering the rank-and-file FTA witnesses by the CIO trial committee. When a worker right out of the shop says: "We'd have got better wages if the CIO Regional Director hadn't asked us to take 12 cents when we were asking for 30," there isn't much reply and even the most hardened CIO piecard feels abashed.

But as "Judge" Potofsky said: "The charges are not that you have failed to do a job for the workers, but..."

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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THE MAILBAG

Don't be a hog, Bill

NEW YORK, N. Y.
The following is part of a letter sent to Mayor O'Dwyer:
In view of the substantial raises just voted for the mayor and top officials, it is unjust to omit pay increases for civil service and provisional workers. As you know, since 1947, our cost of living has soared skyward, while our salaries have remained below standard.
And now we are further dismayed to learn that another costly two-year "scientific study" is on foot to study conditions. This, it would appear, is unnecessary, since previous studies have already been made, and logic proves that pay raises are long overdue. A city worker

Talking sense

BANDPOINT, IDAHO
Your paper is the only paper that I use my brain to read, for it is the only true print. The capitalist press is too rotten for my little brain, and I sure try to talk to some of the blockheads about the difference in the papers. Do you think the voters will wake up in this coming election? You have a hard fight; I wish you the best of luck. I sure will do all I can. They can't stop me from talking.
John Mack

Who will say "No"?

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Wonderful reading your "Up From Hiroshima" letter from Paris! Well, what are the young men, whose lives our masters are preparing to blast in another world war, waiting for? If Joliot-Curie and his co-workers can say "No!" to the war criminals, why can't they, too? Why can't we all?
The draft board asked me, a conscientious objector in World War I (classification, humanitarian), what would happen if everyone said "No," as I did then. They were flabbergasted when I answered: "There'd be no war."
It's better to flabbergast them before they atom bomb and pulverize us.
Maurice Becker



Christian Science Monitor

"At the last moment, Sen. Boomer was unavoidably detained, but he graciously arranged for us to hear a brief resumé of his speech."

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Reynolds News, London

"NOW do you see why the second half of the century doesn't begin until 1951?"

other systems so as to bring out its excellences by comparison and contrast."
F. A. Blossom

The right to speak

ROXBURY, MASS.
I was lacking two months of being born when the Ku Klux Klan attacked our house. Hearing their dreaded cry, my mother opened the blinds and went to the railing which surrounded the upper piazza on which she stood. "What is your wish, gentlemen?" she asked.
"We want Cardozo," they replied.
"My husband is ill with congestive chills, delirious," she said.
"Well," said the Ku Klux, riding back and forth on their horses, "if he doesn't come out we burn the house down."
"A moment, gentlemen," she said, and disappeared. She entered the sickroom and stood quite still, try-

This is the way to do it!

NEW YORK, N. Y.
It's easy—if the person you talk to hasn't as yet a subscription to the GUARDIAN. The little Angel appealed so deeply that I was moved to put 5 subscription blanks in my purse for trial purposes.
The butcher bought one; one doctor's nurse said yes and gave me a buck; the salesman at the toy shop said: "Why, sure, here's a dollar." The shoemaker—well, you know by now—he, too, came across. So while doing my daily chores, I unearthed five new GUARDIAN readers.
I have many more steps to make before the week is out. Maybe it was beginner's luck. But as you can plainly see, I haven't as yet asked any of my friends, relatives or near or distant acquaintances. This I will do. And the five will multiply and multiply.
Enclosed is \$5 and names of subscribers. Up the GUARDIAN!—to a million...
A housewife

formation and education in this country tightly controlled by the conservative business element, why are we so quickly panicked by the approach of ideas from eastern Europe? Have they some mysterious power which we do not know how to combat? If we believe our way of life the best, we should welcome opportunities to set it up alongside

ing to gain her courage. In the meantime she found her two-year-old son's toy and handed it to him. Then she walked over to her husband's bed and smoothed his forehead. Gathering her courage, she took her son by the hand and they walked slowly to the piazza.
In the meantime the Ku Kluxers smoked as their horses paced back and forth. Then she and her son appeared on the piazza and walked slowly to the railing. She said: "If you must burn the house down, consider in that house will be my husband, utterly unaware of what is taking place, my unborn child and myself."
I was that unborn child. I claim the right to speak to the world through a paper devoted to the welfare of people, including Negroes.
Mrs. E. C. Goode

Mrs. Eslanda Cardozo Goode, now 82, is the mother of Eslanda Goode Robeson, Ed.

Tough road for Santa

WARROAD, MINN.
It is depressing to note the indifference displayed by the citizen as to what is going on throughout the world, and more particularly America. They seem to be quite satisfied to exist within their own small circle of friends and associates and let it go at that. Until the people as a whole lay aside their personal prejudices, selfish desires, and their insatiable greed for material things, there appears little likelihood of them receiving the desirable gifts you would give them if you were Santa Claus.
J. H. Wilson

Report to readers Are you sitting down, friend?



WE are devoting this month to putting tacks on the chairs of all GUARDIAN readers who have been sitting out the GUARDIAN's campaign for a million readers.

If you are a typical GUARDIAN reader, you shell out about \$1.50 for smokes each week, maybe \$2 for drinks, not less than \$1 a week for movies and/or nylons; and, say, 35c a week for Republicrat newspapers that make you blow a gasket every time you read them.

QUERY: Without depriving yourself of any of the foregoing essentials, could you perhaps squeeze out 10c a week in 1950 for your own GUARDIAN and subscriptions for four of your friends at \$1 a year. Or just 2c a week to catch up with your back bill or your renewal, whichever needs taking care of?

HELL'S BELLS, FRIENDS, what tack do we have to take to jog or jolly you into minimum action to keep a paper like the GUARDIAN going? Peel off \$1 right now. Dig up an envelope. Mail it to GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7, to take care of your own subscription. Then, when you get to p. 11, you'll find easy ways and means of assuaging any other tack-twinges which may have gotten a rise out of you here.

—THE EDITORS

"Misplaced complacency"

NEW YORK, N. Y.
I feel that Max Werner is hiding either his unwillingness to discuss, or his confusion concerning, the reasons for the cold war and its real dangers behind a spotty analysis of this country's military machine.
He alludes to some basic weaknesses in that machine and says that will prevent war. This is a strange inconsistency. Why, then, are we all losing sleep and exerting ourselves in campaigns to prevent war and to expose the anti-Soviet, anti-labor, anti-human race bligs coughed up by the creatures who control our country? To me the tone of Mr. Werner's articles is dangerous, leading to a misplaced complacency.
Mary Williamson

Against the farmers

MODESTO, CALIF.
A California peach grower asked: "Why should I pay \$5 a year to belong to an organization to fight farmers?" (the Farm Bureau). Lawrence Emery's "The Farm Bureau and the U.S., a most immoral marriage" in the Dec. 19 GUARDIAN, and his "America is running out of water" (Dec. 5) will give farm and city workers more vitally important information in less reading time than daily papers will in an entire year.
The \$1,000 subsidy to each of the first Farm Bureau, reported a total of \$100,000 by the Chicago Board of Trade, and the LaFollette Committee report of monopoly-big business-financial pap-feeding of Associated Farmers, are but two recent historical records of how public opinion is bought and paid for by those who profit by what the people don't know.
George Cartwright

Aluminum? Maybe

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
Re your article on aluminum pans in the Dec. 26 issue. You are probably right, however we prefer to use enamel or stainless steel. One fact is, if you cook tomatoes in aluminum, the pan gets nice and shiny. Then if you cook "spuds" in it, it is black through a chemical change which doesn't look good. Some very good experiments have been made to show aluminum is harmful to humans. So don't plug the billion dollar aluminum trust.
E. Hernan

A dream of summer

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
How many GUARDIAN readers have, like myself, dreamed of a simple summer bungalow: a dream that has seemed unattainable because of the hard, cold, realistic facts of life—economic status, racial and religious discrimination? However, if a group were to undertake to build a project on a non-profit cooperative basis, possibly doing part of the work itself, the resulting economies might make

this project financially feasible for most of us, and of course, the problem of discrimination would be non-existent.
Will those interested please write to me, 278 Fountain Av., Brooklyn 8, N. Y.?
Leon Weiner

The persuader

BERKELEY, CALIF.
In a discussion with a California Tech student who is the eldest son of a wealthy landowner in Pakistan, I was pleased to hear the boy say that in the year he had been in the U.S. he has decided to renounce his rights to his father's extensive holdings. I then asked him what he had been reading in the past year, and the first newspaper he mentioned was the GUARDIAN. I'm proud of your persuasive ability.
Suggestion: As the only non-rebating non-communist journal of national importance, I feel you are obligated to devote more regular space to the clarification and development of the theories behind American radicalism. I seem to detect on your part a tendency to too often defer to the cause of "harmony."
Paul Rowan

Jesus a revolutionary?

MIAMI, FLA.
I am extremely disgusted and disappointed with your publication of the poem "Jesus" by Mei Ch'ing and with the false, ridiculous drawing that captions it. I never expected that you would sink that low to appease religious superstition. I challenge you to produce evidence that Jesus was a revolutionary, or that he was interested in the welfare of the common people.
You are doing very good work in exposing the slavery and exploitation of man by so-called Christians, but when you help to perpetuate a myth that has brought nothing but tragedy, sorrow, bloodshed and other evils to mankind, you are doing a serious disservice to the cause of liberalism and progress.
M. Martinez

Symbols and rituals

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
Your New Year's wish to Americans is good, I object to these crucifixion illustrations. The Catholic church makes great use of all these representations, along with their other symbols and ritualism, but that is no reason why thinking people should.
M. B.

Tastes good, too

POLLANSBEE, W. VA.
Why will sincere liberals nullify the results of their efforts by buying anti-public venom at the newsstands? For my own part, I would as soon rob a blind person as patronize journalistic prestidigiters. My suggestion: Instead of buying poison, use the money saved for anti-dotes. There is nothing wrong with this country that the GUARDIAN, with ten million circulation, will not cure.
Dermer S. Stout

Truman's warfare state

The economic picture is not so rosy

AND what did the President say on January 6 about the condition of the American economy?

He said what he said about the State of the Union. He said its condition is good, that we're on firmer ground and confidence prevails.

How nice! But he also let us know that things are not good, the ground is not firm and confidence is not prevailing.

Really? Which is it—and what does he say is good?

It's good, he says, because we produced 9% more goods after July, 1949, than we did before July. But he also says we produced 8% less in all of 1949

than we did in all of 1948.

Is that good? It's also good, he says, that factories and wholesalers don't have as much unsold goods on hand now as in 1948. But then he says what's wrong with business is that it has become afraid to invest in more business. Business investment dropped 18% in 1949.

That's bad. The President says he would be terribly worried about it if it weren't that construction picked up 3% in 1949: due to public housing paid for with taxpayers' money, it's now where it was in 1925, 25 years ago, when our population was about 30,000,000 less.

What else was good — better than 1948?

Nothing, the President says.

But how about business?

Well, profits "fell" 21% to a total of almost \$28,000,000,000 — higher than any year before 1947. In the last three months of 1949 they rose another 15% though sales rose barely 1%.

But how about plain average business — the small guy?

Business failures increased heavily in 1949. And wage increases, he says, "were received by

a much smaller number of workers in 1949 than in previous post-war years." In fact, wages were frozen for millions and dropped for many.

But didn't consumer prices drop, too? Yes—all of 3% from their post-war inflationary peak.

Then profits can't be so bad. For big business, they're terrific—but still the President is worried about business, he says. People's incomes dropped steadily through 1949. They bought \$2,000,000,000 less than in 1948 and their savings are going to the dogs. One-third of all American families, he says—about 50,000,000 people—had no savings left at all at the end of 1949. They spent more than they earned.

But I thought he said things are good, that we're on firmer ground, that confidence prevails?

He also says there are 3,500,000 unemployed; labor says there are over 5,000,000. In 1949 over 7,500,000 people had to get unemployment compensation at one time or another.

Well, at least that's turning bad into some good.

