

## THE GOVERNMENT DECREES:

### Peace is a 'foreign' word

THE PEACE INFORMATION CENTER is a tiny, always-impooverished organization with offices opposite old Grace Church in New York City.

It was set up four months ago under the chairmanship of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, one of America's most distinguished scholars—historian, humanitarian, holder of eight degrees from American universities, for 26 years research director of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and only Negro member of the Academy of Arts and Letters.

The Peace Information Center does exactly what its name implies: it dispenses information about peace and activity for peace throughout the world. At a penny an item or thereabouts—barely enough to pay costs—it has distributed Peace stamps, buttons, posters, leaflets containing the appeals and resolutions of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish world leaders, of Quakers, Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Red Cross, Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to World War III, American Civil Liberties Union.

One of its main functions—and here's the rub!—has been distribution of the Peace Appeal of the World Congress of Defenders of Peace, adopted at Stockholm, Sweden, on March 19, 1950—an appeal very properly and sensibly being circulated among people in both of the groups of nations that might potentially be at war with one another.

LAST week the Justice Dept. "requested" the Center to register under provisions of the Foreign Agents Act referring to those who act as "publicity agent for a foreign principal." Who was the Center's "foreign principal?" The Justice Dept. did not designate—but it did ask for a list of material "prepared or distributed by you . . . and by whom distributed."

From Paris, Dr. DuBois put his finger on the Dept.'s aim in ordering the Center to register, or face possible penalties of five years' imprisonment and \$10,000 fine. "Since there is clearly no justification in fact for this demand," he said, "I must assume that the Dept.'s action, which comes suddenly after several months of activity by our organization, is a further move by the Administration to frighten into silence the voices of peace in America . . . whether in support of the World Peace Appeal, the International Red Cross statement calling for banning atomic weapons, or the teachings of the Prince of Peace Himself. . . ."

"Branding those who work for peace as 'foreign agents' will not stem the tide for peace in America; it will not erase the two million signatures already secured for the World Peace Appeal."

THE reference to the 2,000,000 U. S. signers of the Appeal was to the point. On July 12, Secy. Acheson lashed out at the Appeal as Soviet-inspired and within a fortnight there was in motion an Administration-inspired movement to launch a "counter" petition. A meeting of representatives of at least 50 U. S. opinion-forming organizations, ranging from the NAM to the Girl Scouts, sparked by government spokesmen, discussed counter-appeals—for example one which would call for a ban on tanks as well as atomic weapons. At this meeting the existence was disclosed of a "Newspaper Committee," which was then already at work (July 26) on phrasing a counter-petition to be carried in every newspaper in the country if possible, with the support of church and civic groups, radio stations etc.

This meeting ended indecisively, by all reports, and apparently the Administration's "Newspaper Committee" has not reported in from the press club bar as yet. Meanwhile even police and hoodlum attacks everywhere in the country have not stemmed the peace tide throughout the U. S.

So the Justice Dept.'s action takes on the flavor of pique growing out of frustration—as if to say that if we can't stop the country from flocking to peace, at least we can put the kibosh on the crowd that started it all.

IN a way, the stern efforts of the Justice Dept. to close up the Peace Information Center constitute quite a compliment to this modest outfit, which has parlayed a mere hatful of \$1 and \$5 bills from peace-seeking Americans into a nation-wide peace movement while the Administration can't even get its own members of Congress (not to mention the Republicans) to agree on a tax bill to run their war program.

As Father Divine used to say: "Peace, it's wonderful." —THE EDITORS

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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NEW YORK, N. Y., AUGUST 30, 1950



WAR MOVES IN—AND THE PEOPLE MOVE OUT  
An everyday scene in the battered Korean countryside

## MONEY POWER REIGNS

**U. S. bankers  
renazify and  
rearm Germany**

PAGE 4

## Words to the unwise

An avidity to punish is always dangerous to liberty. It leads men to stretch, to misinterpret and to misapply even the best of laws. He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself.

—THOMAS PAINE, July, 1795

## Blustering Matt and Mac snarl U. S. gambit at UN

ON the diplomatic front last week the U. S. found itself trying to juggle a peck of very hot potatoes. At the 150th Anniversary of the Boston Naval Shipyard, Aug. 25, Secy. of the Navy Francis P. Matthews called on the U. S. to launch a "war to compel cooperation for peace." Forces who do not want

peace would oppose such efforts, he said:

" . . . They would brand our program as imperialistic aggression. We could accept that slander with complacency, for in the implementation of a strong, affirmative, peace-seeking policy, though it cast us in a character new to a true democracy—an initiator of a war of aggression—it would win for us a proud and popular title—we would become the first aggressors for peace."

The memory of the Navy Secretary—a former director and executive committee member of J. P. Morgan & Co.'s Northwestern Bell Telephone Co., a past Chief Knight of the Knights of Columbus, and a Papal Chancellor with Cape and Sword—needed some refurbishing: his "proud and popular title" had already been claimed by Hitler's Nazis. But the memory of the State Dept.—seriously embarrassed in its efforts to present U. S. policy as a peaceful one—was apparently better. It hastily disavowed Matthews' speech. A spokesman said the Dept. had not cleared it. However, it was cleared at the Defense Dept.

**NEW PROBLEMS:** The N. Y. Times admitted that Matthews' views were shared "by some other officials of the armed service departments and also by some members of Congress." So serious was Matthews' boner considered that Ambassador Philip Jessup was called on to follow up the original disavowal with an attack on all who advocate dropping atom bombs on Rus-

sia now. Said Jessup:

"Such an action would not only not solve any problems, it would create many new and terribly difficult problems."

Jessup then restated strongly the Administration's official peace-through-war-preparation policy. Advocates of the Matthews policy were left to wonder whether preventive war was not in any case its logical conclusion.

**DOUG SOUNDS OFF:** The Administration, and particularly its UN delegation, was at the same time acutely embarrassed by a message from Gen. Douglas MacArthur to the Chicago Convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The message was circulated to the press for release Aug. 28; Gen. MacArthur withdrew it on Aug. 27—at the direct order of President Truman, following a hurried consultation of all high-ranking officials. But it was already published to the world in the Sept. 1 U. S. News, which went to press before it was withdrawn. MacArthur said the U. S.'s strategic frontier now embraces "the entire Pacific Ocean, which has become a vast moat to protect us as long as we hold it." He continued:

At the present time there is on Formosa a concentration of operational air and naval bases which is potentially greater than any similar concentration on the Asiatic mainland between the Yellow Sea and the Strait of Malacca. Additional bases can be developed in a relatively short time by an ag-

gressive exploitation of World War II Japanese facilities.



He called Formosa "an unsinkable carrier-tender," with the capacity

. . . to operate from 10 to 20 air groups of types ranging from jet fighters to B-29 bombers as well as to provide forward operating facilities for short-range coastal submarines.

He attacked the advocates of "defeatism and appeasement" who believe U. S. intervention in Formosa will alienate Asia:

Those who speak thus do not understand the Orient. They do not grasp that it is in the pattern of Oriental psychology to respect and follow aggressive, resolute and dynamic leadership.

**HOW TO WIN FRIENDS:** Tokyo sources were quoted as saying they thought MacArthur's statement was in

(Continued on Page 3)



Canard Enchaîné, Paris  
Our days are getting shorter



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Vol. 2, No. 40



AUGUST 30, 1950

## THE MAILBAG



### One moment, please...

What did you do with the wrapper this issue of the GUARDIAN came in? Will you please dig it out and take a look at your address plate?

If the digits on it say "8-50," they mean that your subscription is expiring with this issue, the last in August. If they say "7-50" or earlier, your sub has already expired and you haven't renewed.

In any of these cases, will you take a moment NOW to attach a \$1 bill to your address-plate and mail it back to us today? It would mean the world with a fence around it for us to get a huge percentage of on-the-dot renewals in the post-Labor Day mail.

Now, while you're fishing out that \$1, why not consider the proposition we've been making in this space for the last several weeks: make it \$5 and take a convenient, wrapped roll of five papers a week—your own copy and four others to hand around to people you know who need and want the lowdown on peace, week in and week out. A good many such people will subscribe on their own if you hand out a few introductory copies a week.

Will you try? Use the handy sub blank below on this page.

#### Hide the sons

ASTORIA, ORE.

I picked up a newspaper and read an editorial which said that employment would be better, wages would be higher, business would be better, farmers would get higher prices. But in the very next breath was the added note that the Army must be increased. The young men must go into the service.

Underneath it all was the subtle appeal to greed, the appeal to the people to trade the lives of their young men for temporary prosperity. It reminded me of the story of the two Samaritan women in the Old Testament who made a bargain to boil their sons for food. They boiled the first mother's son and ate him, but when it came time to boil the other woman's son, she hid him. Will the other United Nations hide their sons?

Z. F.

#### Dried in the water

FARMERSVILLE, TEX.

We never have known a washer-woman trying to clean her clothes

by washing them in a swill-tub, then spreading them out to dry on a running stream of water.

