

COLD WAR CASUALTY

The strange case of James Forrestal

By Israel Epstein

his April 10 broadcast Drew Pearson told American listeners some strange things about James V. Forrestal, Wall Street banker, U. S. Sec. of Defense until last month and chief maker of U.S. military policy since Roosevelt's death.

A fire siren blew nearby, said Pearson, while Forrestal was holidaying in Florida with another banker, W. Averell Harriman, ECA roving ambassador. Forrestal, "obsessed with the idea that the Red Army had invaded this country . . . ran out of the house in his pajamas screaming."

Pearson added that Forrestal's condition had first begun to manifest itself while he was still in office, and was known to Pres. Truman.

SCREAMING MEEMIES. Radio commentator Johannes Steel asked a question which everyone must ask himself. Suppose the Secretary of Defense, while already ill but outwardly sane, had told a cabinet meeting the Russians were about to attack and the atom bomb must therefore be dropped at once? What if Forrestal had had his obsessions fed by "reports" from people who want war and are not at all mad?

Actually, in the spring of 1948 while Forrestal was Sec. of Defense, an inaccurate air-force intelligence report about Russian moves did almost put the U.S. into war, according to a document signed by Forrestal's banker friend Ferdinand Eberstadt who worked on Hoover's commission investigating the government structure. This false report led Truman to demand universal military training, but was

followed by the statement of John Foster Dulles (no friend of Russia) that Moscow was definitely not embarked on a course to war.

Few know that since then Forrestal has been holding special briefing sessions for leading Washington correspondents, who carried his ideas to millions of newspaper readers without mentioning the source. The same papers now play down Forrestal's condition.

MAD LEADING THE MAD. Retired Rear-Admiral E. M. Zacharias, in the March issue of *United Nations World*, revealed that Forrestal "changed" after the battle of Iwo Jima in 1945, which imparted "a new brassy petulance to his eyes, deeper furrows to his chin, a forced jut to his chin, a tough gritty look to his face."

Forrestal, Zacharias went on, then plunged deeply into a philosophy he had fancied since 1943, the "geopolitics" of Nazi Gen. Karl Haushofer, who laid the first plans for Hitler's abortive effort to dominate the world. These ideas were thereafter taught, in the Naval Reserve Officer Training program, to become a guiding star for the U.S. armed services. Moreover, Forrestal "was motivated by his new philosophy of power when, less than two weeks after V-J Day, he called for a naval force consisting of 400 warships and 8,000 aircraft."

Thus Forrestal's aggressive ideas, calling for U.S. military control of the globe, came long before the newspapers began to justify them on the basis of "Soviet aggression"; long before the Berlin blockade or the "cold war."

4 years of Forrestal

GERMANY: Played leading role in reviving Nazi cartels. "The Forrestal-Draper group argues German war plants are needed to prepare for possible war with Russia." (Drew Pearson, April 22, 1948).

PALESTINE: Spearheaded the lobby against UN partition decision; got U. S. to reverse its support.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE: Had key role in framing it. It was formulated (said N.Y. Times at the time) on the heels of huge Middle East oil deals. Forrestal had personally helped float large loans for U.S. oil firms in Middle East.

OIL ABOVE ALL: Told Small Business Committee, Oct., 1947: "It is essential

that the oil fields of Saudi Arabia be developed in the national interest. . . . It should come ahead of developments in the U. S. or the western hemisphere."

PUBLIC OPINION: Sought to impose near-wartime censorship on news. "Has attempted to influence the very roots of public opinion in America" (Bartley Crum, March 10, 1948).

"In three years Secretary Forrestal has been able to change the character, philosophy and personnel of the Administration. His influence bites into an incredible number of offices in Washington—from the Anti-Trust Division of the Justice Dept. to the White House." (Tris Coffin, N.Y. Post, May 3, 1948).

The mailed fist

DEC. 19, 1945: Truman's declaration that foreign and military policy must be integrated represented triumph for Forrestal's demand that the military have dominating voice in foreign policy.

AUGUST, 1946: Forrestal a major influence in making Russia's desire to reach a settlement over the Dardanelles appear a "grave threat" to peace, and in urging a military answer.

SEPT. 30, 1946: Forrestal

said the U.S. Navy would maintain permanent forces in the Mediterranean to "support U.S. policies."

SEPT., 1947: While Truman was still at sea, Forrestal (since 1944 Sec. of the Navy) said world crisis was so great as to necessitate his swearing-in as Sec. of Defense five days earlier than planned.

OCT. 21, 1947: FORRESTAL WARNS SOVIET WE PREFER WAR TO DESPOTISM (N.Y. Times headline).

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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Paris in the Spring

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THE MAILBAG

Love that Perry!

ALTO, MICH.
I am in love again. It is Jennings Perry. And love at first sight, for before last night I had never been conscious of the gentleman. He writes in such a direct, crisp style with a keen sense of the seriousness of his subject, choosing not only the right words, but the artistic ones that make his subject sink into your heart and play upon its strings.

Ray Matthews

MANCHESTER, CONN.

A million kisses for finding Jennings Perry on your pages again.

Fay B. Knopp

NEW YORK, N.Y.

CONGRATULATIONS. STOP. WE HAVE JENNINGS PERRY AGAIN.

M. Wood Hill

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Jennings Perry's appearance

among your contributors will rejoice many hearts and give a lift to our spirits. In soundness and trenchancy, courage and felicity he is without peer among columnists. He is, in the finest humanitarian sense, an internationalist, and he is as distinctively American as Mark Twain, or flapjacks, or corn pone.

Bernard M. Parelhoff

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have just finished reading Jennings Perry's first column for the GUARDIAN. It is superb. I am extremely happy (as an old PM reader) to see my favorite political writer back in action.

Peter Marshal

Clerical challenge

MONTREAL, QUEBEC
In connection with the article "The non-Christian world and Cardinal Mindszenty" (April 18) it is relevant to re-

call the famous challenge of the clerical chief, Louis Veuillot, to the Republican leader, Gambetta, in France in the late 1870's:

"We demand from you that freedom of speech and freedom of assembly on your principles which we will deny to you on our principles when we regain power."

Veuillot received signal honors from the Vatican. The Pope called him "a lay Father of the Church."

Pierre Dandurand

Four 'Freedoms'

LEMONT, ILL.

The Four Freedoms in practice:

Freedom from Want has become back-breaking debt and taxation to finance war preparations which rob us of Freedom from Fear.

Freedom of Religion has become a holy war crusade against socialism and communism—the names for any opposition to the status quo or to Roman Catholic domination.

Freedom of Speech has become freedom for the owners and/or operators of the mass media of communications to confuse, and to twist each day's news into war propaganda to condition the people for:

- (1) the Truman Doctrine;
- (2) the Marshall (martial) Plan;
- (3) the North Atlantic Pact;
- (4) the coming Mediterranean and Pacific Pacts; and
- (5) atomic war against the U.S.S.R., from which, it will be charged, "communism is seeping through the encirclement of steel and atom bombs and must be stopped."

Mary P. Buckner, Chairman Committee on World Peace Methodist Church, Lemont

Signing up

OCEAN PARK, CALIF.

As the most important business of the day, I believe we should back O. John Rogge's call for "a united front . . . in a gigantic effort to stop this nation's drive toward war."

In this connection, will you please see that the committee whose job it will be to collect "millions of signatures" to a "rollcall for world peace" is given my name and address so that I may collect a few of those signatures in the Los Angeles area?

John Moat

Good idea. Mr. Moat and others who want to help may write to Peace Roll Call, National ASP, Hotel Iroquois, 49 W. 44th St. New York, N. Y. Ed.

The white robes

CHICAGO, ILL.

This Easter day, marking one more year of formal religion's inadequacy, is enough to drive one to atheism.

Without presumptuously offering advice, I will point out that this is not the time to abandon the (religious) battle field to the enemy without a fight. Rather, I will point to the special hint written down for the express benefit of the progressives and Marxists in the U.S.—the white robes in Revelation. Freely translated, this may mean placing in office religious leaders with the needed will and vision. In terms the people can understand, replacing Big Brass with God, and I don't mean the phony God of Churchianity.

Thomas Matthews

Jennings Perry
To the swift

ONE gathers from the visible and audible anguish of our State Department, our Un-American Activities Committee and of so much of our Press that foul play has been afoot at the vocabulary. Some clever rogues, it seems, have made off with the precious word Peace.



It lay there, just where President Truman had left it after his Inaugural Address on the third Thursday of January, wrapped in cotton batting and presumably safe.

"Above all else," the President had said, "our people desire, and are determined to work for, peace on earth . . ." specifying " . . . a just and lasting peace . . . based on genuine agreement, freely arrived at by equals."

A THREAT TO THE BOMBS. In the context the word was bright but innocuous, the condition "freely arrived at by equals" alone being susceptible of as many official interpretations as ever would be needed to restrain the impetuosity of the popular desire and determination. By itself, of course, and in the wrong hands, the word could be as dangerous as the atom bomb. It could be dangerous to the atom bomb!

The hue and cry began with the announcement of the Scientific and Cultural Conference for Peace in New York and has continued with rising inflection through the World Peace Conference in Paris this week. It was easy to assail the artists, writers, churchmen, educators and scientists participating in these meetings as Communists, crack-pots, dupes and traitors, but this barrage of epithets (Automatic Defense No. 1) was perceptibly not enough to erase the jeopardy in which the Cold War had been placed. The appeal of peace, just peace on earth, itself was the threat. It was necessary in some way to discredit the simple word.

ASSAULT BY HYPHEN. This has been attempted with contemptuous quote marks ("peace conferences") and hyphenated associations (peace-offensive, peace-ruse) as well as with the standard prefatory blemishes, "alleged" and "so-called." It still is being attempted in ten million prints and newscasts.

Unfortunately for the managers and fans of the Cold War, the word peace and the concept peace cannot be attained. The word has unstainable virtue that has been distilled into it by the hopes of humanity since the world began.

THEY SNEER AT SANITY. The State Department can refuse visas to people who want to come here to talk peace; the House Un-American Activities Committee can rouse from its torpor to sneer at "the notorious political naivete of physical scientists, who are severely distressed for the future of civilization with the terrible physical force their genius now has loosed; and the prints can libel as "Communists" and "Communist-snared" the literate men and women of many lands who met to urge sanity instead of military mania to their generation. But the fact remains that these "confused idealists" who have lifted the simple word peace out of mealy mouths and cryptic rhetoric are carrying the ball far ahead of their pursuers.

AND THEY WON'T SIT DOWN. They have put the superlative word peace into play again all around the globe; they have linked hands and hopes right through the Iron Curtain at which the great governments have sat down. Where the great governments had quit, they have started forward the movement towards cordiality and understanding which bears man's chances of survival.

How about it?

COLLEGE POINT, N.Y.

Poetry, and especially political poetry and satire, should be given a place in your paper. It is an immense field of intellectual and political endeavor which can be very effective and yet is completely neglected by our editors. You could gain valuable reader participation in your publication. And you will be gratified and surprised by the flood of clever, talented and timely pieces on current happenings.

M. K.

We want that kind of verse. Reader K. might be surprised to know how hard it is to get.—Ed.

For all to see

CHICAGO, ILL.

As a worker belonging to the UE-CIO I use many of your articles on the bulletin board of our plant and I can inform you that dozens of workers in our shop are subscribers of the GUARDIAN.

I know my subscription has run out and being unable at present to pay for a whole year, am enclosing one dollar for the 13-week period.

Keep up the good work of

exposing the hysteria and the denial of civil liberties in our democracy which the commercial press tries so hard to conceal from the public.

Harry Waller

Freely and frankly

TAMPA, FLA.

I've spent many years in newspaper work and in union activities of this and other states. Always I've been dissatisfied with the evident reactionary conduct of many labor leaders and more particularly labor paper editors. My own efforts to write freely and frankly have been discouraged and often prevented, so far as publication of my articles was concerned.

Therefore I want to congratulate you on the editorial contents of your paper, which I am sure is certain to grow in circulation and esteem among the real producers of this country and the world. It will be a great privilege for me to use the material from your weekly, so far as I am able with proper credits, and I do hope I shall not miss a single issue in the future.

James H. Whitney, Editor Florida Labor Advocate

Talking justice

Words: RICK SKLAR

Music: Talking blues with guitar vamp in the key of "C".

Now sometimes in a democracy,
Things aren't just what they ought to be.
Freedom starts to disappear,
A lot of us begin to fear, to freely talk on politics
or what's wrong with economics.

From California up to Maine,
The Bill of Rights goes down the drain.
Reactionaries with brains likes holes
Start enforcing thought controls . . . loyalty checks before
pay checks,
for Government employees.

The Nation's heritage they defile,
While twelve are accused in a frame-up trial.
Our justice is getting a reputation
Of economic intimidation . . . From Foley Square to Trenton
Squares
Justice is anything but square.

