

NATIONAL **5 cents**  
**GUARDIAN**  
 the progressive newsweekly

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NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 24, 1950



**TO GIVE HER HOPE**

For this mother and her children in India, and for all mothers and children everywhere, the army of peace around the world is rallying the people to rise up and say with one voice: **NO MORE WAR!**

MID-CENTURY CONFERENCE IN CHICAGO, MAY 29-30

**The American peace army is growing**

**F**ACED with the possibility of destruction beyond the imagination to conceive, the world and his wife and kids were out last week with their sleeves rolled up, on a drive for peace as broad as humanity.

As they gathered signatures by the million to the Stockholm Appeal, they glanced anxiously toward America, the hatchery of the A- and H-bombs. And in America the questions were:

- Could the word "peace" be removed from the subversive list in time to avert the unimaginable horror not only for other countries but for America itself?

- Could Americans, who fought World War II without direct risk to their homeland — defended, as Gen. Marshall's report pointed out, by 25,000,000 Russian and Chinese fighters — learn in time "the devilish nature, the cost and risks of modern war"?

- Could they learn in time — as the **GUARDIAN's** Max Werner wrote — that "this privileged position (of World War II) has been irretrievably lost"? That "all the horrors of modern super-war now menace the U.S. too"; that with 65% of our industries concentrated in only 9% of the area, we are "more vulnerable to atomic destruction than Russia"?

**THE ARMY GROWS:** For Americans who understood all this and spread the word, the going was still rough; but every gain — and there were many —

strengthened the peacemakers' army and weakened the forces and propaganda of the atomic pyromaniacs.

- Sen. Brien McMahon (D-Conn.), who broke the ice in Congress last February with his plea for an end to the cold war, called last week at a N.Y. hospital building dedication for "the mightiest peace crusade in human history to banish mass destruction weapons from the arsenals of the world."

- The N.Y. Conference of the Methodist Church urged a "standstill agreement" to stop making A-bombs, seal present stockpiles pending a U.S.-Russian settlement. The Methodists also called for "every possible encouragement" of East-West trade and "mutual planning with the Soviet to deal with the emerging new nations, particularly China."

- Clarence E. Pickett, former head of the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), challenged the Churches at a Detroit Conference on the Church and War to develop "cells" of active peace propagandists rather than issue hierarchical pronouncements.

- At a Salvation Army Mother's Day observance in New York, Mrs. Henry Cloud, 1950 "Mother of the Year," called on "the family and the Church to unite to bring about universal peace." A Mothers Against War group was born; it presented at the White House a pledge signed by 2,300 mothers

**STOCKHOLM APPEAL FOR PEACE**

**Sign Up Now!**

**WE demand the absolute banning of the atom weapon, arm of terror and mass extermination of populations.**

**WE demand the establishment of strict international control to ensure implementation of this banning measure.**

**WE consider that any government which would be first to use the atom weapon against any country whatsoever would be committing a crime against humanity and should be dealt with as a war criminal.**

**WE call on all men of good will throughout the world to sign this appeal.**

**B**y last week, less than two months after formulation of this appeal by the World Congress of Defenders of Peace committee at Stockholm, tens of millions of people had signed it in scores of countries where petitions were circulating. Petition-bearers were asking everyone — adults and children, coalheavers and cabinet ministers, without political or religious distinction, to sign; it was a world call to unite humanity on the one supreme issue standing above all partisanship. Said the World Congress: "The campaign around the Stockholm Appeal is now the very heart of our struggle for peace."

Here's how the campaign was going:

**FINLAND:** 300,000 signed by April 19; Premier Kekonen and 12 cabinet ministers signed a similar appeal. **ITALY:** 30,000 committees organized. **PAKISTAN:** Peace Conference April 24 endorsed appeal, undertook to spread it throughout the country. **ALGERIA:** 1,000 signatures launch campaign; city councils support it. **ISRAEL, ATHENS, BOMBAY, BUDAPEST:** Thousands attend peace conferences calling for atom ban. **BRAZIL:** 1,000,000 signatures presented to legislature. **ARGENTINA:** Goal of 1,000,000 signatures set. **CHINA:** Trade Union Federation, Union of Students, Youth Federation endorse appeal. **JAPAN:** 12,000,000 already signed a similar appeal. **RUMANIA:** Patriarch Justinian and 12 Orthodox Church Metropolitans call on all clergy and believers to sign. **FRANCE:** Petition-bearers swarm through Paris streets; quoting Pope Pius' 1944 call for a "war on war," 44 prominent Catholics including leaders of main Church groups endorse the appeal. **BRITAIN:** Peace Committee swamped with requests for petitions, issues emergency call for volunteers to get them out. **WESTERN GERMANY:** Endorsing the appeal, Hans Ziegler, Social Democratic Mayor of Nuremberg, comments: "The powerful of this earth who want to rule by atom bombs and H-bombs... are more dangerous than murderers, robbers or outlaws."

In the U.S., the newly-formed Peace Information Center (P.O. Box 349, Grand Central Sta., N.Y. 17) said the campaign for signatures to the world peace appeal would get under way at a "Unite for Peace" meeting June 8 at Manhattan Center, New York.

The **GUARDIAN** urges all its readers to get behind this world-wide campaign in their communities. Get your neighbors and especially your organizations (unions, church, fraternal, etc.) to participate. Write for information and petitions to Peace Information Center, address above.

ference was signed by 371 leaders of religious, labor, youth, business, education, women's and fraternal organizations from 36 states, including 200 ministers, seven bishops and three college presidents. Leaders of the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, sponsor of the conference, include author Thomas Mann, scientist Linus Pauling, and Nobel Prize-winning economist Emily Greene Balch.

Negroes are especially active in organizing the conference. Said Bishop William J. Walls of Chicago, chaplain of the Natl. Negro Business League:

"Whatever of good repute: whatever of greatness; whatever of decency and morality; whatever of spiritual leadership our country has earned in the world today, has been conditioned by the never-ceasing movement of our people's struggle for full freedom. Our people's battle for full freedom is today the test of our country's reputation, of its claim to leadership.

"Because we know these simple facts of history, we know that the American people's insistent demand for peace in the world today is in harmony with our demand for freedom. . . . We urge our people to help make this convention a Hallelujah Chorus for Peace, which our government can and must head."

from 42 states "to educate our sons and daughters to refuse to take part in war or any phase of militarization."

**TOGETHER IN CHICAGO:** The core of the fight everywhere was to remove it from the realm of political partisanship in which enemies of peace sought to bury it. Even rock-ribbed Republicans, it was being pointed out, are not atom-proof.

The broadest peace coalition yet was expected to manifest itself at the Mid-Century Conference for Peace in Chicago May 29-30. The call to the con-



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MAY 24, 1950

**THE MAILBAG**



**In the great tradition**

**SULLIVAN, IND.**  
Despite the fact that in defending myself against false criminal charges I have been forced heavily in debt, in appreciation of your valiant fight for Jefferson-Lincoln democracy and genuine Bill-of-Rights Americanism, I pledge \$10 per month for ten months to help keep you on the firing line. Yours for justice,  
Norval K. Harris, Judge,  
Sullivan (Ind.) Circuit Court

**An offer of help**

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
We want to commend the GUARDIAN for enlightening its readers in the May 10 issue as to their rights in the event that they are visited by representatives of the FBI or the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

We offer the service of our Committee, for advice or assistance, to any non-citizen or naturalized citizen who faces any difficulty or problem in relation to naturalization or citizenship.

Abner Green, Executive Secretary  
American Comm. for Protection  
of Foreign Born  
23 West 26th Street  
New York 10, N. Y.