But this is exactly what President Truman has been doing. He goes to gather up his clothes and finds that they have been washed away. He then returns to buy more clothes and order more boys. The boys are his cheapest kind of merchandise.

T. L. Huggins

#### Just one question

BYRON, ILL.

I want to ask one question: Why is it that our Church leaders want to stop communism with guns when they have done such a miserable job of Christianizing the people of the U.S.? I think that Franklin D. Roosevelt was right when the Methodist ministers went to him and wanted him to win the war through the Bible. He told them: The Methodists alone have enough members; if they would put the Holy Spirit to work, they could turn the world upside down.

Claud Conger

#### In the middle

NEW YORK, N. Y.

The Progressive Party has failed! It failed because its leaders were too concerned with criticizing the U.S. It failed because its leaders have blindly praised the Soviet Union. It failed because it did not appeal to the people. The people know that Russia is wrong. The fact that the U.S. is also wrong does not make Russia right.

I call on the Progressive Party to re-examine its position before it is too late. They must realize that the people will not accept their present international position. The Progressive Party must become new again, and remain new. It must return to the middle road between the U.S. and Russia. In this middle road it must find compromises that can be accepted by both sides. It must be the force that will bring the East and the West together, not on Eastern or Western terms, but on the people's terms.

Norman Beler

#### Ann Arbor over again

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

Enclosed is \$5 for Bootstrap. This, when added to \$153 previously sent by me, plus \$4 proceeds from Northwood's party, equals a total of \$202. We are again over the top! Except to continue plugging for the paper. The new goal is \$300!

Bob Sikk

#### Passing the word

WHONOCK, B. C.

I should like to be able to help financially to keep the GUARDIAN going, but, alas, my wife and I are just able to get by on our war veteran's allowance of \$70.88 per month, and I am 70 years of age. However, I pass around my copy amongst the neighbors, whilst I am canvassing signatures to the Stockholm Peace Petition, and tell them how much I like it.

Allan Grant



#### Pensions at 60

PAROWAN, UTAH

Sometime ago, I had a letter published in the Mailbag on pensions at 60. I have received many letters from people who are in sympathy with the idea.

If the people of 60 were pensioned and taken out of the mines, mills and factories and placed on the land, millions of younger people would then take their jobs and find permanent employment, people who are more able mentally and physically to do such work. People of 60 are still young enough to produce for the world, and an abundance of foodstuffs could be raised this way.

Progressives should organize people of 58 years throughout the nation who will turn 60 in two years to form "Pension Clubs at 60."

Olive Carroll

#### A double gift

BEREA, OHIO

Enclosed find \$5 to help. It's Mrs. Williams' birthday gift from her son in California.

Mr. & Mrs. G. F. Williams

## Free trade in ideas

**HISTORY** has not been without periods when the search for knowledge alone was banned. Of this we may assume the men who wrote the Bill of Rights were aware. But the protection they sought was not solely for persons in intellectual pursuits. It extends to more than abstract discussion, unrelated to action. The First Amendment is a charter for government, not for an institution of learning. "Free trade in ideas" means free trade in the opportunity to persuade to action, not merely to describe facts. Indeed, the whole history of the problem shows it is to the end of preventing action that repression is primarily directed and to preserving the right to urge it that the protections are given.

... The restraint is not small when it is considered what was restrained. The right is a national right, federally guaranteed. There is some modicum of freedom of thought, speech and assembly which all citizens of the Republic may exercise throughout its length and breadth, which no State, nor all together, nor the Nation itself, can prohibit, restrain or impede. If the restraint were smaller than it is, it is from petty tyrannies that large ones take root and grow. This fact can be no more plain than when they are imposed on the most basic rights of all. Seedlings planted in that soil grow great and, growing, break down the foundations of liberty.

SUPREME COURT JUSTICE WILEY B. RUTLEDGE for the majority in the case of R. J. Thomas vs. Collins in 1945.

#### Ithaca ALP on ball

ITHACA, N. Y.

To All Who Make the Guardian Possible: Enclosed please find a check for \$16. It is not a very large donation, but we hope to supplement this. A discussion of world events among progressives soon reveals the fact that the main source of our information is the GUARDIAN. We do not underestimate the importance of the role you play, and have pledged ourselves to help, as best we can, to keep the GUARDIAN presses rolling.

Walter J. Wiggins for Executive Committee American Labor Party

#### Needed: more guts

HAMMOND, IND.

I have recently sent in 11 one-year subs for the GUARDIAN. I believe the inhuman aggressive carnage of ours in Korea is the most unpopular of conflicts of all time, especially with our common people; but most of them haven't the fortitude to speak up in fear that they will all be branded Communist and be persecuted.

My ancestry goes back to the founders of Old Virginia, and we Brannons have fought in every war to preserve our Union. If we haven't the guts to speak up now, we are going down to defeat.

E. C. Brannon

#### A few grand men

LONDON, ENGLAND

Although the world's greatest scientists have told us of the destructive powers of A and H bombs on life and property, we are to rest content! Labour ministers and Tory leaders are assuring us to be of good cheer. Both sides of the House assume we will soon be in atomic war! A few grand men in Commons are striving for the people of the United Kingdom—and deserve our heartfelt thanks—yes, the thanks of ordinary folk in U.S.A. as well as the United Kingdom.

William Thos. Dandy

#### We won't rest, either

WOLLASTON, MASS.

Please find enclosed postal note, value \$10. It is part of my vacation money, but I would rather have no vacation than no GUARDIAN.

E. Unwin

#### To hurry the day

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Some day, perhaps, some of our citizens are going to get wise and discover that there is a very definite reason for war, in our political economy. To hurry that day, here are four questions for Americans to ask themselves, and to answer:

1. Who does all the fighting, and all the dying?
2. Who does all the dirty work, suffers all the degradation and is indispensable to make and keep the war machine rolling forward?
3. Who enjoys all the comforts and luxuries that are available, gets all the glory and all the medals?
4. Who reaps all the profits that flow from war? W. G. Winchester

#### Write for peace

FOREST HILLS, N. Y.

I have started a Letters for Peace Club among my friends in various parts of the country and the world. The club operates on the principle of writing as many people as possible enlisting them in the fight for peace. The people we write will in turn write others... rather like a chain, each of us links in the fight toward a better world.

If anyone is interested will they please contact me, and I shall send them complete details.

Ronnie M. Hollywood  
66-12 Grand Central Parkway

#### Never too late

MONTROSE, COLO.

"Just as I expected," as the old woman said when she looked out the window and saw the mountain hadn't been moved. Henry Wallace thinks the time has passed for trying to find out who is to blame for the Korean war. The time has not passed for trying to find out who was to blame in the Civil war, or the Revolutionary war, or the Holy wars since the commercial organization of the Roman Catholic Church, or the wars of Israel—the time has never passed to find out causes for social upheavals.

Pearl Cline

#### Pity the landlord

CHICAGO, ILL.

I am by you the most hated man. I am a landlord and yet you want my support. My only crime was that I invested all my earnings to provide shelter for some one without any appreciation, only bullying.

John Donat

P.S.: That's where your party is losing.



#### Make war impossible

CEDARIDGE, COLO.

I cannot subscribe to the Stockholm peace pledge because I think it is pitifully inadequate. If all these millions of people were signing a demand for disarmament it would mean something. Furthermore, by signing this Stockholm pledge, people gain a false security. Once a war is started, anything goes; there is no ethics. We should have learned at least that much. It is a mistake for effort to be wasted on anything short of making war altogether impossible.

Marjorie Brown

#### Blood, tears and stupidity

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Now a new ten billion in taxes is saddled onto the wage earner and profitable war subsidies are offered to the big corporations. Blood, sweat, and tears again. Voters, why are you so dumb?

Henry Dixon

#### History on our side

BISMARCK, N. D.

In quoting Mark Twain (GUARDIAN, July 12) you ask the question: Will this happen again? That is, will the Korean war—our U.S. intervention—get full support from the American people?

I would say that most certainly the opportunities exist today in our U.S.A. to so rouse our people against the warmongers that it cannot and will not happen again. It means a never-ending struggle on the part of progressives and true patriots, but if we do not tire we are bound to win because this time history works with us.

Alfred Knutson

#### The crisis is mutual

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

I always try to keep a spare buck around for any emergency that might arise. And I feel that your emergency is also my own, therefore the enclosed contribution.

Morton Shafer



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NEW YORK 7, N. Y.



(Continued from Page 1)

line with U.S. policy but had been withdrawn because of a "no statement" order on Formosa issued to all U.S. officials. New York's Gov. Dewey added his contribution to the Formosa embarrassment at Ottawa, where he castigated "the oriental mind of our persecutors." Urging Canada to support U.S. intervention in Formosa, he argued that since there is no military border between Canada and the U.S. an attack on one is an attack on the other. He seemed to infer that Formosa had become the 49th State of the U.S.

While U.S. voices demanded the mopping up, and if necessary fighting for, "the vast moat" of the Pacific, Winston Churchill pleaded in London that "the real peril is in Europe."