The President also says that one-third of the unemployed are not getting unemployment benefits; in parts of the country two-thirds aren't—and those who do, get only 20 to 25% of the wages they lost. He says that several million disabled workers with families are not eligible for public insurance benefits, that only 650,000 out of "millions of bereaved and broken" low-income families receive any kind of survivors insurance, that 70% of Americans over 65 (there are 11,000,000 of them) are not eligible for benefits, that "millions who need it" are denied medical care.

My God, in the richest country in the world with a \$259 billion income!

Yes, but the President says it's too bad—he would like to see something done, but the country can't afford it. What do you mean, can't afford it? What kind of malarkey is that?

Oh, he explained the whole thing. He said "the requirements of international aid and national defense" (about \$19,000,000,000 for this coming year) and vets' adjustment (\$7,000,000,000 for last war) and the public debt of almost \$6,000,000,000 (to big business) "are so large that progress on developmental programs (public works to you) and community services must necessarily be limited."

Say, who pays the taxes around here, anyway?

Hush. Don't you know the government has a deficit of over \$5,000,000,000, and is planning an additional \$5,000,000,000 deficit, primarily because of the heavy demands of national security—of defending Greece and Korea and Formosa and Germany and Japan?

You mean what the papers call the cold war?

There's a terrible threat across the seas, he says, to free enterprise (big business, to you); and we have to keep world enterprise free of control of any kind even though it may mean continued suffering for millions of Americans, as the President reports, and growing weaknesses in our economy, as the President reports, and less wages and less savings and lower incomes, as he reports, and more unemployment and business failures; and even falling profits until they're no higher than the Rocky Mountains. . . .

This is madness! No, it isn't. It's the Warfare State. Warfare against whom—the American people?

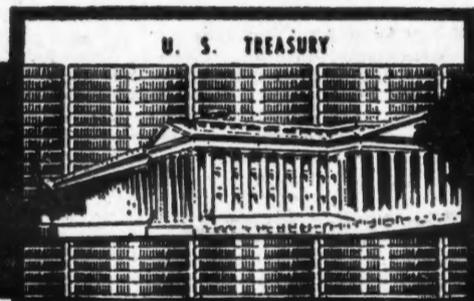
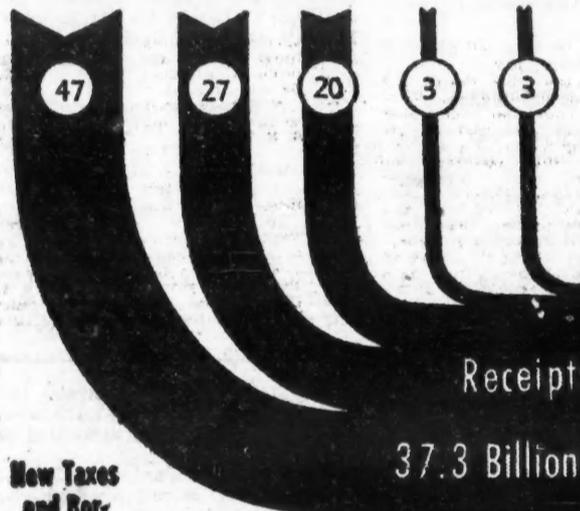
You don't understand economics, that's all.

Reserve for contingencies

\$175,000,000



Direct Taxes on Individuals	Direct Taxes on Corporations	Excise Taxes	Miscellaneous Receipts	Customs and Other Taxes
17.3 Billions	10.1 Billions	7.6 Billions	1.1 Billions	1.2 Billions

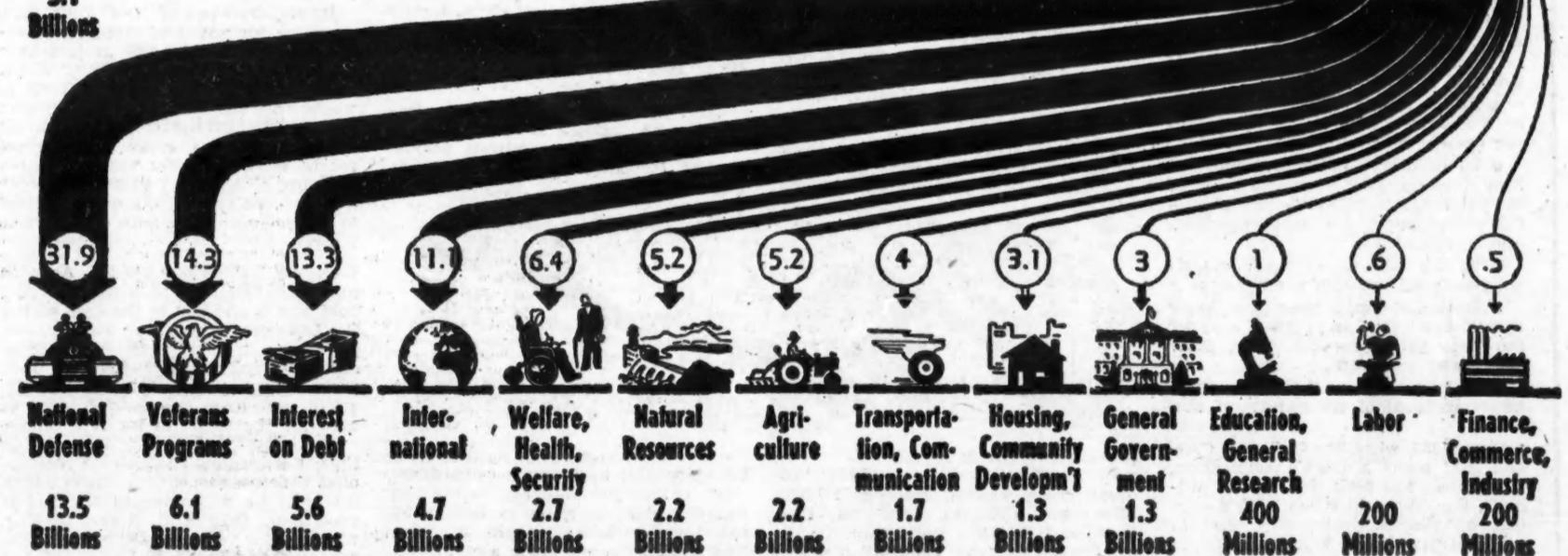


Receipts
37.3 Billions

Expenditures
42.4 Billions

New Taxes and Borrowing to Cover Deficit 5.1 Billions

How it will be spent



How much do you pay—how much do you get?

The billion-jugglers in Washington put out this official chart to make it a bit less confusing. Top of the funnel shows that, in Truman's proposed unbalanced budget for July, 1950-June 30, 1951, 70% of the cash will be collected from you and your friends in direct income, excise (really sales) and social security taxes. Corporations pay only 27%.

Bottom of the funnel shows what the guys who pay most of the bill get back in social security, health, welfare and housing: about 7% of the budget. (Around 75% of the sum allotted to housing goes to supporting the private mortgage market, not building houses). Truman's figure of 30 billions (71% of the budget—first four items on chart) to be spent

for past and future wars is an understatement: it doesn't include hidden military expenditures in appropriations for atomic energy, merchant marine, Alaskan development, etc.

Lion's share of items 1, 3 and 4 on chart goes to big business and Wall St., who thus have to struggle along on about 50% of the budget.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

THE NATION

STATE OF STATESMANSHIP

Clash of giants produces a squeak

IN 1858, when Abraham Lincoln, Republican, was running for the Senate in Illinois, he and his opponent Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, met in debate wherever people would gather and listen. And people did listen, for each voiced an earnest point of view; each spoke what millions thought.

Last week another Douglas debated another Republican. They did not roll up their sleeves and confront the hecklers in the front row. Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) and Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.) sat at a table in a Washington, D. C., broadcasting studio and debated before a radio and television audience estimated at 2,700,000.

They were discussing the State of the Union as presented by the President. Douglas is among the President's most eloquent supporters; Taft one of his keenest opponents. Here would be found the clash in viewpoints: Republican vs. Democrat in 1950. This was a sample of their dialogue:

On the President

Taft: The mildest mannered man that ever scuttled a ship or cut a throat.

Douglas: The voice that breathed o'er Eden.

On the Fair Deal Program

Douglas: Let us see what it is you object to in it.

Taft: I object to universal, compulsory, free medicine which would cost us \$7,000,000,000. That is part of this

insurance bill that you are talking about.

Douglas: You see, on that, I, too, disapprove of the so-called Ewing Plan [to establish health insurance] because I think it goes altogether too far. . . . I think that you will find him [the President] on the side of protection against catastrophic illness only. . . ."

On realizing the Fair Deal

Taft: I figure that you can count between 15 and 20 billion dollars in this message [domestic spending] for next year, if Congress should adopt it; and, of course, Congress will not adopt it.

Douglas: I would say it is desirable for the American people to have a goal. . . .

On the coal situation

Questioner: What remedy or remedies, if not under the Taft-Hartley Law, would you apply in the present coal situation?

Douglas: I think it might be a good thing to get the two sides into rooms and lock the door and deprive them of food and prescribe an hour of Bible reading for both groups.

Taft: The President should require the mines to open and the men to go back to work for 80 days, during which I would be glad to follow Senator Douglas' leadership in trying to get them into a room and knock their heads together.

On the cold war

Douglas: Now the Democratic Party with only one or two exceptions has supported the program, and a number of splendid Republicans have also supported the program and we want to pay all tribute to them for their aid.

Taft: But the idea that it is bipartisan is a mistake. The Republicans do not have anything to do with it and they are not responsible for the present mess in China.

only the remnant for his Fair Deal (see p. 3.)

His opponents saw nothing wrong in his sense of proportion, but objected only that it cost so much. Where Truman spoke glowingly of a five-year prosperity plan, Rep. Clarence J. Brown (R-O.) accused him of "taking a sheaf from the Soviet Union." Senate Republican Leader Kenneth S. Wherry (Neb.) called it "spendthrift socialism." On the Democratic side Sen. Harry F. Byrd (Va.) yearned for the "old rule of balanced budgets." Rep. Clarence Cannon (Mo.), House Appropriations Committee chairman, demanded "sound financial housekeeping."

Republicans and southern Democrats would join in slashing the mild domestic aspects of the Fair Deal while applauding the slight reduction in foreign spending. Congressmen who wanted to trim costs counted on the November elections to shorten the session, reasoning that the more they legislated the more they'd spend.

LABOR ON RECORD: Labor leaders filed their programs on the record. The American Federation of Labor was concerned only with "full employment" which, it said, lies "in the hands of private industry." Ways and means were vague. The AFL Labor's League for Political Education said Congress could be tested by its action on Taft-Hartley, anti-trust legislation, housing, social security and regulation of natural gas.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations called for Taft-Hartley repeal, more middle-income housing, broadened social security, \$1 minimum wage, Brannan Farm Plan, national health insurance, "maintenance of full employment."

They were exactly the points Administration spokesmen were saying had small chance of passage this session. But the picture was still a pretty one.



Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch
What will these dollars buy?

THE ECONOMY

A sieve sets sail

THE President's program was fairly launched. A stiff breeze filled out his three sails: economic report, budget, and State of the Union message. They made a pretty picture. But the sea was rough and the hull looked strangely like a sieve.

The President proposed to spend most of his record outlay of \$42,000,000,000 on armaments and set aside

the waterway could handle 53,000,000 tons of traffic a year. The combination of cheap transportation and cheap power would not only make all present products cheaper. It would open endless possibilities for new products, new industries and increased production.

ILLS TO BE CURED: New England and New York power rates are now the highest in the nation; industrial development in New England particularly is stifled because of them. Nearly one-fifth of New York farmers are without electricity; those who do get it pay four times what they would for St. Lawrence power.

One wartime experience underscored the region's needs. To meet war demands, two aluminum plants, one at Maspeth, L. I., the other at Massena, N. Y., on the very banks of

faulted. He wants to separate the power project from the navigation project—an impossibility according to all experts.

Dewey's notion is not new. It was first advanced by private interests who wanted to grab the power rights after World War I. At that time the Frontier Corp., a holding company organized by the Aluminum Co. of America and General Electric and duPont interests, spent \$7,000,000 promoting the scheme.

Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City, speaking for powerful shipping interests, has denounced the project as a "piece of federal boondoggling" which would "ruin" the port of New York. It would cost too much, opponents say: around \$750,000,000 (part of it to be paid by Canada), according to most recent estimates. Yet this amount—bringing blessings to 40,000,000 people—is dwarfed by almost any single item in President Truman's cold war budget.

