

These are the people of China

And they will be heard. Four hundred and seventy-five million of them, building a new life for themselves and their children, tapping resources untouched except for plunder by foreign investors; ridding their country of famine and disease (see Mme. Sun Yat-sen, page 3) and embarked on a campaign to bring lasting peace to their land and to all the people on earth. Last week their spokesmen arrived in New York to state their case before the United Nations. The result of the debate at Lake Success may mark the future of our eivilization — toward life, or destruction

destruction. United Nations photo

ON-SPOT REPORT PEACE CONGRESS IN WARSAW

PAGE 6



This is Washington in the lame-duck season

By John B. Stone GUARDIAN staff correspondent

WASHINGTON, D.C. THE make-up of the 82nd Congress— 49 so-called Democrats to 47 Republicans in the Senate, and the Democratic majority reduced by twothirds in the House—places the Dixiecrats in virtual control of domestic legislation and, by holding the pursestrings, of U.S. foreign policy. Symbolie of their dominance is the organized drive to name Richard B. Russell of Georgia, generalissimo of the White Supremacy contingent, as majority leader in the Senate. Such Fair Deal stalwarts as Murray of Montana and O'Mahoney of Wyoming refused the job in panic and insisted that Russell be drafted despite his recent public declaration that the U.S. should use the atom bomb against China. Should Russell refuse the job, Ernest W. Mc-Farland of Arizona is second choice. But Russell will run the show in either case

SIMPLE ARITHMETIC: Should Truman wage a fight for the Fair Deal he might get some of it through the House, but the arithmetic in the Senate is simple. Truman's 49 Democrats will probably unite on control of committees and patronage, but 22 of them are from former Confederate states and at least 12 are of the deepest Dixiecrat blend. Thus, to pass any Fair Deal legislation Truman would need at least 12 Republicans to vote on his team; but all but seven of the Senate's Republicans are unalterably opposed to the Fair Deal and all its works.

On foreign policy the line-up indicates John Foster Dulles will be boss for the next two years, regardless of the outcome of the squabble over Sec. of State Acheson. There is a lot of shouting by Sen. Taft and his "reexaminist" colleagues (as Acheson dubbed them) but no indication by Taft or anyone else of fundamental change. There may be more Republicans than northern Democrats ready to drop A-bombs on Russia now, but nobody is more eager for mass destruction than some of the Southerners across the aisle.

FLICKERS OF PROTEST: Aside from a national protest meeting called in Washington by heads of trade unions expelled by the CIO, and a declaration by the Chicago Committee for Trade Union Unity, there has been little action to protect the economic or civil rights of ordinary American citizens. The last faint vestige of the Fair Deal went a-glimmering as Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (D-N.M.) was allowed, without reprimand from other Democrats, to blame Republican gains on the Brannan Farm Plan.

There is almost no talk about repeal of the McCarran police state bill, and repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act seems an old forgotten dream. The drift was in the opposite direction: Sen. Homer



RICHARD B. RUSSELL The band played Dixie E. Ferguson (R-Mich.) was threatening a Congressional investigation of what he called sabotage of the Mc-Carran Act, while Sen. Robert A. Taft (R-O.), flushed with a startling victory, demanded strengthening of the Taft-Hartley Law by banning of nation-wide bargaining.

tory, demanded strengthening of the Taft-Hartley Law by banning of nation-wide bargaining. The CIO, preparing for its Chicago convention, was relieved of facing up to the election defeats by pre-dating the annual report of Pres. Phillip Murray Nov. 3. He spoke of the inequity of all-time high profits, skyrocketing prices and lagging wages; but the main force of his report was reserved for paeans to the success of the CIO in expelling left-wing unions. There was little emphasis on Taft-Hartley repeal, no excitement over the McCarran Law. On the eve of the defeat of most candidates it backed, Murray said "labor's political arm is stronger than ever" and "due to wise leadership, is making a more and more effective contribution to our democracy."

MINERS SPEAK OUT: From the welter of wishful thinking on the elections by CIO and AFL political leaders, there emerged the rumbling voice of John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers Journal declaring:

John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers Journal declaring: In addition to the farm vote and the non-labor vote for Taft, a major concurrent factor in the campaign was a secret alliance between the Taft forces and the Democrat Gov. Lausche (of Ohio) who never endorsed the Democratic senatorial candidate (Joseph T.) Ferguson. Observers are of the opinion that there was a deal between the regular Democratis and the Taftites by which machine Democrats voted for Taft in return for Republican votes for Lausche. The elections, said the Journal, "showed substantial discontent on the part of the electorate with the Tru-

The elections, said the Journal, "showed substantial discontent on the part of the electorate with the Truman administration performance," and listed fear of war, increased taxes for individuals, and failure to pass an excess profits tax as other decisive factors. The Journal commented:

The Democrat-Truman defeat is a reflection upon the party kite-tail part played by the majority of America's ac tive political labor leaders.

GONE FISHING: That was the only major labor voice which hinted that repeatedly broken promises of lower prices, higher wages, good houses, fair employment practices, equal rights for racial minorities, and freedom from fear, might have had something to do



Orders of Board of Health

with Truman's defeat. The International Oil Worker; CIO Oilworkers' Union organ (100% pro-Truman), told unionists they had "gone fishing too much" and sadly summed up the election result for labor:

ion result for labor: Working men will pay higher taxes, but wealthy people will pay little, if any, additional taxes. Corporation profits will reach new record highs, but you and 1 will have a tougher time meeting the grocery bill. . . . Schools will remain overcrowded and there won't be enough teachers. There will be no improvement in social security, not a ghost of a "hance of national health insurance. The farm price support will continue to discriminate against minority races while the government sits idly by.

MME. SUN YAT-SEN: A REPORT ON THE FIRST YEAR OF THE NEW CHINA ... P.3



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DIAN and of how well it deserves its name, and thereby to encourage faith that the right is not really dead and can't be killed with any-thing like real finality, time being persistent. John F. Clewe Offer still holds. Ed. Irma Otto's appeal

Irma Utus s arr LOS ANGELES, CALIF. Irma C. Otto's "Women of Amer-ical" article in the Oct. 25 GUAR-DIAN should be circulated by the DIAN should be circulated by the millions throughout the country. John Moat

OLATHE, COLO.