Liberty's gone, folks in the clink.
They're trying to outlaw the right to think.
Hand picked juries and if you squawk
You're tossed right out onto the sidewalk . . . of Oooooold
New York
East Side West Side, all around the town.
If you're a Jew or Italian or your skin is brown
You ain't grand enough for a Graaaaaand Jury.

Now I can't recall in the Constitution,
A clause that justifies exclusion
Of working folk or anyone
From a Jury, who ain't a banker's son . . . A man should be
tried by a jury of his peers.
Not financiers.

Well, when money talks louder than the Bill of Rights,
It's up to the people to start to fight.
Unite before the sands run out,
Across the land with a mighty shout,
Justice! . . . Democracy!

God's underground—or the Devil's?

By Cedric Belfrage

OUTSIDE St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, on Easter Sunday thousands of good people paraded in new clothes, celebrating the triumph over death of one known as the Prince of Peace.

Mingling with the crowd were several men in paper hats inscribed: STOP WORLD WAR III NOW, WE DON'T WANT THE A-BOMB USED AGAIN. Hissed and booed, one of the men sat down and wouldn't budge. Four cops each took one leg or arm and removed him bodily.

The episode was true to form against a world pattern in which "Christianity" is being used as a cover—the only one not now worn transparent—for confusing good people and destroying peace.

HOLY TERROR. Since 1946 the pattern has come into focus with the conviction of Yugoslavia's Catholic Archbishop Stepinac, Hungary's Catholic Cardinal Mindszenty, and 15 Protestant pastors in Bulgaria, on irrefutable evidence of treason to their countries. Horrified by the "religious persecution" seen in these trials on civil charges, Bolivia, whose law makes it a capital crime to conspire to establish any other religion than the Catholic, demanded a UN investigation.

Evidence in the trials showed collusion between the priests, American officials, and Nazis and Nazi collaborators, which resulted in terror and massacre or was calculated to do so.

Reading the evidence—available in each case in English—people with longer memories recalled last year's statements by John Foster Dulles about "Operation X" in eastern Europe, which according to U.S. News was to specialize in "strong-arm squads under American guidance" and "assassination of key Communists." Dulles is not only one of the architects of U.S. foreign policy; he is also a major committee chairman of the Federal Council of (Protestant) Churches.

ANONYMOUS CRUSADER. But long memories were not necessary. Advertising columns



There was no room for peace in the Fifth Avenue Easter parade. When James Peck hoisted a sign protesting the dropping of more atom bombs and denouncing war, he was carried off the Avenue along with other members of anti-war groups. The cops had a high old time.

over the Easter weekend boomed the new book *God's Underground*; and *Life* magazine, editorializing in praise of the book, pleaded for an extension of "God's Underground" in America as well as in eastern Europe.

God's Underground is the epic of a "Father George," described as a Croatian priest and "determined soldier of God," who became a Partisan officer in Yugoslavia and after the war got into the Soviet Union on a military pass. He is now, according to the book jacket, "unpaid advisor to officials in America, Europe and Asia."

Whether "Father George" exists in a single body is uncertain and unimportant. "Even in America," we are told, "he does not dare to use his own name." (A former leader of the Yugoslav Partisans, consulted by *GUARDIAN*, said: "The number of Catholic priests who joined us could be counted on

half the fingers of half a hand.")

NAZI BLUNDER. In a sane world the book—a collection of gossip and anecdote as fantastic as it is evil, and without any documentation whatever save for Monsignor Sheen's statement that he "knows the story is authentic"—would be laughed off library shelves. But it is an important book in the present setting: the cry for a holy war will be increasingly raised in America.

This is the way "Father George" presents the new mythology to justify the atomic crusade, on the basis of his alleged contacts with thousands of Soviet soldiers and citizens:

1. Almost everyone in Russia is against the regime; "the Red Army was bitterly anti-Communist" (p. 108).

2. How then explain that during the war "not all Russians deserted—the Red Army fought valiantly at Stalingrad?" One answer is that Hitler in 1941 made a good start by opening Russian churches, "destroyed many years ago" by the Soviets. The Nazis "would have been welcomed by the masses of the people as liberators"; but then they made an "atrocious blunder" (p. 92) by embarking on a policy of mass annihilation of the people.

BEST-SELLER STUFF. 3. Nevertheless the conduct of the Red Army when they liberated an area was far worse than that of the Nazis; it consisted of "official rape" such as had been carried out by "no people of the West since the pre-Christian days of Goth and Gaul" (p. 87). (The flights of obscene imagination necessary to make such a book a best-seller are provided by a description of Red Army girls' rape of unprotected males).

4. Russians fought well because "something happened" to them when they were sprinkled with holy water (p. 121). The basis of Russian mass-hatred of Communism is

neither Trotzkyite, Social Democratic, capitalistic nor Tsarist, but the desire for a "Christian social order."

5. The basic program for this new order is apparently contained in a secret document, "Plan for Peasant Co-Operatives," which sounds much like the present Soviet collective-farm setup. Not the sacredness of the state will be proclaimed, and not the sacredness of property, but of "man." This is the moral slogan of the now-familiar "middle way" between capitalism and socialism.

HITLER'S PET. Describing enthusiastically the "Christian underground" now active all over Russia, "Father George" tells of bootleg editions, circulating from hand to hand, of Papal Encyclicals and the works of German geopolitician Haushofer. This is one of the curious admissions in the book—Haushofer being, of course, the theoretician who inspired Hitler and also (see Epstein, p. 1) our own ex-Secretary of Defense Forrestal.

A typical passage about "God's Underground" in Russia on p. 172 of "Father George":

"He showed me a pile of melons (which) looked identical until he pointed out a tiny marking on one. This melon has been opened and fitted together again," he said. "Inside it now is a tiny bottle of sacramental wine. An old,

old woman will stop here tomorrow; she will gather up these melons and hawk them through the town. At a certain tree she will sell this particular melon to a laborer who is sitting on the ground, whittling a stick. He will be a secret priest."

SO BIG. This kind of fantasy is the American equivalent of Hitler's "big lie"—so big that millions of people to whom facts are inaccessible believe it.

Anyone who wants the facts about church-state relations in eastern Europe can get them, soberly annotated, from the Washington Religious Affairs Group, 1543 33rd St. NW, Washington, D.C.

In all these countries church and state have been separated as in the U.S.; beyond that conditions vary, but neither in Russia nor anywhere else are people of any faith—Christian or otherwise—prevented from worshipping together. In Russia the church is not financially supported by the state; in all the new "people's democracies" it is. In Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, religious instruction in schools is compulsory.

RIDDLES. The questions raised by "Father George's" book and the *Life* editorial are:

With regard to this "underground," was God consulted?

What do its organizers mean by "God?"

Is God represented in the front-page N.Y. Times headline the day after Easter: "CATHOLIC UNITS HIT FEDERAL (HEALTH INSURANCE) CARE PLAN?"

**GOD'S UNDERGROUND.* By Father George as told to Gretta Palmer. With foreword by Rt. Rev. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen. Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York. 313 pp. \$3.

By their fruits...

THREE years ago a pamphlet was published (as obscure as all truth—not a single publication noticed it), in which "religious" developments since then were prophesied on the basis of documentation from the past. Titled *Religion—Barrier or Bridge to a People's World?*, the pamphlet began:

"Fascism has chosen religion as one of the most deadly weapons with which to carry on where the Axis armies left off, to make sure of final victory against the people." It called for reclaiming of true religion from those who had inverted it with supernatural ideas to crucify the people's leaders. And speaking of undergrounds, the pamphlet showed that the one headed by the Nazarene Carpenter—one of the most perfect in history—was born under the same conditions (occupation by an alien oppressor) and led

by the same sort of people (non-sectarian workers) as the eastern European undergrounds that have turned hope of a better life into reality in eastern Europe today.

The message of that pamphlet is more vital now than ever. It re-emphasized the "orchard test" of the Bible: "By their fruits ye shall know" the difference between true religion—a communal movement to feed the hungry, clothe the naked and put down the mighty from their seats—and the false religion of property-owning churches which can only act in defense of property.

* *RELIGION—BARRIER OR BRIDGE TO A PEOPLE'S WORLD? A Handbook for Progressive Leaders.* People's Institute of Applied Religion, Box 268, Rt. 1, Helena, Ala. 64 pp. 50c.



Daily Worker, London
Another Underground

People's Institute meeting

IN the call to a congress of grass-roots religious leaders this week at Nashville, Tenn., Rev. Claude Williams, director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, says:

"It is high time that we set ourselves to the serious task of applying the Bible Way of Righteousness to the problems of Freedom, Justice and Brotherhood," and of "relating the total, powerful and timely teachings of the Scriptures to the evils of Oppression, Injustice and Bigotry. . . . This Way has been spurned by most of the 'radicals.' It is too old fogey to many of the 'liberals.'"

The congress will continue from April 29 through May 1 at the YMCA (Colored Branch), 4th and Charlotte Streets, Nashville.

The Trenton six

Princeton takes a hand

By Elmer Bendiner

ON April 25 the Supreme Court of the State of New Jersey is to convene in Trenton. High on the calendar is the appeal of the six Negro men charged with the murder of William Horner, 70-year-old dealer in second-hand furniture.

When the court opens the men will have been in prison 442 days.

Their arrest, in February 1948, was featured locally as the end of a man-hunt. Their trial during the summer was reported in Trenton papers. After they were sentenced to death, though, they seemed almost forgotten in the death house. Local progressive groups protested but could not break through the curtain. The Six had ceased to be news.

KEEP OUT REDS. When it began publication last October the GUARDIAN took up the story and others followed. The holes in the government's case became clear. The Civil Rights Congress rallied to the support of the Six and sym-

pathy for them spread from left to right politically and in all parts of the world.

Last week the N. Y. World-Telegram referred to the story for the first time on page one. It told of a movement on Princeton's campus designed to keep "Reds" out of the Trenton case. The paper said that Joseph Brown, assistant professor of art and archaeology, "wondered whether the Reds were trying to sell communism or see that justice was done."

In the World-Telegram's spectrum, all on the left are red. GUARDIAN telephoned to Prof. Brown to ask about the story.

"MORE GRACEFUL." Prof. Brown told GUARDIAN he had been "inadequately reported" in the World-Telegram. He repeated what he had told that paper.

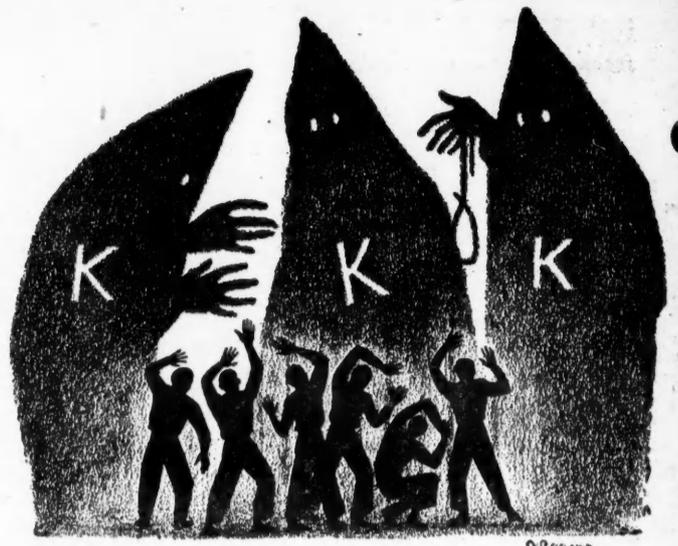
"This movement is not meant to be an anti-communist movement—nor a pro-communist movement. It was specifically not meant as a movement to point the finger

at communist motives. We are in no position to do so since non-communists have done so little in defense of these boys."

Prof. Brown and a group of students gathered material on the case from the GUARDIAN, from the CRC and from O. John Rogge, retained by the CRC to argue the appeal. The professor attended rallies on the case.

He said: "At some of them there seemed to be just a little bit of propaganda. But as I told the World-Telegram reporter, I thought the Communists handled it more gracefully than either the Republicans or Democrats would have, had they taken up the case. I thought it was a shame it had to be political at all, though."

DEEP ROOTS. The professor said there would be a meeting on the campus in the middle of May. Asked who would be there, he said: "There was a lot I liked in the Progressive Party campaign—including Henry Wallace. But I was most impressed by the grass-



Six men in the shadow

by Julie Rogers

roots quality of it That's the quality we'll have."

Grass roots on the Princeton campus run in organizations like the Students' Christian Union, the Campus Republican Club, Campus Democratic Club, Popular Front Club. Members of all these organizations have now

entered Princeton's movement to give the Six a fair trial. Said Prof. Brown: "I don't see anything wrong with getting the American Legion interested too." He summed up:

"Due process of law without a public conscience doesn't mean a damn."