**Balsam defended**

**BROOKLYN, N. Y.**  
Your issue of May 3 describes how 20 people were tried, convicted, sentenced and verbally denounced by Magistrate Paul Balsam for disorderly conduct in connection with relief grievances on New York's Lower East Side. You quote Congressman Marcantonio as calling the sentences "a shockingly inhuman attack," and he further implies that the magistrate was carrying out "Mayor O'Dwyer-Hilliard" policy. I do not know, but I believe that the grievances were genuine. I also know that Marcantonio is almost always on the right side, and that your paper is usually highly accurate in reporting. Yet, I have watched Magistrate Balsam on many other cases and he has been unbiased in all. I believe, therefore, that he judged the 20 on the evi-

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excellent suggestions in the GUARDIAN, we want to raise some money for the paper, and for the Progressive Party, by showing films. "What about Paul Robeson in 'Emperor Jones'?" I asked the lady at the renting firm. This film was listed in their catalog. "Oh, that," said the lady. "We've discontinued that. Since Paul Robeson got into so much trouble we've stopped releasing that at all. People would be indignant." Jane Hodess

**The tipping scales**

**ALGONAC, MICH.**  
I'm all the time suffering from nausea these days. The lack of indignation among the people in general, with honorable exceptions of course, is beyond belief. We are the most materialistic people in the world; to hang on to our material comfort we are willing to sacrifice everything that makes life worth living, it seems.

We have run amuck, have bungled all our glorious opportunities, and now stand with fangs bared before the world, frightened with our own power; and like a dying tiger that can inflict some grievous wounds, we indirectly continue the works of Hitler and Co. everywhere within the Marshall Plan and out of it.

Yet inexorably the scales are tipping against us and we shall reap what we have sown. If we can at least keep the American conscience alive we may at least be saved from utter defeat and thereby redeem ourselves.  
D. Florence Fagg

**He probably has**

**PHILADELPHIA, PA.**  
The Dean of Canterbury states that the Golden Curtain bars his entrance in the U.S. I am sure that if the Dean were to visit Philadelphia's Market Street on a weekday and see the large number of near medics selling shopping bags (in the place of apples), or peddling pretzels, and also the parade of the lame, the halt and the blind, and were he to witness the pinched faces on so many of our citizens trying to exist on reduced or amputated relief budgets, he would soon conclude that all that glitters is not gold.  
K. M. Sams

**Let it out now**

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
Here is \$3 for subscriptions. This is blood money. I'd rather expend \$3 worth of blood now than all of it later.  
A. J. C.



**A medical joke?**

**MOUNTAIN VIEW, N. J.**  
On page 6 (May 3) under caption "United Nations," you refer (and it seemed to me in a corroborative tone of voice) to the vaccinating of 20,000,000 children against tuberculosis. What those children need is food—food—food. Vaccination is a damnable method of further

dence before him, and nothing else influenced him.  
Jack Paul

**Try it sometime**

**PASCAGOULA, MISS.**  
Truman and his gang seem to think they can walk a greased log with both arms full of seals without falling overboard or dropping any.  
Cecl Horton

**Tax the resources**

**JERSEYVILLE, ILL.**  
Henry Wallace is right. I am sure, insofar as saying that the capitalist system can be made to work. I can see only one way to make it work. Get our tax monies, or what we need to run our governments, out of our natural resources. I would be in favor of our progressive income taxes if they would serve the purpose for which they are intended and which is the same purpose which progressives have in common.

But we fool ourselves if we think that the owners of our natural resources are thus forced to contribute a large part of the taxes. No, the income taxes are passed on to the consumers, which are all of us. The only tax which cannot be passed on is a tax on natural resources lands. Improvements should not be taxed. The reason this tax cannot be passed on to others lies in natural laws of the universe which under our system tend to crush us down in poverty progressively more as we continue on in material "progress." We cannot repeal a law of nature but we can make it work in our favor.  
Odin Scholl

**Whose golden voice?**

**NEW ORLEANS, LA.**  
Reactionaries are fond of saying that art and politics have no connection. They are outraged when progressives picket concerts where Kirsten Flagstad sings. "She has a golden voice," they say, "what has that to do with the fact that she sang for the Nazis?" But, when the shoe is on the other foot, it's different.

I just called up a film rental company which circulates 18 mm. moving pictures. In line with the

**URGENT REPORT TO READERS**

**Renew your sub now to keep us building**

**W**ITH our next issue (May 31) the circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN will pass 100,000.

This is a truly remarkable accomplishment for an outspoken progressive publication in the short space of 19 months of existence in these hysterical times. But the accomplishment is not the GUARDIAN's: it is the terrific accomplishment of many thousands of the readers of this paper who have done this job of circulation - building mainly without recompense, without premiums or prizes, but with evident conviction that the broad progressive movement of this country must have a reliable, independent news medium reaching its active base.



But here's the point for this week and for the future:

**Circulation accumulated in a hurry, in great bunches of new readers, expires in just as great a hurry and in just as big bunches.**

Last year, between March and June, we added 25,000 new subscribers. These 25,000 subscriptions have now expired or are nearing expiration. Chances are one to four that your sub is among these. You have received an expiration notice but only about 10% of you have renewed to date.

We are giving you these frank figures to impress upon you as urgently as we can the great importance to us of your individual subscription renewal. Collectively, renewals now due mean \$25,000 toward the future operation of the GUARDIAN. They mean also that the basic circulation of the GUARDIAN will be stable and undiminished as we head toward our second 100,000.

In fact, your personal renewal means the entire future to us. For without you as a reader we would not be where we are today, nor could we look forward with genuine optimism to the self-sustaining readership which this or any other paper must ultimately gain.

**S**O please dig out that renewal notice, with the postage-paid return envelope attached, and send your \$1 today. Or if you can't find it now, just clip out your mailing label on the back page and mail it back with your \$1.

Now that you have built the GUARDIAN to its first 100,000, let's not allow it to slide back even 1/100,000th.

**THE EDITORS**

poisoning of their bodies. This is one of the jokes of medical practice on a par with McCarthyism and kept up by the same genus of homo sapiens.  
Dr. Herbert N. Smith.

**Half a sawbuck**

**TOPANGA, CALIF.**  
I take the two best newspapers in the country—People's World and the GUARDIAN. I'd go to hell for either one of them, so this week I worked overtime (carpentering) for the express purpose of sending you five bucks.  
Bob Ames

**Union of veterans**

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
As a member of the wartime Merchant Marine I protest the greed and callousness of the powers that be. Where is our Merchant Marine Bill of Rights? Thousands of Merchant Marines are beached and destitute. Thousands of our shipmates paid the supreme sacrifice through enemy action. God rest their souls. While many of us suffered for days and weeks, thirst, hunger and exposure in open life boats and rafts, American ship-owners waxed rich in the war before Pearl Harbor sailing vessels under European and Central American registry, paying very low wages, collecting heavy insurance when these boneyard derelicts got killed.

I sailed three of those pre-Pearl Harbor scows, unarmed and unescorted, under phony colors, through enemy infested waters. Death traps is the proper name. I, with many rank and file seamen who fight for our rights are, needless to say, beached. I'm calling on all my fellow mariners, regardless of race,

color or creed, to join a fighting vets outfit, The Union of N. Y. Veterans, who are backing us in our fight for the Merchant Seamen's Bill of Rights.  
Sean Collins  
Provisional Seamen's Committee  
Union of N. Y. Veterans  
71 7th Av., N. Y. C.

**... for they know not ...**

**JERSEY CITY, N. J.**  
After leaving my kid at school this morning, coming home with some groceries, I saw a little Negro girl on the other side of the street going to school. On the same side as I were three little kids about her age—white. The little Negro girl was walking lonely, and rubbing her eyes hard. And these little youngsters were calling after her, "Nigger, Nigger!" I told them to keep quiet. "Why don't you be nice," I said. "She has feelings too." They were silent for a while as I passed them by, then all of a sudden they were screaming again: "Nigger! Nigger!"