NEW YORK, N.Y. The UN, since its fig-leaf role in Truman's "police action" in Kores and Formosa, is fast becoming a sewer in which the hopes and as-pirations of mankind are likely to in piratio

pirations of instants and are ban-disappear. Peace lovers of the world are ban-ished from "Labor" Britain. What more is needed to convince the world of the lunatic course being pursued by the partners building "situations of strength." <text><text><text><text> pursue. "situatio" the

"situations of strength." If the peoples can meet, as they met in Warsaw, without benefit of guns and bombs, why can't their elected servants, the built-up little men of our tragic era? Maurice Becker

Tackle the unions

W YORK, N.Y. congratulate the GUARDIAN for organization appeal (Nov. 10). congratulate the GUARDIAN for organization appeal (Nov. 10). y dear to my heart! Have agala I again brought the matter up. e curse is apathy all right. Why i tackle the militant unlons, one one, at once? Dorothy Butler Howells ita Ve and

Trygve's 3 years

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. On the return of Trysve Lie, Sec-retary General of UN, from the European continent, he expressed his satisfaction with things and promised that in three months' time the world would see results of his efforts abroad. I had been watching with great anticipation for these results, but the only re-sults that are obvious to the world so far are his re-election to office for another three years. David Leon

Persistent time

LOS ANGELES, CALF. In the GUARDIAN of Sept. 27 we find offered weekly bundles of ten copies at \$10 a year. If that offer still holds, please send us such a

we intend, of course, to help in reading knowledge of the GUAR-

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JAMES ARONSON Executive Editor

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We wish to commend Irma Otto on her wonderful article. The whole paper is A-1. Mr. & Mrs. J. Elzie Broyles

Letter to the Pope **KEYSTONE HEIGHTS, FLA,** The following is a letter I have sent to His Holiness Pope Plus XII: be done. We are hoping and pray-ing. In God's name, do something, act quickly. Your own Vatican City will hardly escape the rigors of this most violent turneil which is daily gathering force. We pray and en-tract God to help you in this mosile work. Nomine patri el fillo et spiritus sanctus. Amen. Joseph Kerrigan P.S.: If you see fit to print this, it may give hope and courage to some of our Catholic readers of the GUARDIAN.

Lafayette's prediction

Lafayette's prediction FLORAL PARK, N.Y. More than 160 years ago, Gen. Lafayette, who served as an aide to Gen. Washington, made this pro-phesy: "If the liberties of the Catholic clergy." This prophesy is now coming true, as the Catholic clergy prepares to administer the coup de grace to the Bill of Rights and the U.S. Constitution. The Church has now 'scome the State. I didn't ask te be born; but now that I am I demand to live my life free from tyranny and en-sisterment, without being deprived of the means of a livelihood. I de-mand the rights guaranteed to me

of the means of a livelihood. I de-mand the rights guaranteed to me by the Bill of Rights and the U.S. Oonstitution. These rights have been usurped from me lilegally, by Cath-olics and fellow travelers, using these same rights to destroy them. My plan is to take legal action against the State (the Church) to either restore these rights to me, or to execute me publicly for heresy, with a Catholic priest as the ex-ecutioner.

ecutioner. I am looking for a sponsor or a group of sponsors to back me financially in this operation, which I shall name "Operation Freedom." I am white, male, single, 32, and was baptized a Christian. M. Barna

Joe Stalin-in-law

Joe Stalin-in-law BUTTE, MONT. In this state of the march of faccism, with all the evidence that big money stooges are riding ruth-lessly with impunity, it is a sad office with apathy. I know people, who seem fairly rational, who have had no build-up to understand all this confusion and hysteria. Such folks are at s. loss to know wheo or what is to blame for their priva-tions. So the lazy way out for them is to blame the mother-in-law or at least they can always blame Joe stalin. M. S. Buchanan

First political prisoners

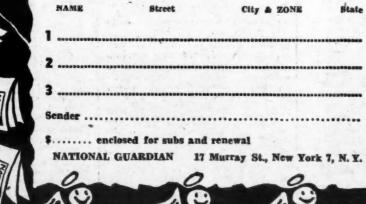
WINCHESTER, IND. When Howard Fast claims (GUAR-DIAN, Nov. 10) that he and his group were the first political pris-oners at the Mill Point Federal Prison Camp, he writes either from ignorance or with deliberate mis-representation.

ignorance or with deliberate mis-representation. There were a few hundred Wit-nesses of Jehovah and Conscientious Objectors at Mill Point from 1941 to 1946 and they were just as much political prisoners as Mr. Fast and his comrades: for anyone who be-cause of religious or ethical con-viction or politically principled motivation refuses to obey the edict of a governmental organ, and is imprisoned in consequence, is a political prisoner. Unless, of course, one maintains an esoteric definition of "political prisoner" as not ap-plying to those with whose political course he disagrees; or limits the concept of "political prisoner" to



) \$2 for full yr. •

-) Renew my sub at \$2 a year



s10 a month

YEAR ago the GUARDIAN asked all readers who can afford it to become Guardian Associates by pledging \$10 month. Many responded — some who could not "afford" but undertook sacrifices to keep the peace paper in but undert the ring.

We are still in the ring — thanks in large measure to m — but as those pledges expire we earnestly ask again: them. • That those who pledged before will renew the pledge another year. for

• That others will decide to become Guardian Associates at this time when the call of "Peace On Earth" is about to ring out again — and peace is in terrible danger because truth is throttled.

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someone incarcerated purely for his political opinions — in which case there have so far been no political prisoners in U.S. (for conviction has always been for some action or in-action).

action). The moral of this reminder of pre-Fast political prisoners is that if the government at one time can get away with imprisoning those who oppose your political course, it can at another time imprison you when the course changes; and Mr. Fast might well have meditated along this line about the JWs and COs who had preceded him is A Mill Point. Withur Burton

Power and love

<text><text><text><text>

love is his salvation. Virginia fleeren

Relief is \$3.82

LOG ANGELES, CALIF. A guy that picked me up when I was hitching a ide about two months ago hired me to assemble lamps (while their season is on before Xmas), and so I have enough money to pay off a few debts—and renew my GUARDIAN sub, Relief is \$3.82 a week—and it's more ag-gravation than relief. Howard Feldman

It does save space

It does save space NEW YORK, N. Y. The small print you use in much of the paper is terribly hard on people's eyes and it takes off a great deal of the pleasure of reading it. As for myself, as much as I like the GUARDLAN and everything in it. I am forced to leave a great deal out or suffer the consequences of strained eyes and a headache (I do war glasses.) Sophia E. Kurst

Regression in Britain

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Remember 1933?