Chicago dateline

The free press

By Rod Holmgren

DWIGHT GREEN was Republican governor of Illinois from 1941 until the voters retired him last November. This week the Chicago Daily News disclosed that from 1943 to 1948, the Green administration carried 33 editors and publishers of downstate newspapers on state payrolls for a total of more than \$305,000.

Relatives of the editors, columnists and employees were paid an additional \$108,183.

Steve Choussier of the Benton Evening News was asked what he did to earn \$2,800 as a "messenger clerk" in the highway division. He said, "You know we're poor down here and the administration got so much publicity in our paper for it. But I never could figure out why they listed me in the highway division."

THE FREE PRESS. A. E. Vandever, editor of the Nokomis Free Press, got \$4,600 as a "messenger clerk." Sam Little of the Hillsboro Journal received \$10,747 from the state. He said: "Yeah, we printed news and editorials from Green headquarters."

Green, now a corporation attorney on LaSalle Street, commented: "It seems to me grossly unfair to these men to

insinuate that there was anything improper in their employment. The state must choose its administration from the competent and professional men of the state and surely those whose experience is in the publishing business should not be excluded from public service."

Deposit 25 million in the slot, please

WHEN Illinois Bell Telephone Co. applied for rate increases totalling \$34,100,000 last November the City of Chicago was one of 30 municipalities filing objections with the state's Commerce Commission.

J. J. Danaher, assistant corporation counsel for Chicago, pointed out that a rate increase of \$25,000,000 was granted the phone company in December 1947. He cited the state law which prohibits utility rate hikes more often than once every two years.

Two months later, Danaher was appointed to a seat on the Commerce Commission by Gov. Adlai Stevenson. Replacing Danaher as assistant corporation counsel was Jos. H. Grossman. This week Grossman recommended to the Commission that the phone company be granted an immediate and permanent rate boost of \$26,377,000

a year.

William Miller, state director for the Illinois Progressive Party, has asked permission to testify against the rate boost proposal at hearings set for April 26.

Flash! Working press honors a professor!

CURTIS MacDOUGALL, one of Illinois' best-known progressives, got an unusual honor this week. The Chicago Newspaper Guild (CIO) voted a citation to MacDougall for his "contributions to journalistic progress." MacDougall, who ran for the U.S. Senate on the Progressive ticket last year, is professor of journalism at Northwestern University.

The Guild citation called attention to the latest edition of his book, Interpretative Reporting, which it described as "must reading for every reporter."



Curtis MacDougall

West Coast wire

Saludos amigos!

A dream come true?

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES THIS famed pueblo, which adores fiestas and segregates its 400,000 Spanish-speaking people, last week appeared likely to elect its first Mexican-American to City Council.

Contender for fulfillment of this century-old dream was energetic, liberal Ed Roybal, veteran, cost accountant, public health worker and stout opponent of the city's anti-minority policies.

Roybal, a Democrat, led a field of four candidates in the city's primary election in the Ninth District, heavily populated with socially, politically and economically outcast Mexican-American families.

He ran with good support of labor and democratic organizations, among the most active of which was the maturing Independent Progressive Party. Expansion of this support in the runoff with aging incumbent Parley P. Christensen May 31 has become a rallying project for progressives.

DAZZLING WORDS. Mayor Fletcher Bowron, who alienated labor and progressives three years ago, failed to win in the primary and faces a runoff with City Engineer Lloyd C. Aldrich. Aldrich, no liberal, lifted portions of the IPP program a few days before the primary and dazzled voters weary of Bowron's trite sloganeering about gangsters and Communists.

Ellis E. Patterson, liberal Democrat, former lieutenant-governor and congressman, and a Democrat, ran third in a field of nine.

In fourth place was State Sen. Jack B. Tenney, head of California's subversive-chasing committee and darling of the Hearst press.

Patterson's strong showing was largely due to the big job

turned in for him by IPP volunteers. Patterson also got the nod from the Democratic County Central Committee after a stiff fight by rank-and-file members. He got nothing but the back of the hand from the Democratic Party's brass.

DEPRESSION ACTION. He got even worse from some of the leaders of Americans for Democratic Action, notably the Hollywood group around Roy J. Brewer, vice chairman of the Southern California ADA and also of the Hollywood League of Voters.

Brewer blasted Democrat Patterson's liberal campaign against Republican Bowron, declaring a victory for Patterson would prove a "major disaster" to the security of the nation.

Despite the hysteria of the Los Angeles-Federal Grand Jury-Communist jallings, Communist Henry Steinberg, campaigning from the calaboose for school board, won the highest vote ever given a member of his party in Los Angeles. He got nearly 34,000 votes and was third among five candidates.

How to do it

"They will listen to us now—if we reach them," Henry Wallace said in an article in last week's GUARDIAN. In Los Angeles "they" were reached. Ellis E. Patterson, liberal Democrat running in the mayoralty primary with strong Progressive support, polled 57,286 votes, with 33% of the electorate voting. Last November, Henry Wallace polled 80,000 in Los Angeles, with 80% voting.

"We got our vote out," said Bert Witt, local IPP chief. "The Democrats didn't do anything to get their vote out."

Wallace peace crusade to visit 15 cities

HENRY A. WALLACE and three European guests will visit 15 cities in their nationwide peace tour that begins with a dinner April 27 at the Hotel Commodore in New York.

The three members of European parliaments who will accompany Wallace on the three-week coast-to-coast forum on foreign policy are Michele Giua, left Socialist Senator from Italy; Pierre Cot, former member of the French Cabinet, and H. Lester Hutchinson, Labor Party member of the British Parliament.

Wallace asks Americans to send in questions they would like to have discussed during

the transcontinental tour. Address them to: Henry Wallace, 56 W. 45 St., New York 19.

A detailed tour schedule follows:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| New York, April 27 | Baltimore, May 5 |
| Chicago, April 29 | Minneapolis, May 6 |
| Cleveland, April 30 | Seattle, May 8 |
| Detroit, May 1 | Portland, May 9 |
| Boston, May 2 | San Francisco, May 10 |
| Philadelphia, May 3 | Los Angeles, May 13 |
| Newark, May 4 | Denver, May 14 |
| Washington, May 5 | New York, May 16 |

Consult your local Progressive Party headquarters for the exact time and place of the meetings.

WORLD ROUNDUP

Peace in Paris

The Salle Pleyel is a neat, modern structure on the Rue du Faubourg in Paris. Twice a week concerts are given; now and then a movie or a meeting.

Last week from all parts of the world, from farms, crossroads towns, big cities, 2,000 men and women came by plane, rail and boat to the Salle Pleyel. Each represented many others in trade unions, clubs, federations of all sorts.

It was estimated the delegates spoke for 600,000,000 people. Those who did not send delegates wondered what the millions had to say and why their spokesmen came so far to say it.

WINGED WORDS. In Moscow the venerable Alexis, patriarch of all Russia, said: "The defense of peace is the highest expression of the love of country."

In Oran, North Africa, E. Angonin, secretary-general of the Federation of Labor there, spoke for 70,000 trade unionists: "We do not recognize the right of imperialists to dispose of our lives."

In Iran Reja Roustia, secretary-general of United Trade Unions of Iran, smuggled a letter out of his country saying: "Despite tortures we will win peace."

The two camps

In Hungary 18 Roman Catholic priests signed a statement which said:

"We see two camps. One, the makers of imperialist war, less in number but lost to all human sentiment, mad for money while millions of workers struggle for their daily bread, for the most elementary human rights. The other, the great camp of workers seeking peace with the Soviet Union. . . . We priests of the Church of Christ, who have the task of guiding the soul of people, must raise our voices and confront those who have loosed the demons of murderous destruction."

In other terms, other languages, the others said the same. They traveled to the Salle Pleyel in Paris to say it together at the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace.

OBSTACLES. Not all found it trip easy; many found it impossible. The Cuban delegation's difficulties were typical. Nicolas Guillen, the poet, Myrta Aguirre, vice president of the Federation of Democratic Women of Cuba, student leaders and labor leaders left in plenty of time. They were to go by ship to New York, by plane to Paris.

Reservations were made at a New York hotel. They never claimed their rooms.

Friends knew their boat had docked, could see their luggage on the pier. Immigration authorities would answer no questions, allow no messages. At last they admitted the Cuban delegates were being held on Ellis Island. One official said simply that they were being returned to Cuba.

Two days after their arrival in New York they were whisked in secret to La Guardia Airport. No one was permitted to see them; they were allowed to send no messages. When their plane was in the air, immigration authorities said only that they had left the country. They made it, though.

PRAGUE SIDESHOW. Japanese delegates were stopped by General MacArthur's orders before they could leave their country. Chinese got through to Prague but the French government would issue no visas to them.

To the nations of eastern Europe France rationed visas, eight to a country. In all 370 delegates could not cross the French border. They took a hall in Prague for an over-flow meeting.

Reply to war

At the Salle Pleyel, the lofty walls lined with signs in French, English, Russian, Italian, Spanish. They said: "Defend peace—unite for peace."

On Wednesday Frederic Joliot-Curie, French High Commissioner for Atomic



Frederic Joliot-Curie

Energy, strode to the flag-draped platform to open the Congress. He said: "We are not here to ask but to impose it. This congress is the reply of peoples to the signers of the Atlantic Pact. To the new war they are preparing we will reply with revolt of the peoples."

Konni Zilliacus, British left-wing Labor M.P. (and GUARDIAN contributor) was about to speak on that opening morning session when Paul Robeson (GUARDIAN contributor) walked on to the platform. Robeson stopped the show; Zilliacus motioned him to the podium. Said Robeson: "It is certainly unthinkable for myself and the Negro people to go to war in the interests of those who have oppressed us for generations."

He sang, too, in Spanish, Russian and English.

THE CHOICE. Pietro Nenni, leader of Italian left-wing Socialists, told the delegates: "Italy will not be a plane carrier for imperialism. . . . Our Congress does not place the choice between Russia and America. Such a choice would mean we were already at war and had lost the fight for peace. This Congress gives the world the choice between a peace policy and the war policy of the men of the Atlantic Pact."

Among Americans on the platform and in the delegates' seats were Albert Kahn, Ella Winter, O. John Rogge, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Minneola Ingersoll. In Washington the House Committee on Un-American Activities labeled the conference un-American.

To combat it came Dr. Sidney Hook of the philosophy department of New York University and James T. Farrell, author of Studs Lonigan and 21 other books. They took off from La Guardia Airport on Thursday to launch a rival conference.

Said worried author Farrell: "The communism of Mr. Stalin is threatening to become the opium of the educated."

China: Mao marches

FOR many days the Communist radio in China and virtually every newspaper in the world had served notice that if the regime of Acting President Li Tsung-jen declined the terms of the Communists, the Communists would force their way across the Yangtze on Wednesday, April 20.

Arm-chair strategists anywhere could know where and when the first shells would fall. Li termed the Communists'

offer a surrender ultimatum and refused to allow them to cross the Yangtze unopposed.

According to schedule, Communist leader Mao Tse-tung ordered his men to "liberate all China." They proceeded to do so, swiftly fording the Yangtze at several points.

HIS MAJESTY IN THE WAY. Never was a battle so plainly announced. Yet when the first shells fell on the Yangtze there was His Britannic Majesty's sloop Amethyst steaming from Shanghai to Nanking. The Amethyst was hit and forced aground. The sloop Black Swan sped to her rescue, dueling with the shore batteries and was hit. The destroyer Consort entered the battle and was hit. The cruiser London steamed up the river; it too was hit.

In all, 42 British seamen were killed and 100 wounded by Friday. Few could trace the meaning of the incident. With legal precision the British authorities explained that the Amethyst was on her way to bring supplies to the Embassy at Nanking, that permission had been obtained from Nanking and that no other permission could have been sought since Nanking's government was the only one recognized by the British.

The war, like the Communists, had not won official notice in Whitehall.

Fleet Street, London's newspaper row, was confused. The Daily Mail indignantly termed the incident "naked aggression" and "murder" and went on: "Britain must exact retribution, demand punishment." Then, on second thought, the paper added: "That is easy to say but how can it be done?"

The Star said: "British lives have been lost in a war which is not our

concern. We are entitled to know how it happened."

The Daily Express asked why British authorities sent warships up the Yangtze when it was known that a battle was getting under way.

In pursuit of Chiang

As communist troops poured across the Yangtze and edged toward Nanking the orders of the day were to seize all war criminals, particularly the retired Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, last heard from at the tomb of his mother in Fenghua.

Other orders were to make peace with any local government which would accept the Communists' terms. If the government of President Li was still in Nanking, the orders read, it too would have another chance to accept the same terms.

In Nanking some prepared for siege, some for flight. The government prepared to move, perhaps to Shanghai.



NOT YET. The U.S. stood off from the battle, planning only to remove Americans from Shanghai and Nanking.