I turned around and hollered "Shut up." I could see that a window had been opened previously and a woman (a mother?) seemed to be directing her little chorus of hate. What should I have done? Gone back and asked her "Lady—what is it that hurts you so much that you want to hurt others? Lady—have you any decency in you? Aren't all people human?"

The little colored girl in the meantime had met a friend and arm in arm they went to school. Pain for the moment forgotten.

What price a needed "loaf of bread"? For all?  
Charles F. Urbanowicz

**Operation Bootstrap: Cooking with gas**

Every week dozens of letters like the following pour in from our valiant Bootstrappers. Sorry we can't print them all, but we can say here to all Bootstrappers: Thanks for your faith in us—and in a progressive America!—The Editors.

**ST. MARIES, IDAHO**

We enclose check for \$15 as our May contribution. This was earned on a community project. Members of our Renewal Progressive Club fulfilled our pledge by digging a cesspool. We've heard a lot of talk by Republicans about underground operations; this, literally, was underground work for the GUARDIAN.  
Louise Dennis, chairman

**WOLLASTON, MASS.**

A committee of the Quincy Progressive Party has taken this action: (1) achieved 100% subscribers in our Progressive Party Club; (2) sent in subscriptions for friends and associates; (3) distributed on several occasions copies of the GUARDIAN to shipyard workers, the unemployed, and at various local affairs; (4) mailed sample copies with a letter urging subscription.  
Leverett A. Peters

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**

We are sending you \$10 set aside for a birthday and Mother's Day gift for Mrs. Callan's mother. She has asked us, instead, to send it to her and our paper.  
Desmond & Monnie Callan

**RICHMOND, CALIF.**

I believe the GUARDIAN is the most important publication in America. My income is less than \$100 per month. I am a poor fund raiser; however, I will gladly do what I can. I have sent in 74 subscribers. This was with my own funds.  
J. N. McCullough

**SPRINGFIELD, MASS.**

This is the result of "Operation Bootstrap" so far. I enclose check for \$75.50, more to follow.  
Robenia Anthony

**SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH**

Not positively but confidently, I am quite sure of more subs quite regularly. Long live our Progressive Movement.  
Carly D. (Joe) Bird

**ANACORTES, WASH.**

Enclosed you will find \$10. I will try and send \$5 each month. My husband has a veteran's pension (Spanish war). We have not much to spare, but I want the GUARDIAN to live.  
Mrs. A. Sager

**YONKERS, N. Y.**

Here are more subs. You can see I am living, breathing, talking, acting for the GUARDIAN.  
Arnold Ghinger

**SYRACUSE, N. Y.**

This morning Mrs. Vosburgh and I went out for two hours to see some ALP enrollees on subs. We hope to devote at least two hours every week in this manner.  
Mrs. Lillian E. Reiner

**DULUTH, MINN.**

We here in Duluth have launched a two-month sub drive for the GUARDIAN and hope to at least double our circulation of the fine paper. We have set up drive teams with captains and have a campaign secretary to co-ordinate the activities.

We intend to issue prizes to the winning team and individual top sub-getters. The two month drive will be wound up with a GUARDIAN dinner with a "top" speaker, etc. Will you send us 100 sub cards?  
George E. Dizard

WAR & PEACE

TRYGVE LIE IN MOSCOW

"Door to peace is still open"

"I bless everyone, each man and each woman, who fights for peace. That is the aim and target for which the United Nations stands."—UN Sec. Gen. Trygve Lie in Moscow last week.

THE Soviet Union is "willing and prepared to negotiate on the problems that divide East and West." This, according to the N.Y. Times correspondent, was the fact established by Trygve Lie's mission to Moscow. The Times reported:

Mr. Lie returns to the West firmly convinced that the door to a negotiated settlement of the 'cold war' has not been slammed shut, and that on both sides there exists a strong basic desire to take steps that will insure world peace and end the threat of a third World War.



In Moscow, Lie talked with Premier Stalin for 90 minutes and found him "healthy and lively as ever he was in 1946." Lie held conferences with Vice Premier Molotov, Foreign Minister Vishinsky, Deputy Minister Gromyko, former Asst. UN Sec. Gen. Sobolev, and New China's Ambassador in Moscow. Although he had a cold during his first days in the Soviet capital, Lie was wine and dined, taken to a football game, to the ballet, on a sightseeing tour of Moscow and the Moscow-Volga Canal. He commented:

"I am very much impressed by the state of repair of the streets and houses and by the new buildings. I have never seen so many new automobiles, street cars and buses. In many respects it is like a new capital.... The people I have seen, and the children, look healthier than at any time before. I am surprised that so much progress has been achieved as regards an abundance of clothing, and shoes for women and children."

MOSCOW IS WARMER: Lie's reception in Moscow was more cordial than the one given him by President Truman in Washington. Newsweek reported May 8:

He was able only with great difficulty to get a 20-minute appointment with the President, who said he had no opinion when Lie asked if he should go to Moscow—in other words, he'd rather he didn't. Nor did Truman or Acheson give Lie's idea of a special session of the Security Council in Geneva any encouragement.

Encouraged by his Moscow talks, the UN chief decided to route his return trip through Paris and London for further discussions there. But at his press conference in Moscow, he cautioned no immediate results could be expected from his trip; only "time will show." His talks with Soviet leaders, he said, were about the general international situation, Chinese representation in the UN, and the cold war.

WARRIORS IN LONDON: As Lie headed west from Moscow, the 12 Atlantic Pact foreign ministers meeting in London set up an Atlantic Strategy Board circumventing the UN Security Council. A U.S. military or diplomatic figure was expected to head the new war-mobilization outfit, which is to remain in continuous session. The Atlantic War Council endorsed the Big 3 proposals to work Western Germany



into Western military plans and to step up the war against Viet Nam.

In the U.S. and Western Germany cold war enthusiasts were still whipping

up the great Berlin hoax: the claim that the East Berlin Youth rally May 28—to which each of 500,000 youngsters is expected to bring ten signatures to the Stockholm Appeal—is actually a Communist invasion to seize the city. In New York, Common Cause, an organization close to the pro-German lobby, called a "Hold Berlin Rally" to be addressed by Gen. Lucius Clay, Dr. George Shuster, newly appointed Regent of Bavaria, and Under Secy. of Commerce Whitney.

Elsewhere in the world:

CUBA: The Inter-American Conference for Democracy and Freedom in Havana, which was expected to rubber-stamp U.S. policy, resolved to support the UN's condemnation of the Franco regime. Mexican delegates withdrew from the conference when it rejected resolutions they presented, asking it to condemn political action by the Catholic Church in the Americas and to approve a statement that U.S. monopolies aided by the State Dept. were principally responsible for the growth of tyranny in Latin America.

JAPAN: Defense Secretary Johnson and Gen. Omar Bradley, chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, left for Japan in Japanese treaty.

ARMS FOR ABROAD

Death in Jersey

"WE'VE been asking the government to get its damn munition-loading business out of town for years," said John O. Leonard, Mayor of South Amboy, N.J. But in the early evening of May 19, 1,000,000 pounds of dynamite, land mines and artillery shells blew up as they were being loaded on four barges. A city councilman told reporters:

"Women rushed around screaming 'War! War! The bomb has come!' We didn't know what hit us."



The blast killed 27 people, injured over 300, and demolished buildings in a three-mile waterfront area. In the main part of the city to the southeast, hardly a window was left intact: total property damage was estimated as high as \$20,000,000. The munitions were destined for Pakistan.