KALAMAZOO, MICH. The election is over but where are we heading? We older people re-member the Samuel Insui empire

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Will you make this year-round Christmas gift to the GUARDIAN, to the progressive movement — to yourself?

crash in Chicago and the stock market crash, followed by layoffs of workers, ending in bread lines and bank failures in February, 1933, All this took place in peace time under no government bontrols, but under free enterprise which had a free reign. Also, when this took under no government bontrols, but under free enterprise which had a free reign. Also, when this took place we were not fighting any war across the pond and we were not pouring a billion down the rat holes of Europe, We'll sooner or later end in a depression here that will make the last one look like a picnic. C. M. Casseli

The ungrateful ones

<text><text><text><text><text>

communist device for enslaving the people. Then, when our Korean ad-venture has been brought to a suc-cessful conclusion and a triumphant United Nations Army asks us what next, we can lead that glorious host against the independence-seeking subversives of Puerto Rico. At any rate, we must ensure that, in our time. Americanism shall not meriab rate, we must ensure that, in ou time, Americanism shall not perisi from the earth. A. E. Basset

Moving ahead

FOREST GROVE, ORE. I feel enthused about the paper and the movement behind it. De-spite everything, I belive we are gaining ground. Eichard E. Belling

A privileged \$2

A privileged \$2 MW YORK, N.Y. I have been a subscriber to the New YORK, N.Y. I have been a subscriber to the New York in a single issue. As other boc-called progressives dropped by the wayside, the GUARDIAN by the wayside, the GUARDIAN fusice, truth and peace which it spitieles for me to say that it is with deep appreciation to all of you the deep appreciation to all of you rende are my 52. Since all of my friends rend the GUARDIAN, I camp

Rainbow for peace

Kainbow Iv. PLOSHING, N. T. With the commercial press beat-ing the drums of war with ever-increasing volume, your paper stands out as a beacon light and rainbow in the noble struggle for world peace. Isidere Kiota

November 29, 1950



November 29, 1950

Mme. Sun Yat-sen reports

This is the New China one year after ---How they fought flood, disease and famine

After one year of people's rule how does China, still embattled and menaced, does China, still embattled and menaced, handle her age-old enemies of flood, famine, pestilence and war which have condenned millions every year to need-less, horrible death? The answer was given by Mme. Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of China's first republic, and vice-chairman of the people's gov-ernment. Here are excerpts from her report sent last week to the Conference on Health and Welfare in China. held in on Health and Welfare in China, held in New York by the China Welfare Appeal.

Flood

THE Ministry of Water Conservation was called into action and attacked the problem as if it were a nationwide military campaign. They set up a massive operational system of 334 work and observation stations throughout the country, linked directly to a flood-fighting headquarters in Peking by members of the People's Liberation Army. During special periods they fur-ther mobilized millions more. On each occasion they especially drew workers from those hardest hit by the flood.

The masses of people were used to effect a short-run and a long-run plan simultaneously. It meant curbing the raging waters immediately and at the same time working toward strongly harnessing them for the future so they would benefit, not destroy the people.

The army of flood-fighters were paid for their labors by the government. At the same time they were educated as to the meaning of their work. Meetings were held on every level, from small village groups to huge area mass-gath-erings. Every detail was carefully ex-plained—the job to be accomplished, why they were mobilized, how they would get paid, what their work would mean to their and the country's future. The result was inspired, creative labor.

CREATIVE CONTROL: These workers shifted in one year's time 365,000,000 cubic meters of earth . . . enough dirt to build a wall one meter high [3.2 feet] and one meter wide around the equator eight times. In practical terms, our people repaired more than 25,000 kilo-



MME. SUN YAT-SEN "... a deep-rooted faith"

meters of dykes [many of which had been destroyed by retreating Kuomin-tang forces] in addition to working toward permanently controlling such rivers as the Yangtze, Huai, Yellow, Yi, Pearl, Han, Liao and the sea dykes.

Seven out of every ten hectares [hectare = 2.4 acres] which were under water last year, this year are under cultivation. In addition vital and vast prigation projects were accomplished.



They built it, they intend to keep it

In Manchuria the people constructed their railroads with their own back-breaking toil. With pride they saw the job finished and enjoyed the fruit of their labor,

Unemployment

from imperialist interests).

ly opposite direction.

(Mme. Sun explained that joblessness is confined to regions recently bombed and those cities, most recently lib-erated, whose economies suffered most

HERE is now taking place an adjust-

ment of industry and commerce so that it produces for the Chinese people

and not mainly for export, which was exploitation pure and simple. This is no easy task, to turn industry so that it faces inward, particularly since it was set up and developed in the direct-

In the case of the bombing, unem-ployment arises from . . . the destruc-tion of power plants, mills and factories and the disruption of shipping, pre-venting the importation of raw materi-

als. This too, can be met and is being met by the same technique—mobiliza-tion of the people.

Unemployment is handled through the joint efforts of the trade unions and

the government. The labor organiza-tions...mobilize both the employed and the unemployed. They conduct campaigns for the collection of funds and supplies, and are entrusted with

the funds turned over by the govern-ment and other organizations. . . .

PEOPLE'S WPA: Help has come from

every section of the land in response

to the slogan: "Unity: those with jobs and means, help those without."...

These funds were . . . used to put the unemployed workers to productive tasks. Public works programs have been

instituted, vital construction jobs un-dertaken and technical training pro-

"God is on their side..." ABSOLUTELY believe this to be the most comprehensive renais-

sance the human spirit has ever experienced; and the most dynamic

change in human history. God is working alongside of these Com-munists....We're just in the middle of building a beautiful Chinese Christian cathedral on this campus,

and our work is going ahead full swing.... Ninety-five percent of the

U.S. press on the Far East is absolutely false. Believe the opposite, and you will be close to the facts." DRYDEN L. PHELPS of Uni-

1921).

versity Church, West China Union Univ., Chengtu (U.S. Baptist missionary who has been at the University since

For example, in the dry Northwest alone 300,000 hectares were newly irrigated and work has already started to reach a further 2,000,000 hectares. As a sideresult from this particular project will come 3,000,000 kilowatts of electric power from the drainage [Boulder Dam produces a little over 4 million kw.]

Famine

YES, we had famine in China. We never denied it. . . . We also made it quite plain that the famine was the result of the floods and the floods were the result of Kuomintang destruction. ... We also told the world we had a

way out of our troubles. . . Due to the faith which the farmers

have in our government, because of land reform and other beneficial meas-ures, the deliveries of tax grain have been on time and well over 90% ful-filled. Due to the foresight and energy of our People's Government we were able to materialize a movement of that grain within our country on such a scale that every food deficiency area was reached. There was not one mode of transportation that was not organized and put to play—the newly recon-structed railroads, river boats, wagons, wheelbarrows and the very backs of our courageous people.

The slogan was: "None Shall Starve." To meet the slogan here are the figures of the grain moved: From Manchuria, ed; from Szechuan, 110,000 tons; from Central and South China, 740,000 tons.