**CHINA PROTESTS:** At Lake Success, where U.S. officials said Soviet delegate Malik was "talking to Asia," notes were received last week from the Chinese Government in Peking. Foreign Minister Chou En-lai called U.S. intervention in Formosa "a direct armed aggression on the territory of China, and a total violation of the UN Charter." The note said the Security Council

... is obliged by its inalienable duties to condemn the U.S. Government for its criminal act in the armed invasion of the territory of China and to take immediate measures to bring about the complete withdrawal of all the U.S. armed invading forces from Taiwan (Formosa) and from other territories belonging to China.

Peking's second communication, addressed to Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie, demanded that China be given her seat at the General Assembly. The note said five members had been appointed to China's delegation and asked Lie to make the necessary arrangements for accepting the delegation and to "please reply promptly by cable."

In a note to the U.S. government, China accused U.S. and British airmen of strafing an airfield and railway center in Manchuria and demanded punishment of the flyers responsible and compensation for damages.



Daily Worker, London  
"comme, 5,000 miles off his course."

**UTTER CONFUSION:** At Lake Success China's accusation against the U.S. in Formosa was read into the record of the Aug. 25 Security Council meeting with an answer from U.S. delegate Warren Austin. The answer sought to justify the U.S. action on these grounds: 1) Formosa was "a scene of conflict" in the Chinese civil war and the U.S. move sought to neutralize the conflict. (The UN Charter, Chap. 1, arts. 4 & 7, expressly forbids any state to intervene in a civil war.) 2) Formosa still belongs to Japan and the Chinese are there now solely as the agent of the allied powers who have not yet signed a peace treaty with Japan. (In effect, Austin thus admitted that the Chiang Kai-shek group on Formosa is not a sovereign government, therefore not entitled to sit in the UN.) 3) The U.S. would welcome UN consideration of the problem. (If Formosa belongs to Japan, its future can only be settled by a peace treaty made with the participation of Russia and China.)

Thomas J. Hamilton in the N.Y. Times Aug. 26 thus outlined the dif-



The devastation is complete

Some pundits would have you believe that the war in Korea is really to liberate the Koreans. This is a picture of a former Korean town after liberation.

difficulties of the Formosa question:

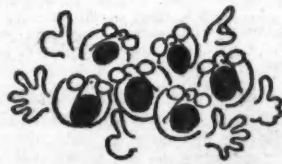
It is agreed that the root of the matter is the unwillingness of the U.S. to agree to the admission of Communist China to the UN. A growing number of delegates, even those from countries whose governments are opposed say it is their belief that this is vital to a peaceful settlement of the Korean and Formosa questions and the stability of the Far East.

The Formosa question was introduced in the Security Council in the closing moments of Friday's session and had yet to be discussed. Throughout the week the Council was concerned with Korea.

### U.S. calls own sources 'propaganda'

**STILL** deadlocked on "procedure," the Security Council heard Russia's Jacob Malik contrast the poverty and degradation of Western-dominated Asian countries with the growth in industrialization, culture and literacy of once-backward Soviet Asian republics. He documented the former from U.S. sources. On the latter he could have cited (but did not) the foreign Policy Assn. report of Feb., 1950, Soviet Central Asia: Development of a Backward Area, in impressive confirmation of what the press dismissed as "propaganda designed for Asiatics."

Fearing that Malik might capture the day's headlines without any reply from them, America's Austin and Britain's Jebb insisted on postponing the French translation. Although sensitive on this point of prestige, the French delegation submitted. Austin and Jebb, replying to some of Malik's charges about the origins of the Korean war, ignored Malik's documentation which was mainly from U.S. sources. Malik's statement, for example, that the South Korean regime was on the verge of collapse was a never-denied N.Y. Herald Tribune report quoting the South Korean Ambassador as so informing the State Dept. two weeks before the war broke. Austin flatly labeled it false and said:



"It is not necessary to answer each falsehood one by one. All one needs is to expose the tricks of propaganda which are being used here."

**THE DILEMMA:** Behind the scenes some delegations tried to map a future for Korea once it was conquered by the UN. Ideas tossed around by Austin about pushing Syngman Rhee "democracy" beyond the 38th parallel were not popular. The idea of holding elections also had its problems since it seemed probable that the popular front exemplified in the North Korean government would win. Thomas J. Hamilton wrote in the N.Y. Times, Aug. 24:

The difficulty is that there is a strong probability of an over-all Communist majority if the elections were held before the communization of North Korea had been undone and before a UN reconstruction program had assuaged the bitterness of North and South Korea against the destruction of their homes during their liberation by UN forces. In that case, communism would win by an election what it failed to obtain by an invasion.

Therefore, said Hamilton, delegations are talking about a period "of reconstruction and re-education" before elections are held.

**NEHRU SHELVED:** The Indian proposal to give the Little Six a chance



to find a Korean solution was shelved even before it was formally presented. The U.S. quietly opposed it; the Soviets were silent. The final death blow was delivered when Sir Owen Dixon, Kashmir mediator, announced failure to mediate the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir. No better pretext could have been offered for rejecting Nehru mediation than Nehru's failure in his own backyard.

President Truman last week named the U.S. delegates to the General Assembly. In addition to John Foster Dulles, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, John Sherman Cooper and Benjamin Cohen, they were Senators Henry Cabot Lodge and John Sparkman, and Mrs. Edith Sampson, Chicago Negro lawyer. Reason for Mrs. Sampson's appointment was given by Time. It was:

.... To answer Russian propaganda that Negroes in the U.S. are an oppressed people deprived of opportunity, influence and position.

Informed of her appointment, Mrs. Sampson said:

"I'd be glad to refute such propaganda. Of course there are some pitfalls for our race in this country, but they are not as bad as the Kremlin would like to picture them."

## Alarmed Europe sees U.S. 'swindle'

**THROUGHOUT** Western Europe a strong force for a "neutral peace," for detaching Europe's politics from those of the U.S., was building up among the people and given voice by important spokesmen. From ultra-conservative Catholic Brittany the GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent wrote:

Growing unmistakably all over France, neutrality sentiment is expressed with amazing frankness in the Breton villages. The people talk about the "dirty war" in Korea as they have talked about the war in Indo-China. There is nothing political about this. It's the jittery feeling that war is close and there'll be no glory in it for France or any other West European country.

The Catholic Academician Etienne Gilson in Le Monde invites public opinion to consider Walter Lippmann's proposals that the U.S.'s allies act to get her out of the Formosa involvement.



My Stock Is Rising  
Action, Paris

The growing desire to separate themselves from America affects everything in France which in any way represents the U.S. A friend in a fund-raising committee tells me he is forced into a back seat simply because, as an American, rich businessmen and professional people want to avoid any influence or advice he has to offer. The government is feeling very shaky about it all, as witness the immense publicity given de Gaulle's statement this week repeating his demand for power. De Gaulle is unlikely to start an armed revolt; but Premier Pleven's government, pressed by public opinion to cut French policies from those of the U.S. on Asia and rearmament, is certainly capable of turning the reins over to him.

Claude Bourdet in L'Observateur, urging adoption of a neutral policy and an "independent diplomacy," wrote:

The directors of France combine the maximum disadvantage of a foreign policy of Atlantic provocation and a domestic policy of social division with the maximum disadvantages of a policy of non-armament or "symbolic" armament which will lead the tiny French forces to disaster somewhere between the Rhine and the Elbe, leaving our land completely stripped of defense. Am I wrong to speak of a swindle?

**OUR RACKETEER FRIENDS:** In England, opposition centered on fear that the U.S. would involve Britain in war with China. Sir John Pratt, foremost British diplomatic expert on the Far East, chief of the Information Ministry's Far Eastern section in World War II, wrote to the Manchester Guardian:

It is the attitude of the U.S. that has made it impossible to create a world organization founded upon moral principles. The U.S. recognizes the gang of racketeers who have taken refuge in Formosa as the government of China and has induced other nations to follow her lead in the United Nations. This reflects discredit on the U.S. and on the UN but it does not transform Chiang Kai-shek into "the only legally constituted head of the Chinese Government."

The influential New Statesman & Nation, continuing its campaign against "MacArthurism," said flatly: "We do

(Continued on following page)

## GUARDIAN : 2 TIMELY MUSTS \$1 BOOKS ! FOR OUR READERS

BY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT WITH SHERIDAN HOUSE, PUBLISHERS, NATIONAL GUARDIAN IS ENABLED TO OFFER THE FOLLOWING BOOKS WHILE THE SUPPLY LASTS AT \$1 EACH, OR WITH A NEW SUBSCRIPTION OR RENEWAL TO THE GUARDIAN, \$1.75. BOTH BOOKS WERE ORIGINALLY PRICED AT \$3.50:

- [ ] People in Colonies, by Kumar Goshal, lecturer, historian and GUARDIAN writer.
- [ ] Soviet Russia: the Land and Its People, by Nicholas Mikhailov, leading Soviet geographer.

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SEND CASH, PLEASE; WE CANNOT HANDLE C.O.D. ORDERS.