CAN WE AFFORD PEACE? As with all present-day social legislation, the cold war is the key to the fate of the St. Lawrence project in this session of Congress. The U. S. government cannot spend \$26,000,000,000 in four years propping up reaction around the world and have enough left over to care for the needs of its own people.

The contradiction runs deeper than that. Concerning the private monopolies which set up their narrow, selfish interests as a barrier to the public good Sen. George D. Aiken (R-Vt.), who has for years consistently fought for the St. Lawrence project, has made a classic comment:

"One would judge from the arguments of the railroads, power companies and port cities that the country is maintained for their support rather than that the power companies, railroads and port cities are maintained for the welfare of the country."

It's idiocy to block it
The St. Lawrence Waterway—
a blessing for 40,000,000

By Lawrence Emery

NEW work and new wealth for a region populated by 40,000,000 people is the long-deferred promise of the St. Lawrence River waterway project, now to be debated by Congress for the fifth time since 1933.

Development of the project would bring:

- To the New York City householders, a flood of cheap electricity at half the present cost.
- To industry throughout most of New England, New York and parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, plentiful cheap power for vast expansion and development.
- To the Midwest exporter, drastically-reduced transportation rates.
- To the farmer in the region, lower transit costs for his product, cheaper purchase prices for his tools, more and cheaper current.
- To labor, tens of thousands—perhaps hundreds of thousands—of new jobs.

Since 1895, when the U. S. and Canada first made a joint investigation, the project has been the hope of millions. For 50 years it has been a subject of violent controversy. For 17 years it has been thrashed out in Congress—and always defeated.

WHO'S AGAINST IT? Opposing the project are private power interests, particularly the Niagara Hudson-Consolidated Edison combine which now holds a virtual monopoly in New York State;

Railroads—because they fear it

would cut into their traffic; Port cities—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk and New Orleans—because they fear it would divert shipping from them;

Coal operators—because they fear a reduction in coal consumption;

Some unions—notably the railway brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers—because they fear a loss of jobs.

NEW HORIZONS: The project itself is so simple that it seems an act of deliberate idiocy to block it. It would



provide two things: a 2,350-mile seaway opening the Great Lakes to ocean-going vessels, making Duluth, Milwaukee, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit and Buffalo into seaports; a single-dam electric generating plant producing 2,200,000 horsepower annually, or a total of some 13,200,000,000 kilowatt hours. This is equal to the entire capacity of the vast TVA system, and is greater than the total generating capacity of all but eight countries in the world.

By U. S. Commerce Dept. estimate,

the St. Lawrence, were built. Today both are idle; high power rates drove them to cheaper sources. During the war the plant at Massena had to be run by electricity brought in from New York City, 300 miles away.

YOU CAN'T SPEND THAT! Every U. S. President since Taft and every New York governor since Whitman favored the project. President Truman again has called for congressional approval at this session. But Governor Dewey of New York has de-

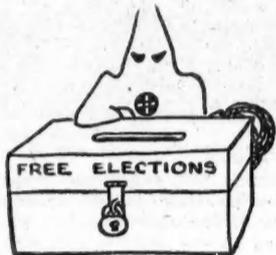
POLITICS

SOUTHERN HARMONY

Let's "compromise"

IN their relations with southern Democrats, the Fair Deal Democrats have been like the man who wanted to stay home when his wife wanted to go to the movies: they compromised and went to the movies.

A similar spirit of compromise is in the air as President Truman's top political advisers prepare for a four-day "harmony" meeting with nearly 150 key southern politicians, to open at Raleigh, N.C., Jan. 24. Efforts will be made to find an operating formula giving the Fair Deal an appearance of limited success while leaving conservative, white-supremacy policies in control of the South.



TO MARKET: The conference will not be a debate. Truman Democrats are unlikely even to try persuading their southern colleagues that the 14th Amendment ought to be observed. It will be a market place where both sides will bargain.

These are the facts of the market in which the Truman Democrats will scramble for votes: Of 103 Democratic congressmen at the meeting, only one has supported the whole Truman program, only 18 have backed the welfare proposals, only five have gone along on civil rights. Of 22 senators, only four have gone all the way with Truman.

THE BARGAIN HUNTERS: The most likely bargaining points are:

- An agreement to let the Administration beat the Republicans on the gun on an anti-poll tax bill. As matters stand, the poll tax is not a "must" to the Democratic rulers of the seven states where it still exists. They have developed other effective methods of barring Negroes and poor whites from voting.

- Agreement by the Administration, in return, not to push too hard for fair employment practices legislation, boosting of minimum wages or Taft-Hartley repeal.

CLARIFYING A FARSE: FEPC is a touchstone to Negro voters who have been seeking a sign of sincerity in Democratic political promises. A sell-out to the southerners on this issue would make the two-party farce crystal clear at a time when the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, the Progressive Party and other groups are driving for a big Negro vote.

Southern politicians are increasingly concerned with protecting their expanding industrialization. They are thus closely allied with northern Republicans in fighting for free-enterprise guarantees, government economy and states' rights.

FARMERS' MARCH

Angry corn belt

FARM income has been falling steadily. To worried Iowa farmers it is little consolation that Congress calls their section the "corn belt" and assures them of 90% of parity on the price of corn. About 85% of their corn is fed to livestock, chiefly hogs. Marketed on the hoof, corn is not protected by parity.

To put the corn belt solidly on record for the Brannan price-support program, the Iowa Farmers Union will lead a "Parity Expedition" to Washington on Jan. 27. The union's stand is sec-

Milk and honey gone sour

Why children are starving in lush San Joaquin Valley

Special to the GUARDIAN
FRESNO, CALIF.

SAN Joaquin Valley in California is a land of milk and honey. It is one of the richest and most fertile in all the world. Last year its crops of cotton, grapes, potatoes, peaches, figs, oranges and milk totaled nearly \$900,000,000.

It is also a land of hunger and death. In the last two months of 1949, 39 babies of farm workers died of malnutrition. At the end of the year, with most of the crops in, 35,000 in the valley were unemployed and their condition desperate.

Last week the state's Public Health Director William L. Halverson had a blunt description of the plight of the valley's workers: "A bed sore on our body politic."

SURPLUS PEOPLE: One thing explained the appalling contrast between fantastic wealth and death from hunger: most farming in the region is a large-scale factory operation controlled by huge land-holding corporations. The Kern County Land Co., for example, holds 354,000 acres.

Cotton-picking alone employed more than 110,000 workers last year. Now, with most of the cotton baled and unemployment expected to rise to 50,000, big growers and immigration officials offer this standard solution to the problem: "Send them back where they came from." Some came

from Mexico, brought in by growers to depress wages. In one day recently 500 Mexican pickers, derogatorily called "wet-backs," were rounded up in Bakersfield and deported.

But "migratory" is a misnomer for the average valley farm worker: most of them are residents of California, have been for years.



THE BLIGHT: The huge factory farms accept little or no responsibility for their labor force. During the season many of the pickers live in trailers, shacks or tents. Some sleep in their jalopies. Where farm camps are provided, they are usually a disgrace. Some house as many as 2,000 workers and provide a minimum of living facilities.

One squatter village, Cottonwood Road, was recently described by a

state legislative committee:

"Some 6,000 persons live in this congested area with as many as 18 people living in two rooms, in shelters without windows, and in tents huddled on vacant lots. This district has no sewage or garbage disposal system. Approximately 35% of the cases of polio at Kern General Hospital come from the Cottonwood Road and adjacent areas where blight conditions exist. . . ."

LET GEORGE DO IT: Gov. Warren recently called a two-day meeting of health and welfare agencies to consider the problem. Little was accomplished. County authorities and growers passed the buck to each other, finally tossed the whole business back to the state, which has no answers.

One proposal was to feed the neediest from surplus food supplies held by the Commodity Credit Corporation. County supervisors shied away even from this palliative: they complained they couldn't afford to distribute it.

Kings County Supervisor Russell Troutner said: "My county has taken a firm stand on not giving too much aid." Fresno County Supervisor M. S. Meeker said: "I hate to see it publicized that the taxpayer will fill up a trough and keep it filled."

ACTION: The final proposal: that the unemployed agricultural workers be paid in surplus food at the rate of 50¢ an hour for labor on made-work projects.

Against this solution the Independent Progressive Party of California is preparing a comprehensive Public Works Law of 1950 to meet the State's total unemployment problem. The program will be submitted to voters in the fall elections.

oned by many Iowa farmers, regardless of organizational labels. Their slogan is: "A corn-belt beachhead for the Brannan Plan."

LOS ANGELES

Enough of Bowron

TWELVE years ago an angry coalition of labor and liberal voters recalled Los Angeles' Mayor Frank Shaw on charges of corruption, police brutality and union-busting. In his place they elected Superior Court Judge Fletcher Bowron.

Last week a committee marched to City Hall bearing a placard which read: "Ordinary citizens are fed up with Bowron's high taxes, police brutality and hogwash." They also carried petitions signed by 130,131 voters demanding Bowron's recall.

GUARDIAN's Gene Richards reported that Bowron, like Shaw before him, blamed "gangsters and communists" for the recall move. The Independent Progressive Party and other groups continued their petition campaigns to insure the minimum number of signatures.



ISSUE FOR A COALITION: Richards said: "Jack Berman, IPP area director, promised a progressive coalition effort on the broadest possible basis to find a candidate, but only on the real issues—police brutality, inequitable taxation, rent control, corruption and smog. In the last campaign Bowron, a Republican, lost all labor support, but labor split its strength."

Rumors had up to 14 candidates hoping for Bowron's job, including City Treasurer Lloyd Aldrich, a Republican who was beaten in the run-off last spring. Democrat Ellis Patterson, supported by the IPP, ran third.

After the election five of Bowron's top police officials were charged with providing protection for a Hollywood bawdy house. Police Chief C. B. Hor-

rall resigned from the force. The five were indicted but none was convicted. Many Angelenos protested the "white-wash."

LIVING COSTS

RELIEF

The right to starve

NEW YORK and Chicago were locked in a grisly competition last week to see which could make life more miserable for people on relief. Politicians of both cities were out to win business acclaim for "economy." Jobless men and women and their dependents faced hunger, cold and mounting desperation.

In New York, 320,000 individuals were to go on short rations Jan. 16; cuts ranged from \$3 to \$4 a month. Responsibility lay with Mayor O'Dwyer's Welfare Commissioner, Raymond Hilliard (trained in Chicago); he refused to rescind or delay the slash despite wide protests. When the American Labor Party and other groups picketed Hilliard's headquarters, he dodged meetings artfully. Top city officials, living comfortably on recently increased salaries, passed the buck to the state, which passed it back. (Mayor O'Dwyer left for his first Florida vacation since his Florida honeymoon almost three weeks ago.)

CUT, CUT, CUT: The Chicago area has 163,000 people on relief. Last August the Illinois Public Aid Commission cut 10% from all allotments to save money, citing (as did N. Y.) "declining prices." Now, reports GUARDIAN's Rod Holmgren, IPAC has ordered additional cuts of 3% in monthly food allowances, 40¢ in adult clothing grants and 6¢ in children's clothing. All funds for personal needs—education, recreation, medicines—are abolished as of Feb. 1.

With relief rolls mounting, Chicago Welfare Commissioner Alvin Rose re-



duced his 1950 budget \$132,000 below that of 1949 and announced new rules to prevent "fraud" in relief applications. Jobless Chicagoans must take a virtual oath and submit to snooping by city investigators to obtain aid.

Sidney Ordower, Illinois Progressive Party legislative director, called the new cuts "a dishonest and callous move to intensify the hunger of the unemployed." He said they would be high on the agenda at a Jan. 22 Conference on Municipal Issues. (See Calendar, p. 11.)



Stop! Have you paid your \$1 for 1 year?

LABOR WEEK

SEAMEN, LONGSHOREMEN

Is fair hiring legal?

EVERY morning along U.S. waterfronts longshoremen "shape up." Gang bosses look over the labor market, hand-pick the men who will work that day. Kick-backs and discrimination flourish. The system once governed the hiring of seamen and longshoremen everywhere.