At home many wondered what might have happened had the Atlantic Pact been in effect. The Pact requires all signatories to feel attacked if the territory or any vessel of a signatory is attacked. As it was, few Americans felt themselves under fire.

The gospel in Sinkiang

The U.S. occupied itself with the search for anti-communists in China. Across the steppes of Sinkiang province in remote central China, caravans of donkeys toiled, bearing posters from the United States Information Service. Local residents called the donkeys "Turfan nightingales" though few know why.

And in improvised theaters Kazakh horsemen were gathering to see Hollywood documentary on a U.S. county fair. At the end they leaped on their ponies and rode off to the hills; no one knew what they thought of it all.

IN OSMAN'S YURT. Firmly won to the U.S. cause was the Moslem Kazakh chieftain Osman Bator. He is bitterly anti-communist. To meet him, New York Times correspondent Walter Sullivan rode across the plains to his fastness, escorted by fast-riding White Russian cavalrymen who learned to ride in the Tsar's army and had aged well.

Osman lives in a yurt (tent). He is a big man with a forked beard. He invited his U.S. guest to stay for dinner. Sullivan wrote: "The guests dug into the heaps with their fingers to find choice morsels. Except for daggers there were no utensils."

Sullivan admitted that pro-U.S. Osman might have to flee to India to Tibet or hide in the mountains since the provincial government was "increasingly pro-Russian."

The U.S. could afford to busy itself with a poster campaign in Sinkiang, British imperials watching the Communists cross the Yangtze, thought of Burma and Malaya to the south; They worried as though the Empire was still there.

Continued on following page



"Foocy, that's no Picasso."



"It is so. It's a Picasso."



Canard Enchaîne, Paris
"But it isn't a dove."

WORLD ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

Fading empire

ON Thursday the heads of what are or were the outposts of empire met in London. Britain's Labor government bent to the task of keeping the pieces of the British Commonwealth from flying off in all directions.

Before them was a plan for two classes of Commonwealth adherent: dominions which acknowledge the king, and republics which don't.

There were distressing frictions to be eased before any such plan could be accepted. India's Jawaharlal Nehru, whose wooing for the anti-communist front is of key importance (see Goshal, p. 9), was sitting at the same table with South Africa's Dr. Daniel Malan, whose fiercely racist government persecutes its Indian citizens. Pakistan's Ali Khan, hostile to India on many issues, was sure to stand solidly behind Nehru on the South African persecution issue.

NEITHER NOR. To sell its wares the British government's job was one of semantics. It cannot support South Africa's race policies, as in the past, and expect to make India the friend she must be if Far East anti-communist plans are to mature.

To Australia and New Zealand—as conservative Malayan papers figured the “defense plans”—it had to sell the task of providing naval and air forces; to India and Pakistan, of supplying armies; and to Ceylon, of contributing the great naval base at Trincomalee. Apparently all this was to be done by an ingenious “Third Force” approach: the plan would be presented as neither imperialist nor anti-imperialist, but “independent.”

Burma, though technically free of Britain, was another problem. Premier Thakin Nu, harassed by Karen tribesmen on the right and a developing coalition on the left, had turned to Nehru for arms, to Britain for a loan. But according to the London Daily Telegraph the Burmese government, having “lost control throughout the country” save for two or three small areas, was “acutely distrustful of British imperialism.”

Ireland celebrates

ON EASTER Monday, 1916, Padraic Pearse stood before the Post Office in Dublin and proclaimed the birth of “The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic.” Ten days later a British firing squad shot him down.

Last Monday the Post Office in Dublin was decorated with green-white-orange bunting. The Republic of Ireland was proclaimed. Prime Minister Attlee sent greetings.

In December the Dail Eireann (Irish parliament) foreswore its allegiance to the king and forbade him to sign any more credentials for Irish diplomats (virtually his last remaining function.) In memory of the Easter rising of 1916, and in hopes of winning over the six counties of Ulster, formal proclamation of the republic was postponed.

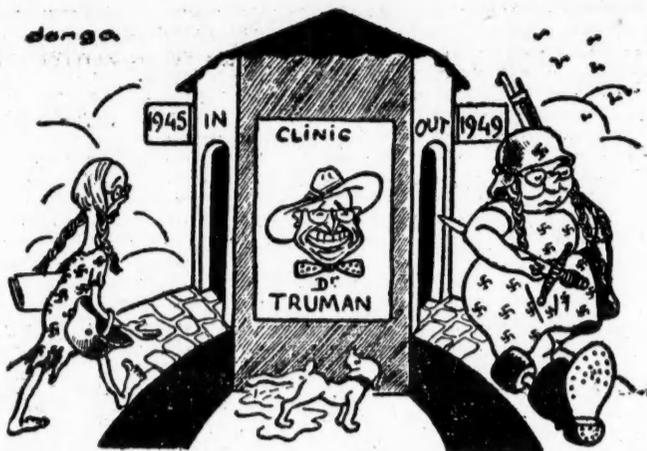
In February the six counties voted to remain with Britain. But still the brightly painted maps of the Republic of Ireland sold on O'Connell St. last week showed no dividing line in the island. Former premier Eamon de Valera said he could not celebrate so long as Ireland was partitioned.

Berlin in spring

EASTER weekend was sunny in shatter Berlin. On the 294th day of the blockade the U.S. airlift flew in 12,941 tons of supplies, a record hailed as proof that the city could be sustained indefinitely in this fashion.

As the planes landed at the rate of one every 62 seconds, western Berlin's womenfolk were making their usual trip to the eastern sector of the city to buy household supplies at newly-opened “free shops,” or to have their hair done in Soviet-sector beauty shops which now do 95% of the city's hairdressing business.

At exchange offices long queues



waited to sell West marks and buy East. Western Berlin's business was stagnating, its inhabitants grumbling over missed meat rations, stale American cigarettes and mounting unemployment.

CLAY'S BULLDOG. Rumors of the imminent lifting of the blockade, first heard a month ago, swept the city anew. Three overtures for resumption of trade relations between East and West Germany were reported made by Soviet authorities last week.

Save that threat

A few weeks ago Secretary of the Army Royall termed the blockade “a day-to-day threat to the peace of the world.” Last week, according to the New York Times, U.S. officials were “afraid” Russia would lift the blockade “and thus create another barrier to the Western German State.” The U.S. is committed to a four-power conference on all Germany if the blockade ends.

PERISH THE PEACE! An “experienced

diplomat” told the Times correspondent, that the West might have to kiss goodbye “a great many other western projects in Europe as well, for it would be accepted, rightly or wrongly, in Europe as an indication of the Soviet's desire for a peaceful settlement of the cold war.”

The U.S. Air Force at Washington let it be known that the airlift will continue, blockade or no blockade.

Near the Czech border, 70,000 U.S. troops were also receiving practice as they began the largest war games ever undertaken by the U.S. in Europe. Observers from eastern Europe were not present. The Russians were “specifically uninvited.” The opponent was a “mythical enemy” from the East.

As we were

Fifty-two months ago American troops in Europe were battling not a mythical enemy from the East but the full fury of the final Nazi counterattack of the war.

Among the first victims of the Battle

Max Werner

America's big chance for a new start in Asia

THE scene is shifting swiftly from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The debate on the Atlantic Pact somewhat obscured the very real strategic landslide in Asia.

China emerges as a strong military power, while Japan ceases to be a military power or even a strategic base of importance.

Secretary Acheson's letter to Senator Connally has conceded the death of the Kuomintang regime and written off every possibility of resistance in South China. This time the military facts on the Asiatic continent were recognized unreservedly by our top foreign policy maker.

DEATH OF A DREAM. The pro-Chiang policy of publisher Henry Luce, Congressman Judd and the former Ambassadors Bullitt and Hurley, once a powerful lobby, was based on military illusions and delusions. The birth of a new Chinese land power must be taken seriously.

Most of our military experts dismissed the Chinese Army as a kind of Asiatic horde. Yet General Chu Teh's army that is now crossing the Yangtze River is the toughest, best organized and disciplined army China ever had, a fighting force with considerable tactical experience and skill.

The idea of U.S. intervention in China died hard. But die it did, and Mr. Acheson wrote its eloquent obituary. The group of 52 Senators, who appealed pathetically for last-minute U.S. help to the Kuomintang shadow regime, could offer no military policy and strategy for carrying out their desperate plea. An effective intervention in China would have demanded no less than 50 to 75 U.S. divisions, a force almost as big as General Eisenhower's armies in Europe.

SUNSET IN JAPAN. In the meantime our military policy for Japan is being

revised too. General MacArthur first demanded Japan's defense in China, from a security belt on the Asiatic continent. But since China went completely out of U.S. control, General MacArthur seems to recommend a neutralization for Japan.

It has been assumed generally that the U.S. can hold every off-shore position along the European-Asiatic coast through the sheer superiority of her sea and air power. Yet there are limits to these possibilities. Our strategy cannot promise at the same time sea and air defense to Great Britain and to Japan.

Besides, the strategic position of Japan is of doubtful value. With her teeming millions and lack of food and raw materials she is a military liability. All this was said quite resolutely by Secretary Royall. Appeals from General Eichelberger and Admiral Pratt to treat Japan as a potential military ally remained unheeded.

A FRESH START? With Japan written off as a military position, our entire policy in the Far East must be reformulated.

We are no longer haunted by risky and absurd plans of the restoration of the Axis. Physically and strategically, the reconstruction of Japan is as impossible as that of Germany. With that ghastly burden thrown definitely overboard, our policy in the Far East can make a fresh start.

Since, as we now know, Japan and Southeast Asia cannot be defended by war, they must be held by peace. A peaceful settlement for Asia must come.

But settlement in Asia and settlement in Europe are not two separate compartments. The Atlantic Pact has produced a tension in the West, and this tension will gravely complicate the task of diplomacy in the Pacific.

of the Bulge were 115 American officers and men captured near Malmedy, on Dec. 17, 1944, by an SS Panzer regiment. The Americans were lined up six ranks deep in a cleared field, searched for cigarettes and valuables.

“Suddenly for no apparent reason,” read the official U.S. headquarters communique, “shots were fired into this defenseless group of prisoners by a German guard . . . two of the German tanks began spraying the Americans with machine gun fire. . . . As the tanks began to depart the field they drove past the fallen prisoners, their machine guns pouring additional bullets into those already killed and those who were wounded. . . . Finally, the German soldiers walked through, deliberately shooting those who still showed signs of life.”

BRUTAL NAZIS. Two years later, 73 Nazis were convicted for this crime, 43 receiving the death sentence. Today all the death sentences have been commuted, except six. Execution of these has been held up pending a Senate investigation of claims of the defendants that their confessions were obtained by brutality, tricks and duress.

Secretary Royall, who told Congress more than a year ago that he had no sympathy for the prosecution of German war criminals, this week told the Senate Committee that he favored its investigation, which was already making much of alleged brutal third degree methods used on the Nazis.

UN WEEK

Franco's friends

BRAZIL, supported by three other Latin-American countries, was busy last week trying to sneak Franco Spain into the United Nations. U.S. spokesmen at first indicated they would go along with a resolution lifting a UN diplomatic ban on Spain, but two days later let it be known that they would abstain from any such move.

The Brazilian resolution, due to come up in the First Committee for the disposal of the Italian colonies issue, would permit each member-nation complete freedom of decision in re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Franco government.

This would nullify a UN resolution of Dec. 9, 1946, that “all members of the United Nations immediately recall from Madrid their Ambassadors and Ministers Plenipotentiary, accredited there.”

JUST A LEGALIZER. Argentina, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador and Bolivia never complied with this; Brazil argues now that it is simply trying to “legalize” an existing situation.

But while the U.S. might abstain on this point, spokesmen have revealed that it will support a move to permit Spain to participate in UN special agencies such as the World Health Organization, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and



The burdens are distributed equally. Franco asserts that the Spanish people are happy and satisfied in their present position.

others. The 1946 mandate specifically bars Spain from these agencies.

The U.S., it is believed, will support repeal of this provision on the grounds that it desires an improvement in the living conditions of the Spanish people.

Discussion of the Spanish issue is due to get started on a Polish resolution calling for UN reaffirmation of the 1946 action in its entirety.

Those Italian colonies



In the Political and Security Committee Andrei Gromyko scathingly denounced the West for planning military, naval and air bases "near the Near East, near the Middle East, near the Caucasus, perchance." He was attacking western proposals to parcel out the former Italian colonies to Italy and Britain.

The bloc of Arab and Latin nations, solid on most questions, split on the issue. Arab statesmen sided with Russia in advocating UN trusteeships for the region. Latins favored its return to Italy. In the corridors Arabs and Latins dickered. Arabs asked for support on Israel in exchange for help with the colonies.

An Australian plan would postpone consideration to the September session of the Assembly.