## II: WHY THE U. S. ABANDONED PEACE

## Who's Who among U.S. bankers re-nazifying and re-arming Germany

Eighty-five years ago Abraham Lincoln warned that "the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working on the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed." Last week the GUARDIAN named the handful of Rockefeller and Morgan men who set out in 1945 to reverse Roosevelt's program for peace: Edward Stettinius (Morgan), Averell Harriman, now adviser to the President (Morgan-Rockefeller), John Foster Dulles (Rockefeller), Robert A. Lovett (Morgan), James Forrestal (Rockefeller-Morgan) and Robert Patterson, Jr. (Rockefeller). The "Money Power Who's Who" continues below with data on the representatives of these same financial interests who set out to recartelize, re-nazify and rearm Germany.

By Tabitha Petran

**JOHN J. McCLOY:** Pre-war partner in the Kuhn, Loeb (International Bankers), law firm Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood; Asst. Secy. of War 1941-5; joined Rockefeller law firm Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley & McCloy 1945; head of World Bank 1947-9; German High Commissioner since 1949. Morgan connections include brothers-in-law John Zinsser (J. P. Morgan & Co. director) and Ambassador to Britain Lewis Douglas (formerly pres. of Morgan's Mutual Life Insurance Co.)

The Cravath law firm, which through McCloy's efforts in the '30's recovered \$2,000,000 for the Rockefeller-Morgan Bethlehem Steel Co. in connection with the Black Tom explosion, was at that time chief U. S. counsel for the German cartel I. G. Farben. Farben with the international bankers Dillon Read and Schroder built the German steel trust, keystone of the Nazi war machine. In 1927-9 Rockefeller's Standard Oil cemented ties with I. G.; in 1939 signed with it the notorious "Hague Agreement" to insure cooperation throughout World War II.

As Asst. War Secy., McCloy picked Maj. Gen. William Draper and Gen. Lucius Clay (see below) to start the reversal of FDR's German decartelization program. As head of the World Bank, which has decisive influence on U. S. foreign relations, he chose as aides Chase Natl. Bank (Rockefeller) vice-pres. EUGENE R. BLACK and CHESTER A. McCLAIN, who handled the interests of Rockefeller-Mellon's Bethlehem Steel (former member of the international steel cartel) for the Cravath law firm. In Germany McCloy gave McClain the job of "decartelizing" his firm's old client I. G. Farben. Other McCloy aides in Germany are BENJAMIN R. SHUTE (chief intelligence officer, former Cravath partner) and BENJAMIN BUTTENWEISER (Asst. High Commissioner, former partner of Kuhn Loeb which operates closely with the Rockefellers).

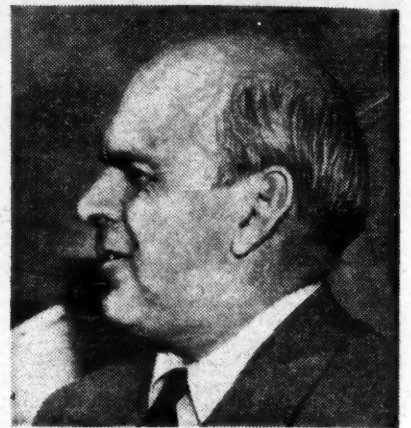
**ENTER PINKERTON:** Last year the State Dept. confirmed charges that applicants for McCloy's staff had to be "processed" at Cravath's N. Y. office. Cravath was also counsel for the Pinkerton Detective Agency. An associate of Bruce Bromley, Cravath partner who handled Pinkerton's and some Farben cases, was Hugh Fulton, who later became counsel



**GEN. W. H. DRAPER**  
The loans floated well



Praca, Bratislava  
**GI: "Denazification papers?"**  
**GERMAN: "In order. And yours?"**



**JOHN J. McCLOY**  
Picked and processed

to the Truman Investigating Committee. Fulton was credited with persuading Sen. Truman not to expose I. G. Farben's ties here. Bromley was named by N. Y. Gov. Dewey to the State Court of Appeals in 1949.

Chief finance officer in Germany when McCloy arrived was Chase Natl. Bank vice-pres. SHEPARD MORGAN. He resigned when ROBERT M. HANES (Southern banker and textile man and brother of John W. Hanes, a director of Morgan's Bankers Trust) took over as ECA representative in Germany. Head of AMG's Foreign Exchange and Blocking Section is ROBERT R. BOGDEN, former vice-pres. of the Anglo-German-U. S. J. Henry Schroder banking firm.

These other members and partners of the I. G. Farben-Kuhn Loeb law firm, Cravath, etc., conveniently turned up in key posts where they could determine Germany's future:

**HOWARD PETERSEN, JR:** Succeeded McCloy as Asst. Secy. of War 1945-7; picked judges and other personnel who conducted trials of Nazi war criminals and acquitted I. G. Farben, Krupp, and others.

**ALFRED McCORMACK:** Director of Military Intelligence 1944-5; Special Asst. Secy. of State 1945-7.

**ALEXANDER I. HENDERSON:** Counsel for Economic Cooperation Administration since 1948; became powerful behind-scenes figure, determining allocation of funds to Germany and other countries.

Other key figures in U. S. German policy were:

**GEN. WILLIAM DRAPER:** As vice pres. of Dillon Read, investment bankers, closely associated with German cartels; chief economic control officer in Germany 1945-7; Under Secy. of Army 1947-9.

Dillon Read, with Brown Bros. Harriman, placed more than 86% of the more than \$2,000,000,000 the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis borrowed from U. S. inves-

tors before the war. Rockefeller and Morgan representatives sit on the boards of both of Dillon Read's large investment holding companies. DR floated \$60,000,000 for the German Steel Trust, sharing profits with the four chief German banks. From 1926 on, the Steel Trust, I. G. Farben and the Schroders financed the Nazi Party and in 1933 put Hitler in power. DR also floated \$30,000,000 in bonds for the City of Milan under Mussolini. The bonds became worthless during the war but the U. S. forced the post-war Italian government to repay them and other Morgan flotations.

Draper chose as his assistants in Germany three officials of Morgan's Intl. Telegraph & Telephone—Col. Sosthenes Behn, Kenneth Stockton, Mark Strundstron; two General Motors (Dupont-Morgan)—Edward Zdunek and Peter Hoglund; two Socony Vacuum (Rockefeller)—Brandon Grover and Philip Glover; Robert McConnell of General Aniline & Film (I. G. Farben); Rufus Wysor of Republic Steel (Schroders and Victor Emanuel); Philip Gaethke, manager of Anaconda's (Morgan) Silesian mines.

**GEN. LUCIUS CLAY:** Head of Military Government in Germany; commander in chief European Theatre; head of N. Y. State Defense; became a director of Morgan-Goldman Sachs Continental Can in 1949.

When Draper became Under Secy. of War in 1947 Clay, noted as the pardoner of "Buchenwald Bitch" Ilse Koch, chose as his economic adviser LAWRENCE WILKINSON. Wilkinson left Germany in 1949 to join Draper in Dillon Read, and was recently named N. Y. State Civil Defense Director under Clay.

In Jan., 1949, Clay named a commission to run the Ruhr steel industry. It consisted of:

Four officials from Morgan's U. S. Steel; one from Inland Steel (Cleveland group); three from the German Steel Trust, five from other powerful German steel firms.

(Continued from preceding page)

not intend to be dragged into a war to restore the old regime in China." A Wall St. Journal dispatch from London, titled "How to Lose Friends," told of "secret talks" between the U. S. and British governments in an effort to "coordinate" their views on this subject:

Britain rightfully fears we may win Formosa by our policy of acting first and thinking afterwards but risk losing the rest of Asia in the bargain. . . . Our allies on the continent are also in strong disagreement with America's course in Formosa. . . . Formosa and China could easily become a debacle for the U. S.—but they could also be the stage for a bold initiative. The people of the non-communist world . . . are becoming increasingly demoralized at the sight of American diplomacy on the defensive scurrying hither and yon to meet the Russians' calculated parries and thrusts with expedients fished out of a hat. . . . An announcement that the U. S. government intends to recognize Communist China would be the sort of disavowal of dogmatism that would have a deep effect throughout Southeast Asia.

**GERMAN VOLCANO:** In West Germany, where top Nazi war criminals were released from jail, 10,000 workers in Frankfurt cheered wildly when speakers at the first International Socialist rally since 1928 condemned rearmament proposals. Adolph Kummerus, Transport Workers chief, warned of a general strike if Chancellor Adenauer proceeds with plans to establish an army. Most of West Germany's 5,000,000 organized workers oppose an army, he said, because they distrust Adenauer's government—in which a trade union report showed 15 former Nazis now in important positions, including Hans Globke who drafted Nazi legislation against the Jews.

U. S. Commissioner McCloy, meanwhile, was reported to have told Chancellor Adenauer to avoid such remarks as his recent statement at a press conference about "diminishing confidence of the Germans in U. S. troops as a result of the developments in Korea."