In the late '30's the National Maritime Union and the West Coast International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union replaced the shape-up with the union hiring hall. The hiring hall registers unemployed workers and fills job requests from these lists. Jobs rotate fairly.

HALLS IN DANGER: Taft-Hartley threatens to turn back the clock. Last April the National Labor Relations Board ruled out the NMU hall because, it said, it discriminated against non-union workers. On Dec. 2 the ILWU hall was hit, although since the victories of Harry Bridges' union it has been jointly administered by the companies and the union and only requires preference for union members. Both unions are appealing to the Supreme Court.

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

The maritime unions asked Congress last year for special legislation to make the hiring halls legal. But a Senate subcommittee sat on the proposal until adjournment. The unions are trying again.

WHAT KIND OF HALL? In New York seamen still had a hiring hall but not every union man could use it. Husky supporters of NMU President Joseph Curran patrol it, screening seamen at the door. Anti-Curran men are beaten up. Often membership books are confiscated. One seaman, "beached" because he couldn't enter the hall, told GUARDIAN: "I'm broke, but I have some unemployment insurance checks in the mail room. To get there I have to go through the hall. I know that once I enter the building I'll never make it."

CIO PURGE

Who's sincere?

OUTSIDE CIO headquarters in Washington last week FBI cameras clicked. They were recording the faces of union workers who could not get into the court-martial trials of the Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers and the United Public Workers. The rank-and-filers were barred by hefty jeering steel workers. Only witnesses were allowed.

Inside the trial rooms, the charge of resistance to top-level dictation was cloaked in phrases about "communism." The two unions, it was admitted, had fought hard for legitimate demands; but they were not "sincere" about it. Their motives were to serve

"the interests of the Communist Party" (see Fowler, p. 1.).

JUDGMENT SEAT: Right-wing leaders who had gleefully predicted the expulsions at the November CIO convention sat in judgment. None could compete with the defendants in service to their members. (Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers, who sat on one committee, had announced earlier that his union would pass up wage increases and pensions for its members for the third consecutive year.)

The CIO Executive Board was to hand down verdicts in February. Before then the courts were to rule on two injunction suits to prevent expulsion.

MINERS

War of nerves

JOHN L. LEWIS' United Mine Workers battled the coal operators in a war of nerves. Lewis' miners were working a three-day week in most mines. They would go back to full schedule only when contracts were signed.

In Illinois 16,000 miners had called a complete work stoppage for one week. Last week 71,000 miners in Pennsylvania and Ohio also called a strike, but agreed to go back to a three-day



Photo by Art Frankel

CIO's new-look

While a special committee worked upstairs on the expulsion "trial" of the United Office and Professional Workers, these CIO protectors stood guard at Washington headquarters to see that no mere rank-and-filers got in.

week on Monday at Lewis' "suggestion." The strikes were designed to cut coal stockpiles still further and pressure steel companies vitally dependent on coal.

COMPANY NEEDS GOVERNMENT: The coal operators hoped for govern-

ment intervention. They had filed unfair labor practice charges against the union. Robert N. Denham, National Labor Relations Board counsel, was still considering them. If he ruled for the operators, the miners would have to return to a full work week.

In Congress resolutions urging President Truman to invoke the Taft-Hartley law against the miners were being prepared in both houses. Truman appeared reluctant to use the law he was pledged to repeal. Some congressmen were urging special legislation against the miners.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Carey is chary

JAMES CAREY has claimed that his CIO International Union of Electrical Workers represents labor in General Electric plants covered by ex-CIO United Electrical Workers contracts. UE agreed to test his claims, asked for an immediate GE election.

Last week a meeting was called in New York to work out details. UE, GE and National Labor Relations Board officials turned up; no one from IUE was there. Another date was set; again IUE stayed away.

Then the stand-up conferees blinked at a statement by Carey challenging UE to an immediate election. "The workers in these plants want IUE to represent them," Carey declared.



THOSE WHO WANT: Just how much IUE was wanted could be gauged at the Schenectady, N. Y., plant, with 12,000 workers. GE officials had refused to turn over check-off dues to UE; since UE was no longer in CIO, the company wanted new authorizations. UE had four days until the next pay day.

At deadline UE plunked down 10,495 signed authorizations, demanded the dues.

**The Man from Mars said:
'You mean to say Negroes
are a part of mankind?'**

Fearing a "red" label the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, sponsor of an Emergency Mobilization in Washington this week to press for passage of the Fair Deal civil rights program, snubbed militants who wanted to participate. When NAACP secretary Roy Wilkins turned down the suggestion that civil rights champion Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N. Y.) be invited to speak at the rally, Progressive Party Secretary C. B. Baldwin replied that despite the "gratuitous affront" the PP would support the rally anyway. "The objective for which it has been called," Baldwin wrote Wilkins, "is the common cause of all Americans."

On Station WMCA's (New York) Harlem, U. S. A. program Jan. 16 at 9:30 p.m. the broad view—not the narrow one—of the fight for civil rights is being presented in connection with the rally. Participants include actress Lena Horne, NAACP's Rev. James H. Robinson, longshore leader Andronicus Jacobs, and Shirley Graham, author of *Your Most Humble Servant and The Life of Phillis Wheatley*. This is an excerpt from Miss Graham's talk.

By Shirley Graham

THE Man from Mars was obviously puzzled: "Civil rights for Negroes? Are Negroes people?"

At exclamations of astonishment his face flushed. "Your most reputable institutions and authoritative history books constitute our sources on America," he said stiffly. "Do you mean to say that Negroes are a part of mankind? Are they warmed and cooled by the same winters and summers? Have they senses, affections and passions? Are they subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means? If you prick them, do they bleed?"

Being assured that in all things Negroes were as all peoples who inhabit Earth, the Man from Mars said: "Then if they do not have the same civil rights as native Americans, it is because they are so few—

they have been overlooked in this wide and generous land."

He was interrupted. "They number fourteen million."

"Fourteen million!" the Man from Mars gasped. "Why, that is more than one-tenth of all the people in the United States. How could so large a number of aliens be introduced into the country? Why did you not resist such an invasion?"

"There was no invasion. These people, their fathers and their fathers' fathers were born here."

At this a black man stepped forward and spoke haughtily: "Before the Pilgrims came I was here."

The Man from Mars stared. His lips moved as he quoted from a famous document which he had memorized: "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal!"

"... And when this nation came forth out of the travail of war shared alike by white and black Americans a Negro woman, called Phillis Wheatley, greeted it with verse:



SHIRLEY GRAHAM
One who found the truth

"Fixed is our new-born nation's lustrous line,
And bids in thee her future council shine
To every realm her portals opened wide
Receives from each the full commercial tide:
Each art and science now with rising charms
She welcomes gladly with expanded arms.

"When Congress passed the bill setting aside a Federal District for the building of a bright, new city, a symbol of the hopes and aspirations of the brave little nation, on March 12, 1791, three men met on the banks of the Potomac to do the job. They were Pierre L'Enfant, French architect, Major Andrew Ellicott, engineer, and Benjamin Banneker, described in the Georgetown Ledger of that date as the 'African Astronomer and Surveyor.' From the genius of these three came the City of Washington.

"And as it was in the beginning, so it has been and still is. Whether it be heavy drops of sweat or blood or tears—Negro Americans have shed them without stint, while a cotton empire was raised upon their backs. Where roads were to be built or rails laid, mountains tunneled through or rivers spanned—there you would find Negroes.

"A black American renewed the red soil of Alabama and led the way for the chemical substitutes which today assure a steady stream of dollars; a black American sits in the high councils of United Nations; a black American's mighty voice encircles the globe, singing of freedom for all oppressed peoples."

The Man from Mars had listened without interrupting. But now suspicion shadowed his eyes. He looked around and spoke slowly: "If these things be true—why have we never heard them? Why are they not recorded in the history books? Who would deprive such Americans of the rights guaranteed by your Constitution? Who would dare suggest such a thing?"

He shook his head. "I cannot believe anything so monstrous—so completely un-American!"

And he went away to search out the Truth for himself.

Do you owe the Guardian for your sub or renewal?

THE TRIALS

TRENTON SIX

Together till freedom

JUDGE Charles P. Hutchinson is persistent. After trying the Trenton Six, charged with a murder they could not have committed, he sentenced them all to death. When his sentence was ruled grossly in error by the New Jersey Supreme Court, he moved to try the case again, swiftly and on his own terms.

He blocked new evidence and ruled that the three defendants who had retained Civil Rights Congress attorneys O. John Rogge, William Patterson and Emanuel Bloch would have to discharge them and take the court-appointed attorneys who failed to defend them adequately the first time.

NOT SO FAST: Last week the judge was slowed down. The lawyers he banned took him to court. The issue: the constitutional right of accused to be represented by counsel of their own choice. He asked and got a two-week delay to Jan. 16.

Originally Rogge, Patterson and Bloch represented only three of the accused. Instead of further dividing the Six the judge's ruling persuaded two more of them to retain the CRC attorneys: "They're the lawyers who brought us out of that death house. We are going to stick together till we're all free."



REINFORCEMENTS: Then more support for the Six rolled up. The New Jersey CIO Council officially protested the court ban on their lawyers. The New Jersey State Conference of branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People announced it would participate in the retrial. The organization's top attorney, Thurgood Marshall, was assigned to cooperate with the defense.

It seemed likely that Judge Hutchinson's date for the new trial, Feb. 6, would be postponed again.

HISS, COPLON

Tips, taps, nuts

UNITED States attorneys had trouble in Foley Square last week: In the court where Alger Hiss was standing trial for perjury, the government's only important witness, Whittaker Chambers, had been pronounced "a psychopathic personality" by psychiatrist Dr. Carl Binger. All week the prosecution tried to break the doctor down. Prosecutor Thomas Murphy read aloud an article about the devil, written by Chambers for Life magazine. Brilliant, said the psychiatrist, but largely autobiographical.

Elsewhere in the building Judith Coplon and Valentin Gubitchev stood, charged with espionage. But the trial couldn't even start because U.S. attorneys could not prove they had any evidence obtained otherwise than by illegal wire taps. They had tips, the government insisted. They had taps, the defense countered.

The court was startled to hear that the FBI even tapped United Nations phones. "Wild charges," said Judge Sylvester Ryan, ruling out further discussion.

Jennings Perry Brothers' keepers

MY neighbors, the Branfords, are good people who take their religion seriously; not only will they contribute to the home for wayward girls, but they are always ready to visit the sick. They are tremendously indignant over the reported stoning of some young missionaries of their denomination in Italy.

"You would have expected it of the Communists," they say. "But these were Catholics. The priests set the ruffians on."

They think we should cut off ECA aid to Italy and recall our envoy to the Vatican. If necessary, we should send in the Marines.

"What kind of 'religious freedom' is this," they demand, "when our dedicated young people are persecuted and driven out just because they are Protestants?"

I HAVE tried to discuss the business with them dispassionately; to point out that in Italy the Catholic Church is our main political ally, that this is the Holy Year in which all heretics have been invited to return to the true church, and that an American Protestant attempt to proselytize in places like Castel Gondolfo—the Pope's summer home—is, after all, something of an exasperation.

But we got nowhere. These kindly neighbors insist that since this is the century of American world leadership, costing billions and billions of dollars, we have not only the right but the duty to concern ourselves with the spiritual welfare as well as the social welfare of all lands—that there are "backward areas" of the soul as well as backward areas of the economy.



We get nowhere. In the confusion of overlapping crusades, with moral justifications intruding into the conflict of political ideologies, the weapons of the latter—boycott, blockade, economic, diplomatic and even military pressure—seem to the devout Branfords justified in the field of religious rivalries. They simply will not concede that the concept of "freedom of worship" may include the right of the affiliates of any sect to be content with whatever mode of worship time, chance and conviction has established among them.

THEY stubbornly recall that the Catholics themselves, in the storied days of the Cross and the Sword, set the precedent of militant evangelism. Catholic militancy required the conversion of whole nations in the Old World to the "true faith." In the New World it overthrew the temples of very venerable gods to rebuild, on their trampled foundations, the new fanes with which we are familiar today.