Rear-Admiral Edward H. Smith, U.S. Coast Guard Commandant, admitted that recently-imposed safety rules had been relaxed by special "dispensation." The explosion was the second such disaster since the U.S. became the peacetime supplier of arms to half the governments of the world. On April 16, 1948, 512 men, women and children were killed when two ships with nitrates and munitions for France blew up at Texas City, Texas.

Czech delegate quits

ON the eve of returning home on leave, Czechoslovak UN delegate Vladimir Houdek decided last week not to go back to Prague where three of his friends had recently been removed from government posts.

Reason for his action, he said, was that Russia had become too dominant in Czechoslovakia. In a cable to Soviet Premier Stalin, "as the most prominent living representative of Marxism-Leninism," he quoted from one of Lenin's last speeches to make his point that, while countries developing socialism had "much to learn" from Russia, they should not be "forced to take over and copy everything."

The State Dept. was taking its time about deciding whether his request for asylum here should be granted. Anti-Communist Czech exiles said it should not be, because Houdek was a Communist. Reporters tried, but failed, to put him on record concerning the "litmus-test" Marshall Plan and Atlantic Pact. The price of U.S. asylum was clear; whether Houdek would pay it remained to be seen.



ATOMIC TOY NO. 1

A reader sent us in the clip above of junior with a new plaything, taken from Henry Luce's "Fortune Magazine." The caption read: "With this outfit, sold for \$42.50 by A. C. Gilbert Co., the curious child can enter the atomic age with professional realism. Set includes... four non-dangerous ores..." The reader attached a note saying: "Non-dangerous to the body, or to the mind too?"

THE NATION

Dems. laud Jefferson in jimcrow pageant

PRESIDENT Truman climaxed his nine-day non-political "happiness" tour with a blast at GOP "obstructionists" before a crowd of 20,000 at the Chicago Stadium. Feature of the Hollywood-style Jefferson Jubilee (financed by the liquor industry—although the state law prohibits political contributions by any liquor licensee) was an historical pageant depicting life under the Democrats since Jefferson's time.

Organizers of the pageant apparently were under the impression that all Americans have white skins. It contained no word about the accomplishments of the Negro people, Abraham Lincoln, or the fight against slavery. White as snow was the entertainment preceding the pageant. No Negro sat on the platform, spoke, or was presented to the audience, although many officials were given the opportunity to welcome visitors and eulogize Jefferson.

THE SHAM: In his speech the President promised to carry his fight for civil rights into the next session of Congress, if necessary. That it would be, was almost a foregone conclusion. At a civil rights session in Chicago, Jonathan Daniels, national committeeman from North Carolina, one-time staunch New Dealer, and one of the 11 out of 26 Southern senators who stuck with Truman in 1948, came out flatly against FEPC. In the Senate, Southern Democrats were smearing support for FEPC as communist-minded and communist-led. The Southern filibuster simply picked up Republican campaign slogans and used them against Northern Democrats.

A petition to force a showdown vote on whether or not the Senate should consider FEPC was signed by 24 Republicans, 12 Democrats. A secret poll showed the best the pro-FEPC forces could do would be to get a 59-to-32 vote for closure (closure calls for limitation of debate and requires 64 votes).

Yet Democratic Majority leader Scott Lucas gave permission to Democratic Senator Thomas of Oklahoma for a leave of absence until after the vote. When the vote was taken, only 19 of the 54 Democratic senators voted for closure, 26 voted against and nine were absent.



The American Jewish Congress called the Administration handling of FEPC a sham, pointing out that FEPC has come up for six years running and nothing has ever been done. Observers called the civil rights fight the tamest in years.

Other Congressional developments:

OUR COLONIALS: The Senate Finance Committee deprived Puerto Ricans and Virgin Islanders of their rights to federal social security benefits. Congressman Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.), Sens. Lehman and Ives (D-N.Y.) are leading a fight to force restoration of social security coverage to the territories.

ELDER CITIZENS: The Townsend Discharge Petition 15—demanding that the Townsend Bill to guarantee adequate pensions to every person over 60 be brought to a vote—had 197 signatures last week. Only 21 more names are needed to bring the Townsend Plan to a vote in the House. The Townsend movement, which has grown by leaps and bounds in the last six months, will hold its convention in Denver this week.

POLITICS

CALIFORNIA PRIMARY

Progressives spur victory for Kenny

AS California's primary election campaign headed into the home stretch, with voting on June 6, an odd alternative confronted the people. There are several candidates whose defeat is a must for progressives, but the candidates who can beat them are no great bargains—with one exception.

He is Robert W. Kenny, militant Democrat and recent Los Angeles leader of Democrats for Wallace, who is out to capture the State Senate seat of Jack Tenney, California's junior-grade J. Parnell Thomas. Kenny has the solid and active backing of the Independent Progressive Party, because his victory would boost the fight against other key reactionaries.



ROBERT W. KENNY A decisive test

The IPP itself is running only four candidates, one for Congress and three for statewide offices; it is conceded that they have little chance to win, but their campaigns will keep the party on the ballot and capitalize on its balance-of-power strength.

TIME TO RETIRE WARREN: Republican Earl Warren, Dewey's running mate in the 1948 Presidential campaign, is the first governor of the state to make a bid for a third term. Strongest asset of his opponent, James Roosevelt, is his magic name; he is putting on a strenuous stumping campaign that is taking him practically from door to door. Progressives are eager to retire Warren.

Progressives applaud Roosevelt's stand against loyalty oaths for U. of California educators, his demand for a return to the state's liberal pension plan recently defeated, his call for re-enactment of the state relief act to aid starving agricultural workers. But he

(Continued on following page)

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has failed to oppose the cold war, has declined to work for an effective coalition of all who oppose Warren. Nevertheless, progressives turn up at all his innumerable street-corner meetings to ask him questions he should answer for his own good, and to urge others to press him on the issues.

**THE SENATE RACE:** In the three-corner race for the U.S. Senate seat of retiring Sheridan Downey (D), progressives are determined to retire Rep. Richard Nixon (R), co-author of the police state Mundt-Nixon bill. But they can't find much to cheer about in either of his Democratic opponents—Mrs. Helen Cahagan Douglas, who boasts that she is "one of the architects of the cold war," and Daily News publisher Manchester Boddy, a staunch Trumanite.

Under California's electoral laws, it is possible for the final results to be determined in the primaries. Candidates are permitted to cross-file on any ticket in the running; if a Republican wins the nomination of his own party and the Democrats, the Democrats can place a different candidate against him only by the process of an independent nominating petition.

With the last stretch reached, the GUARDIAN's California correspondent wrote:

For progressives there is a lot to be lost, less to be gained. Victories for Warren, Nixon and Tenney would be great setbacks; victories for Roosevelt and Boddy or Douglas would be less than spectacular. Only the election of Robert Kenny would be a decisive gain for militant progressivism.



DR. FRANK GRAHAM  
Better than even?

#### NORTH CAROLINA

##### Graham in the middle

In North Carolina Sen. Frank P. Graham, for 19 years president of the state university, is running in the Democratic primaries against the has-been demagogue, former Sen. Robert Reynolds, and a serious corporation lawyer, Willis Smith, who has the backing of big business. Graham's campaign seems aimed at presenting himself to the right of Sen. Claude Pepper (recently defeated in the Florida primaries) and to the left of Reynolds (a one-time admirer of Hitler). He has come out against the Brannan Plan and FEPC but is relying on the labor and Negro vote.

Of the 1,000,000 Negroes in the state, only 65,000 are registered voters, though there has been no poll tax in North Carolina for 20 years. Labor is weak. But since Smith is relatively unknown and a poor campaigner, Graham has a chance of pulling through.