**BELGIUM SEETHES:** In Belgium the funeral of Julien Lahaut, chairman of the Communist Party assassinated by (it is believed) partisans of the pro-Nazi King Leopold, became the occasion for a huge demonstration against



De Groene Amsterdammer  
"The world's upside down these days"

re-imposition of the Nazi pattern in Europe. More than 100,000 people watched the cortege pass through the grimy industrial suburbs of Liege. The funeral of this man of "excellent heart and unalterable optimism, beloved by his opponents" (as the conservative Le Monde's obituary described him) was

"one of the largest in Belgian history," the N. Y. Times reported—surpassed only by those of King Albert and Queen Astrid. The Belgian labor movement, which recently barred Leopold's return to the throne by mass protests and a general strike, struck again to protest the assassination.

**GREECE ON THE ROCKS:** Even some of the most ardent supporters of U. S. policy in Europe were complaining last week. Former Greek Foreign Minister Tsaldaris said in Strasbourg:

"I was the minister responsible for bringing U. S. aid to Greece. Now the loss of our tobacco market in central Europe, our last major export area, and the subsidiary ones for currants—our second great export—threatens to undo that work. . . . We cannot let things continue as they are. Otherwise we shall be faced with mass unemployment and misery."

In Athens the "center coalition" government of Gen. Plastiras fell and was replaced by one headed by Sophocles Venizelos, in an apparent new effort to establish "strong-man" government.

**RIGHT-WING CASSANDRAS:** In the U. S., uneasiness about the effects of Truman policies spread far to the right. Returning from six weeks in France, a delegation of right-wing CIO and AFL leaders told newsmen they were shocked by the desperate plight of French workers under the Marshall Plan. John Livingston, right-wing vice-president of the CIO Auto Workers, saw disaster ahead "unless something is done soon to improve living conditions in France, Italy and Western Germany."

With regard to Korea, Bob Considine of Hearst's International News Service cabled from Tokyo that he had yet to meet a reporter "who shared even remotely the optimism of Washington and Tokyo." Columnist Walter Lippmann and the Wall St. Journal looked with foreboding at the global implications of Korea for America's future. Commenting on University of Pennsylvania president Harold Stassen's call for an atomic-backed ultimatum to Russia, the Journal said:

It is singularly inappropriate to start talking about licking the Soviets when practically our entire available military force is unable to put the North Koreans in their place. . . . Specifically, the remedy for the extravagant danger and the military idiocy of a policy of world-wide commitments is to scale down the commitments to the point where they begin to be manageable. . . . That the foreign policy of the Truman Administration is and has been "almost unbelievably confused and inefficient" we are not inclined to dispute. We only regret that the confusion is not confined there.

In an article titled "Cassandra Speaking," Lippmann said the "deficit in our diplomacy" was being enlarged as our obligations

. . . have become greatly inflated, because we have allowed ourselves to be drawn into a war on the ground on the Asiatic mainland and into direct conflict with China. . . . We are in this most dangerous position because the President and his Secy. of State have lost control of U. S. foreign policy. They are captives of their critics. They are carrying out unhappily and ineffectively a policy imposed upon them by their political opponents. And they, in turn, though they are dictating the policy, have neither the power to make it work nor the responsibility if it does not work but leads to a kind of global Korea.



## North Koreans attack again

**CORRESPONDENTS** in Korea last week reported an upsurge of optimism among U.S. forces who were still holding along the Naktong River line. U.S. papers featured news of victories. At the week-end the North Koreans made a surprise attack down the East Coast. The N. Y. Herald Tribune's Homer Bigart wrote:

Only yesterday American and South Korean officers were congratulating themselves on having beaten off what they thought was the last serious threat to the bridgehead. . . . Today the theme was quite different.

Robert Martin (Overseas News Agency) cabled that "battle-wise Americans say a further withdrawal [back from the Naktong River line] is imperative." A N. Y. Times headline, Aug. 28, pictured Gen. Walton Walker, commander of ground forces in Korea, as "imploping" South Korean forces to hold and await a U.S. counter-offensive. A party of 32 British officers and men, advance unit of two battalions from Hong Kong, landed in Korea Aug. 27.

### PEACE

273,470,566

**I**N a three-month period up to the middle of August 273,470,566 persons in 75 countries had signed their names to peace petitions urging an international ban on the atom bomb. Nobel Prize winner Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace, who reported the figure, said that in many countries the petition drive was just getting under way, predicted many million more signatures before the campaign ends. He said:

"Banning of atomic weapons is the necessary first step to ease international tension; granted this, the peace of the world, which now stands in grave peril, can yet and will be saved."

Sixteen countries reported 1,000,000 or more signatures each. The Soviet Union topped the list with 115,275,000. In Korea 5,680,000 had signed; in the U. S. the figure neared 2,000,000.



Dikobraz, Prague

In New York the Labor Conference for Peace, sponsors of the petition that has become known as the Stockholm Pledge, fixed Sept. 23 as the official end of the signature drive. Half a million New Yorkers have already signed up.

**THE SEAMEN & THE BISHOP:** The Conference issued a formal statement of policy:

We trade unionists favor peaceful mediation through the United Nations to end the war in Korea, and thus prevent it from spreading to the world with the ensuing danger of total atomic disaster. Mediation means survival.

On Thursday a list was released of 76 prominent Negro Americans who have signed up, ranging from bishops to bebop inventor Charles Parker. Around the country press, radio, police and hoodlums still harried petition circulators, but the work went on. Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, threatened to remove from U.S. ships 4,000 seamen who had signed petitions; within 24 hours 367 more signed up. In Portland, Ore., local papers attacked the Right Rev. Benjamin D. Dagwell, Episcopal Bishop of Oregon, and 14 other prominent citizens who had signed. The Bishop answered:

"If I signed a thing sponsored by a subversive group, that is too bad. But I would rather find myself shouldered to shoulder with a group working for peace than in a camp of warmongers who think we can settle the present world difficulties only by bloodshed. . . . We give lip service for peace, but we deride our educators, our clergy and anyone else who strives to attain peace. At the conclusion of every service I give, I close with the prayer for peace in God. Should I throw this aside along with my vestments?"

### FREEDOMS

## Repression rides all over America

**A**LL around the country U.S. citizens in the exercise of constitutional liberties were being kicked around. These were some of the week's events:

**FLORIDA: TAMPA:** The city government planned to invoke a state anti-subversive law adopted in 1941 against peace petitioners and Progressive Party members. **JACKSONVILLE:** An ordinance banning Communists from the city limits went into effect. A seaman suspected of Communist sympathies was removed from his ship by the Coast Guard. **LAKELAND:** The City Commission adopted an ordinance banning Communists. **WINTER HAVEN:** A loyalty oath for city employes was adopted. **MIAMI, Fla.:** Police raided Progressive Party headquarters, arrested eight. Hoodlums twice attacked the headquarters. The Progressive Party was evicted. An ordinance requiring Communists to register with police and restricting meetings and leaflet distribution passed a first reading by the City Commission.

**DURHAM, N. C.:** William Evans, 26-year-old infantry veteran, graduate student of history at Duke University and son of a recorder court judge, defied a judge's order to police to arrest as vagrants any persons circulating peace petitions. Arrested, he demanded a jury trial as a test case.

**GEORGIA: CARROLLTON:** Homer Chase, state leader of the Communist Party free on bail pending appeal of a contempt of court conviction, was ordered re-arrested and his bail revoked; the sheriff said the jailing of

Harry Bridges was regarded as a precedent for the action. **MACON:** A new law gave Communists 48 hours to get out of town. **ATLANTA:** A new ordinance directs police and individual citizens to furnish the FBI with any information they may have concerning Communists and sympathizers.

**CALIFORNIA: SANTA MONICA:** Hoodlums attacked an Independent Progressive Party street corner peace meeting with bottles and rocks; the speaker was arrested. **CULVER CITY:** An ordinance was adopted to prevent circulation of the Stockholm peace pledge. **LOS ANGELES:** The City Council was advised by the city attorney to consider carefully a proposed ordinance requiring Communists to register with the police, but the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors with jurisdiction over unincorporated areas adopted three ordinances requiring such registration with the sheriff. **HOLLYWOOD:** Screen Directors Guild members began voting on a referendum setting up loyalty oaths as a condition of membership; new applicants are already required to take such oaths. **BERKELEY:** Eighteen prominent alumni of the University of California issued an appeal for support to save "the welfare and dignity of our university" in the fight against a loyalty oath for all employes.

**MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.:** Carl Smith, chairman of the Young Progressives of America, was arrested without charges. Police explained they were holding him



for the FBI. When this was denied, a driver's license charge was placed against him, although he was not in an automobile when arrested.

**NEW YORK CITY:** Rockwell Kent and Albert E. Kahn, both officials of the International Workers Order, were denied passports. Paul Robeson, singer and progressive leader, was offered reinstatement of his if he promised to make no public statements abroad. He refused.