That the priests of Castel Gondolfo should today incite the people against the mild competition of the good works and Bible classes of the young jeep-riding American Protestant missionaries, makes no sense to the Branfords who are troubled by old standards of fair play. Nor does it make sense that our State Department and press should not make at least as much of an incident of the Castel Gondolfo stoning as we make of, say, the molestation of brave Angus Ward in Manchuria.

THE Branfords' denomination distributed \$100,000 worth of clothing, food and medicine in the vicinity of Rome in 1949 and spent another \$200,000, mainly Texas money, to maintain its Italian mission. This solid investment alone, they feel, deserves consideration and protection. But the main thing is the principle of freedom of religion, as they see it.

"We do everything short of war," they say, "for the sake of American ideals of political liberty and free enterprise in countries threatened with dictatorship. In Greece we put our nose into actual war for these ends. We are about to outlaw Hungary for mistreating one of our traveling salesmen. Are we going to let our religious people be kicked around in Italy without a word or an act of protest?"

I have tried in vain to show my gentle neighbors how much more peace of mind they can have by simply refraining, for as long as the Cold War lasts, from thinking in terms of erstwhile "right" and "wrong" at all.

HARRY BRIDGES

Who's a liar?

THE proof of perjury in the trial of longshore leader Harry Bridges mounted last week. But all the perjury was proved against the government's witnesses, none so far against Bridges.

Bridges is accused of lying in denying that he was a Communist during naturalization proceedings. The main government witnesses have been ex-Communists who testified that Bridges was a party member. The defense has already submitted documentary evidence that two of them, Paul Crouch and Manning Johnson, lied in placing Bridges at Communist meetings in New York in 1936.

PERJUROR'S PARADISE: Last week witness Lawrence Seton Ross, an ex-Communist editor now working for a cotton growers' trade journal, marched across the same territory as Crouch and Johnson, then tripped. Caught in a web of contradictions, Ross admitted that he had lied about his birthplace, parentage, early life, education and other details. Yet he insisted everything he said about Bridges was true.

Judge George B. Harris doubted that Ross's perjury was "relevant," suggested that charges be studied later. Defense



LAWRENCE S. ROSS
What's in a name?

counsel Vincent Hallinan charged the prosecution with dredging up perjured witnesses. Of Chief Prosecutor F. Joseph Donohue he said: "Never have inferior qualities been better rewarded since Caligula made a consul of his horse and Charles the Second knighted a beefsteak."

FREEDOMS

CALIFORNIA

Don't blush

LOS Angeles hotels feared embarrassment last week. Everything was set for a dinner honoring Nobel Prize winner Thomas Mann at the swank Biltmore Hotel downtown. Ten days before the dinner the hotel management recalled that the sponsors, the Southern California chapter of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions, was part of the national organization that "embarrassed" New York's Waldorf-Astoria with its World Conference for Peace last March. The Biltmore blushing canceled the arrangements.

The plush Beverly Wilshire Hotel in Beverly Hills was engaged; then, a week before the dinner, it too took fright and canceled.

This time the cancellation proved more embarrassing than the dinner. Protests swamped the hotel management and changed its mind.

Last week the dinner was held. Scrolls for distinguished service to the cause of peace, intellectual freedom and democratic culture were presented to Mann, Charlotta Bass, publisher of The Eagle, California's oldest Negro newspaper, scientist Linus Pauling and author-lecturer Carey McWilliams.

MAINE

Saco will listen

THE Town Meeting Forum of Saco, Me., in routine fashion had planned its Feb. 5 session in City Hall. Among the scheduled speakers was Dr. Kirtley Mather, Harvard geologist and curator, recently elected president of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science.

A city official, quick on the scent, mailed the speakers' list to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The Committee replied that it disapproved of Dr. Mather.

Mayor Myron Savage urged the Board of Aldermen to bar him from City Hall as a "radical." For two weeks local and nearby newspapers editorialized for free speech; clergymen upheld Dr. Mather's right to appear; the Progressive Party mustered support. Finally the Board of Aldermen acted: it tabled the mayor's recommendation. Saco would listen to Dr. Mather even though the inquisition had him on its list.

LAWYERS

Hint for Harold

SHOULD an attorney be sent to jail for four months because he has tried to get the District Court to comply with the decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court . . . ? Could he do less in justice to his client?"

The question referred to Judge Harold Medina's contempt sentence against the defense attorneys in the trial of the Communist Party leaders. It came from Arthur Dunn, grandson of a N.Y. Supreme Court Justice and for 52 years a practicing lawyer, mainly for corporations. He had been asked for comment by the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Dunn made a careful study of Medina's contempt certificate, concluded it was "a very poor picture of an alleged conspiracy."

The lawyers are to argue their appeal before the New York Court of Appeals on February 6.



We say the game's still worth the candle
So long as we've a pan to handle.
—Pay your bill—

NEW JERSEY

Superfluous oath

IN the 16th century Sir Edward Coke, a lawyer who fought kings in behalf of parliament and individual liberty, commented on loyalty oaths: "All subjects are equally bounden to their allegiance as if they had taken the oath; because it is written by the finger of the law in their hearts, and the taking of the corporal oath is but an outward declaration of the same."

Last week the seven black-robed justices of the New Jersey Supreme Court cited Sir Edward in their ruling that the Tumulty-Mehorter loyalty oaths were unconstitutional.

ONE OATH ENOUGH: The decision was a rebuke to Jersey lawmakers. Last year, without a dissent, they legislated that all candidates for office and all office-holders must swear they belong to no "subversive" group or else have their name on the ballot tagged with the disabling phrase: "Refused oath of allegiance."

Described as a device to curb communism, it was actually aimed at the Progressive Party which promptly appealed it. All Progressive Party candidates refuse the oath and James Imbrie, PP candidate for governor, secured a court order barring the use of the tag on the ballot last November.

The Supreme Court, 5 to 2, decided the lawmakers had neither power nor authority to alter the oath contained in the State Constitution, which all Progressive candidates readily swear.



Do you owe the GUARDIAN for your subscription or renewal? Mail that buck today!

THE WORLD

CHINA

Chiang's last stand

THE Chinese foot soldiers went to sea. With no great trouble they established a beachhead on the island of Hainan, 150 miles south of China. Guerrillas came down from the mountains to help them control a 30-mile strip of coastline. It seemed a dress rehearsal for the capture of Formosa, east of China.

The two islands were all the land that was left to Chiang. But he had other assets:

• GUNBOATS: One of these last week scored 40 hits on the Isbrandt (U.S.) freighter Flying Arrow, carrying a \$10,000,000 cargo to Shanghai held by the People's Republic. Two other Isbrandt ships had been fired on earlier while trying to run the blockade. In New York Hans Isbrandtson burned the wires to the President and State Department, repeating his demands for naval protection. Two U.S. destroyers finally helped the Flying Arrow patch her holes. She docked in Tsingtao.

• U.S. ARMS: U.S. tanks and armored vehicles, their insignia painted out, were being loaded aboard a Turkish liner at Philadelphia. Chiang had bought them out of the \$125,000,000 China Aid Fund, appropriated in 1948. Other arms waited to be loaded on other ships bound for Formosa.

• MME. CHIANG: She was winging her way to Formosa last week to fight on by her husband's side to the end, she said. But a home in Riverdale, N.Y., owned by her brother-in-law, Chiang's financial aide H. H. Kung, would always be open to her even in defeat. Before she left the U.S. she branded as "moral weaklings" Britain and other nations that have recognized the People's Republic. Admitting the failure of her U.S. mission, she said: "It is either in your hearts to love us or your hearts have been turned from us."

• THE REPUBLICANS: Some U.S. senators threatened to reduce Britain's share of Marshall Plan aid because it recognized New China. Sen. Robert Taft (R-O.) charged that U.S. China policy

has been made by a small group of leftists working for Chiang's downfall.

• Four of the eight British Commonwealth nations meeting in Ceylon to devise means to halt "the Red tide in Asia" argued against prompt recognition of New China, preferring the U.S.'s lead to Britain's. They were Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. All but one were firm, though, for de facto recognition of France's Bao Dai in Viet Nam. Only Prime Minister Nehru of India vigorously opposed it.

Balancing Chiang's assets was one large liability: the Chinese people were not on his side. On top of that, Sec. of State Acheson was standing firmly be-

hind the Administration's "hands-off" policy. In a talk before the National Press Club in Washington, he accused Russia of "attaching" four Chinese provinces and said this would so anger the Chinese that the U.S. should not pursue "ill-conceived follies" or "foolish adventures" which would divert Chinese anger to the U.S. He formulated U.S. policy as opposition to "Soviet imperialism" rather than communism.

Sen. Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told reporters after Acheson's appearance before his committee that recognition of China is "on the way" though it will not come in a hurry.

Tottering at U.N.

Chiang's most strategic bastion, the armchair at the Security Council table

(Continued on following page)



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

Mao visits Stalin in Moscow

Key area in the cold war Eastern Germany tears out economic roots of nazism

By Gordon Schaffer GUARDIAN staff correspondent

LONDON ON Christmas Day the readers of Lord Beaverbrook's Sunday Express were treated to a headline declaring: "Even Red Berlin Radio Plays Carols." It was thus suggested that there was something surprising in any religious observance in the German Democratic Republic, which the British have been urged to believe is a poverty-stricken area of atheism and slave camps.

Anyone who had cared to listen to the East German radio would have had a surfeit of carols. On every Sunday throughout the year church services are broadcast. But the anti-Soviet press and radio and newsreels have adopted the Goebbels technique of the big lie, and they know the majority of their audiences seldom have a chance to get at the truth.

Eastern Germany is the crystallizing point of the cold war; it is of special importance to western reactionaries that economic and social advances there should be concealed.

SELF-EVIDENT TRUTHS: A health service, complete with a chain of health centers and a virtually nationalized drug industry, was set up soon after liberation. School books were printed in adequate numbers. Trade unionists were given a real share in

management. Land reform and the nationalization of that section of industry formerly owned by war criminals provided the basis for economic planning. Genuine denazification led to such developments as the training of "people's judges" drawn largely from the workers and the opening of higher education to children of workers.



BERLIN: 1950

The sign says: "To live in peace—not to die for Wall Street!"

These advances were not considered news. Most "information" about the eastern zone came from the propaganda factories in Western Berlin.

But it is impossible to deceive all the people all the time. Two articles on the German Democratic Republic, just published in the Times of London, have special significance. "In West Germany," says the Times correspondent, "there has been a return to western capitalism. In East Germany a new economic order—part dictated, part inspired by the Soviet Union—is being consolidated." He goes on to state that the first year of the Two-Year Plan has been "completed with some success" and that the "emphasis of government policy is on the development of state-owned undertakings."

DOING THE ECONOMIC JOB: He explains that one of the jobs of the commission responsible for the economic plan is to punish sabotage and inefficiency both in government and privately-owned undertakings. He reports that factories are holding competitions for higher production, extra shifts are worked for special purposes, that "quality brigades" correct slovenly work that frequently resulted from the drive for more production.

He declares that the breaking up of large estates led to the disappearance of a "whole social caste who gave East Germany much of its character," while nationalization led "to the disappearance of the large industrialists." "As an economic, political and social force," he adds, "the Junker and the industrialist have ceased to exist in the East today."

These admissions are, of course, interspersed with criticisms. The Times correspondent sees a determination to open the way for a Communist society. He admits that Liberal Democrats and the Christian Democratic Union have a share in administration but disapproves of the policy under which they and the Socialist Unity Party thrash out their differences in private to present an agreed policy before Parliament.

TIME OF REVELATION: He reports with some resentment that "Communist newspapers have the best offices, the biggest staffs and most newsprint." He might have added that non-Communist newspapers have greater facilities than most left-wing newspapers in western countries.

Out of these reports emerge noteworthy facts. They confirm that the Soviet occupation has carried out the Potsdam agreement to eliminate the Junkers and to break up the power of the trusts. The capitalists of the West do not like that development; that is why the Potsdam pledge has remained unfulfilled in Western Germany. They confirm that economic life is being planned and that the workers are joining in the production drive with understanding and enthusiasm.