STAFF OF LIFE: This life-giving STAFF OF LIFE: This nic-giving grain was used in the famine areas for public works programs, such as water conservation, for production programs, to reclaim the land, for loans to stimu-late home and part-time industry. In a minority of cases it was distributed as outright relief. And there was still enough to go around elsewhere. Shanghai, for example, usually dependent upon foreign rice, could now make its way with ease on home-grown grain.

way with ease on nome-grown gram. This action . . . not only defeated famine, but also had a most salutary effect on the whole economy. Prices of the basic foods were stabilized.... The final effect of the price stabilization was that universal confidence was es-tablished in our proplet europey. tablished in our people's currency.... People's minds were at ease for the first time in years.... Also from this sprung renewed ... faith in Chairman Mao's statement that while our country has difficulties it also has the solution.

jects established. Workers are paid for both work and study.

(Mme. Sun also indicated these gov-(mme. Syn also malcated these gov-ernmental steps to revive public and private production: loans and purchases, financing the purchase of supplies abroad and their transport within the country; sponsoring extensive planting of agri-cultural industrial products such as conton b cotton.)

Health

FOR the immediate enemies, such as plague, cholera and others, such as plague, cholera and others, teams consisting of hundreds of medical workers have been assigned to do com-bat. In Manchuria, on two occasions, they have stopped epidemics in their first stages—these, incidentally, being remnants of Japanese bacteriological war preparations. In other areas medi-cal workers have saved hundreds of thousands of livestock from various animal diseases. In Shanghai, after inoculating almost 4,000,000 people, there were only 10 cases of proven cholera this past summer. Workers, farmers and soldiers, all are

part of this great medical army. In the main cities, in the regional centers, in the district centers, exhibitions, lec-tures, demonstrations and training are given to lift the level of medical and

sanitation knowledge of the people.... This is not just a temporary measure. It will be years before China will have enough trained personnel in the field. This means that the emphasis in medi-cine must continue to be along preventive lines. For this to succeed it must be founded in the masses, and their education and training must be even further deepened and intensified. . . . China in the next five years will train 2000 destars 20,000 doctors, 30,000 medical workers, thousands of technicians and dentists.

Peace

WE have known war for over 100 We will struggle to maintain it. We will protect it at all costs.

It disturbs us to see the club-swing-ing measures which some circles in your country (U.S.) have been taking against peace. It angers us to witness your finest sons and daughters imprisoned for advocating the making of peace into a living condition. We condemn the "summer-time peace patriots" in high places and low, who at this juncture turn their backs on the people. But at the same time we possess steady and



Daily Worker, London "Please, teacher, did you say that the Korean invaders were defending Korea or the American defenders were invading Korea?"

root-deep faith in the American people. We know they have the strength to resist and overcome the pressure and intimidation. . . . You once gave us a sample of that strength when the Chi-nese people faced their darkest days. Now we would like to reciprocate,

Please accept the inspiration of the Chinese people, a people in control of their own destiny. To us it is a rule of life that the struggles of the common men and women all over the world are the same and inseparable. Our diffi-culties are equally shared, but so are our victories. The liberated Chinese people extend their hands across the sea to firmly grasp yours, so that with unified ranks we may hold the peace.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

4 NATIONAL GUARDIAN

Background to war or peace

UN discusses China-with China

GUARDIAN UN correspondence LAKE SUCCESS

FOR a whole year the UN has been discussing China, the largest nation on earth, without any representative of that country's government being present. This ludicrous and dangerous ostrich situation ended at least temporarily last week when an invited delegation arrived from Peking, specifically to press charges of aggression against Taiwan (Formosa) by the U.S. which maintains military forces there and sent the 7th Fleet to deny China access to its own island.

As Peking's delegates make their UN debut (but not as members), the China question like an octopus spreads its tentacles into every committee-room, and both Assembly and Security Council agendas are loaded with items related to China. With the physical presence of the Chinese clearing the atmosphere of double-talk (as it already began to do within hours of their arrival), the discussions on these items will be of the utmost importance to world peace and UN's very survival. Here are some of the items:

 A complaint to the Assembly filed by the Chinese Nationalists last year, charging the Soviets with helping the Chinese Communists in violation of treaties. Last week the Assembly's Political Committee referred the matter back for a year for study to the Sovietboycotted "Little Assembly" where it had already been for a year. British Commonwealth, West European and other delegates joined the Soviet bloc in opposing a stronger proposal by Nationalist delegate Dr. T. F. Tsiang, supported by the U.S.
 A proposal by Cuba and El Sal-

2. A proposal by Cuba and El Salvador that the UN pass on the question of admission of new members and determine which government is representative of a nation. No final decision has been taken on this.

3. A Soviet complaint to the Assembly charging the U.S. with aggression against China since the Korean war through bombings of the Chinese mainland.



A Russian view of U.S. Far Eastern policy

4. A U.S. demand that the Assembly pass on the future of Formosa. Under the four-power 1943 Cairo Declaration Formosa, Manchuria and the Pescadore Islands were to be returned to China. The U.S. now wants to scrap this agreement and put Formosa under a sort of trusteeship to prevent the Chinese government from taking it away from Chiang. The U.S. does not have many supporters on this stand and a few days ago asked the Assembly to postpone discussion on it.

5. A U.S. complaint to the Security Council of Chinese intervention in Korea, based on Gen. MacArthur's report. The Council started discussing the complaint, then dropped it to await arrival of the Peking delegation. The delegation said it was not empowered to discuss this item, but informal discussion may be held on it.

6. An invitation to China to take part in the work of this Assembly. The Indians raised this point at the first session but the Assembly turned it down and Canada suggested a seven-nation committee to deal with it instead. The committee was not appointed until after the U.S. elections and then the Soviet bloc opposed it as being too pro-West.

MAX WERNER

Asia, A-Bomb and Western Europe

LAST week in Atlanta Gen. Omar Bradley made an important statement about the strategic situation of the Western world. He interrelated the cost of the Korean campaign, the exclusive role of the A-Bomb in Western strategy and the general military unpreparedness of the West. He presented "the bruising and shocking fact" that Korea has left our military cupboard bare. Except for the atomic bomb the West has been left without adequate military reserves.

The atomic bomb cannot solidify Western strategy. This terrible weapon must split it rather. In an important book published a few days ago, The Defense of the West, Capt. B. H. Liddell Hart, Britain's best known and most influential military expert, shows the crisis of Western strategy, its confusion and contradictions. Mr. Liddell Hart does not believe in atomic victory over the Soviet bloc:

It is dubious whether America's stock of them [atomic bombs] would suffice to cripple Russia's war potential, even if her bombers could attain their objectives. . . Russia's circumstances make her the least accessible and susceptible of targets for atomic warfare.