Fall premiere of the TV "Aldrich Family" program was canceled because Jean Muir, cast as Mother Aldrich, was on the "red" blacklist published by the magazine Counter-Attack. Protests against her appearance were led by Mrs. Hester McCullough of Greenwich, Conn., who was sued by entertainers Paul Draper and Larry Adler when she publicly called them "pro-Communists."

**INDIANAPOLIS, IND.:** The State convention of the American Legion voted to give financial aid to all in the "front line against communism," chose as first



recipient Mrs. Hester McCullough of Greenwich, Conn.

**MICHIGAN: LANSING:** It was learned that the State Legislature, just before adopting a proposal to put on the ballot in November a law outlawing progressives, agreed to purchase from the Ford Motor Co. a site for a concentration camp in the Upper Peninsula. **DETROIT:** Right-wing leaders of the Ford Local of the United Auto Workers planned to try five officers of the local as "reds."

**CHICAGO:** Gov. James H. Duff of Pennsylvania, speaking at a Moose convention, repeated his demand that communists and atomic spies be hanged. The headquarters of the 5th Army announced that "subversives" would be taken into the armed forces for supervised work in labor gangs. Gov. Adlai Stevenson refused to promise immunity to Haywood Patterson, Scottsboro defendant, if he spoke in the state.

**WENTWORTH-BY-THE-SEA, N. H.**

(Continued on following page)

### WHEN IS AGGRESSION NOT AGGRESSION?

## UN's double standard has lost it the world's respect

Less than 24 hours after war began in Korea the UN Security Council met and, on the basis of reports from only one side, condemned North Korea and demanded a cease-fire. Two days later—when U.S. armed forces had already been ordered into action in Korea—the UN put its label on military sanctions against the "aggressor," whose case it had never heard. The timetables below of events in previous cases where fighting broke out shows why the UN's precipitate Korean action has lost it prestige throughout the world. The Indonesian story, in particular, shows that the Security Council never punishes colonial powers.

#### Indonesia

July 30, 1947: India, Australia tell Security Council fighting in Indonesia (Dutch attack, violating agreement, on republicans in their old colony) endangers peace. Dutch protest that it is "domestic issue of Netherlands empire."

Aug. 1, Council calls on both sides to cease fighting, settle dispute peacefully, inform Council of any progress made. Both sides later inform Council they have issued cease-fire order.

Aug.-Oct.: U.S. resolution sets up commission to help settle dispute "if the parties so requested." Dutch continue war operations.

Nov. 1: Resolution passed asking the committee to help the parties reach an agreement on an arrangement to "ensure observance of cease-fire resolution."

Jan., 1948: Fighting continues. News comes that on the 17th the two parties will sign Renville truce and political agreement to be basis for further negotiations.

June: Negotiations suspended, Indonesia complains of Dutch blockade.

Dec.: Dutch resume military actions



"I insist that you condemn the aggressor first."

against Indonesia. Another resolution passed calling for cease-fire and immediate release of Indonesian leaders arrested by the Dutch. No sanctions.

Jan. 7, 1949: Commission reports resolution not implemented by Dutch.

Jan. 21: Dutch again requested to stop fighting, release Indonesian leaders. U.S.S.R. calls for Dutch troop withdrawal to where they were as provided by Renville truce. Proposal rejected by Council.

Dec., 1949: Debate finally ceases with round-table conference at The Hague creating U.S. of Indonesia, which continues Dutch economic control of Indonesia.

#### Palestine

Nov., 1947: Assembly approves partition of Palestine; fighting starts between Palestine Arabs and Jews.

Dec. 9: The Secy.-Gen. having put up case to the Council, Council decides to postpone discussion.

Feb., 1948: Council invites Jew and Arab representatives to participate in discussion. April 1: Resolution passed calling for a truce.

April 23: U.S. introduces resolution to establish truce commission.

May: Neighboring Arab countries invade Palestine. U.S. introduces resolution calling the situation a breach of the peace, ordering cease-fire within 36 hours; proposes list of questions to all parties "for additional information."

June 11: Truce finally in effect after Arabs first refused to comply and mediator to set cease-fire terms was appointed.

July 13: Situation still considered a threat to peace. All parties asked to enforce cease-fire.

Aug. 18: Mediator informs Council situation in Jerusalem deteriorating, resumption of hostilities feared. No sanctions.

Sept. 17: Mediator murdered. No sanctions.

Oct. 19: Another cease-fire resolution passed.

Nov. 19: Another resolution, calling for withdrawal of troops behind positions occupied Oct. 14.

Dec.: Council examines reports on truce violations by Israelis. No sanctions.

Feb.-Mar., 1949: Israel signs armistice with Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon. No more fighting.

Dec., 1949: Assembly votes to internationalize Jerusalem. Israel and Jordan refuse to comply, occupy the city. No sanctions; Assembly "will take up the question again."

#### Kashmir

Jan., 1948: India complains of Pakistani invasion of Kashmir, India and Pakistan invited to take part in the discussion. Resolution passed calling on the parties to take measures to improve the situation. Commission set up to investigate and mediate.

Mar.: Discussion resumed after India asked postponement in Feb.

April: Commission enlarged, details drafted for restoration of peace and a plebiscite.

Aug. 13: Cease-fire order adopted.

Jan. 1, 1949: Cease-fire put into effect.

Dec.: Parties disagree about demilitarization conditions; commission deadlocked.

Jan., 1950: Council resumes discussions. President asked to continue informal talks with the parties.

May: New one-man commission (Sir Owen Dixon of Australia) arrives on the scene.

Aug. 22: Dixon reports "no immediate prospect of settling differences." Troops face each other on line giving India three-fourths of Kashmir, three-fourths of whose population are Moslems. New Council discussion reported "likely" in Sept.



(Continued from preceding page)

Owen Lattimore, exonerated of charges made against him by red-hunting Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisc.), was barred from speaking at a resort hotel, after protests led by a local leader of the Daughters of the American Revolution and a vote of hotel guests in which less than 75% approved.

**MASSACHUSETTS:** CAMBRIDGE: Harvard University banned from the campus the John Reed Club and the Young Progressives Club. **FALL RIVER:** A Sunday afternoon program of the Communist Party which has been on the air over a local station since 1947 was banned. **QUINCY:** The rector of two Protestant Episcopal churches was dismissed because he supported the Stockholm peace appeal.

### The Bill of Rights expires

THE Congressional maneuvering was over; the blitz against American civil rights was set to begin. Confident they had taken the play from the Republicans, Truman Democrats expected to push through both houses of Congress early this week legislation of their own that would rob Americans of freedoms they have preserved for 150 years.

In the House it would be the Un-American Activities Committee's "anti-subversive" bill—a toughened re-write of the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon bill but with Democratic sponsorship. In the Senate first consideration would go to Sen. Pat McCarran's (D-Nev.) package bill wrapping up all proposed repressive measures. A third measure, drafted by the Administration itself, seemed to take third place in Congressional popularity. Enactment of any of the three would convert the U.S. into a police state. **GUARDIAN's** Washington correspondent John E. Stone reported:

The Un-American Activities Committee's bill is simply the Mundt bill re-worded to make the provisions calling for the registration of Communists and all organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list look less un-Constitutional. The catch-all McCarran bill tightens up the espionage laws, extends the statute of limitations to ten years from the present three, requires registration of all progressives, provides fines of \$5,000 and one-year jail terms, screens all diplomatic representatives from "unfriendly" countries, provides for concentration camps for aliens ordered deported. Considered milder by some, the Administration's bill will be the most oppressive since the Alien and Sedition laws if it wins. It beats the Supreme Court in attempting to constitutionalize the Smith Act under which the Communist leaders were convicted. It legalizes the jailing of Harry Bridges. It requires all persons who have learned tactics of espionage from a foreign government or foreign political party to register as foreign agents. It has

no definitions. Because of this last, Jerry O'Connell of the National Committee to Defeat the Mundt bill says "it is just as bad if not worse than the Mundt bill."

**CONTENTED COX:** The House Rules Committee took only five minutes to report out the "anti-subversive" bill. House Majority Leader McCormack (D-Mass.) promptly scheduled it for a Tuesday vote. Jubilant representatives suggested floor debate be limited to three minutes. "That's all it will take," said Georgia Dixiecrat E. E. Cox. "We've got them on the run. This bill suits me just fine."

Senate action was expected early in the week following completion of work on the tax bill.

### Federal Court frees Bridges



HALLINAN AND BRIDGES  
Faith restored

RARELY has a federal judge been more sharply rebuked by a higher court. On Thursday the Ninth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco ruled that Federal Judge George B. Harris made Harry Bridges, West Coast longshoremen's leader, "appear a victim of judicial tyranny" when on Aug. 5 he revoked Bridges' bail pending an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The government's argument in moving to revoke Bridges' bail after the outbreak of the Korean war, (was that Bridges was a menace to security) was "as startling as it is novel," the appeals court found:

There is no showing that Bridges has in the present juncture committed any recog-

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"armchair progressive."  
Get subs — Send \$\$  
to the Guardian.

nizable crime, or that he has himself counseled or advocated sabotage, or sought to foment strikes or the establishment of picket lines on the waterfront or to impede by other means the prompt loading and dispatch of ships to the Far East.