Those church trials

What would the UN do in the trials of churchmen in Hungary and Bulgaria? Nothing but talk for the time being, it seemed. On the second day of argument before the Assembly's Social and Political Committee, Sir Alexander Cadogan of Britain made an angry attack on "denial of justice," but by that time only two countries—Cuba and Australia—were holding out for immediate appointment of an Assembly committee to study the trials.

Almost all others favored putting off action until September. In the meantime those nations most concerned could take whatever steps were available under the peace treaties with the two countries involved.

Who killed Polk?

EARLY in the spring of 1948 George Polk, correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, wrote from Greece to Drew Pearson: "The right wing is trying to get a number of us discredited or removed from Greece. . . . Now that many correspondents are writing critical stories on the dominant right-wing faction of the Government, there are a number of vague hints that 'somebody is likely to get hurt.'"

On May 9, George Polk set out for Free Greece territory to interview the guerrillas' leader, General Markos. That same day rumors leaked from official Athenian sources that Polk had "disappeared" in guerrilla territory. On May 12, Polk's identity card was sent by "unknown persons" to an Athens police station.

The body of George Polk was washed ashore in Salonika Bay on May 16. His hands and feet were bound; a bullet had pierced the back of his neck.

ROYAL VERSION. After six months of investigation the Royalist government announced its finding. Polk was killed, it said, by Adam Mouzenides, member of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party. (On April 7, 1948, one

month before Polk was murdered, the Free Greece radio had announced that Mouzenides had been killed in action in the Kroussia Mountains.) Helping in the murder, according to Athens, were Vangelis Vasvanas and Gregory Staktopoulos. Vasvanas was fighting with the guerrillas in the hills.

Staktopoulos was on hand in Salonika. He had been expelled from the Communist Party in 1946 and worked in Salonika for two monarchist papers and for Reuters of London. After two months in confinement he agreed to confess.

Last week he told the story at his trial, confirming in every respect the official version. On Thursday the jury deliberated three hours and 17 minutes, then acquitted Staktopoulos' mother, found Staktopoulos guilty as an accessory "without premeditation" and sentenced him to life imprisonment. Death was decreed for Vasvanas (tried in his absence) and Mouzenides (who, the government claims, is still alive somewhere.)

Watching it all was William Polk, George Polk's brother, on leave from his studies at Harvard College.

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Your arms bill

IF an atomic bomb were exploded 1,000 feet above Fifth Av. and 42nd Street, few in Manhattan's midtown skyscrapers would survive. Should one burst above Chicago's Civic Opera House, the Loop would be destroyed.

These were the conclusions of Dr. R.



E. Lapp. His book rolled off the presses last week to the accompaniment of well-played news releases. Its title is *Must We Hide?* It set a mood.

On Thursday, Secretary of State Dean Acheson appeared at a secret session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to total up the arms needs of the western world. He said they would cost U.S. taxpayers \$1,450,000,000.

UNEASY. Chairman Tom Connally (D-Tex.) was uneasy. He said: "The North Atlantic Treaty would be a good enterprise if it didn't have any arms program at all."

Republicans, speaking through the Senate Republican Policy Committee, served notice they would try to confine Europe's arms expenditures within the \$15,000,000,000 budget for domestic rearmament.

Poised to atomize

At Offutt Field, Nebraska, airmen of the U.S. Strategic Air Command underscored Congressional war talk. Lt. Gen. Curtis LeMay, commanding, announced



that SAC was at combat efficiency and fully alerted. No one can leave the base without informing his superior where he can be reached at an instant's notice.

In the command are 11 bomb groups, 54,000 fliers, (called by the perennial GI "Sad SACS,") 12 bases. Aircraft are B-29s, B-50s and B-36s. Karen Salisbury of Newsweek said: "American cities most resembling the target that SAC would have in wartime were 'bombed' in realistic missions." The correspondent did not say what targets served as models.

But last month the Air Force listed 70 targets in Russia and proudly announced that the B-36 could reach any one of them and return to U.S. without refueling.

The public flexing of the air arm was important for the jockeying for power in Washington. The conflict among the brass is between land and air. Some, like Chief of Staff Gen. Omar Bradley, are for garrisoning the Rhine with U.S. troops. Others favor relying on the air blitzkrieg.

Washington special

Lewis maps demands: 'There'll be fur flying'

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT JOHN L. LEWIS of the United Mine Workers and his 250-member policy committee meet April 25 in the gloomy old UMW headquarters on Fifteenth St. to see what they can do about the rapidly sickening bituminous coal industry.

Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the number of persons employed in the bituminous fields dropped from 419,000 in January to 417,000 in February and 412,000 in March. In 1948 the number of miners at work increased by 4,000 in March. This year it dropped 5,000.

The Economic Cooperation Administration has reported that Marshall plan demands for coal in the year beginning July 1 will be only 10 million tons, less than a week's production. Domestic orders have fallen so sharply that government economists predict the year's production will be only 500,000,000 tons—a drop of 100,000,000. Some operators estimate the total may not top 400,000,000.

THEY'RE NOT BUYING. In January this year the average miner earned \$75.61, compared with \$75.78 the year before. So far this year the average miner has worked 38½ hours a week, 2½ hours less than last year.

These dry economic facts are making themselves very real throughout West Virginia, Kentucky and Pennsylvania, where goods are going un-

sold in stores, and "services" are not being purchased.

Already the operators are flirting again with rugged individualism: let the devil take the hindmost. All the symptoms that preceeded the wildcat era of the 1920s are present. The industry was prostrate then and the union all but wrecked.

WON'T TRY IT AGAIN. It was just such a situation that Lewis pictured at the October convention when he said: "With the decline in export coals, with the lessened consumption in our own markets, we find that the productive capacity of our mines at the present time exceeds the requirements of our domestic market. We had similar conditions in the '20s and as a result the industry was forced into a war of attrition."

"So far as your officers are concerned we are not going to go through that process again."

Instead the policy committee will formulate demands for (1) a contract in June giving the union the right to say what mines will operate and to what extent; (2) a decrease in the work day from eight hours (adopted during the war) to six; (3) an increase in royalties for the welfare fund from 20 cents to 40 cents.

Lewis has sent his lieutenants into the fields with orders to tighten belts and save money. As George Titler, president of District 29 put it: "With the new contract coming up there will be some fur flying."

8 PENS, 5 BILLIONS. The President, bedeviled by budgets, pressed by militarists, warned by economists, seemed in favor of almost everything: arms to Europe, arms at home; Marshall plan aid; all this and the Fair Deal too.

Using eight pens, he signed legislation last week authorizing expenditures



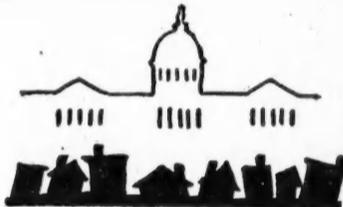
of \$5,430,000,000 for the European Recovery Program. He then distributed the pens to assembled dignitaries. The Economic Cooperation Administration, which administers the program, promptly submitted its request for an additional \$1,000,000,000 from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

On Thursday the President announced that Secretary of the Army Kenneth Royall had resigned as of April 27. He did not name his successor. The President last week sent Vice-Admiral Alan G. Kirk to Moscow as ambassador. The admiral succeeds Lt. Gen. Walter Bedell Smith.

CONGRESS WEEK

Guns and slums

LAST Tuesday a little band of five Senators headed by Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) took a walk. They stayed within six blocks of the Capitol but they were shocked by what they saw: some of the worst slums in the nation.



Back on Capitol Hill, Sen. Douglas said slums were "a moral cancer, a health hazard and an economic loss."

He spoke for an Administration bill that would provide 810,000 dwelling units in the next six years. The Senators had debated the measure for a week. On Thursday they argued until 11:40 p.m. then passed it 57 to 13. The last hours of the wrangle saw Sen. Wm. Langer (R-N.D.) win more housing for farmers. The bill went to the House.

MARCANTONIO'S BILL. In the House a different note was struck. Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) introduced a housing bill that made the one before the Senate seem trifling. His bill would provide 500,000 subsidized low-rent housing units a year for the next eight years, four times more than the Senate measure. It is aimed to help low and middle income groups, Negroes, farmers, migratory workers, veterans. It would prohibit any form of discrimination, and contains a safeguard against evictions in slum-clearance operations.

Marcantonio talked about "the pressing housing needs of 3,000,000 American families, including veterans, who have no shelter at all and 16,000,000 American families who are living in hovels or obsolete dwellings which urgently require replacement. . . . Providing decent housing—without discrimination in any form—for all American families will do far more for democracy in America than shipping billions of dollars' worth of arms to Europe." His bill would also provide employment for several million people, he added, which would "strengthen our economy and forestall any chance of depression."

The bill was sponsored by the Progressive Party and was prepared after eight months of research by housing experts.

Taft-Hartley deadline

The true measure of the 81st Congress will be taken when the House finally begins long-delayed debate on

Continued on following page

NATIONAL ROUNDUP

Continued from preceding page

labor legislation next Tuesday. Last week, when representatives went home for a 10-day Easter recess, they found trade union delegations waiting on their doorsteps: labor was waging a vigorous and more or less united drive



for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law.

There was urgency in the campaign: within the next three months 20 labor contracts in the nation's biggest and most important industries (steel, coal, auto, rubber, oil, shipbuilding, aircraft, shipping, electric, copper) will be up for negotiation.

"MORE VICIOUS." The House coalition of Dixiecrats and Republicans was backing a measure sponsored by Rep. Wood (D-Ga.), chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, but which was drafted in large part by Republicans. The CIO called it "even more objectionable to labor" than the Taft-Hartley Law itself.

The AFL said: "The Wood bill is more vicious and oppressive than the Taft-Hartley Act."

This is how the Wood Bill compares with the Taft-Hartley Law:

Anti-strike injunction power was extended; ban on closed shops and secondary boycotts was continued; restrictions were retained on picketing, union hiring halls, bargaining for welfare funds, union political contributions.

Unions would continue subject to unwarranted lawsuits in federal courts; unwieldy election machinery of Taft-Hartley would remain; firings for anti-union activity would remain forbidden; state laws, if more vigorously anti-labor than federal statutes, would prevail.

WALL ST. HAPPY. Going beyond the present law, the bill would nullify all closed or union shop agreements concluded before Taft-Hartley.

In the Senate a similar measure was being shaped up under the guidance of Republican Senators Taft of Ohio and Ives of New York.

Would the President sign or veto such a bill, the *Wall Street Journal* wondered. It concluded that it wouldn't make much difference: if he vetoed, the Taft-Hartley Law would be left on the books.

Wages and health

The Dixiecrat-Republican coalition moved in during the week on minimum



wages. Labor demanded \$1 an hour; the administration bill would grant 75 cents; now a substitute measure has been introduced by Rep. Wingate H. Lucas (D-Tex.) which would set it at 65 cents and tie it to fluctuations in the cost of living.

On Friday the President in a special message to Congress called for compulsory national health insurance, paid for by payroll taxes and covering 85,000,000 wage earners and their dependents. Republicans countered with a five-year program of aid to states and last week introduced their bill in the Senate.

LABOR'S WEEK

Leaflets and bats

WAR between the United Farm Equipment Workers (CIO) and the



Look what the Easter Bunny left!

Coak in CIO News

United Automobile Workers (CIO) was declared when last fall the National Executive Board of CIO ordered progressive FE to merge itself with right-wing UAW. FE refused. UAW men appeared at plant gates with leaflets and baseball bats.

The war would be decided, though, not by orders of executives or by brass knuckles. At Allis Chalmers early this month UAW won the first skirmish. In an NLRB election workers voted 1,974 to 722 for UAW.

UAW Vice-President John Livingston said: "We've got the communists on the run. The McCormick election will break FE's back."

Last week the 6,000 workers at the McCormick Plant of International Harvester of Chicago cast their ballots: 2,474 for FE; 2,059 for UAW.

It was time for FE President Grant Oakes to exult. He said: "This proves that the democratic process wins out over top-level dictation and the union-busting devices of red-baiting used by Walter Reuther. We regard it as a vote of confidence in rank-and-file leadership and the FE determination to fight for wage increases and security."

Coming up soon are elections at Oliver plants in South Bend, Ind. and St. Charles, La.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

Red conspiracies

AT the trial of the 11 communist leaders in New York the parade of government witnesses continued. Their testimony fitted precisely into the pattern set by the prosecution with its first expert, Prof. Louis E. Budenz of Fordham University, once managing editor of the *Daily Worker*.

First on the stand last week was William O. Nowell. A Negro, he testified that Communists had planned a Negro nation running from Virginia to the Mississippi Delta. He had objected to this as constituting segregation, he said, and was sent to learn better at a Moscow school with all expenses paid.

Communists consider the Negro people an oppressed nation which ought to have the right of self-determination. A scheme for "self-determination of the black belt," covering a checkerboard area where Negroes predominate, was outlined some years ago but never heavily promoted. The party has never approved a Negro separatism.