The "iron curtain" erected by propagandists to prevent news about Eastern Germany from reaching the western world cannot be maintained indefinitely, for the economic and social developments in the German Democratic Republic will inevitably have an impact on Western Germany. The Times is obliged to admit that these advances are going on despite all the efforts made to stop them.

(Continued from preceding page)

at Lake Success, was tottering too. At the council's first meeting of the year, Soviet delegate Jacob A. Malik presented a resolution demanding the immediate ouster of the Nationalist China delegate since he was a "person representing nobody." The Nationalist representative, Dr. T. F. Tsiang, had just taken over the presidency of the council (it was China's turn in the alphabetical order of succession). When the council declined to take up the Soviet resolution at once and persisted in doing business under the chairmanship of Chiang's Tsiang, Malik walked out.

DAYS NUMBERED: Three days later Malik returned for discussion of his resolution. Dr. Tsiang temporarily stepped down from the chairmanship. Yugoslavia supported the Soviet demand. The U.S. announced it would not veto—if the resolution received the necessary majority of seven.

Since only five council members have recognized the People's Republic (and of those Britain and Norway were expected to abstain) passage seemed unlikely last week. UN observers were unanimous, though, in considering Tsiang's days on the council numbered.



DR. CHENG TIEN HSI

Chiang's ambassador to Britain drinks a philosophic cup of tea after he got his walking papers in London. This came after Britain's recognition of the People's Republic.

BRITAIN

Loyalty test

ON Feb. 23 British voters will go to the polls to elect a new government. At stake is the fate of a Labor government which four years ago promised Britain nationalization of all basic industries, including steel. It faces the election with 80% of industry still in private hands and with steel un-nationalized while voters are given a "second chance."

The question the election would answer was: How strong would labor's loyalty to Labor prove against the effect of the government's cold-war policy on living standards? Britain's Trades Union Congress, the Labor Party's backbone, had agreed to a voluntary wage freeze conditional on government action to prevent living costs from rising and on more vigorous action to tax profits. Last fall's devaluation of the pound led to a sharp increase in living costs; but at last week's TUC conference, the TUC's General Council demanded that member unions keep their wage-freeze policy.

Delegates upheld the wage freeze 4,263,000 to 3,606,000—a margin of only 657,000. (Vote is by memberships represented.) Jack Tait, writing from London for the New York Herald Tribune, said that "for all practical purposes the policy is believed to be doomed."

TIMED FOR A FREEZE: British miners, metal workers, railroad men and building workers had already refused. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer cabled from London: "The result will be that many unions will go ahead with wage applications and as living costs rise, rank-and-filers will press for strike ac-

Max Werner

Crisis in strategy

NINETEEN-HUNDRED FORTY-NINE was the year of the Atlantic Pact and of the Soviet atomic bomb. Yet as the just-published budget for 1950-51 shows, nothing has been changed in our military policy.

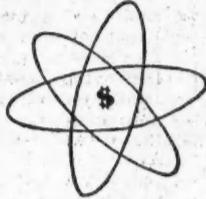
Ours is the military budget of heavy financial burdens and little military returns. Less than \$2,500,000,000—about 17% of the total—is assigned for procurement of weapons. With an overall military budget of more than \$13,000,000,000, the U.S. Army maintains some two armored divisions.

This shows the size of overhead expenses in relation to a single fighting soldier and a tank in service. Already today, in peacetime, this small military effort on the basis of an inflated military budget is over-straining our economy.

WHERE ARE THE WEAPONS?

More important than the financial strain is the strategic crisis revealed by this budget. In the procurement of weapons the Air Force has a lead of 2:1 to the combined Army and Navy. In its turn the heavy bomber leads the Air Force, and the A-Bomb leads the heavy bomber. Thus the A-Bomb is still the uncontested queen of U.S. fighting services, pushing into the background the land-war weapons.

In the budget tanks, guns and infantry weapons appear only as an unspecified part of the large groups clumsily called "major procurement other than aircraft and ships"—a motley group making up less than one-fifth of armament procurement and about 3.5% of the military budget.



What follows is that America's land-war weapons—the pillar of the Atlantic Pact and the U.S. defense of western Europe—have been reduced to the weakest position in our military system. Obviously we are living in a world of military fiction, following the illusion that the U.S. is ready to defend western Europe and keeps watch on the Rhine. The inconsistency is striking: now, either the military budget must be revised upward to our Atlantic Pact strategy, or our strategy must be revised downward to the realities of our budget, armament and fighting forces.

"SADISTIC FANATICS": Thus we still have military budgets of the pre-Atlantic-Pact era and of the pre-Soviet-atomic age. But the western European allies see closely the immense changes brought about in 1949, and their reaction against the atomic strategy is direct and violent. In the November issue of the conservative English Review the widely-known British historian Sir Charles Petrie writes quite vehemently:

Where the danger surely lies, is in the arguments which are already being put forward by the enthusiasts of the bigger-and-better-bomb school. These sadistic fanatics of total war envisage a struggle in which the participants will smother one another with atomic bombs until civilization itself disappears in an orgy of insensate destruction. Now that Russia has the atom bomb, the argument for the creation of a professional army became irresistible.

In France even the airmen who only yesterday advocated an air-atomic blitz are now appalled by the changed situation of their country, caught between two atomic bombs, the American and the Russian. "With the appearance of the Soviet atomic bomb, the air-atomic blitz is out," writes General L. M. Chassin of the French Air Force, and he draws the terrible dilemma: to be struck by the American bomb if France succumbs to Soviet land superiority—or to get the Soviet atomic salvo if she holds the defenses on her eastern frontier.

It is high time for us to understand that the western European rebellion against atomic strategy is serious and uncompromising.

tion if their demands are not granted. "The announcement of a general election on Feb. 23 was probably timed to come before the TUC conference. At any rate, right-wing leaders used the imminence of the election to try to secure wage-freeze support.

"British trade unions are still firmly behind the Labor Party's election campaign; but party leaders went too far in expecting loyalty to secure acceptance of wage cuts, especially when workers know that profits are still soaring and many are cynical at the salaries of up to \$21,500 a year being paid to directors of nationalized industries." (For the most part these are the same men who ran the works before nationalization.)

PLATFORMS NEW AND OLD: Labor's platform for 1950 has not been announced, but will probably call for continuation of the cold war and nationalization of a few minor industries. A conference to give Labor Party rank-and-filers a chance to endorse the final program was called off.

Still unfulfilled pledges from the Labor Party's 1945 platform are: Close cooperation with socialists everywhere including the Soviet Union; a democratic policy toward Spain and Greece; sympathy for Jewish immigration to Palestine; anti-colonialism.

Under Labor, British foreign policy was closely tied to the U.S. State Dept. The government has welcomed the anti-Soviet Marshall Plan and North Atlantic Pact, shown little reluctance to work with Spanish fascists, supported the Athens government, and used gunfire and additional troops to meet



Daily Worker, London

"All those in favor of freezing wages at 5% give the V-sign."

economic and political demands by natives in the colonies. Britain's Palestine policy led to an underground revolt and the creation of Israel.

The Conservatives had generally supported Labor on cold-war policy, opposed them on nationalization. Conservative leader Winston Churchill, enjoying a vacation in Madeira, flew back to London to draft the Conservatives' planks. The Conservatives had promised to keep nationalized industries nationalized, but would stop all further nationalization including steel.

GERMANY

2 ways to re-unify

"German is the Saar!
German it always was!
And Germany is my fatherland!
And Germany is my mother shore!
German is the Saar!
German it always was!"

Nazi Party hymn

An iron-lunged male chorus, backed by a brass band, used to blare that message through street-corner loud-speakers 12 hours a day back in 1935. Last month an echo still rang. At a Christian Democratic Party meeting in Bonn, West German Minister for the Reunification of Germany Jacob Kaiser exclaimed: "Its unthinkable that some people try again to confront Germany with a fait accompli on the Saar."

Germany had annexed the Saar Basin—one of the richest mining and industrial regions in Europe—after the war of 1870. After World War I, the Allies severed the Saar from the Reich and allowed an economic link to France. In 1935 Hitler vowed to bring the Saar "home." In a League of Nations plebiscite Saarlanders voted to go "home." Throughout Germany, "victory celebrations" were held. Saar coal was useful in World War II. After the war, the Allies again separated the Saar from the Reich and re-established economic ties with France. Kaiser's demand last month for another referendum brought history to a full circle.

In Berlin, West German Social Democratic leader Kurt Schumacher said that Kaiser was embarrassing the wrong people and advised him to pay more attention to the "real problem—the Soviet occupation zone."

VOTES WITHOUT VIOLENCE: Germans from the Soviet had a different formula for unification. At a mass meeting of Ruhr workers Hermann Mattern, vice-president of the lower house of the East German parliament,

proposed a "National Front" of East and West zone Germans to fight for the withdrawal of all occupation troops.

Said Mattern: "We demand general elections without the pressure of armored cars and armies. We feel ourselves closely connected with the Soviet army and, despite this, we want even the Soviet army to leave Germany."

West German Communist leader Max Reimann said that Germans who cooperated with the Western allies were "Quislings," and demanded the end to Western control of basic Ruhr industries and to the remilitarization of Germany. A year ago, the same Quisling charge had landed him in a British jail. Workers of many Ruhr factories were already on record as opposing Western investments in Ruhr industries.

UNEMPLOYED ARMY: West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer was reported planning to request the Western



allies to stop dismantling the Hermann Goering Works near Brunswick. It was almost the only factory left on the dismantling list because it was clearly useful only as a war plant. During the war it was worked by 85% imported (slave) labor. Adenauer's point would be that dismantling it increased unemployment.

Last month West German Labor Minister A. Storch proposed to lick German unemployment, now over 1,500,000, by reintroducing the forced Labor Service. That was the system adopted by Hitler in 1933 to take care of German unemployment then. Two years later it formed the basis for Hitler's German army.

PROTEST: In New York, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee planned a mass protest against U.S. renazification of Western Germany for Jan. 26, at Manhattan Center. The meeting was to protest the return of Nazis to head German cartel war industries, the revival of anti-Semitism and talk of a new German army, and the use of Spain as a U.S. war base.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

This week Dollar Stretcher reports on products tested by Consumers Union, publisher of "Consumers Reports," 38 E. First St., New York 3, N. Y.

Electric blankets

If you like your bed warm and object to the weight of ordinary wool blankets in very cold weather, you may like an electric blanket. Some users came to prefer electric blankets to ordinary ones, in spite of such annoying features as "hot spots" under folds and lumps where thermostats are sewn into the blanket. All blankets tested were safe so far as shock and fire hazards were concerned and the fabrics were sufficiently durable. All blankets operated on A-C only.

Those which rated best were General Electric PB5A1 (discontinued but still advertised at \$29.95); General Electric PB12A1, \$44.95; General Electric PB11A1, \$49.95; Sears Kenmore, Cat. No. 07005/07006/07007, \$29.95 plus shipping.

Wool blankets

The warmth of a wool blanket depends on how efficiently it holds the heat from the body itself. A blanket should feel soft and flexible, yet firm, and should spring back to shape when released. Held against the light, the weave should be even and close, without thin spots. The nap should not come loose easily when picked at nor fuzz when rubbed between the hands. Of 55 all-wool blankets rated, the following are among those high on the acceptable list: Mariposa Wynmoor, \$16.98; Pendleton Lot No. 178, \$14.95; Mariposa Wexmoor, \$13.95; Mariposa Broadmoor, \$13.99.

Electric shavers

SOME users can't get a satisfactorily close or fast shave with a particular electric shaver, while others rank the same shaver high for these very qualities. Some users find no irritation with shavers others found irritating.

You are advised to buy from a store which will take the shaver back if you don't like it. If your preference is for a close and speedy shave, you will probably do well to try the Sunbeam Shavemaster W, \$24.50, or the Remington Contour 6, \$23.50 first, since these were rated highest for speed and closeness by a majority of testers.

If your face is easily irritated, try the Schick Super 400, \$22.50, or Schick Colonel 300, \$17.50, first; but if price is paramount, your first choice might be the Sears Craftsman, Cat. No. —9282, \$16.50, or the Norelco Dryshaver 7735, \$16.50, and 7737, \$15.50 (AC only). All of the shavers tested, except the Norelco 7737, operated on AC or DC.