**WON'T "SUBVERT JUSTICE":** The court called Bridges' jailing "admittedly without precedent in the history of the Republic," and said the action was taken to "make the courts the effective instrument of executive expediency"—a practice once common in early English history but banished from all modern English-American law:

A Bridges singled out and jailed by arbitrary judicial action while he is prosecuting with diligence his good-faith appeal poses to our minds a more serious menace to the nation and its institutions than does a Bridges enlarged on bail in accordance with the established rules of law and the decisions and practices of the courts.

In reference to courts becoming "the tools of military expediency," the two judges continued:

... We say now, with all the emphasis we are able to command, that however hard and disagreeable may be the task in times of popular passion and excitement, it is the duty of the courts to set their faces like flint against this erosive subversion of the judicial process.

Defense attorney Vincent Hallinan greeted the decision as "restoring my faith in the courts." In Washington J. Joseph Donohue, special government prosecutor who handled the bail-revoking action, said:

"I am going to resign tomorrow. God help America."

### ILWU backs Bridges

WEST Coast newspapers were in prophetic mood. The coastwise caucus of 94 delegates from 32 locals of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union would, they predicted, sharply curb or possibly end the leadership of Harry Bridges. Right-wing opponents had boasted they would force his resignation as president.

But the first order of business was the adoption, 50 to 14, of a resolution



condemning Bridges' imprisonment as "a vicious continuation of the ruthless drive to dismember and ultimately destroy the union." Eighty-seven delegates signed a letter to Bridges:

We stand and fight together as we always have, for the union. We salute your guts in standing up as you did and we pledge our continuing effort for sanity and justice.

The caucus voted to demand a straight 10% wage increase when a coastwise contract becomes open for negotiation Sept. 30. It also voted non-compliance with a Natl. Labor Relations Board order that the union give up its

### In Contempt

By Aaron Kramer

Build wide, build high your  
dungeon-wall  
that there be room enough for all  
who hold you in contempt. Build  
wide,  
that all the land be locked inside!  
Though you have seized the valiant  
few  
whose glory cast a shade on you,  
how can you now go home with ease  
jangling the heavy dungeon-keys?  
The birds, who still insist on song,  
the sunlit stream, still running  
strong,  
the flowers, still blazing red and  
blue,  
all, all are in contempt of you!  
The parents, dreaming still of peace,  
the playful children, the wild geese  
who still must fly, the mountains,  
too—  
like fists—are in contempt of you!  
When you'll have seized both moon  
and sun,  
and jailed the poems one by one,  
and trapped each troublemaking  
breeze  
then you can put away your keys.

hiring hall.  
In three resolutions on Korea full support to the war effort was pledged. The caucus severed all connections between the ILWU and the Maritime Federation of the World and the World Federation of Trade Unions. The action automatically terminated Bridges' honorary presidency of the MFW, the chairman ruled.

### Jimcrow dented in N.Y. housing project

SINCE 1943 a campaign had been fought in a dozen different ways to force the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. to admit Negro tenants to its giant tax-free housing project of Stuyvesant Town in New York.

Bills have been introduced in the City Council to end jimcrow in semi-public housing. The company has been brought into court only to be upheld in the right to "select its own tenants."

**THE QUALIFIED THREE:** Last week Metropolitan announced that some "qualified Negro families" would be admitted, but added: "No change in basic policy is involved."

The jimcrow walls were dented but not tumbling down. Some feared a quota system. According to the N.Y.

(Continued on following page)

## BIRMINGHAM: Democracy ruled out of city limits

Sam Hall, Alabama State chairman of the Communist Party, will return this week to Birmingham to test a statute which has become the model for repressive municipal legislation in many parts of the country. On Tuesday, Sept. 5, he and Civil Rights Congress attorneys will ask Judge Mullins in Federal District Court to restrain the City of Birmingham from enforcing Ordinance 781-F against Communists and progressives; to declare the Ordinance null and void and to issue temporary injunction against its enforcement while the case is being heard.

This is a picture of Birmingham under Ordinance 781-F.

By Elmer Bendiner

AT regular intervals over the radio in Birmingham, Ala., comes this spot announcement: "If anyone comes to your door and talks about peace, hold him and call the police."

Birmingham has the honor of being the first U.S. community to outlaw a political minority. It is a criminal offense there to be a "communist" within the city limits, to be seen talking to a "communist" in a "non-public place," to help distribute written or printed matter published by an organization in which a "communist" shares in making policy.

Those who protest publicly that the

ordinance is unconstitutional are ostentatiously shadowed. The technique is effective. One southern woman passing through Birmingham telephoned a lawyer who only 10 days before had protested in a signed letter to a newspaper. When she congratulated him on his stand he grew panicky and shouted into the telephone: "Don't call me again. I ought to turn you in."

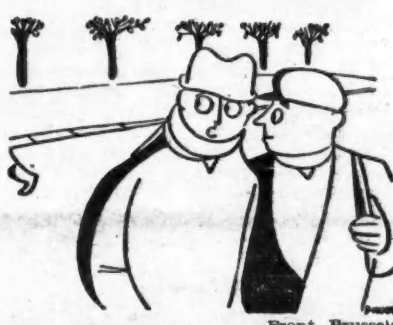
**LIMBS OF SATAN:** Since the ordinance was passed by the three-man city commission, eight homes have been raided, though no arrests have been made. Sam Hall and his wife are displaced persons. In New York at the time the law was passed, their return is forbidden. Even before the law, Hall had been arrested, charged with vagrancy though he owns a house and a car in Birmingham and produced income tax receipts.

The Birmingham ordinance begins: Whereas the Communist Party in Russia is a Russian organization composed of Russian nationals. . . .

In seven other "whereases" it finds that the Russian Communist Party inspired the Korean war, and that U.S. Communists oppose U.S. objectives

. . . by means of force, violence, treachery, deceit, espionage, sabotage, terrorism, creation of fear, destruction of morals and any other acts or doings whatsoever.

A final explanatory clause reads: Whereas, the officers and members of the



Front, Brussels  
"What do you know! An anti-fascist who isn't in jail."

Communist Party seek to establish arbitrary and totalitarian rule and methods in this country and consequently consent to, and have no right to complain of, the application to them of any rule or methods which they may allege to be arbitrary or totalitarian. . . .

**THE GENERALISSIMO:** The law in Birmingham is Eugene (Bull) Connor, Commissioner of Public Safety. His machine runs the town. His definition of "communism" is elastic. It includes protest against police murder of Negroes, defense of the NAACP or Eleanor Roosevelt. Under his administration the homes of eight Negroes have been bombed; no one has been arrested. Connor reaches way back for his poli-

tics. He walked out of the 1948 convention of the Democratic Party waving a Confederate flag. His recent ordinance has won him cabled congratulations, he reports, from Spain and Greece.

His example has been followed in Bessemer and Jasper, Ala., and is being considered elsewhere. The first victim under Jasper's new law was an evangelist who in the public square charged that the military brass were "crooks and hoodlums." He was jailed, charged with "communism" under the law.

**UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE:** Resistance in Birmingham is active but mainly underground. One week after the ordinance was passed leaflets protesting it fluttered down from a tenth floor window in downtown Birmingham. Police raced into the building but found no one to arrest. In nearby Fairview residents have found leaflets spread out on their sidewalks when they opened their doors in the morning.

In New York a "Freedom in Birmingham Committee" has been formed to wage a two-pronged fight: to make a legal test through Civil Rights Congress attorneys, and to register public opinion by mail to Mayor Cooper Green of Birmingham. The committee, affiliated to the CRC, has offices in Suite B, 23 W. 26th St., New York City. To residents of other communities where "Birmingham ordinances" are under consideration, it can supply data on what is in store for them.



(Continued from preceding page)

Daily Compass, retiring Mayor O'Dwyer, who had undertaken personal negotiations with the company, had told Councilman Earl Brown that the company had agreed to admit only three Negro families.

LABOR

President seizes the railroads again

PRESIDENT TRUMAN said last Thursday that he had been caught flat-footed by the prospect of a nationwide railway strike. He said officials of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Order of Railway Conductors had told him the "token strikes" would not spread, then one hour after had called a nationwide strike for 6 a.m., Aug. 28.



Union officials said the President must have misunderstood. In any case, they maintained, the strike could be averted if the President would call into bargaining sessions the top railway executives instead of their lieutenants, or simply seize the lines.

On Friday the President seized the lines as he had done twice before. When the Army took over on Sunday business went on as usual. The "seizure" of 195 lines was accomplished by 50 officers. Railroad presidents, six of whom are reserve colonels, were merely called to active duty and stayed in their offices assuming the responsibility for the others. The Army said it would not require even reports of profits and losses if in return the lines would give the Army immunity from damage suits. The men returned to work. Negotiations were to be resumed later in the week.