WATCH THAT CRANE. Nowell said he resigned from the party in 1936. After that, he said, he worked at Ford's River Rouge Plant but Communists kept "try-

ing to drop cranes on me and push over stock piles on me." He charged that Ford supervisors collaborated with the Communists to destroy him.

Under cross examination Nowell admitted that he worked for Gerald L. K. Smith, fascist leader, and spoke for the America First Party.

He has testified in numerous deportation proceedings against Communists. Recently he was hired as clerk in the



Department of Immigration and Naturalization in Baltimore.

MAPPED THE EXITS. Next to the stand came Charles W. Nicodemus, a supervisor at the Cumberland, Md., plant of Celanese Corp. of America, and auditor for his local of the Textile Workers Union (CIO). He said that while he was a member of the party in 1940 he was instructed to "draw a map of the part of the Celanese plant in which I worked, showing exits and other details." He said he did and turned it over to a Communist organizer.

The defense objected that all this had little to do with the charge that the defendants in 1945 organized a party based on Marxist-Leninist principles and that these principles involved the overthrow of the U.S. government by force and violence.

Sometimes acidly, sometimes smilingly, Judge Harold R. Medina said: "Overruled."

Eisler carousel

ELABORATE Federal machinery to keep the U.S. free of communist aliens last week continued to work at high gear in reverse.

Gerhart Eisler, who has proclaimed himself a Communist, came to the U.S. against his will in 1941 and has clamored to get out ever since. Courts, police, immigration authorities have managed to keep him in the country.

Charged with fraud in filling out his application for an exit visa, he was tried, found guilty and sentenced to one to three years in prison.

ROUND AND AROUND. Last week the



Federal Court of Appeals upheld that conviction by a vote of two to one. Judge Henry W. Edgerton dissented on grounds that the lower court trial should have been held in New York instead of Washington and that Federal employees had served on the jury. These, he pointed out, would be anxious to avoid any appearance of sympathy with a Communist.

The case was expected to go to the Supreme Court where another case is pending against Eisler. He is charged with contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Eisler who has tried for eight years to leave the country, also faces deportation proceedings.

CCNY "revolution"

ON April 11, students at the City College of New York, set up picket lines and struck against anti-Semitism and anti-Negro bias which they charged to two of their instructors. Police were called out in awe-inspiring numbers; photographers caught every sign of a tussle; headlines made it seem like revolution. In all, 18 students were arrested.

Last Wednesday, nine days after it began, the strike suspended. Students said the strike had made the cases "tremendous public issues." They promised: "We will continue our fight on the basis of further mobilization of public and student opinion. We will not cease until our school is rid of bigotry."

State Commissioner of Education Francis T. Spaulding promised hearings on the cases April 29.

Maryland twilight

TO cap a bad week for the nation's liberties Gov. W. Preston Lane of Maryland was expected before Saturday to sign into immediate effect the Ober Law. The law makes it a crime to belong to an organization declared subversive by the state.

Prison terms and heavy fines are stipulated for members of proscribed organizations. Progressives in Maryland prepared for court tests. Everywhere the nation watched Maryland's experiment with fascism.

In New Jersey, Minnesota and Illinois similar laws were in the making.

Rites of spring



Action, Paris

THE President in hallowed tradition went to Griffith Stadium in Washington last week to toss the first ball of the season. He reared back and with his left hand performed the rite, then sat down to watch the game. Around him were distinguished legislators and the usual complement of bodyguards.

Beneath his box sat one lone ballplayer, pitcher Milo Candini. He wore a first-baseman's mitt and his assignment for the day was to catch the wayward foul that might conk the President. He did not see action.



A mock cannon mounted on a truck accompanied the Chinese students on their peace march through Nanking. They carried signs objecting to "war preparations during peace talks."

The future is not far away

Why the Yangtze was crossed

By Peter Townsend

SHANGHAI
ON APRIL 1, three hours after the government's peace delegates took off for discussions with the Communists, undergraduates from the National Central University had marched through the wide streets of Nanking, down Chung Cheng Road, and gathered outside the President's office.

They were asking for three things which all of China wanted: better living conditions, sincerity in the peace talks, and an end to American aid to the Central Government. Orderly, and singing and dancing, they marched back to their campus, satisfied that the demonstration had been a success.

But halfway home they met trouble. Truckloads of soldiers, some in uniform, some in plain clothes, overtook them and stopped. The soldiers bundled out. Thrown into the mud, beaten with clubs and trampled the students offered little resistance. Nor could those who rushed to their help from

nearby schools hold off the attackers.

A BITTER ERROR. A call went out to other universities. In the early afternoon 2,000 students, their tempers up, gathered again outside the Presidential offices, shouting "More United States aid will kill our people."

As they approached the gates to the government building they saw the plain clothes men in groups outside, but feared no attack in front of the President's office itself. They made a bitter mistake.

The police set upon them with clubs and brickbats. Some of the students escaped inside the gates, only to find the gates closed behind them, and themselves trapped. For over three hours, from 2:30 to 6, the fight went on. During the clash police ransacked the College of Dramatic Art, stealing the possessions of both professors and pupils.

When curfew was clamped down on the city at 10 p.m., and the order went out to the military police to shoot any

"trouble makers," the students came to total their losses. They found over 80 wounded, one—they suspected more—dead, and 19 "missing," 10 of whom they knew had been arrested.

CURFEW ORDER. This was the beginning. Word of the Nanking struggle spread to other centers. Students in Shanghai, Kunming, Foochow and Canton went on protest strikes despite official warnings.

The government took no chances. Curfew came down on Foochow and Chengtu, the educational center of west China.

In Taiwan, the one stronghold still securely in their hands, the Nationalists found it politic to round up the student leaders. In Taipeh, the island's capital, the police broke into the student dormitories at midnight on the 5th and carried off more than 200. The university and normal college were roped off, and troops held the students within the buildings for two days, while the city's streets filled with

Austerity

But not for pigs

By Konni Zilliacus, M.P.

LONDON

FRENCH and Italian workers have had their real wages cut by nearly half as compared with pre-war. Now in England, in spite of the moderately socialist recovery policies at home, the economic and social consequences of the Labor government's Tory-supported foreign policy are coming home to roost on the workers' standard of living.

The new Cripps budget has stopped further extension of social services, called a halt to wealth redistribution through taxation, and brought a rise in the price of meat, sugar, butter, cheese and margarine. These measures were coupled with the admission that arms expenditures would rise because of the Atlantic Pact.

The situation is too much for the government, which (with considerable success up to now) froze wages in return for price stabilization and "voluntary limitation" of profits.

RIGHT-WING RUMBLE. Sensation of the budget debate in Parliament was the speech by Mark Hewitson, right-wing member of the Labor Party's National Executive and leading official of the Municipal and General Workers' Union (with "Bevin's Own" Transport Workers, the

most conservative and loyal of unions).

"Can I," said Hewitson with passion, "go to my membership who have a wage of 95 shillings (\$19) or less, and convince them that that wage is adequate to keep body and soul within them? We cannot do it any longer." If there were no wage increases, "I give warning that we shall face industrial disputes such as there have not been since the end of the first world war. If this government is going to depress us below the line of safety, then we shall fight them as we have fought in the past against Tories and Tory employers."

THINNED FOR THE KILL. Most Labor M.P.'s are astounded, indignant and all in a maze at hearing what we of the Party's left have seen coming for years. Speaking soon after Mr. Hewitson, I pointed out that those who accepted the necessity for the cold war could now begin counting the cost; this was only the first installment of the bill.

I asked for what reason our people were being asked to put up with these sacrifices. "Pigs at any rate are fattened before being slaughtered. Human beings apparently have to be thinned down under austerity to condition them for losing their lives."

armed police and soldiers.

ANGER RISES. Yet to what was left of the Student Movement, long the forerunner of progressive trends, the incident was a tonic. It brought it out of nine months' inactivity. Since June and July, when police put down demonstrations against U.S. policy in Japan and fired into crowds of hungry students, the schools and universities had kept their grievances to themselves. Now their resentment has flared up again.

And from over the border, from Peiping's many univer-

sities, have come messages of encouragement and condolence. Still more encouraging has been the news from the north, news that students were at last allowed to play an active part in the reconstruction of their country.

An American government official, recently back from the north, had to admit "the students in Peiping are even more enthusiastic than they were when the Communists first took over." A YMCA secretary wrote: "I have become deeply aware of the fact that we are truly freed and liberated."

Kumar Goshal

Will Nehru buy Britain's goldbricks?

THE top men of the British Commonwealth nations are in conference in London. Ostensibly the conference is to decide the Commonwealth's future form, and how a free Indian Republic can be fitted into it. Behind the scenes lurk larger and more ominous issues.

No longer a wallflower, India is being wooed by a strange assortment of suitors. There are smiles from Harold Stassen; a bouquet from the *New York Times*; and for Prime Minister Nehru, almost gushing praise from the dignified *London Economist*.

One cause of the excitement is obvious. If India can be kept in the Commonwealth, it will be an enormous help to Britain's prestige and bargaining power in world politics.

COLONIAL ANGLE. If India openly or tacitly follows British foreign policy, or is not openly hostile to it; if her foreign policy could at least be modified by her Commonwealth ties; then it would help the imperialist powers continue their colonial exploitation a little longer.

India's inconsistent policy toward colonial liberation movements shows effective pressure from the outside.

While her stand at UN on Italy's former colonies has been good, last year she let Britain send a large contingent of Gurkha troops from Nepal, to join in the British war against nationalists in Malaya. For this the Indian government was condemned even by conservative Indian newspapers.

At the recent New Delhi conference the resolution on Indonesia—which could only have had teeth by demanding Dutch troop withdrawal to the line held at the time of the Ling-gadjati agreement—was watered down enough to aid the Dutch.

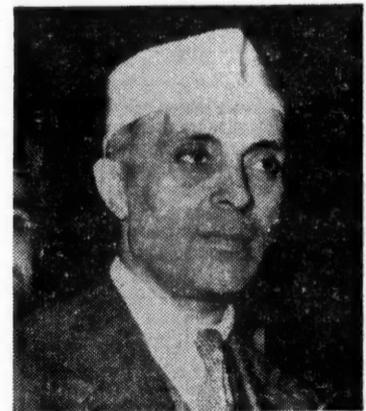
SUBBING FOR CHIANG. Last but not least, many are looking hopefully at India as a center around which "a kind of Indian Ocean Pact, to complement the Atlantic Pact in the historic task of containing Russia" (*London Daily Telegraph*, March 14), could be built, now that Chiang Kai-shek has failed to deliver. Lake Success, according to the *New York Times*, is buzzing with talk of such a pact. The function of India and Pakistan in this pact, says the *Straits Times* (Jan. 25), would be to supply "the main ground forces."

Where do the Indian people fit in? Their government may see Britain's abdication of power over India as a change of heart toward the colonies, but they know better. They know that Britain's military weakness against a rising tide of revolution in India forced her withdrawal.

The "voluntary abdication" theory hardly squares with British activities in Malaya and Africa, and with Britain's support of France and Holland against the peoples of Indo-China and Indonesia. The Indians also resent the restrictions placed on them in Australia, Canada and South Africa.

WON'T BUY. It will be very difficult to sell the Indian people the idea of membership in the British Commonwealth, no matter how it is camouflaged.

As for building a Southeast Asia Pact around India, it won't work. The Indian public are aware from their newspapers that Britain, France and Holland are fighting colonial peoples under the pretext of fighting communism. Nor has U.S. assistance to colonial powers in their imperialist wars escaped attention.



NEHRU

It is wellnigh impossible to sell the Indians any imperialist schemes under the guise of anti-communist crusades. Even Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines, in an interview last week, opposed a military alliance of the countries of the Pacific.

On the eve of his departure for London, Prime Minister Nehru said India could not align herself with power blocs hostile to one another. We shall soon know whether he has been sold any goldbricks at the Commonwealth Ministers' Conference.

'You're too old to work, Pop'

Who said life begins at 40?

By Ed Falkowski

LAYOFFS and shutdowns spreading across the land have glutted the labor market with human surplus. The search for jobs at factory gates and employment agencies has resumed a depression-time grimness.

The situation is roughest on the man in his 40s or 50s seeking another job. To employers shopping for human wares he is a somewhat depreciated article. Too young for a pension, too old for a job, he finds himself an exile from "opportunity." Employers seem to have declared him extinct. He should curl up and die.

BUM FACTORY. In the N.Y. Bowery's lower depths, on East 3rd Street, the municipal shelter for homeless men is crowded with men guilty of having had too many birthdays. Their dignity is reduced to shreds after a few weeks of sleeping on bare tile floors, in a shelter that offers no bathing or washing facilities and whose personnel handles every guest as a felon or a degenerate. Every night an overflow of these actors who forgot their lines in the great Hollywood success legend is sent to various doss-houses nearby.