MISTRUST AND HORROR: Yet if atomic weapons cannot destroy the Soviet Union, they can destroy Britain, which

which ... remans a concentrated island tarset, faced with weapons that can spread destruction more widely than did any one of those immature ones which flitter used. Liddell Hart says bluntly that Britain and its West European neighbors could hardly survive a series of atomic blows at the beginning of the war: there is no longer any ground for them to hope that the results of the initial defeat can be restored in the end by a victorious offensive. It is time for us to understand that

West Europeans, competent in military and international affairs, have undis-



guised strategic mistrust and human horror of the atomic bomb. As Liddell Hart says:

Hart says: ... An advanced base is always an exposed spot. With ruthless candor American defense memoranda have described Britain as America's shock absorber in another war. The position of a shock absorber in the atomic and recket age is a fatal one. Thus the discussion about atomic strategy is being continued with unabated vehemence. A few days ago a French spokesman, J. J. Servan Schreiber, stated in the N. Y. Herald Tribune that the A-bomb has become the most serious of fundamenial differences between Europe and America. He made the striking observation that "the moral outfawing of the A-bomb has been unofficially considered as accepted political fact in Europe." But he stresses certainly not the humanitarian protest, but the political and strategic crisis of atomic strategy.

PUZZLE—FIND THE ARMY: If, as Gen. Bradley hinted, after the Korean campaign the atomic bomb is the only effective military instrument of the Western coalition, then the crisis of West European defense is at hand. Western Europe cannot be defended by atomic weapons.

But on the other hand, if North Koreans and Indo-Chinese insurgents are able to engage the flower of U.S. and French land power, what land force will be available and adequate to defend Western Europe? Liddell Hart believes the problem can be solved by a small mechanized professional army. A bold thinker in criticising atomic strategy, he offers a shaky and outdated solution. The plan would not work even in 1940. It is wholly out of place in 1950. Western military planning has no realistic formula for modern land strategy.

The North Korean experience notwithstanding, Western military thinking still excludes mustering and deployment of mass armies. Therefore it has a superficial concept of modern war and minimizes its requirements.

war and minimizes its requirements. The Western strategy is obviously lagging, obviously inadequate. There is no other defense against a modern mass army but the defense in depth; and the defense in depth demands in its turn another mass army.

China border push goes into reverse

BIG KOREA PUSH OPENS; CHINA REDS LAND IN N. Y. N. Y. Post headline, Nov. &

THE New York landing was made on Idlewild Airport at dawn amid the flares of photo flashlights. There were nine Chinese in the landing partyseven men and two women-to join talks affecting their country which others have been having in the UN for many months. At the field the delegation's head, general-diplomat-revolutionary Wu Hsiu-chuan, offered "profound friendship . . . to the peace-lowing people in the United States."

A minor hurricane postponed all UN sessions scheduled for the week-end. On Monday chief U.S. delegate Warren Austin was set to face the Chinese with "twenty questions."

KEEP TALKING: U.S. diplomacy had relied on other Americans facing other Chinese on the snowy Manchurian border. N.Y. Times correspondent Thomas J. Hamilton wrote on Saturday:

Hamilton wrote on Saturday: The thinking of the U.S. delegation appeared to be that Gen. Doughs Mac-Arthur's new offensive was certain to drive Chinese Communist forces out of virtually all of North Korea and the important decisions, therefore, would be taken on the battle field rather than at Lake Success.

But on Monday morning when the Assembly's Political Committee convened, MacArthur's "home by Christmas" offensive toward China's borders was in reverse in a critical 25-mile sector. South Koreans were reported withdrawing as much as 12 miles, U.S. units isolated. The ball was back with Austin at Lake Success. The play was made no easier by the growing revolt against "MacArthurism" among both Tories and Labourites in Britain. Washington urged the British to talk less and fight more, but they showed themselves not only willing but anxious to negotiate with the Chinese.

LIDICE, KOREA: In MacArthur-occupied Korea the war had settled down to a routine of horror. The U.S. ordered the town of Tuom-ni, where five Americans had been killed in an ambush, leveled and obliterated. (In 1942 the Nazis ordered the same fate for Lidice, Czechoslovakia, for a similar "offense.")

At Seoul, the Chicago Tribune reported:

The looting sprees of the South Korean and American soldiers are about over.... The bodies of freshly killed men are a common sight along the roadway.



GI Charles Edward Bell of Savannah, Ga., who "wants to be a minister," wrote to his parents (according to AP): If I ever see a Chink or if one even surrenders to me, he's a dead man. I hate every one of them. I wish the United States would use the A-bomb on them."

WHITENESS IS ALL: Many who read such reports wondered what the U.S. military attitude must be toward non-Anglo-Saxon allies under the UN flag. Col. Mariano C. Azurin, commanding the token contingent sent to Korea from the Philippines, complained that most of his 1,300 troops had been scattered under U.S. command, leaving him with only some clerks in a headquarters detachment, and that furthermore they had not received clothing to combat the near-zero cold. Last week Philippine Defense Secy. Ramon Magsaysay, after conferring with General Mac-Arthur, called Col. Azurin home.

The Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People asked the Judge Advocate General for permission to defend Negro troops where there was suspicion of discrimination in the court-martial. Many servicemen had asked the NAACP to intervene. The Association reported that one soldier begged it

to intervene. The Association reported that one soldier begged it ... to "investigate the mass persecution of the men of the 24th Infantry Regiment. Please give us your assistance. We are being court-martialed and sentenced to imprisonment for life—not one or two of ms, but in groups of fours and fives."

November 29, 1950

Pardon me, but isn't this the AFL?

Liquidated 'Reds' haunt CIO convention

By Rod Holmgren GUARDIAN staff correspon 100

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CHICAGO PHILIP Murray and his staff at the 12th Annual CIO Convention, held ■ 12th Annual CIO Convention, held last week at Chicago's Palmer House, rejoiced at the "cleansing" of "com-munists" from their organization. But they behaved as if haunted by the "communist issue" which they claimed to have liquidated: every argument was supported by warnings of communism. Unlike the 1949 convention the mood was apathetic, the debates almost as routine as an AFL convention. The script seemed to have been written well in advance; the lines—except for an in advance; the lines—except for an occasional miscue—came smoothly and in the proper order.

The composition of the delegations told the story of a year of wholesale expulsions. Of the 557 delegates, only seven were Negro, five were women. (In years when progressively administered

years when progressively administered unions were still in CIO, 20 to 25% of the delegates were Negro.) These unions showed a drop in the number of delegates: Oil, Communica-tions, Maritime, Shipbuilding, Radio. The precise membership in CIO was not revealed. At a press conference Murray claimed 6,000,000. (Last Sep-tember before the expression tember, before the expulsions, per capi-ta figures showed less than 4,000,000).