How to care for your watch

WIND your watch regularly every morning. Don't wind too rapidly, be cautious. Keep your watch dry. If it does get wet, take it to a reliable watchmaker at once. A fine watch should be cleaned and oiled from time to time. Try to avoid banging your watch; even pounding the table with the hand on which you wear your wrist watch may cause injury. Never open a fine watch yourself. Have a cracked, broken or loose crystal replaced promptly and don't wear the watch until you have a tightly fitted crystal put in. Plastic crystals, while unbreakable, scratch easily and may loosen after a time.

PROGRESSIVE CALENDAR

New York

Conference on Nationalism, Internationalism and the Jewish People, sponsored by the School of Jewish Studies, 575 Sixth Av. (at 16th St.), Jan. 14 and 15, 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Alexander Bittelman, Morris U. Schappes, V. J. Jerome & others will speak. Guest tickets at \$1 available at office of school.

Farewell Reception for Charles and Eleanor Bidien, sponsored by American Committee for Independence, Thurs., Jan. 19, Irving Plaza, Grand Ballroom, 17 Irving Pl., 8 p.m. Admission free.

Square and Folk Dancing with Piute Pete, sponsored by ALP 1st A.D. Village Club, Fri., Jan. 20, 8:30 p.m., 13 Astor Place, 5th Floor Lounge. Games and refreshments. Admission: \$1.

Chicago

North Side Conference To End Mob Violence Tues., Jan. 17, 8 p.m., Olivet Institute, 1441 N. Cleveland Av. Write: Pearl Hart, 30 No. LaSalle St., Room 1014.

"Pattern of Organic Evolution," a lecture by Dr. Everett C. Olson, Fri., Jan. 20, Swedish Educational League, I.O.G.T. Hall, 1041 Newport Av. Refreshments. Admission: 50c.

"Parade of Stars," sponsored by Progressive Party at new headquarters, 170 W. Washington St., Sat., Jan. 21, 8:30 p.m. Studs Terkel, Bernie Asbel, Peggy Kraft and others. "This party is for raising cash to buy chairs to support progressive bottoms," the announcement says.

Chicago Town Hall Assembly, sponsored by Cook County Progressive Party, Packinghouse Labor Center, Wabash & 49th, Sun., Jan. 22. Sessions: 10:30 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. Registration 9:30 a.m. PP ward clubs, trade unions, community groups, other organizations invited to send delegations and/or observers. Utilities, housing and rent control, relief, democratic living to be discussed.

Cleveland

Second Annual Convention of the Progressive Party of Ohio, Jan. 21 and 22, 1899 W. 25 St. Registration, Sat., Jan. 21. Fee \$1, unemployed 25c. Anyone may attend. Mass meeting in Ballroom Public Auditorium, Sat. eve., 8 p.m. Speakers: Elmer Benson, national chairman; Israel Epstein, writer on China; Irma Henderson.

Washington, D. C.

Scott Nearing will speak under the auspices of World Events Committee on "The Business Cycle—Boom and Bust," 7:30 p.m., on "Europe Loses World Supremacy," 9:00 p.m., Jan. 20, Lincoln Congregational Temple, 11th & R Streets, N.W. Admission free.

Canada

Father Clarence Duffy will speak on peace under the auspices of the Canadian Peace Congress Jan. 19, Windsor, Ontario; Jan. 20, Hamilton, Ontario; Jan. 22, Toronto; Jan. 23, Ottawa; Jan. 26, Quebec City; Jan. 27, Montreal. For further information contact Canadian Peace Congress, National Council, 18 Greenville St., Toronto 5.

'Nothing worth seeing tonight' The trouble with the movies

By Jean H. Lenauer

"WHY are there no good pictures worth going to any longer? We, for one family, will not go to a movie again until they have been improved. It's time you woke up."

This, according to Variety, the bible of show business, was a letter sent recently by a Brooklyn housewife to a major film company. It produced a lively response from collaborating executives, who got together to fetch the lady back to her free-spending habits. After a flood of inducements, they were able to report: "Apparently we have shepherded at least one stray back into the fold."

The incident shows better than anything else how disgruntled the public is with the movies. With recession a fact, the U.S. habit of movies twice a week has gone the way of two chickens in every pot.

NOT IN THE SCRIPT: The straws are waving in the breeze. Take the recent closing of the Embassy Newsreel Theater in New York. It was the oldest house of its kind, devoted for 20 years to newsreels and shorts. Television inroads were blamed for the end, but two days later the theater reopened with Quartet, a British-made film.

Item: Eagle Lion and Universal Films, both U.S. companies, were supported largely in 1949 by distributing two other British products, Red Shoes and Hamlet.

Item: Among the biggest box-office successes last year were Home of the Brave, Pinky, Lost Boundaries; in 1948 Crossfire and Gentlemen's Agreement did similarly well. The Hollywood high priests say this type of picture is wanted only by "parlor pinks," while the "public" clamors for "entertainment."

TEXAS ADDS A VOICE: A theater operator in Texas announced recently that he welcomed "controversial" themes, that his audiences liked films with a serious approach to Negro-white relationships. The south was heard from.

One begins to wonder if we haven't been getting the mental hotfoot for too long. The



"THE AFFAIR BLUM"

Gisela Trowe and Hans Christian Blech in the gripping German film based on a famous "Dreyfus case" trial that shook Germany 20 years ago. It is now being shown in many cities of the U.S. It has English titles.

fable of "audience resistance" has gone up in the smoke of controversy.

What happened to the highly touted bunch of anti-Communist and super-patriotic pictures? They were a tremendous flop. I Married a Communist had its title changed to Beautiful but Dangerous. A Canadian theater owner said of The Iron Curtain: "I expected business to be poor on this one and it turned out that way."

Progressives have long tried to influence Hollywood for the better. Generally the attempts have been in cities, yet it is the small community and rural re-

gion that needs the work. GUARDIAN readers would do well to ponder this problem, for they have an influence which could be meaningful on a national scale.

FINE FARE AT HAND: There is a growing list of fine films available which might not penetrate all over the U.S. The independent production The Quiet One is in its way a more incisive examination of the Negro question than the melodramatic films now being shown generally.

A film like the fascinating British Fame Is the Spur is the first serious and moving attempt to portray the danger of betrayal of the workers by one of their leaders.

The real core of anti-Semitism is laid bare in The Affair Blum, a German film which for frightening coldness is more effective than Hollywood's hysterical over-dramatizations.

If any organization went into this field, it could do yeoman work. It is vastly important that the images our people get are tempered regularly by the force of facts and truth.

JEAN LENAUER has for many years been writing about films and directing and producing them. At present he has his own documentary film unit. His articles will appear from time to time in the GUARDIAN.

Film sense

THE third issue of Film Sense, a hard-hitting antidote for Hollywood pap, has been issued by the Film Division of the N.Y. State Council for the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The magazine is available for \$1 a year at 49 W. 44th St., Suite 71, N. Y. 18, N. Y.

Besides tips on current films and biting notes about the Hollywood Way of Life, the current issues prints an article by Adrian Scott on French support for the Hollywood Ten, a lively debate on whether Pinky is a progressive picture, and a survey of international developments in sound-track techniques.

Pots & pocketbooks Instead of spuds ...

By Charlotte Parks

"TIS thankful you should be that you ain't havin' just 'praties and pint' for your dinner," said the old Irish grandfather. "Back in the old days in Ireland, the folks was so poor they only had 'praties' to eat, so they hung the picked bones of a salt herring from the ceilin' and when they wanted flavor for the spuds they p'inted a finger up at the herring and said 'God bless us all,' and how good the potatoes tasted!"

But though one could have a new way of preparing potatoes for every day in the year, the best of cooks is sometimes in a last-minute hurry or loathes the thought of peeling another spud.

MINUTE RICE: This is a new product and budgeteers of time

should look into it. It cooks literally in a minute and is put out by the people who make the familiar Minute Tapioca.

Ricotta Milanese

Italy is again sending us saffron for dollars and you can buy enough for this recipe in a nickel packet:

- 1/2 tsp. saffron
- 1 beef cube
- 1 cup water
- 1 cup rice

Dissolve the saffron and cube in the cup of hot water. Use in cooking rice. The saffron colors the rice to a tempting yellow that looks especially attractive with green vegetables.

APPLES! BANANAS! And eggplant. Fried, these are all a pleasant change from the seven-times-a-week potato. Core but do not peel apples. Cut in half-inch slices and fry

to a rich brown in bacon fat or margarine. Peel bananas and slice lengthwise. Cook long enough to brown and lift on dish with pancake turner. Fry frying the eggplant in half-inch slices (peeled) "as is," no egg or flour. They are fine with hamburgers or split frankfurters or old-fashioned pork sausage.

Fried apples and onions

This recipe was given me by a railroad chef who said he had been asked for "repeat orders" from Theodore Roosevelt and William McKinley, who both loved good food and plenty of it.

- 4 tart apples
- 4 onions
- bacon fat

Core the apples, don't peel. Cut apples and onions in quarters. Fry together until (like true love) they are tender but not mushy. Top with two or three slices of fried bacon. There is no law against serving mashed potatoes with it.

Spotlight on the displaced persons problem

What's to be done with the 600,000 refugees under IRO care?

To wealthy, busy New York last week came a faint echo of the forgotten war against fascism when 400,000 pieces of loot, stolen from some of the millions of people "displaced" and murdered by the Nazis, went on sale to aid displaced persons still alive in German, Austrian and Italian camps. Below, a Swiss correspondent tells about the DP problem still faced by the United Nations.

Special to the GUARDIAN

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

A LONG plasterboard barracks in Geneva with a view of ice cream-capped Mont Blanc houses the United Nations International Refugee Organization. IRO's task—to ship home 8,000,000 people left homeless in Europe at the end of the war—was the biggest in tangible terms of any UN agency. Some 7,000,000 were shipped home in the months following V-E Day in thousands of railroad cars, trucks and jeeps requisitioned by the Allied armies. Now, with the trek slowed to barely 20 people a month, 600,000 refugees still remain under IRO care in Europe.

In the Geneva office the sign, LOOSE TALK COSTS LIVES, still hangs on the wall—a hangover from the war. The slogan is truer now than it was then. IRO's priority job is repatriation. Because of the corroding rumors circulating in the camps—without open IRO sanction but without its open censure—thousands of DP's slowly decay into idle hopelessness. Propaganda about conditions in their homelands makes them flatly refuse to go home. In turn they are flatly rejected by resettlement teams touring the camps to select immigrants.

This is the cause of most of the sharp criticism directed at IRO, particularly from Poland where new manpower is needed while DP's are idle in the camps.

WHO ARE THE DP'S? Resettlement standards emphasize economic usefulness rather than humanity. First choice goes to young, single workers, leaving mostly "problem" cases: over-size families, unmarried mothers, middle-aged couples, the handicapped and aged, and especially profession-



THE KIISK FAMILY—AS ARRANGED BY THE PRESS AGENT
Did they wave the swastika banner when the Nazis marched in Estonia?

als and white-collar workers.

The remaining DP's fall into five groups:

1) Peasants and manual workers, often illiterate, small shopkeepers and white-collar workers influenced by anti-Communist propaganda in camp papers. Some have had brushes with the Soviet army.

2) Businessmen who have lost their properties and privileges since 1945. They prefer exile to socialism.

3) People with unconcealed records of collaboration with fascists. The IRO charter forbids aid to them, but the screen has its holes.

4) Active pre-war opponents of com-

munist, now afraid to go back.

5) "Emotional" refugees, mostly youthful, who fled after the war—law students, clerks, newspaper workers, engineers. Difficult to resettle unless they accept manual labor.

Camp conditions are best described as "borderline." Comforts are kept at a minimum to discourage malingering.

GERMANY'S "HARD CORE": Last November a group of "traveling salesmen" left Geneva to sell the world on the cause of these people. Not on the itinerary was the U.S., whose quota is nearly filled. Unless Congress acts on the pending DP bill, opposed by

nolys, anti-foreign Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.), there will be no more U.S. entry permits until next June.