#### PENNSYLVANIA

##### Duff takes over

From 1910 to 1943 Joseph R. Grundy headed the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association, underlying GOP organization in the state. Since 1921 when Boss Boies Penrose died, no man has won the GOP nomination for governor without the approval of the now 87-year-old Grundy. In the Republican primaries last week Grundy's political machine went down to overwhelming defeat before the new machine of Gov. James H. ("Big Red") Duff who won the GOP nomination for Senator over Grundy's candidate Rep. John C. Kun-



ADAM SWARTZ  
The goal is Harrisburg

kel. Grundy's gubernatorial candidate Jay Cooke was defeated by Duff's man John S. Fine.

So large was the turnout for Duff that Democrats feared for the chances of their Senatorial candidate, incumbent Francis J. Myers. The great strength shown by the Duff faction in Philadelphia indicated rough going there for the Democratic candidate for governor Richard Dilworth.

#### York parley success

The talk of the state among Pennsylvania politicians last week was the Progressive Party's extraordinary conference of May 13-14 in York. Setting its sights on bringing out a program for peace, jobs and civil rights, the conference unanimously voted strong resolutions on the H-bomb, world free trade, and FEPC. Special attention was paid to Pennsylvania's current terror campaign following the Pittsburgh witch-hunts (GUARDIAN, April 19) and to the state's grim unemployment situation with 600,000 now workless. A special session of the legislators to take action on the unemployment and relief crisis was demanded.

More than 500 delegates attended from 25 counties but only some 200 were Progressive Party people. Included in the broad turnout were 128 trade union representatives from 65 locals of about 30 international unions, AFL and CIO; 105 Negro delegates, 25 farmers including official representation from the Farm Bureau Cooperative of one county; 42 youth delegates, 11 ministers, only 52 business and professional people despite the usual concept of the Progressive Party as a middle-class outfit.

Sponsors of the meeting, originally planned as a group of 100, rose to 130, ranging from college professors and ministers to union local presidents. The York CIO Industrial Union Council endorsed the conference and in the course of the two-day meeting the delegates broke through York's traditional jimcrow in virtually every hotel and restaurant in town.

In advance of the conference, the Pennsylvania press blacked it out or red-baited it. But when it was over, virtually every paper had stories—without red-baiting.

**PP IN PENNA.:** Following the primary results, the Progressive Party announced a three-man ticket for the November elections: Adam Swartz of York, governor; Alexander Wright, Negro trade union leader of Pittsburgh, lieutenant governor; Sidney Shupak of Philadelphia, secretary of internal affairs.

PP state director Zalmon Garfield said a candidate for U.S. Senator would not be named so the party could concentrate on the three state offices.

#### OREGON

##### Morse wins easily

The diehard GOP which has ruled Oregon without a break throughout this century tried to unseat Sen. Wayne Morse in the Republican primaries May 19. The GOP put up against Morse, whom they dislike because of his "liberal" stand on labor and a limited number of social issues, a dairy farmer and former letter-to-the-editor writer David I. Hoover.

A died-in-the-wool conservative with little vote appeal, Hoover (no relation to the ex-President) has tried to link

Morse with communism. The AFL and CIO backed Morse. The GOP's opposition to Morse was somewhat modified by the startling growth in Democratic registration figures—which for the first time in history are larger than the Republican.

Morse won 2 to 1.

#### ILLINOIS

##### Four Progressives in race

A dinner honoring Prof. Curtis MacDougall was set in Chicago for June 2 as the official kick-off for the Illinois Progressive Party's election campaign. MacDougall is professor of journalism at Northwestern University, is an author and lecturer, and was PP candidate for the U.S. Senate in 1948.

He will introduce Progressive Party candidates Sidney Ordower, U.S. Senate; William Smith, State Treasurer; Octavia Hawkins, Supt. of Public Instruction; and Pearl Hart, clerk of the State Supreme Court.

Progressive Party teams are already at work in downstate counties to get more than 150,000 signatures to insure the party's place on the November ballot.



#### FREEDOMS

##### Mundt fight grows

**NATIONWIDE** opposition to the Mundt bill—designed to strait-jacket the peace movement—is snowballing. Dr. David Petegorsky, director of the American Jewish Congress, reporting that 17 major national organizations are now on record against the bill, pointed last week to the growing fight as evidence of "increasing unity of action and purpose" of liberal organizations.

Among those joining the fight last week were the CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers. In St. Maries, Idaho, local leaders of the Chamber of Commerce and Veterans of Foreign Wars protested against the bill although the U.S. Chamber and the VFW nationally had sparked the drive for it. In Brooklyn, N.Y., a Citizen's Committee Against the Mundt Bill went into action. Harry Bridges' Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union warned that the bill would destroy the right "to work for peace, democracy, Negro rights, and economic security."

**"THANKS FOR WIRE—HOOVER":** Bayard (N. Mex.) Local 890, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, sent an anti-Mundt bill telegram to President Truman, Senate Majority Leader Lucas and four N. Mex. members of Congress. Acknowledgements came, not from the White House or Congressional offices, but from the Dept. of Justice.

Local 890 promptly wired the White House again:

"... To us the fact that a wire sent the President of the U.S. in perfect conformity with established means, of reaching the highest executive, should be turned over to the Justice Dept. is a startling procedure. . . ."

#### GEORGE MARSHALL

##### CRC chairman defiant as jail doors open

"By refusing to review my conviction, and thus ignoring the constitutional issues raised, the Supreme Court has helped to nullify the First and Fourth Amendments to the Constitution. Henceforth, membership lists can be demanded of leaders of Negro organizations, trade unions, all manner of progressive organizations and all defenders of the Bill of Rights in an effort to destroy them."

**WITH** these words George Marshall, national chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, prepared to go to jail

for three months rather than knuckle under to the inquisitors of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

For twelve years Marshall led the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and its successor, the CRC, in campaigns against lynching and poll-tax legislation and the Ku Klux Klan; in campaigns to defend hundreds of Negro victims of murder and rape frameups and police brutality.

**DIES DIDN'T LIKE HIM:** In 1946, he was called before the House committee and asked to turn over lists of NCFL contributors. He refused, saying that he would not be an informer to feed the blacklist. At the root of the persecution was Marshall's unremitting war against the committee itself as unconstitutional.

Marshall was tried and convicted of contempt. The Circuit Court of Appeals, in a split decision, upheld the conviction and was supported by the Supreme Court in a remarkable decision which held that the right to be silent was a threat to the national welfare.

Last week the Supreme Court refused, without giving a reason, to grant Marshall a re-hearing. Defiant to the end, Marshall called on all friends of the CRC to continue the fight as their answer to the Supreme Court and the witch-hunters.

#### MISSISSIPPI

##### Willie McGee's last chance

On the same day as the Marshall turn-down, the Supreme Court refused for the second time to review the death sentence of Willie McGee, a Negro tried three times for the alleged rape of a white woman near Laurel, Miss., in November, 1945. The woman, Mrs. Troy Hawkins, identified her assailant as a "man with kinky hair who wore a T shirt."

The rape supposedly took place at 4 a.m., while a sick child slept in the same bed with Mrs. Hawkins and her husband and two other children slept in adjoining rooms. After two reversals, McGee was convicted at the third trial. He had been forced to sign a "confession" on threat of being turned over to a lynch mob.

**ONE LAST TRY:** The CRC, in the fight for McGee for 4½ years, announced that it would seek a writ of habeas corpus in the Mississippi Supreme Court on the ground that McGee was denied due process at his third trial. His attorneys were unable to complete his defense because of



ROSALEE MCGEE & MOTHER  
A plea for help

threats from lynch mobs gathered outside the court. If the writ is denied, a date of execution may be set within 30 days.