The Officers' Report revealed no progress at all in the Southern Organ-izing Drive. Delegate Sol Stetin of the Textile Workers pleaded for CIO help in organizing 600,000 textile workers, mainly in the south.

QUESTION PERIOD: Two large ques-tions bedeviled the delegates. One was: Why did CIO-backed candidates in the election flop and where can CIO go now in politics? The second, a long-standing one on the agenda, was the repeal

of Taft-Hartley. To the first, there was no clear answer. Jack Kroll, director of CIO's Political Action Committee, who earlier had ascribed "liberal" losses in the elechad ascribed "liberal" losses in the elec-tions to popular dissatisfaction with the war, said: "I don't believe we have a damned thing to apologize for," and deferred a full-scale post-mortem to a-



PAUL DOUGLAS Take it easy, fellows . . .

conference later this month.

George Baldanzi, Textile Workers vice-president, called for re-examina-tion of "our position, our role and the elections":

"The citizens of America will no sooner follow PAC in an attempt to elect a lot of racketeers than they will if the Demo-cratic Party or Republican Party sponsors tham."

Murray blamed it on the "new low" in demagogy reached by the Republicans, but laid greatest emphasis on his demand for a say in the Truman war

program. He said: "Organizations such as ours have a God-given obligation to supply moral and spir-itual leadership throughout the entire universe."

REFORMED SLAVERY: The fight to repeal Taft-Hartley was weakened by a speech of Sen. Paul Douglas (D-III.), one of the "friends of labor" whom CIO enthusiastically supports. Douglas in-dicated that though he would go on dicated that though he would go on asking for repeal, he might settle for a reformed "slave labor-law." The con-vention, though reputieter. vention, though, repudiated Douglas' reform policy and voted to continue the no-compromise policy it has followed at least on paper.

CIO General Counsel Arthur Gold-berg said CIO's motto in the Taft-Hartley fight was: "We shall not be moved." But another CIO official told one newspaperman that Counsel Gold-berg was merely stating CIO's "bar-gaining position" and that he would be prepared to "give here and there." The convention took these other stands:

ON WAGE FREEZE: Not now. Murray asked for price control, offered only temporary opposition to wage control. He said:

le said: -"If and when the time comes in the U.S. that there has got to be universal regimen-tation to fight off communism on a world-wide basis, then labor is prepared to do its part, with the distinct understanding that every other citizen is required to make equal sacrifices. This is everybody's war."

ON THE MARSHALL PLAN: Cautiously critical. The foreign policy resolution said:

Ald: It is imperative that the workers of France, Italy and Western Germany be given a way of life that is worth defend-ing if they are to be counted upon as forces participating in the resistance to the threat of communist aggression.

the threat of communist aggression. Murray expressed amazement that in France "profit-hungry corporations were not passing down to the workers the benefits in the form of living wages."

ON PEACE: Jack Altman, of the Wholesale and Retail Workers, wanted the war brought "where it belongs, on Soviet shores and not on the satellites." SMOKED SOCIALISTS: The hunt and the purge reached full circle when the



convention considered the routine resolution reaffirming "the position which has been taken by CIO time and time again endorsing the Tennessee Valley Authority and the principles for which it stands."

Joseph A. Fisher, Utility Workers president, said menacingly: "There are

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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a lot of Socialists around here and it's

time somebody smoked them out." Among the smoked socialists was Philip Murray who had endorsed the resolution. The Utility Workers, who supported Dewey for N.Y. governor in the recent elections and backed the in-creased transit fare before that, thun-dered against TVA as the "first step to nationalize our industry." Murray made it clear he would not suppress such loyal opposition within

the labor movement as he had sup-pressed the left-wing militants last year. He said:

ear. He said: "If they have any disagreement with this convention... they can appear before any Congressional committee and say anything they want. That's their business. Nobody is bound or gagged in these matters. The only determination that we have made with respect to policies of that description was confined to the issue of communism, but in a matter of policy such as this we are not going to gag people, and nobody has ever been gagged in this organization."

The Marine Cooks & Stewards appealed their expulsion, pointing out that disagreement with national CIO on foreign and domestic policy had been the sole charge against them, and that their criticism of the Marshall Plan, for example, had been confirmed by CIO investigators this year. The appeal was rejected.

NOBILITY'S BURDENS: On Friday morning Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers announced: "A noble soul is here." It was his way of nominating Philip

Murray for another term as CIO presi-dent. The delegates, listless throughout the week, cheered for 21 minutes as they re-elected him. James Carey, after his own re-election as secretary-treas-

urer, said: "If I have any ambition, it is to be a healthy Harry Hopkins to ease the burdea of our great president."

Bill of Rights parley Dec. 2 fights abuses under McCarran Law

THIRTY years ago a group of 12 top U.S. lawyers issued a joint report that startled the American people, aroused such a storm of public opinion that the abuses they exposed were eventually brought to an end. They

eventually brought to an end. They wrote: We are concerned with bringing to the American people the utterly illegal acts which have been committed by those charged with the highest duty of en-forcing the laws—acts which have caused widespread suffering and unrest, have struck at the foundation of American free institutions, and have brought the name of our country into disrepute. What moved the 12 lawyers to pro-test were the shameful Palmer raids against the foreign-born and the de-

against the foreign-born and the deportation frenzy of 1920. Last week



they received from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign

Committee for Protection of Foreign Born a pointed reminder that under the new McCarran Act, ... Each of the illegal or unconstitu-tional practices which you exposed and condemned in 19920 has already Been re-peated or threatens to be repeated in these closing months of 1950.

CALL TO ACTION: To the 12-in-cluding Zechariah Chafee, Jr., author of the classic book Freedom of Speech: Francis Fisher Kane who resigned a Justice Dept. post in protest; Roscoe Pound, dean of Harvard Law School; and Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter—went invitations to address the National Conference to Defend the Bill of Rights. The conference opens Dec. 2 in New York City under ACPFB auspices and the spon-

sorship of 125 prominent Americans. The committee announced it would concern itself with these four major issues

The Justice Dept.'s attempt to use the unconstitutional McCarran Law to establish concentration camps in the U.S. by illegally re-arcesting 48 non-citizens id holding them without bail.
The announcement by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that it will arrest and deport more than 3,400 non-citizens on the basis of the McCarran Law's deportation provisions.
The Justice Dept.'s announced intention to revoke the citizenship of more than 1,000 naturalized American citizens.
The difficulties faced by thousands of non-citizens, who have been trying for years to become American citizens without success.