"Once you land in here, you have one hell of a time to get out again," said one guest to me. He was standing in the line in the rain, waiting for the

shelter's door to be opened up in about an hour.

"You never wash up," he went on, "except once in a while in public toilets or subway stations—you sneak in, of course. You feel crummy and you know no employer will ever want you. In the end you can't work if you want to. This place is for turning good men into bums at the city's expense."

PRELUDE TO GAS. At the door of the city employment center on Warren Street one finds thousands of men ganged up before daybreak, hoping to snag one of the jobs that may come in the morning's mail. At the close of the day you will still find the older men milling and shuffling about with lost, forlorn expressions.

Thus I came across a Brooklyn steamfitter clad in a short sheepskin coat and a woolen winter cap. He was somewhere in his mid-50s. He told me how he gave up a steady civilian job during the war to do his patriotic duty outfitting battle-ships in the navy yards. And then, bang! The war over—the yards shut down as tight as a drum—and he was booted out to hunt another job.

"My age is against me," he admitted glumly. "I've looked high and low eight months for something. There's nothing left, it seems, but to go home and turn on the gas. . . ."

DYE-DETECTOR. As I was talking with one of the employment agents in his office, a tall elderly fellow strode in jauntily. He inquired about the garage mechanic's job listed outside.

"How old are you?" the agent asked.

The man stared him full in the eyes. "Forty-four."

"You're every bit of 58, Pop," said the agent. "I can tell. You're too old to be sent out on this job."



The man pleaded, but all he encountered was a blank irreversible nod. He read the verdict, nodded curtly, and strode out, doubtless to meet with the same reception in the next place.

"There's a fellow has dyed his hair—probably massaged the wrinkles in his face—just to appear younger. Christ, what these guys'll try to pull over on you!" the agent complained. He admitted there were 20% fewer jobs than a year ago and more than 30% more applicants. "It's getting tough again," he moaned, relighting his cold cigar.

TALK GOES ON. Ewan Clague,

commissioner of labor statistics in Washington, said months ago that the coming depression would knock the over 45's for a loop. That means 17,000,000 of us who are 45 to 55 and at least another 10 or 15 millions who are older.

"Employers prefer younger men," one of the employment agents explained. "An older man needs bigger wages, and he can't be kicked and bossed around like a younger man can. And there's pension plans that wouldn't cover a man starting at an older age. I catch hell whenever I send an older man on a job. We gotta be careful."

Officials have looked into the matter some. New York State Senator Robert P. Desmond has issued a study entitled "Birthdays Don't Count," appealing to employers on behalf of our growing population of the elderly. Welfare Commissioner Raymond Hilliard, who runs the hell-hole municipal shelter on East 3rd Street, has called employers who discriminate against older workers "fat-heads."

A lot of talk is done by social workers and welfare officials. But the older men down on Warren Street still hunt in vain for work. And in the Municipal Shelter the dis-inflated, dis-employed, dis-homed elderly men continue to face the future with the same expression of resigned puzzlement they wore before all this talk started.



"Over 45"—by Wm. Gropper

Krug—the silent partner

Alaska's people squirm in a huge fish trap

By James Haddon

WASHINGTON WASHINGTON WHEN you eat a can of Alaska salmon, you may perhaps think of the struggle of that territory for statehood. You probably don't know what the contents of that can mean in terms of 92,000 Alaskans' struggle against economic thralldom. The little people of Alaska are caught in a fish trap and are making a game fight to get out.

Fish traps are strategically situated pile-driven and anchored floating traps for salmon, which have placed Alaska under absentee-owner control by usurping key fishing areas for the U.S. "canned salmon lobby" concerns. Trap sites sell today from \$10,000 to \$100,000 apiece and have been leased for a single season for as much as \$3,500.

Although under federal law no one has a property right in any trap site, seven major canners control about half of them: the P. E. Harris Co., Pacific American Fishery Co., New England Fish Co. (all in the State of Washington); Columbia River Packers Assn. (Bumble Bee Brand), and subsidiaries of A. & P., California Packing Co. (Del Monte) and Libby, McNeil and Libby. The lobby led by these giants has successfully resisted statehood for Alaska, which would mean control by Alaskans of their own resources.

DOWN THE DRAIN. Salmon is the backbone of Alaskan economy, outranking its gold production in value some 20 times. For one third of Alaskan residents, fishing is the main source of income.

The fish traps have made Alaska an economic colony in the worst sense. The waters have been so fished out as to destroy the livelihood of Indians and whites who fish for salmon from

boats. The traps employ little labor and drain off Alaska's wealth, leaving little for payrolls, store receipts and taxes for the Alaskan economy.

The fight to change this situation is on between the people of Alaska, led by its Gov. Ernest Gruening and its Congressional Delegate E. L. Bartlett, and Truman's Secretary of the Interior Julius "Cap" Krug.

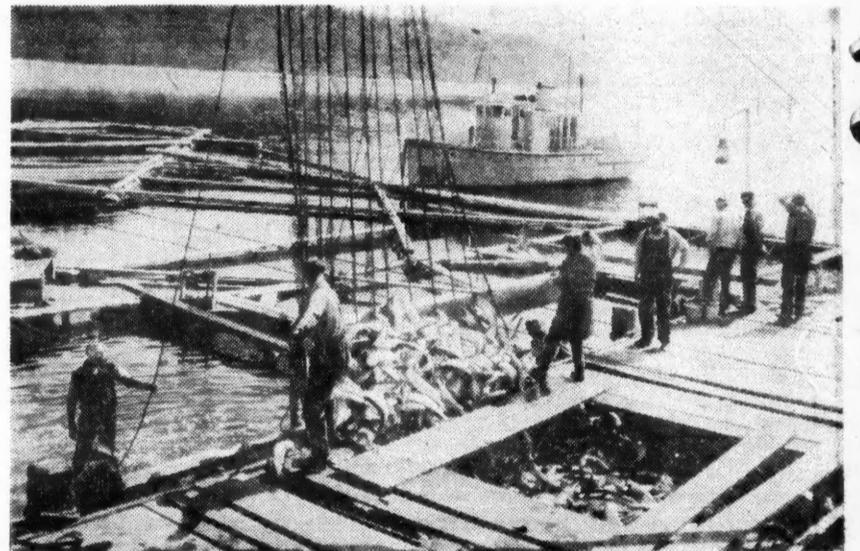
ICKES IN REVERSE. It was Truman's buddy Mon C. Wallgren who, in 1942, as Senator from Washington State, introduced legislation to give the big packers a perpetual exclusive right to the world's richest fishing ground.

The legislation was stopped by protests from Alaskan residents, who had the support of the then Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes. After granting exclusive Indian occupancy to an area including 11 trap sites, Ickes announced public hearings to break down packers' monopoly control by limiting the number of trap sites any one company could operate.

Before the hearings could be held, Krug took Ickes' job. A hasty visit from a west coast packers' committee convinced him that the fish-trap question was for Congress, not the Interior Dept., to decide. Krug then sent up to Capitol Hill, where the lead was taken by Washington State Sen. Warren Magnuson, legislation proposing that the fish trap and the permanent leasing system be perpetuated.

W. C. Arnold, managing director of Alaska Salmon Industry Inc., was happy; he told the 80th Congress that "most of the difficulties . . . were initiated during the time Mr. Ickes was Secretary," and that with Krug in the job the outlook was fine.

ON THE MARCH. The people of Alaska hit back hard. They sent delegations



U. S. Fish and Wildlife Service

Brailing salmon from a floating trap. In southeast Alaska, salmon are taken in traps as they approach rivers to spawn.

on the 3,000-mile trip to Washington: working fishermen, AFL and CIO, Indian community representatives. Although power to abolish the fish trap doesn't rest with them, they held a referendum and—after the packing industry had spent great sums to buy votes—voted 9 to 1 for abolition.

Delegate Bartlett again introduced his bill abolishing the fish trap into the 81st Congress. With the people of Alaska on the march, liberal Asst. Sec. of Interior William Warne proposed that the Dept. reverse its previous position and support trap-abolition.

Krug balked, demanded that hearings be postponed. Warne said it was impossible, and finally Krug sent to Congress a vague series of proposals for eventual trap abolition.

FISHING WITH HARRY. Chief figure behind the scenes is lumbering, gruff Nick Bez, who came from Yugoslavia some years back to pyramid a small fishing operation into a vast network of west coast enterprises, and gained

control of Columbia River Packers Assn. Bez has been aided by A. P. Giannini's billion-dollar Transamerica Corp., holding company now under Federal Reserve Board charges as a banking monopoly. He is a close friend, fishing crony and campaign contributor of Mon Wallgren, Warren Magnuson and Harry Truman.

The canned salmon industry today counts heavily on Bez to grease the wheels with the Truman administration.

At the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Subcommittee hearings recessed recently, working Alaskan fishermen told their story and made a strong impression. Only a single hiring of the National Canners Assn. Washington office was there to represent the packers, but the Alaskans returned home with little more than their fighting determination to abolish the fish trap. They know the packers have confidence in their inner-circle clique of allies—Krug, Wallgren, Magnuson and Co.

LIVING & LEISURE

Radio report

Bloody business

By John Norton

MANY people decry the cluttering-up of U.S. airwaves with violent and gory programs, full of super-tough language. Some of these programs, like "Pat Novak for Hire" (ABC, Sat., 9:30 p.m. EST) are carefully plotted, smoothly produced and good value in dramatic suspense. But on a recent Novak program the whodunit fans were treated to this sort of English-language and police-method lesson, in a dialog between a cop (who has found two corpses) and Novak (San Francisco waterfront habitue who is reluctant to explain):

Cop: "I'll see you fry."
 Novak: "You've got the lard for it."
 (Sound effects: Biff, bam, etc.)

Novak: "Uh-ugh" (presumably doubling up under the blows).

BLOOD: BEST BUY. The networks' answer to complaints about the hours a day devoted to this sort of stuff is that it's popular.

Mutual, the least listened-to of the four major webs, has the largest audience on Sunday afternoons when it carries "The Shadow," "Nick Carter" and other thrillers. A recent survey by the Nielson rating service shows that of the 20 most

popular programs, 10 are mysteries; only six are comedies.

Mysteries are cheap to produce and deliver more listeners per advertising dollar than other programs. Rating programs on the basis of how many people they reach for each dollar they cost the sponsor, 10 of the 15 "best buys" are mysteries.

The big corporations and their ad agencies are not interested in attracting audien-



Inspector Hellman (Raymond Burr) (r.) drives home a point to Pat Novak (Jack Webb) about a murder. Neither seems especially worried.

Rub 'im out!

One of the toughest programs now on the air, "Little Herman" (ABC, Sat. 9 p.m. EST), is sponsored by Cheeseborough Mfg. Co. A rapid fire of violence, massacre and Brooklynese is interrupted from time to time by the cooed announcement: "If baby cries, rub Vaseline petroleum jelly on his delicate skin."

Nature of the program would suggest to customers that a more effective way with baby is to riddle him with bullets.

ces, but in how many potential customers they can get for how little money. The emphasis is on customers; for example, some shows peddling patent medicines try to catch the hypochondriacs and deliberately keep the more normal listener tuned out.

NOT LISTENING. What is hardly ever mentioned is that most radio sets are turned off. True, a mystery show sponsor may boast of a 10 Hooper rating, but that only means that 10% of all homes are tuned to his offering, 20% may be hearing other stations and 70% of the sets are not in use.

If radio presented better air fare, if it helped raise popular tastes, if it provided more varied and more helpful broadcasts, more people would listen and the 70% sets-off figure would be cut.

But in the radio business, the advertiser rules.

At war with the moths

UNLESS you're willing to act as a vacation resort for ailing moths this summer, plans should be made now for a storage and protection of all-woolen or part-woolen items. Linen, cotton, rayon and silk articles are safe.

There are two methods. The first is to clean all woollens and store in a tight container. An added precaution would be some fumigant—about one pound to every 75 cubic feet of space. If you're storing in a closet,

don't forget any crannies—even keyholes—that a predatory moth might invade.

While in the storing spirit, keep in mind woolen items like rugs, curtains, scarfs and sweaters.

The second method is mothproofing treatment, especially useful for long storage. Wool may be mothproofed either on purchase or at home. Fluorine solutions for home use are good for unwashable fabrics.

There are catches to the home method, however. Care

must be taken to get into every part of the garment: pockets, seams and folds. Also, the mothproofing does not kill moths on contact. It only kills the moth who tries to eat the treated fabric.

Best all-around mothproofing spray on the market today seems to be DDT, but there is a great discussion raging as to its safety in regard to humans. The DDT spray leaves a residue for about 30 days of protection, at which time respraying is necessary.

Report to readers

Peace—it's popular!

THE April 4 issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN was devoted to a cover-to-cover reporting of the two-day Cultural and Scientific Conference for Peace conducted in New York last month by the National Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions.