Last week McGee's wife, Mrs. Rosalee McGee, wrote from Jackson, Miss.:

I had a good job. I mean, what you call good here. Soon as the lady found out I was Willie's wife, she didn't want me to get off to see him. She did lots of talk about him I didn't think was right. So I quit. And everywhere I go, seems she would beat me there. I am working in the country. Willie cried Sunday when I told him I had to walk two miles to get to my job.

She arrived in New York Sunday to launch a nationwide drive to save her husband's life. The CRC has asked people to write to the leading churchmen

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at Jackson, Miss., urging them to convey clemency messages to Gov. Wright. They are: Rev. H. B. Schaefer, Bishop R. O. Gerow and Bishop Duncan Gray.

**Trenton Six Appeal**

AS the GUARDIAN went to press the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia was hearing argument on the appeal of the Trenton Six for the right to counsel of their own choice. The appeal was to be argued by O. John Rogge, one of three out-of-state lawyers who were barred from the case by Mercer County (N.J.) Judge Charles Hutchinson.

The appeal pointed out that Hutchinson's action could set a dangerous precedent to deprive Negroes in the South of out-of-state counsel needed for vigorous defense; that the removal came after the defense had subpoenaed two N.J. police officers and a suppressed police report, which would have finally proved the innocence of the six Negroes condemned to death for a crime they could not have committed. The verdict was overturned by the N.J. Supreme Court. The decision, ordering a new trial, described Hutchinson's conduct of the first trial as "tainted with error."



Other civil rights developments:

**MORE DISBARMENTS?** Fifteen attorneys had circulated a petition in behalf of Abraham J. Isserman and Harry Sacher, who face disbarment proceedings in N.Y.C. as a result of their defense of the Communist leaders in the Foley Sq. trial. The Assn. of the Bar of the City of N.Y. said it was studying possible charges of "misconduct" against the 15.

**COMMUNISTS:** Federal Judge Henry W. Goddard refused permission to 10 convicted Communist leaders to make a country-wide fund-raising tour to finance their appeal to the Supreme Court.

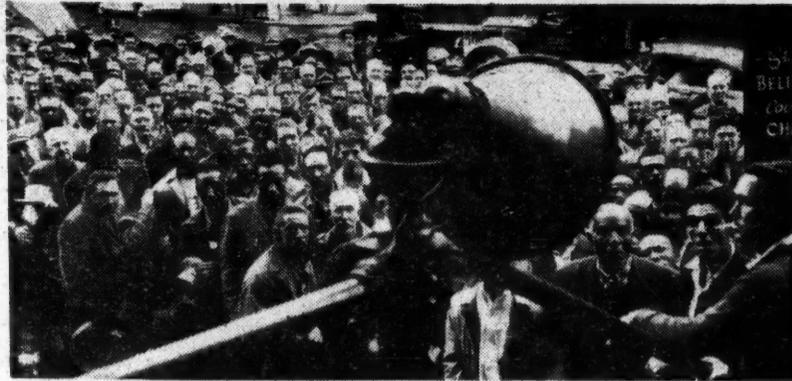
**"WITCH LIST" HEARING:** The Supreme Court agreed to hear together two appeals—brought by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship and the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee—against the Attorney General's "subversive list," which forms the basis of Truman's "loyalty" program.

**DEPORTATIONS:** Congressman Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) introduced a bill in Congress to repeal the 1918 law which permits deportation of non-citizens for believing in overthrow of the government "by force and violence." A rally by the International Workers Order in Madison Sq. Garden May 20 protested the government's attempt to smash the fraternal organization by deportation of its leaders.

**JIMCROW IS OUT:** The American Bowling Congress, yielding to widespread mass pressure, rescinded its ban on Negro membership. The CIO, in answer to criticism of jimcrow, said all segregation practices should be banned in all offices under control of CIO national headquarters.



Anybody got an aspirin?



**They're stickin' to the union**

Ignoring a drizzling rain, these members of the United Public Workers marched on the Lexington (Ky.) City Hall to let the Mayor know they still wanted to be represented by their union. The UPW has been expelled and raided by the CIO, red-baited by union-busting government officials.

**LABOR**

**Cold war imperils right to strike**

"WE can no longer afford the economic waste and loss resulting from strikes," Hubert E. Howard, National Munitions Board chairman, told Pittsburgh industrialists last week. An indirect but no less dangerous attack on labor's right to strike was made earlier at the CIO Steel Workers Convention in Atlantic City by Labor Secretary Maurice Tobin. Tobin proposed to amend the Taft-Hartley Law to empower "fact-finding boards" to settle future struggles.

From the CIO, which embraced the cold war in 1947, came a mild spank for U.S. foreign policy, which is progressively destroying basic labor rights. At the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention in Cleveland, president Jacob S. Potofsky criticized "lame ducks" in the State Dept. but "hastened to add" that Secy. Acheson is "honorable, loyal, competent and sincere."

In its closing session, the ACW adopted a foreign policy resolution calling on the U.S. to "take the lead in vigorously seeking full and direct negotiations with Soviet Russia," insisting that peace is possible. But at the same time it endorsed "the foreign policies of the Truman Administration."

In Washington, AFL and CIO political action groups were trying to patch up a semblance of unity on a political level to improve chances of their friends in the November elections. AFL political director Joseph Keenan publicly conceded reactionaries in both old parties were trying to purge liberals.

**RAMPARTS WATCHED:** Unions expelled from the CIO for opposing the cold war and fighting the reactionaries of both old parties continued to fight for trade union objectives:

- The Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union soundly trounced an attempted raid by the CIO Auto Workers in the Adams Campbell Co. in Los Angeles. In Butte, Mont., Mine Mill won the unanimous support of the Silver Bow Trades & Labor Council and the Building Trades Council in fighting attempted raids by the CIO Steel Workers. Every Butte business firm was displaying signs condemning the steel union raids.

- The United Office & Professional Workers, meeting in Atlantic City, called for united action by all labor on the basis of workers' immediate needs. It voted a \$100,000 strike and defense fund to be used in part to organize 10,000 unorganized white collar workers in the next year.

**BRYSON LANDSLIDE:** The Marine Cooks & Stewards Union—which goes on "trial" before the CIO in Washington May 22—returned to office by the largest vote in history the administration of President Hugh Bryson. Union membership gets \$62.00 per month more in take-home pay than similar ratings in the CIO National Maritime Union and the AFL seamen's unions.

**ECONOMY**

**Business 'boomlet' depends on shooting**

"Wouldn't it be wonderful to own something outright just for once before it breaks down!"

—Willie Loman in the play *Death of a Salesman*

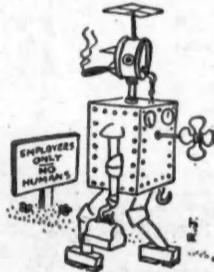
ON Willie Loman's kind of buying—instalment buying of autos, television sets, etc., and home building on mortgage credit—depends today's business boomlet. With the future of many consumers mortgaged as far as they can see, business journals—conceding the boomlet can't last unless the public keeps spending at its present rate—wonder what makes the Administration exude such confidence. Said the *Journal of Commerce*:

There is every reason to believe that it stands ready with a great big new needle to inject new life into the economy as soon as things threaten to slow down seriously. . . . We have the uncomfortable feeling that the Administration's present optimism is primarily based on the belief that the same recipe will work again—although a larger dose of benzadrine may be necessary.

The benzadrine is, of course, more arms spending, on which Congress—with executive backing—has already lifted the lid off the budget ceiling. As U.S. News admitted May 19:

Business won't go to pot so long as . . . every alarm can be used to step up spending—lending for defense at home and foreign aid abroad. . . . But shooting eventually is the end product of present policies.