GAINS & LOSSES: To date the com-mittee has a good record in beating back McCarran Law attacks on the foreign-born. Of 48 arrested in mid-night raids and denied bail, 40 by last week had been released by order of 13 different federal judges, most of whom rebuked the Justice Dept. for arbitrary abuse of its power. But eight foreign-born were still being held without bail; four in Los Angeles, two in Seattle, one each in Duluth and Detroit. For these the fight went on, with the committee urging telegrams of protest to U.S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath. The continued de-tention of these was called "cruel and harsh and without legal or human justification."

In New York City, 17 who won release on bail from Ellis Island after long efforts in the courts were being subjected to belt-line deportation hearings. Most of those who have already appeared had their cases ad-journed to next month, when the government will seek deportation orders under the new law on the sole ground of past or present membership in the Communist Party.

Meanwhile the State Dept. issued a reminder to every non-citizen in the land that the new law requires annual reports, beginning in January, of their whereabout and activities.

McCARTHY vs. PEOPLE: In Wash ington a fight was looming in Congress to force more drastic application of the law. One aspect of it would be a the law. One aspect of it would be a Republican effort to block Senate rati-fication of President Truman's ap-pointees (headed by Republican Seth Richardson who ran the Loyalty Re-view Board) to staff the five-man Subversive Activities Control Board. Both Sen. Bricker (R-O.) and Sen. McCarthy (R-Wisc.) announced they would oppose all five in favor of men and women they thought would ad-minister the law with maximum toughness. toughness

In Los Angeles the Democratic Party County Central Committee unani-

mously adopted a resolution demanding repeal of the law as "ill-conceived nd obviously unconstitutional." In Springfield, Mass., a group of and

leading citizens including the president and a second member of the city council, a college dean, a professor and several clergymen, was circulating

and several clergymen, was circulating a petition urging repeal of . . . measures which would curtail the cherished liberties for which our country has long been famous.



THE SECOND WORLD PEACE CONGRESS

Warsaw gives the world a manifesto

By George Wheeler GUARDIAN staff correspond WARSAW

WHERE once lay the war rubble of Warsaw a new building stands; when it is completed it will be the largest, most modern printing plant in all Europe. Three days before the Second World Peace Congress—driven from Britain by Prime Minister Attlee -was to have opened in Warsaw, press-es and machinery had been ready to instal. In those three days hundreds of engineers, carpenters, electricians, specialists, worked around the clock to convert the great room into the meeting hall for the Congress. To the 2,025 delegates, guests and observers from 72 countries, the miracle of the transformation was symbolic. This is the way one rank-and-file delegate put it:

We ht: The tremendous expense of our visit will set back their Three Year Plan, but they are not only willing but eager and en-thusiastic to make this sacrifice for peace. Nut only are we given the best accom-modations, but at every session some pres-ent: writing paper, postcards, eigarettes, etc. The people throng the entrances for our signatures, the children particularly— healthy, bright and mannerly youngsters. No words can describe the warmth of Pollsh hespitality.

Folish hospitality. At the airport in Prague there were great eroutds—benquets of flowers, wine, songs, dancing, platters of meat, embraces from horely young girls and handsome young men in the sky-blue shirts of peace. But if we were touched and tearful at Prague, we were astounded at Warsaw. Not a house without its banner, its streamers of wel-come, its white dores. Everywhere the word POKOJ, peace—flying on banners, chanted by the smiling, warm-hearted people: "Tokoj, Pokoj, Pokoj!"

CHARTER OF PEACE: In this atmosphere the Congress worked for a week, some of its commissions putting in many an all-night session. Out of the





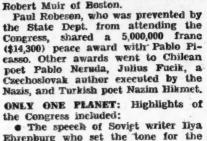
Thanksgiving in Warsaw

This is how the peace trains were greeted and this is how the delegates felt about it. George Wheeler says one orrespondent for a western newspaper turned his back on a child offering him flowers. What was his fear -

labors came a manifesto to the peoples of the world, a Charter of Peace to be referred to the UN, a basic 10-point program to avert World War III, and a World Peace Council of 200 members which will both guide the peace move-ment in all lands and serve as a sort of watch-dog committee over the UN to hold it true to its own founding charter.

Some observers pointed out that the Congress itself is larger than the UN, since it includes many colonial lands not now represented at Lake Success. The new Council announced that it "is open to any nation, any group, any current of peace-loving opinion willing to work for the realization of one or another proposal for peace."

THE AGREEMENTS: The Congress reached agreement on these main points:



• The speech of Soviet writer Hya Ehrenburg who set the tone for the broad areas of agreement possible in the world today: "I am for peace not only with the America of Howard Fast or Paul Robeson, but also with the America of Mr. Truman and Mr. Acheson; there is only one planet, but it is plenty big enough." • The 20-minute ovation given to Korean delegate Mrs. Pak Den A: "We

tor of the CIO Packinghouse Workers, Helen Johnson of the Minute Women

for Peace in New England, and Rev. Robert Muir of Boston.

know there are two Americas, the Amer ica of Wall Street which drives the



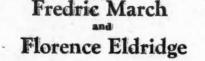
American youngsters into war with our people, and the America of honest simple folk who want peace."

• Charles Howard, Negro attorney of Des Moines, Iowa, answering the declarations of Rogge, who introduced the only jarring note in the Congress, Howard said:

Howard said: "I can assure the Congress that Mr, Begge has not spoken here on behalt of the Progressive Party; neither has he spoken on behalt of the Negro people of America; only the other day, he announced his with-drawal from the defense of the Trenton Six. Of course, as a Negro and a lawyer, I realize that in the present situation it is more dangerous and less profitable to de-fend the lives of six black, innocent vic-times than to be the lawyer of the Yugosh. Embassy in Washington."

Members of the U.S. delegation will make a first report on the Congress on Dec. 8 at New York's St. Nicholas Arena.

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Chicago DR. SCOTT NEARIAG

CALENDAR

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DR. SCOTT NEARIAG Sociologist, coonemist, historian, will deliver four timely lectures on "OUR TIME OF TROUBLES" Sun., Dec. 3, Tues., Dec. 5, Wed., Dec. 6, at International Relations Center, 116 S. Michigan Av., Room 1306. Mon., Dec. 4, at Boosvelt College, 430 S. Michigan, Room 420. Auspices of Swedish. Educational League, 8:15 p.m. Admission 75c. THE 'RIGHT TO SPEAK FOR FEACE, panel featuring Rev. Rich-ard Morford, Br. Lucius Porter, Mrs. Dorothy Cole. Moderator: Mr. Oscar Brown Jr. Fri., Dec. 9, at 8 p.m., Bowen Hall, Hull House, 800 5. Halteel: Tickets 75c (tas incl.) from Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendsbip, ANdover 3-1878.