Some 180,000 DP's may be left in Germany, Austria and Italy in December, 1950, when IRO's large-scale operations will end. In Germany there are some 8,000,000 homeless "Volksdeutsche" (persons accepted as "German" by Hitler) living in makeshift barracks with as many as eight rickety cots in one small room. The streams of U.S. congressmen who have toured DP camps since 1945—and who were fed champagne and statistics by IRO—were mostly too concerned about the plight of the "Volksdeutsche" to pay attention to IRO's "genuine" DP's.

All these people could constitute a dangerous "hard core" of dissatisfaction and bitterness in Germany. Western Germany now has about 1,500,000 unemployed and, like Austria and Italy with 76,000 and 1,300,000 unemployed, virtually bars any foreigner from a job.

THEY'RE NO HEROES: Many of the DP's could under the right circumstances be made into decent citizens of a democracy, but there is nothing heroic about them. When the 100,000th DP to enter the U.S.—Estonian Ferdinand Kiisk, with his wife and five children—arrived last year, IRO's Washington office made big preparations to celebrate. Newsreel and television cameras were lined up at the dock with radio microphones. Reporters were poised for a "human interest" feature.

But when the flustered Kiisk stepped off the ship, he couldn't speak English; he and his family looked like a portrait of rosy, well-fed burghers. Like most of his "displaced" countrymen, he was a voluntary refugee who preferred crumbling Germany to the Soviet army. He had been steadily employed while the Nazis occupied his country. The story fell flat.

Repatriation and resettlement of the remaining refugees are a truly monumental task. What is needed is not only liberalization of immigration policies the world over, but genuine re-education of the DP's and an end to the wild camp propaganda which makes solutions so difficult.

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ANOTHER THING: We all hear tell about the big progressive movements in N.Y., Chicago, California and the like. Well, for our money the progressive movement is centered somewhere between Oshkosh, Neb., and Joplin, Mo. In Joplin, a city of 37,000 men, women and children, the GUARDIAN reaches more than 200 homes. In Oshkosh, Neb. (population 960) practically the whole town reads the GUARDIAN.

For contrast, take the American Labor Party in N.Y. City. The ALP vote regularly runs between 250,000 and 450,000. Of these, about 200,000 enroll themselves under the ALP emblem at registration time. But only about 20,000 New Yorkers read the GUARDIAN regularly.

FOR THE ALP WE HAVE A SPECIAL SERMON which we will deliver another time. Meanwhile, here's our proposition to any ALP reader who will send us a penny postcard or call us up, now:

You give us your name and address; we'll send you a list of ALP members in your immediate neighborhood who are not GUARDIAN subscribers. For every one you sign up, we will pay you 25c commission (which we hope you will kick in to your

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Open wide—say 'bah!'

The AMA has a stranglehold on the doctors of America

By Robert E. Light

If you have visited your doctor lately, you likely found next to the usual array of magazines a stack of red, white and blue pamphlets called: "The Volunteer Way Is the American Way." These are some of the 55,000,000 pieces distributed by the American Medical Assn. in the last year, to prove that national health insurance is a "socialistic scheme" to destroy "free enterprise."

Your doctor may not feel about national health insurance as AMA says he does. He probably is an AMA member—the practical advantages are overwhelming. But even if he objects to its reactionary policies, his ability to oppose them is narrowly limited.

A socially progressive doctor is, however, undoubtedly the exception in today's America. More and more the profession is becoming a closed society for families who can subsidize their children through years of college, medical school and interning at absurdly low pay—families you would not normally expect to be progressive.

DREAM OF POWER: In 1901, after a half-century of obscurity, AMA reorganized under a plan to make it "a compact organization whose power to influence medicine would be almost unlimited and whose requests for desirable legislation would everywhere be met with that respect the politician has for organized votes." The plan worked well. AMA grew rapidly. It now numbers 140,000 of the country's 198,000 doctors as members. Its influence outside medical circles has also advanced. Government agencies have recognized it as the "official voice of the physician."

AMA's power over the medical field is now almost unlimited. It sets admission standards for medical schools. Graduates must have AMA approval in order to practice. State licensing boards follow AMA's acceptance or rejection of medical schools and hos-

pitals. Hospitals without AMA certification for interne training are almost impossible to staff.

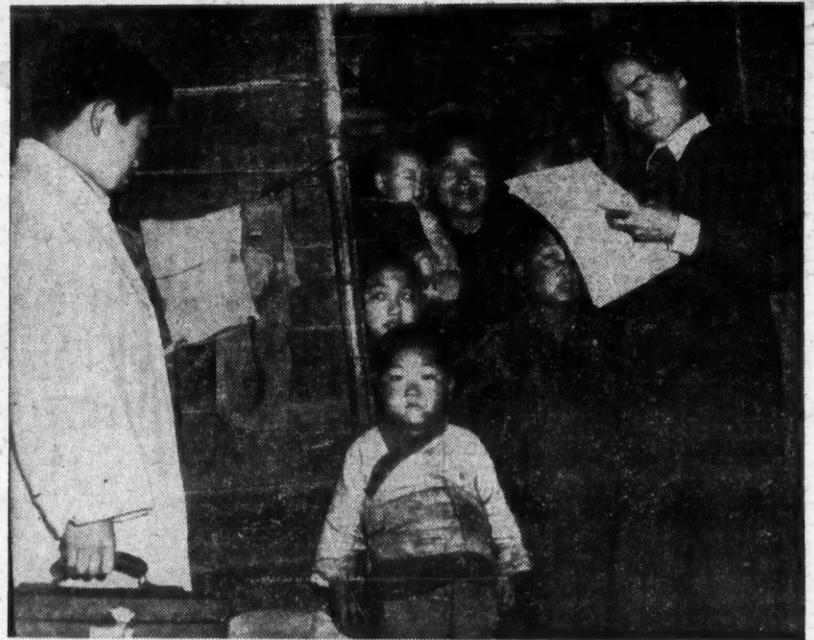
DOLLARS FOR DOPE: In the political field, as Harper's Magazine reported in its December, 1949, issue, AMA "has spent the best years of its life defending things as they were." In the '30's it was busily defending the nation against workmen's compensation and voluntary health insurance.

AMA has poured fantastic sums into lobbying. But last year when the tide seemed to be turning toward national health insurance, its leaders decided on an additional approach. They hired Whitaker and Baxter, a public relations firm fresh from successfully stumping California against a state health insurance bill, to "educate the public" against health insurance. A \$25 voluntary assessment was asked of all members to pay for the campaign.

Most doctors, fearing AMA wrath, kicked in. Others balked. Physicians Forum, a group of prominent doctors on record for national health insurance, advised its members not to pay the assessment.

CONVENIENT "ETHICS": A committee of 136 prominent physicians, headed by Dr. George Baehr, chairman of the board of the Health Insurance Plan for Greater New York, protested the propaganda campaign. They were afraid AMA would go too far and oppose all forms of health insurance. AMA leaders quickly huddled with the recalcitrant group and assured them volunteer health plans would not be attacked. But one of the committee, a prominent pediatrician in Arkansas, was fired as special consultant to the state health board and as instructor at the University of Arkansas because he had joined the committee.

About \$2,000,000 was raised from the assessment. Whitaker and Baxter opened fire. They distributed pamphlets and posters depicting the ills of "socialized medicine" to members, who



"Friendship Cargo for China" drive opens

Into the slums of Shanghai come a nurse and her helper, part of one of the Chinese medical teams sponsored by Mme. Sun Yat-sen. To help this work the China Welfare Appeal last week launched a \$25,000 fund drive for a Friendship Cargo shipment of drugs and medical equipment scheduled to leave the U.S. on Lincoln's Birthday. The national appeal was signed by O. John Rogge, noted civil rights attorney; Dr. Leo M. Davidoff, leading American neuro-surgeon; and John T. McManus, general manager of the GUARDIAN. Contributions may be sent to Dr. Gerald I. Shapiro, Hon. Treasurer, China Welfare Appeal, 439 Fourth Av., New York 16, N.Y.

in turn were to give them to patients. They placed advertisements in hundreds of newspapers and periodicals.

PUTTING ON THE SCREWS: Last month AMA took off the kid gloves. It made the \$25 assessment compulsory—to be paid annually by every member. Previously all AMA funds had come from the dozen magazines it publishes. Doctors seemed stunned by the levy. It was not yet clear what penalties refusal to pay would carry. Opposition seemed certain to come. The New York chapter had opposed the voluntary assessment last year. Most members had

not paid. It was to meet next week to discuss the new tax.

Physicians Forum and the Committee for the Nation's Health (also favoring national health insurance) were working on action programs against the levy. National health insurance legislation was not yet on the visible horizon. Yet in the long run all of AMA's power can no more prevent its passage than it could prevent voluntary health insurance. How long poorer citizens must continue to be penalized when ill-health strikes depends on how loud everyone hollers.

Look—no bills!

A diabetic behind the Iron Curtain

By Eleanor Wheeler

FROM the minute they carried me feet first into the clinic, gasping like a trout thrown up on the bank, I had shrewdly diagnosed my case as diabetes. The doctors had used other tests, had a bed ready, and without trying to discover my mother's maiden name or the size of our bank account they rushed me upstairs. Soon I was bristling with needles and insulin was flowing in.

This is how I slipped into a Clinic for Internal Diseases in Czechoslovakia—the hard way. And now to tell all. Briefly, they kept this patient a week, gave fluoroscopic and cardiograph examinations, numerous blood tests and urinalyses, full dosages of imported insulin—and we're still trying to track down someone to take our money. The doctor says he's a medical man and not to be burdened with financial talk.

All of the Czech people are fully and automatically insured against such misadventure. Everyone in my ward had her little gray book showing the basis of her insurance, and the staff didn't know how to fit a paying customer into the scheme. I see by the papers that social medicine has taken the soul out of medical practice. Can this be what they mean—no hospital bills, no soul?

PATIENT'S-EYE-VIEW: The daily ward examinations were detailed and thorough—not just to cure the patient so she could get out and free a bed, but in order to build up a case his-

tory to help the student understand what makes a diabetic tick or wheeze. Doctors and nurses worked hard to make up for overcrowding and lack of some supplies.

The examinations of the Moravian farm woman opposite me, and of the Slovak cook, were just as painstaking



as were those given the "interesting foreigner" or the wife of a former large estate owner. When the Slovak cook could not swallow the stomach tube to help in diagnosing her gall-bladder trouble, the head nurse and two doctors were called in to solve the physical and psychological problem.

Lying there soaking up three square meals (liver omelets, steak, cheese—a rich protein diet), plus three snacks a day and tea whenever requested, it was a chance to study a wardful of interesting Czechoslovakian women.

BETTER TIMES: The Moravian farm woman with a beautiful dark

face told of her life of hard work under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and of the persecution during the Nazi occupation: "If hard work brings riches, I should have more than these callouses to show for my efforts." Now she had good medical care and security.

I frankly stared at her putting on her costume from Uhersky Brod, with the richly embroidered bodice and brocade apron, and I sympathized with her for the long cold train-ride ahead of her. "Oh, my husband has reserved a compartment for us and I can at least lie down," she said calmly, as if this were all in a peasant's day's work.

The Anglophiles in the ward could hardly wait for me to come out of the comatose state to pop the \$64 question: "It's better in your country, isn't it?" Mrs. Novakova stamped off in a rage when I said objectively that I liked some things in each country.

She it was who later started singing smutty songs to hymn tunes. And it was the ward's Communist patient who objected. When Mrs. Novakova rebutted: "Why should you care, you don't believe in God?" she answered: "There is such a thing as decent behavior."

SOMETHING TO SING ABOUT: The last evening climaxed all the interesting happenings. The nearby men's ward struck up a song—not bawling out the melody alone, as we Anglo-Saxons are apt to do, but with full harmony. The women said: "Why should we just listen—we have voices,



haven't we?" Then the soprano of my frail blond neighbor, the rich contralto of the Slovak cook, Mrs. Novakova's deep alto joined in Czech folk songs and Christmas carols.

The book on psychomatic medicine says that the diabetic mind is very sly. When I left I couldn't help thinking that, to get back into the clinic for free concerts and this panorama of Czechoslovak personalities, it would be almost worth while to gulp down some forbidden chocolate bars.

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