In that issue we printed an unobtrusive note to readers suggesting that, if they liked the issue and wanted extra copies to send to friends and associates, the GUARDIAN would be glad to mail the paper around for 10 cents a copy, special rates for bundle orders of 5 or more. We also notified ASP branches throughout the country that we were printing an extra run of the issue and could supply reasonable amounts for distribution in their communities.

Here is what has resulted to date:

- A total of about 1,500 individual copies, for dimes, have been ordered and mailed out.

- Bundle orders, from 25 to 2,500 copies, bring the total extra copies of the Peace Issue distributed to around 10,000 copies.

This, of course, is in addition to the GUARDIAN's regular weekly newsstand and subscription sales.

FROM our point of view, here at the GUARDIAN, this indicates that peace is by long odds the most popular single issue in America—and that people all over the country are eagerly seeking information and encouragement in their quest for peace.

By any standards of judging public responses, this response of our readers to a tiny announcement must be regarded as phenomenal. Our circulation for that week was increased by one-third—solely because of people's demand for information not provided in the press of their communities.

Incidentally, the response came most heavily from readers outside New York City. In New York, despite a concentrated campaign against the conference, the affair wound up getting extra special coverage in the Times and to a lesser extent in the Herald Tribune. Outside New York City, people anxious for information on what went on inside the pro-fascist picket lines around the conference halls were at the mercy of local editing of AP and UP coverage.

The editors of the GUARDIAN naturally are richly gratified at the response. We feel that our editorial judgement in supporting the conference and devoting most of our limited space to it has been completely justified. We are glad to have been of service to so many peace-loving people beyond our immediate weekly readership.

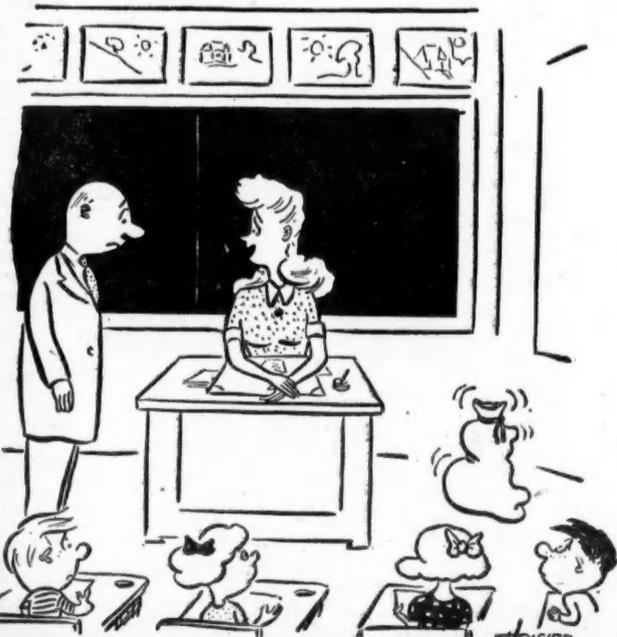
We understand that Life magazine has also received a bumper response to its coverage of the affair—not, however, from people ordering extra copies of Life, but rather from intelligent citizens angrily protesting Life's cavalier picturization of most of our country's leading intellectuals as "dupes and fellow-travelers."

NOW, for the future. Our next (May 2) issue will be devoted to similarly comprehensive coverage of the World Congress of the Partisans of Peace, now going on in Paris as we go to press with this issue. A small army of correspondents is on the job for us over there, in addition to those sending preliminary reports in this issue. You can look forward with us to an exciting GUARDIAN—full of news and reports you can bet your bottom dollar you won't be able to get elsewhere.

The price for mailing single copies of the Paris Congress issue will be five cents instead of ten for those sending us advance lists of recipients now. For bundle orders of 25 or more we are now figuring out a special sliding-scale of bulk rates. We will bill you later if you order bundles in advance.

For bundle orders, a penny postcard will do the trick. For single mailed copies, send us the list of names and addresses of those you want to receive copies and we'll do the rest.

John D. McManus



"It's the only way I can keep him from whispering."

IT'S YOUR PAPER—HELP IT GROW

HOW about taking a hand in building a people's paper, by introducing NATIONAL GUARDIAN to the people you know—your friends, neighbors, job mates?

Here's all we ask you to do:

In the spaces below, write the names of people you would like to receive the GUARDIAN. Ask them if you may have the paper sent to them—only \$1 for a special introductory sub.

You need collect no money. We will bill each new subscriber personally if preferred. Simply tear off the order blank below and send it to us with the names and addresses clearly written.

Please enter the following special introductory subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN at \$1 each:

Name (Please Print) Address Zone State

.....

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.....

.....

.....

.....

Bill Above Names

Me

Sender's Name

Address

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Pots and pocketbooks

Spring onions

By Charlotte Parks

MARK HANNA'S Sunday morning breakfasts for Washington political bigwigs have gone down in American political history. Invariably the main dish was cornbeef hash. Men wrote home to their wives about it. Reporters alluded to it and it even got into the history books. The old Irish Hanna cook alone prepared it and she handed on the recipe to Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick who followed in her father's footsteps as politician and famous political hostess.

And the secret of the cornbeef hash? Simply the addition of finely chopped green onion tops lightly fried in butter.

Mark Hanna Hash

2 cups cold potatoes (finely chopped)

1 cup corn beef (chopped)

½ cup green onion tops (lightly fried)

Bake or fry to a nice brown.

Try the green onions with the ordinary grocery-store canned corn beef hash and

you'll be voted the world's best cook by your favorite voter.



LOW-COST VITAMINS. One of the best ways to get your vitamins is to eat onion tops raw, finely minced, disguised as a food beautifier. The drugstores are selling a gadget "called Breath-o-lator" that does away with that onion breath in a fraction of a second and for a fraction of a cent. A rub with a squeezed-out citrus peel will take the onion smell off your hands.

The green onion top has a milder, more delicate flavor than the full-grown, and the tops are as dainty and dish-beautifying as chives, at far less cost.

Mince the raw green tops

fine and sprinkle them on soups and stews, just as you would chopped parsley. Add generously to that perennial favorite, potato salad. Stir into your mashed potatoes. Indeed, Lyonnaise potatoes are simply fried potatoes with the addition of chopped parsley and chopped onion tops and nicely browned.

One cup or less of chopped tops added to a can of corn makes a company vegetable. If you serve a sufficiency of bacon with it you have a satisfying hurry-up meal.

Onions a la asparagus

Use six to eight bulbs with the white stalks a person. Cook less than ten minutes in water. Make thick cream sauce with ½ cup of the onion liquor, ½ evaporated milk. Thicken with 2 tsp. flour mixed with 2 tsp. butter substitute. Lay on toast and cover with sauce.

Boil onions without cover on pot, adding an inch cube of stale bread. This practically eliminates the smell.



Books for progressives

The fear of the unknown

By Ralph Peterson

IT took almost four years, but the new Poland has finally gotten a break in America. Up to now, postwar books about Poland have invariably been the cynical products of exiled Warsaw statesmen blowing off righteous steam.

"You cannot get a fair and balanced picture of Poland in the American press," writes William Cary in his new book, "That is why I have written this book."

Cary puts a blunt finger on the most unfounded American fear, the fear that causes far too many Americans to eagerly accept the most warped inter-

pretation of what's going on in Poland and other peace-changed nations: "We are afraid — afraid of unknown people and unknown ideas. Most of all we are afraid of an unknown economy, a way of daily living that is not our way. It is our ignorance that breeds this fear. And fear makes us an easy prey for war."

HISTORY LESSONS. Briefly, after World War I, democracy made a start in Poland. But it was too weak to resist the violent repression of the military coup of Pilsudski in 1926. It is the memory of the failure, along with the memory of Warsaw in 1939 and Auschwitz in 1945, that makes the new Po-

land determined to survive.

The alleged leaders who "escape" to the American literary flesh-pots with their contrived "peasant" status (none thus far has been less than a minor millionaire) are discarded only because they demonstrate their failure to become a part of a rising nation.

William Cary was born in Brooklyn, taught at Bowdoin and Harvard (he was an assistant dean for nine years in the Yard), and served with the U.S. Housing Authority. He visited Poland after a period as French associate director for the Unitarian Service Committee.

SECURITY FIRST. In a simple, honest and unspectacular book, William Cary insists upon seeing Poland in its real historical perspective. He concedes that Poland today is no Utopia when contrasted to America, but when compared to pre-war Poland it is a "magnificent land of promise." Still lacking refrigerators and cars, the average Polish worker is today working up from the plateau of greater security than any of his fathers ever knew. He has assurances he never had before—"a sense of job security and confidence that his living conditions will improve from year to year."

Supplemented by 30 splendid photographs, Cary's book enumerates those rising living standards, the incorruptible system of unions, the old age security, the workers' resorts, the freedom from the autocracy and government-encouraged racial hatred that characterized that other Poland.

POLAND STRUGGLES FORWARD. By William Cary. (Greenberg. 192 pp. \$3.)



From "Poland Struggles Forward"

She was born in the occupation and lives with her family in western Poland. Millions of Polish children were shattered by the war; but a surprising number have responded to devoted care and flourish again.

Each issue of GUARDIAN has articles that will interest certain of your friends. Tell them about it.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Those discount houses

By Sidney Margolius

AN investigation by the Federal Trade Commission reveals that the practice of giving discounts on standard brands of merchandise has got a strong foothold in New York and other cities.

As some merchandise-wise New Yorkers have known for some years, a discount house is a store that quietly cuts prices on well-known brands, despite the Fair Trade laws empowering manufacturers to dictate the retail prices of their products.

The discount sellers achieve these price cuts by an efficient streamlining of their selling methods:

- They use low-rent locations away from crowded and expensive shopping centers.

- They rule out charge or installment accounts, which add to the cost of merchandise, and encourage customers to carry smaller purchases.

- They use little advertising, which further cuts expenses, and instead depend on word-of-mouth recommendations and contacts with large groups of white-collar workers, trade unions and civil service workers.

ALL OVER THE PLACE. Now discount houses have sprung up in other cities, notably Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago and Los Angeles. One furniture trade paper reports that you can get any standard-brand household appliance you want in Washington at discounts of from 5 to 35%.

In Philadelphia, the longer-established, and possibly less-enterprising, dealers complain they can't compete with the current growth of discount houses which issue courtesy cards to employees of large firms.

The FTC investigation is an effort to unearth discrimination by manufacturers who sometimes refuse to sell retailers who cut established list prices—beneficial as those reductions are to the public. In Wilmington, Del., the proprietor of Phil's Distributors testified that a leading pressure-cooker manufacturer cut off deliveries because he sold for less than the manufacturer permits.

In Chicago, Rochelle's, one of the most active discount sellers in the Midwest, testified that several rug manufacturers refused to sell to this store because it cut prices, and a nationally-known mattress manufacturer stopped supplies on three occasions.

HOW TO FIND ONE. Most recently, many manufacturers of well-known brands tend to overlook such price-cutting by discount houses because merchandise is getting harder to move at present high list prices. As far as radio and television sets are concerned, almost any independent store—and even some of the largest chains like Vim and Davega—now give discounts from list prices with little interference from manufacturers.

If you work for a large firm, you may be able to locate a discount seller through your employer's purchasing agent or personnel office, or through your union. If not, some New York discount houses do well by mail, although delivery charges for areas distant from that city may wipe out the savings.

IN THE NEW YORK AREA. Among long-established New York discount sellers, who will give mail service on well-known brands of appliances, pens, watches, kitchen equipment, etc., are:

Standard Brand Distributors, 143 Fourth Av.; Silken Shopping Service, 21 W. 46th St.; Buy Wise Merchandise Co., 112 W. 42d St.; Public Appliance Co., 77 W. 23d St., and Bondy Distributors, Inc., 220 W. 42d St.

Average discounts are about 20% off list prices; those on vacuum cleaners are even larger. When you deal with a strange discount house, it's wise to compare specifications and list prices at other stores to make sure you are getting the item you want, and are really getting a discount.

Be wary also about buying at purported wholesale houses to which a discount seller may send you for large items like furniture and mattresses.

Poles apart

William Cary's *Poland Struggles Forward* was published Feb. 18. The *New York Herald Tribune* and the *Times* have not found space for reviews of the book, although the *Times* on April 17 did manage space for a review of "Susie the Cat," by Tony Palazzo. The press elsewhere has, for the most part, given Cary's book the same silent treatment.

In a letter to GUARDIAN Cary said: "To me, the book's chief significance is that it can help to make clear the road to space The Poles want space. The things which we and they have in common are far more important than the differences—real and imaginary—which are being used to keep us apart."

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IS YOUR NUMBER UP?

If the code number 1-26, 1-27, 1-28 appears with your address below, YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS RUN OUT. RENEW NOW!