The unions are asking for a 40-hour week—instead of the present 48-hour week—with no cut in weekly pay and a change in working rules. They have been pressing their demands for 18 months. Last month a Presidential fact-finding board recommended the 40-hour week but at a scale that would have meant a substantial pay cut. Since the war the railroads have had

boom times. In the first half of this year profits were up 20% over 1949.

FE rejects GM formula

Striking members of the United Auto Workers (CIO) settled for the General Motors formula, including a five-year contract and a clause that ties wages to the cost-of-living index, though it also grants a 9c wage raise. Chrysler had already granted a 10c raise.

International Harvester offered the same deal to the Farm Equipment Workers (merged with the independent United Electrical Workers) and the UAW. UAW gave no immediate answer. FE-UE rejected it, struck three plants for four days. The company settled with FE-UE for a general wage raise of 7c for piece workers, 10 to 24c for day-rate workers, plus a previously negotiated pension plan.

Last week UAW, which had hailed the GM formula elsewhere, struck four plants of International Harvester while negotiations continued. On Monday the company canceled its agreement with FE, which promptly struck, shutting down the whole system of factories.

FTA loses a round

In the last seven years, Local 22 of the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union has won gains totaling more than \$50,000,000 for the workers at Reynolds Tobacco Co., Winston-Salem, N. C. Last week, officially, there was no union at Reynolds. This is how it happened:

In an NLRB election last March 8, FTA beat off CIO and AFL raids. Company officials, the mayor and aldermen of Winston-Salem joined in verbal and vigilante attacks on FTA. Nevertheless, in another election on March 23, FTA won against "no union," 4,428 to 4,381. The Board had excluded 1,000 seasonal workers, mainly Negro women, known to be solidly for FTA.

On Aug. 14 the Board decided to count as valid the challenged votes of 133 supervisors and foremen. Since 123 of these had voted "no union" the company won by 66 votes.



Me a Red?

Members of "King" Joe Ryan's International Longshoremen's Assn. refused to unload Polish hams. They have already turned back Russian crabmeat and furs.

A Vincennes, Ind., grocery company promised a Teamsters local a 4 1/2c hourly pay raise if war breaks out between Russia and the U.S. or between Russia and the UN.

A group of Kentucky businessmen urged that the 40-hour week and overtime pay be scrapped "during the war emergency."

POLITICS

'Tell all,' Murray advises Pressman

LEE PRESSMAN had ranked high among New Deal lieutenants, had worked as counsel for CIO when it started, run for Congress in '48 on the American Labor Party ticket. When the Un-American Activities Committee called him in 1948, Pressman, following the policy of other progressives, refused on Constitutional grounds to discuss his politics or those of other New Dealers named by Whittaker Chambers.

Shortly after Henry Wallace left the Progressive Party, Pressman resigned from the ALP because of its leftist label. Last week he was called again before the House Committee. In advance press interviews he said he would no longer stand on Constitutional grounds but would tell the committee he had once been a Communist Party member. He added that he would also say he didn't know the politics of Alger Hiss and that he would try to avoid "putting the finger" on others. Committee members have indicated they will threaten him with a contempt citation should he refuse.

Since he resigned from the CIO in 1948 Pressman has not been very active in labor or politics. Victor Riesel of the New York Daily Mirror quotes him as saying that he recently asked CIO President Philip Murray to clear him so that he might continue to practice labor law. Pressman then said Murray told him:

"You can clear yourself best by going down to Washington and telling them what you know about the Communist Party and its apparatus."

How to end it

Former ALP Congressman Leo Isacson, who differed with the Progressive Party on Korea, announced that he would nevertheless stay in. He said:

"This is no time to emphasize differences of opinion regarding the origin of hostilities. This is the time to work for areas of agreement within which a solution may be found. What difference does it make now whether the North Koreans attacked first—or not? The problem is not who started the war, but how to end it."



LEO ISACSON The time for agreement

Wallace: 'idealism & weaknesses'

Henry Wallace, Progressive Party Presidential candidate in 1948, made his fourth public statement last week on why he resigned from the party. Repeating in each his support of U.S. action in Korea, Wallace had emphasized his "world development" ideas in the British Co-Operative weekly Reynolds News. On Radio's "Meet the Press" program he had advised against using the A-bomb in Korea but said we should keep it in our armory. In a telegram published by Hearst columnist Westbrook Pegler who asked him for an interview "to discuss Communists in the U.S.," he had reaffirmed his belief in capitalism, said he did not know which PP leaders were Communists but that "the great [PP] rank and file are not and never have been."

His fourth statement appeared in the obsessively anti-Soviet New Leader, regarded as the press voice of the Social Democratic Federation. It accused the Russians of "training a native people to use tools of force for purposes of aggression," and called U.S.-UN victory in Korea "the absolutely essential first step on the road to peace."

The New Leader editorially "welcomed any cleavage in the Soviet front." The London New Statesman & Nation (Socialist) commented:

He is now a man without political friends; he was always a strange and unpractical politician, but both his idealism and his weaknesses were in some sense symbolic of the Roosevelt era.

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# DOLLAR STRETCHER

## How to shop wisely now

**P**RICES have already been raised on a number of necessities, but the real price increases are still ahead of us. Retailers report wholesale prices going up almost daily on household furnishings and clothing. Quotations on raw materials are still advancing, particularly on metals, wool, rubber and lumber products and, to a smaller extent, on leather, cotton and rayon.

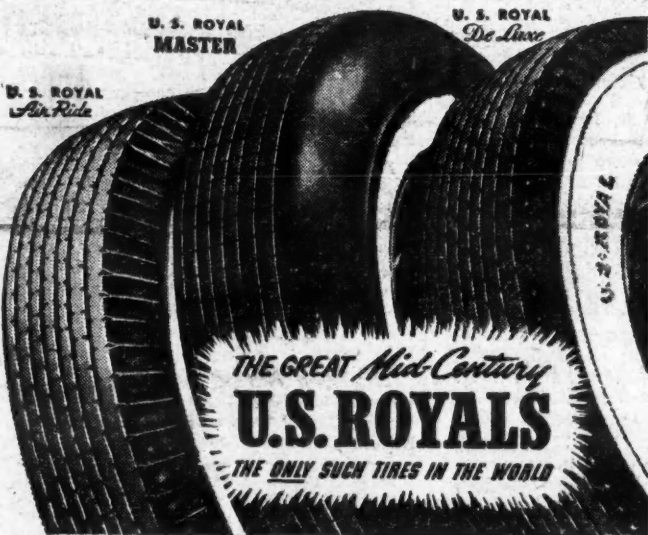
By October the new higher price levels will be widely established at retail counters; and there will be new increases when spring merchandise appears.

While insisting on action by Congress and the Administration to protect the public from this new inflation, consumers must take steps to protect themselves. It is impossible for even the smartest shopper and most careful housekeeper this year to retain the same living standard for the family, unless earnings increase. But careful shopping methods and knowledge of when and what to buy, can help. Such an approach may be necessary for many families this year to even maintain adequate nutrition and clothing. Here is some expert advice:

**FOOD:** At this season of highest prices, meat is more expensive than last year. It will start coming down (especially pork) in October, when marketings of livestock increases. Ham, tongue and canned corned beef are best values now.

Fish, eggs and cheese are comparatively reasonable, and are interchangeable nutritionally with meat. A dozen eggs at 64 cents gives you 1½ pounds of no-waste protein food, as compared to approximately \$1.30 for that much beef without bone or fat. Large eggs are still most economical, but in a few weeks, as pullets start laying, you'll find small and medium eggs best buys.

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**FAT FOR COOKING:** Food fats are also affected. At 20c a pound, lard is still the cheapest cooking fat, although it's gone up about 50% in the last months. Buy the lowest-priced canned shortenings; Consumers Union tests last year found them all approximately of the same quality. A&P's own brand Dexo is generally less costly than such brands as Crisco and Spry.

Margarine usually runs about half the price of butter, but recently butter has gone up more sharply than margarine, so the latter is a better value than ever.

**CLOTHING:** Cotton and rayon items and nylon hose have gone up a little, but more drastic increases are expected. Not all stores mark up the price tags at the same time. Some do so on present stocks (we've all noticed prices crossed out and higher prices written in); others wait until the new higher-priced stocks arrive before lifting retail levels. It pays more than ever now to do some extra comparison-shopping.

It is wise to survey your immediate needs and buy comparatively early this fall before the new increases. But don't hoard or buy unnecessary goods or too far in advance.

There's no real shortage of cotton and rayon, but there is a worldwide scarcity of wool. If you need a suit or coat, get it this fall because prices will definitely be higher this spring.

**SHOES AND STOCKINGS:** On nylon stockings the increase is highest on the very-sheer 51-15 quality. That makes the 45-30 and 51-30 best values; they're lower-priced and sturdier. If you can find them in your town, the new "nylonized" stockings are a good buy for durability. They're processed with a special finish to resist runs and tears.

Shoes have advanced 25 to 50c a pair in some brands and undoubtedly will rise further. Buy them now if you need them. However, despite the increases the annual January shoes sales and clearances will be available again.

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