**GOOD GRAVY:** War "prosperity" is going into the pockets of the big monopolies, whose 1950 first-quarter profits were running at the rate of \$30,500,000,000 a year—a billion more



than for the same period last year. For consumers, prices and living costs are going up. For farmers, income this year will be down a third from the postwar peak. For workers, real wages are 12% below the war-time high. And the shadow of unemployment lengthens.

More people are unemployed in the midst of today's boomlet than during last year's recession. The labor force grows at the rate of about 1,000,000 a year; technological developments are eliminating jobs at the rate of more than 500,000 a year. In the textile industry alone 125,000 jobs have been lost to labor-saving machinery since 1948.

**OIL REPLACES MEN:** The "Diesel revolution" on the Pennsylvania RR alone cost the jobs of more than 1,000 firemen and engineers in 1949: 28% of all locomotives are now diesels, and one diesel takes the place of two or more steam engines. The recent strike of 12,000 firemen and engineers on four

major railroads was basically a strike against technological unemployment. When the union leadership gave in on the key demand for two firemen on large diesels, it opened the door to widespread railroad unemployment.

If present unemployment trends continue, CIO president Philip Murray warned the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Convention in Cleveland last week, there will be 11,000,000 out of work in 1956 and that means "riots and bloodshed."

Murray failed to point out that his prediction was based on maintenance of present levels of business activity. If a slump should develop, unemployment would be catastrophic.

**NEW YORK**

**"GET MARC"**

**Will Mrs. Willkie?**

THE Republicrat quest for a coalition candidate against American Labor Party Congressman Vito Marcantonio this fall almost boiled down last week to the question:

Is Mrs. Wendell Willkie willing?

At her select 5th Ave. apartment overlooking Central Park (comfortably removed from the teeming tenement district which has returned Marcantonio to Congress seven times) the widow of the late Republican Presidential candidate was informed that Republican boss Tom Curran had tossed her chapeau into the ring. Refusing to see reporters, she sent out word that she had not been officially asked to run. Marcantonio refused comment on Mrs. Willkie's candidacy but offered to send relief clients to her Fifth Ave. doorman.

Best information was that the lady was willing, all right, if the Democrats would agree. From Cleveland where he was addressing the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention, Mayor O'Dwyer telephoned Tammany leader Carmine De Sapio to grab the offer. But Tammany was still holding out for one of its own boys as the coalition kid.

**NEGRO JUDGE DRIVE:** Meanwhile, ALP was talking another kind of coalition—urging agreement by all parties to the designation of a Negro candidate to the bench of Manhattan's General Sessions Court. No Negro has ever sat on the General Sessions bench, although some 50% of those haled before it are Negroes.

As State and N.Y. County ALP leader, Marcantonio has called a conference for June 3 at the United Mutual Auditorium, 310 Lenox Av., to launch a drive for all-party nomination of a Negro candidate. If the old parties fail to nominate a Negro, ALP will.

**RELIGION**

**SOUTHERN BAPTISTS**

**Mixing at the edges**

OUT of Dixie where many Northern conferees peevishly tell them they should stay, came 10,000 white delegates of the Southern Baptist Convention for a get-together in Chicago. With over 6,000,000 members and still growing rapidly, the Southern Baptists were challenging less fervently evangelistic church groups on a widening front stretching through Illinois and as far north as Alaska.

Resenting the lilywhite invasion (white and Negro Southern Baptists never convene together), the new Negro paper *Chicago Globe* featured an interview with the Convention's drawing Dixiecrat president Dr. Robert G. Lee, under the ironic heading: JIM CROW NO SIN—BAPTISTS. Other reports emphasized what they felt was proof that the Southern Baptists' growth is not only geographical: the concluding service in Chicago's stadium in which whites and Negroes formed a mixed congregation, and the fact that Negro educator Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, was invited to speak to the convention. Dr. Mays made a devastating attack upon advocates of the "status quo" in America.

WHAT MAKES WALTER RUN?—PART II

# Storm warnings posted for Reuther

Last week Henry Kraus told how labor's "man of the hour" shrewdly manipulated his way to the top post in the United Auto Workers by turning internal differences to his personal advantage. Here is the concluding part of the story by the first editor of the UAW official paper, "The United Auto Worker."

By Henry Kraus

AS the power behind the throne of R. J. Thomas, elected UAW president as a "neutral" in the 1939 reorganization convention, Walter Reuther became known even to his friends as the man who "worked 24 hours a day—for Reuther." His "ideas", his well-publicized "plans", were always pushed or dropped as self-interest dictated.

In 1940, before this country was at war, he was the burning patriot who wanted to overturn the auto industry and produce "500 planes a day"; in 1944, with the great Normandy invasion pending, he fostered abolition of labor's "no-strike" pledge to reap political advantage from the auto workers' war-weariness. He abandoned the fight for fair representation of Negroes in union leadership on the cynical ground that making assured posts available to them was "jimmie in reverse." Elections should be held solely on the basis of "merit", he argued, turning a blind eye to the prejudice existing among many white UAW members.

The former leftwinger began to make friends in strange places. He accepted aid from supporters of Gerald L. K. Smith, KKK members and out-

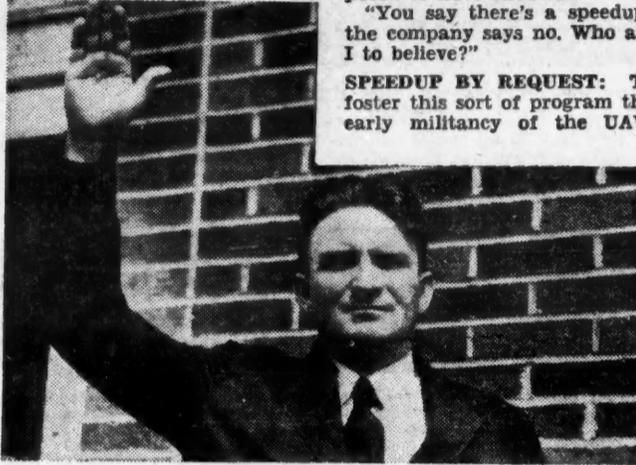
and-out gangster and company elements as well as the Assn. of Catholic Trade Unionists. The press turned from exorcising him to shouting his praises as a young, brilliant Sir Galahad dedicated to riding labor of the red menace.

**2 KINDS OF REUTHER:** Reuther ended by crediting this

second Reuther who's out throwing punches before the public." This kind of a relationship is based on the precept that the interests of labor and capital are identical—a precept which a story current in UAW circles illustrates. Reuther, appearing before a group of irate Ford workers, is supposed to have shouted:

"You say there's a speedup; the company says no. Who am I to believe?"

**SPEEDUP BY REQUEST:** To foster this sort of program the early militancy of the UAW



GERALD L. K. SMITH  
Which side are you on?

portrait himself. As the idea of his own importance grew, that of his members shriveled, the union's focus becoming the negotiating table where Reuther's inexorable logic would presumably reduce management to impotent silence.

Actually, nothing of the sort ever took place. As Harry Coen, chief labor relations representative of General Motors, has put it: "There are two kinds of Walter Reuther, the Reuther we deal with and a

had to be throttled. Reuther was the man for the job. He killed the stewards system at GM; discouraged on-the-job settlement of grievances; collaborated with the company in cleaning out rank-and-file leaders who refused to follow.

It is from this context that the UAW leader's fancy economic theories have been fathered. No doubt the wordy glibness with which they were delivered confused many of the auto workers, at least until

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And from the radio, a voice describes  
How any man can triumph if he tries,  
And if we only save what we have spent,  
Then each of us can be the President.  
—George Abbe

their practical consequences were felt. That "labor should base its wage demands upon higher productivity" was for Reuther "a sound prescription for the years ahead." This was a plain invitation to the speedup, and speedup returned: there is little difference between the speed of the line today and in 1936, when this grievance was perhaps the main factor in the auto workers' revolt.