Detroit

DR. SCOTT NEARING will speak on "OUR TIME OF TROUBLES" Fri. Dec. 8, at 8 p.m.; Sat. Dec. 9, at 8 p.m.; Sun. Dec. 10, at 2:30 and 8 p.m. at UNITED DAIRY WORK-ERS HALL, 15640 Second Eval. De-troit. Sponsor: Detroit Word Events Forum



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the new worse comen: Howard Fast, Paul Robeson, W. E. DuBois, Rev. Joseph Fletcher, Dr. John Hingsbury, Charles Howard (Progres-sive Party vice chairman), Theresa Robinson, Willard Uphaus (Religion and Labor Foundation), Charles Proc-tor of the CIO Bachinghaux Worker

1. A definition of an aggressor as the "first state which uses armed force under any pretext against any state."

2. An appeal to all governments against the persecution of persons fighting for peace. 3. An appeal to all governments to adopt legislation making war propa-ganda or instigation to war punishable

4. A call for a meeting of the heads of the Big Five governments to resolve

5. Demands for a cessation of hostili-ties in Korea, the withdrawal of all foreign troops, and settlement of the

Korean issue by the UN Security Coun-cil with the new China as a full-

fledged member. 6. Demands for the return of Formo-

sa to China and a cessation of hostili-

lowed by the withdrawal of occupation

8. Denunciation of continued colonial subjection of peoples as a "powerful source of danger of war."

9. A call for an international tribu-

nal to examine the "crimes committed during the war in Korea and in particu-

lar the question of the responsibility of General McArthur."

10. An appeal for unconditional

banning and complete inspection of atomic weapons, conventional arma-ments, bacteriological, chemical, poison-

ous, radioactive and other devices of mass extermination, with the onus of

war eriminal upon the first state using

11. Disarmament by all powers by

12. An appeal to all nations to re-

store normal cultural and trade relations throughout the world. The program was approved 1,655 to 3, with 2 abstentions. O. John Regge of

THE 6TH POWER: Pietro Nenal, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, summed up the importance of the Con-

"We have become the sixth power of e world—a power that will be used for

These 11 Americans were elected to

ene-third to one-half in the next two years with the UN Security Council

empowered to check.

the U.S. voted against.

7. Condemnation of rearmament of Germany and Japan, total demilitari-zation of both countries and the con-clusion of peace treaties with them fol-

offenses.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN

BOOKS FOR PROGRESS

Why the Russians do what they do

By James Aronson

N our generation of U.S. newspapermen, George Mar-ion is a pioneer. He quit the commercial field cold to try his hand at writing the truth. Finding publishers spectacularly uninterested in truth, he be-came a publisher himself. He wrote and printed Bases and Empire, a chart of American expansionism, and The Com-munist Trial, a document of the Foley Square follies.

Now comes a third self-published Marion book, All Quiet in the Kremlin—a frank, warm chronicle of his six months in the U.S.S.R. this All year, written "by a non-expert for non-experts."

for non-experts." Experts on Russia come a dime (sorry, a dollar) a dozen these days. They've put 20,-000,000 or so Russians in slave labor camps; 45,000 more in China to tell Mao Tse-tung what he's up to; and a couple of dozen more in pilgrim's clothing in Tibet — carrying Geiger - counting Buddhas. Praise the Lord for a non-expert!

THE MAIN QUESTION: Marion had a good look, but it wasn't easy. Contrary to the wide-spread notion that the Russians take you on strictly guided tours—and if you stray off the path, pop!—he had a on the path, pop!—he had a hard time convincing people to take him around. What he did was work his way across the Soviet Union, writing articles on America for Soviet papers and persuading the Russians to translate and multich his Folcy translate and publish his Foley Square book.

He went to find out, Marion says, why the Russians do the things they do; once we know that, understanding is easierand with understanding the chances of peace improve.

He went to Stalingrad, re-lived the war and the recon-struction there. He looked with amazement upon the once-shattered city which now has an industrial capacity greater than pre-war. He poked around Moscow, investigated the -CHICAGOANS-

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question and he puts it this

question and he puts it this Way: Not just the Communists but the great majority of the common people are convinced that some-thing new and heroic is under contruction in the Soviet Union. ... Now they certainly don't ar-rive at that conviction by compar-ing what they have with what Americans have... If they be-lieve in their tomorrow so much that they can endure cruel suf-fering and perform heroic toil, it can only be because they com-pare their today with their yea-terday.

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schools, museums, hospitals, stores; sat in on the Supreme Soviet, watched the May Day schools, hospitals, parade, went to dozens of plays, movies, ballets, concerts. He talked with Trofim Lysenko of the celebrated biology con-troversy, talked with barbers in the Georgian capital of Tiflis, with plain Russians wherever he went.

NOT "UTOPIA": In Georgia he studied the tea industry from top to bottom and the afforestation program in the steppes in the Cossack coun-try. He wanted to get to the heart of "socialist incentive" and find out whether or not it was a fancy name for "speed-up."

He didn't like everything he saw, and says so. He found Lysenko an unpleasant per-sonality; didn't care for many of the current propaganda plays (too primitive); wasn't enchanted when a jazz band splashed raucous notes into his soup in a Moscow hotel.

But he puts all these things in their place. He doesn't list them in an overwhelming in-dictment, as the "experts" do. He found the answer to his

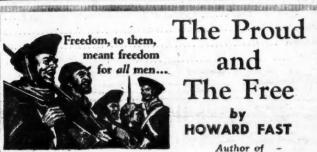
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THE BIG STORY: The truth about Russia, Marion believes, is the green crops growing in unwatered fields under rainless skies in what was once dust bowl country. He says: The "good" and the "bad" are parts of one process, the painful process of building something so new that the Russians cannot guide themselves by anything man has done in the past but must plunge ahead into the darkness of the untried, winning great suc- cess and making whopping big	MY GLORIOUS BROTHERS A magnificently moving novel of one of the most dramatic and least familiar, incidents in the American Revolution— the revolt of the Pennsylvania Line regiments in the bitter winter of 1781 at Morristown. A novel in the great American tradition of liberty, it tells superbly the heroic story of the men, and women, who lived and died to make this country free. At all bookstores \$3.00					
biory of the future Russia in the process of becoming. The story as Marion sees it is of a people nourished on the dream of peaceful construction, believing in what they build, convinced that they can help make a better life for them- selves and for all mankind. He has told it with intelligence, keen criticism, humor and, above all, heart.	LITTLE, BROWN & COMPANY 34 Beacon Street Boston 6, Mass. Please send me copies by Howard Fast at \$3 per copy. 1 order, herewith. Name Address	N. G. 11/29 of THE PROUD AND THE FREE am enclosing my check, or money				
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