The story of 1949—record-breaking production of 6,500,000 cars and trucks with only a fraction of corresponding increase in employees or hours worked—reminds old-timers how the industry output was topping all previous marks just before the great 1929-33 depression. With Ford and GM planning to almost equal 1949 production in the first half of 1950, they wonder if the wind is again heading from that direction. Virtual disappearance of the backlog of car orders seems to reinforce this view.

**COLD-WAR FREEZE:** Another consequence of the Reuther outlook was his famous escalator clause in the last GM contract. By providing for wage adjustments up or down in accordance with cost-of-living statistics, this froze the worker's status while putting no similar clamp on the employer's. As fate would have it, GM workers twice received wage cuts just as the corporation was announcing unparalleled profits: \$440,000,000 in 1948 and a fantastic \$650,000,000 last year. The latter figure

constitutes a profit after taxes of approximately \$2,000 per productive worker, or a dollar a work-hour.

With these profits Reuther's accomplishments for his workers compare interestingly. The Ford pension, signed last autumn, is calculated to cost the company about 4c an hour. Reuther scaled the original demands of the Chrysler workers down to 10c and they were on strike just short of 100 days to get it.

The puniness of these goals, as well as the auto companies' toughness in granting them, can be understood only against the backdrop of Reuther's slavish commitment to the status quo—and in the first instance, to the cold war. The political-economic structure on which the latter rests—the huge outlays for military purposes—rules out an increasing slice of the national income for the worker-consumer.

**STORMS AHEAD?** It is no wonder that Reuther supporters in the local elections held in the past two months have received some jolts. At Ford River Rouge Local 600, with 65,000 members, outspoken leftists and other Reuther critics captured a majority of the leading posts. And the 45,000 workers of Flint's five great plants, nerve-center of General Motors, have shown a similar trend.

Walter Reuther may be facing some stormy weather just ahead. He still has on his side the political hysteria which helped him attain power and which gives red-baiters a 10-point lead in any fight. But recent stirrings among the auto workers would seem to indicate that even this factor no longer has its former potency.

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**CALENDAR**

**New York**

**AGNES SMEDLEY MEMORIAL MEETING**, auspices Comm. Democratic Far Eastern Policy, Israel Epstein, Iona R. Ruff, Sues, George Wuchinich, others. Wed., May 24, 8 p.m., Room 11-C, Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Av., near 13th St.

**"BEHIND THE SCENES IN ISRAEL."** Talk by Dov Barnir, Mapam party member of Israeli Knesset (parliament). Wed., May 31, 8 p.m. Hotel Bossert, 98 Montague St., B'klyn. Auspices: B'klyn Chapter of Americans for Progressive Israel.

**St. Louis**

**EUROPE, SPRING 1950.** Boris Steinberg just back, with color films of France, Italy, West End Waiters Club, 911 N. Vandeventer. Friday, May 26, 8 p.m. Free. Auspices: St. Louis Progressive Party.

**Chicago**

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**Philadelphia**

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**IN CHICAGO,** we have already mentioned Rochelle's (check phone book for address in Chicago). The Bay Furniture Co., 8856 S. Commercial Av., Chicago, offers discounts, especially to GUARDIAN readers. Another Chicago firm is J. Holub & Co., 1893 Milwaukee Av. IN PHILADELPHIA, two buying clubs with stores sell electrical appliances and other goods at refunds generally 20% off list prices. These are: Civil Service Employees' Cooperative Assn., 312 Chestnut St. (2d floor), and United Fraternal Buyers, Inc., 1842 Lincoln-Herbert Bldg., Broad and Chestnut. Another Philadelphia house is the Walter L. Crean appliance store (check phone book).

This department has not shopped discount firms other than those in New York (mentioned here previously; they sell by mail). To make sure you are getting a genuine reduction, compare the same model (get specifications and model number) at other stores and see what they charge.

Sometimes discount houses themselves are afraid to give reductions to strangers who may be investigators for a manufacturer or shoppers for retailers who don't want to cut prices. In New York you may mention the GUARDIAN. In the others it's best to get an introduction from a civil service employee or someone who works for a large firm. Such employees frequently have arrangements with discount houses.

**BUT BEWARE SECONDARY SOURCES:** Sometimes a discount house will send you to a second source for items it doesn't stock, like furniture and fur coats. Sometimes these secondary sources offer genuine values; but too often they do not. That's particularly true in so-called wholesale furniture showrooms. With a few exceptions, these are really retail showrooms, with no genuine savings.

**CZECH SHOES AT BARGAIN RATES:** Czechoslovakia, long a leading shoe manufacturing country, is sending footwear here at bargain rates, and U.S. shoe manufacturers are up in arms. They accuse the Czechs of dumping the shoes and say the wholesale price at which they are being imported doesn't even cover the cost of the materials.

The shoe trade admits the shoes are fine bargains. Women's casual and sportswear styles, they are being sold by large retailers such as R. H. Macy and Sears Roebuck for less than \$3. They are equal in value to U.S.-made shoes selling for \$5-\$6, experts say.

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Chicago dateline

**A boot and a boost for reaction**

By Rod Holmgren  
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

**CHICAGO**  
THE Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith made confusing news at its annual convention in Chicago May 12-14. High point was to be a speech by Benjamin Buttenwieser, assistant to John J. McCloy, U. S. High Commissioner for Germany. Buttenwieser submitted his prepared speech to the League in advance. In it, he admitted there are

many former Nazis back in public positions in western Germany. "Let us keep in mind, however, that though these people were certainly not heroes, not all of them were devils," he said. "The time has come to permit them to show that they have learned a lesson, that they will be loyal members of the developing German democratic state."

The League's national commission canceled the speech because "it revealed content

and proposals which can only be interpreted as an effort to justify the readmission of former Nazis to positions of importance in Germany. . . . The speech would give aid and encouragement to those vicious elements. . . ."

**A MEASURED STORY:** Next day, John J. McCloy, Buttenwieser's boss, told reporters in Frankfurt, Germany, that he was "astounded". He said he had read the speech in advance and considered it a "measured and objective account of conditions in Germany."

One event was not canceled: the presentation of the League's American Democratic Legacy Award to U.S. Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath. As the award was given, 350 pickets marched outside Palmer House demanding the release of Communist Party Secretary Eugene Dennis, who began a year's prison sentence for contempt of Congress May 12. They carried signs reading: "Jail the anti-Semites, not the

anti-fascists."

Witch-hunters amalgamate, worry about stool pigeons

A new organization was founded here last week: the All-American Conference Against Communism, an outgrowth of a trial run conference last winter in New York. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald, was named chairman. Presiding was George N. Craig, national commander of the American Legion. He said that 51 organizations representing 80 million persons took part. That would be over half America, babies included. Conspicuously absent was the CIO, whose representative at the New York conference, James Carey, brought the wrath of working people down on his head by declaring that labor would support fascists in the next war to wipe out communism.

Action was proposed to protect government stool pigeons who were reported losing their jobs after testifying at "subversion" trials. Benjamin F. Gitlow, ex-Communist, praised the mock Communist uprising

in Mosinee, Wis., after which the Mayor and a minister died from anti-communist overexertion.

Rent Board inquiry assails rent rises

The Progressive Party of Cook County and the Chicago Tenants' Action Council have been protesting for more than a year over the high percentage of rent increases granted to landlord applicants by the rent control office here. Last week they got support from a three-man subcommittee of the Cook County Rent Advisory Board, created by the 1948 rent law. It reported after a four-month study that many "glaringly questionable" rent increases have been granted; that "little weight" has been given to tenants' replies of landlord's petitions.

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