

## SANITY IN THE SADDLE

# World's people rebel to halt U.S. on brink of an atomic war

THROUGHOUT the world the pretensions of U. S. foreign policy crumbled under the impact of military debacle in Korea and Western panic at President Truman's threat to use the A-bomb. The Dulles-Truman-MacArthur policies, having led the world to the brink of atomic war, were brought up short last week by what Howard K. Smith, CBS London correspondent, called "a popular rebellion forced from below on reluctant governments." Prime Minister Attlee's flight to Washington at the end of a hectic week was a decision to oppose "war with China at any cost," said Smith—as spokesman not only for a united Britain but for

... 700,000,000 free people in opposing American war policies. The revolt has been universal. It is in every free nation and in every political party from left to right.

In the U.S. the *Wall St. Journal* warned that the country faces "national ruin" if it does not recognize its foreign policy mistakes and stop "waving its fists at a man when you are standing downhill with the sun in your eyes." The paper called for "appeasing China" as the least disastrous of possible alternatives and for treating U.S. allies henceforth as "true partners" rather than bought "followers."

**DOUBLE THE DOSE:** In Washington there was growing befuddlement but no sign of mistakes recognized. Authors of the war policy rushed to prescribe heavier doses of the same. President Truman asked Congress for another \$18,000,000,000 for war (bringing this year's war expenditures to \$50,000,000,000), named an over-all Civil Defense Director, brusquely told Europe to re-arm and fast. His Administration stepped up A-bomb production, speeded

(Continued on Page 3)

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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How much longer will the insanity hold?

Two American soldiers, keeping a lonely vigil along the banks of the Yalu River separating North Korea from Manchuria, gaze across the snow-swept Manchurian hills.

Shortly after this picture was taken, the UN retreat began in sub-freezing weather. Can you read the thoughts of these GIs 5,000 miles away from home as Christmas approaches?

## THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY AND THE DOVER GROUP DEMAND PEACE—AND THE PRESS BLACKS OUT BOTH

### Nat'l Committee calls for action to 'stop World War III' at once

Meeting in New York over the weekend, the National Committee of the Progressive Party issued the following call to action to "stop World War III":

IN this hour of decision, the alternatives are clear: Peace or atomic devastation; a settlement in Korea by mediation, or extension of the war to China and a world-wide conflict.

The people of the whole world were dismayed when Gen. MacArthur launched his disastrous offensive at the very moment the Chinese delegates arrived at the UN for negotiation. They have recoiled in horror at President Truman's threat of atomic death to hundreds of thousands of innocent Korean and Chinese people whenever he should order dropping of the A-bomb.

These reckless acts are making our government the object of fear and hatred among the people of the world, and especially among the colored peoples against whom the President's threat of atomic vengeance was directed. These acts are alienating the peoples of Britain and France and leaving America in isolation. If world war comes because our government has rejected the only path to peace, we will stand alone, without friends or firm allies anywhere. There is no protection in atom bombs, for American cities, too, can be their targets. The only security for our country is the security that lies in stopping the war before it engulfs us.

THE first step must be to stop the fighting in Korea. This is the only

way to save the lives of thousands of Americans now in battle and to keep the war from spreading. To that end, we call upon the President to make these proposals in the UN immediately:

- (1) A cease-fire order, both sides to maintain their present positions.
- (2) The appointment of a special mediation commission, including representatives of the U.S., the U.S.S.R., India and the new China. The commission to meet with representatives of South and North Korea to bring about a settlement of the conflict, providing for withdrawal of all foreign troops and establishment of a united, independent and democratic Korea.

We also call for:

- (1) Seating of the Republic of China in the UN to give their rightful representation to the four hundred seventy-five million people of that nation, opening the way to a general settlement in the Far East.
- (2) A four power conference of the U.S., England, France and the U.S.S.R. on the German question, opening the way to a peaceful settlement in Europe.

We again call for a UN agreement outlawing atomic weapons and all other instruments of mass destruction, as proposed to the governments of the world by the International Red Cross.

We urge all Americans, regardless of other differences, to unite in calling on the President for peace, not the A-bomb.

### Big-business leaders ask Truman to get U.S. out of Korea, Formosa

WHEN the Cabots and the Lowells of Boston speak, a great number of important and influential people listen. Last week they spoke. What they had to say was startling, but almost all U.S. newspapers outside of Boston turned a deaf ear. They sent a message to the President signed by 21 of Boston's leading bankers, industrialists, lawyers and educators (known as the Dover Group) urging the UN to adopt these proposals for a prompt settlement of the war:

- Withdrawal of UN troops from Korea.
- Withdrawal of the U.S. 7th Fleet from Formosan waters.
- Seating of representatives of the Chinese People's Republic at UN.

This was the first important break in Republican ranks on Far Eastern policy.

**OLD CHINA HANDS:** Three members of the Cabot family (which long ago made its fortune in the China trade) signed: Thomas D. Cabot, president of United Fruit Co.; Judge Charles C. Cabot, director of Old Colony Trust; Henry B. Cabot, trustee of the Boston Symphony. Others were: Ralph Lowell, president of the Boston Safe Deposit & Trust and director of the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co.; and Charles A. Coolidge, a director of the Harvard Corporation.

Among the prominent bankers and

industrialists who signed were:

Lloyd D. Brace, president of Boston's First National Bank and director of the Rockefeller-Morgan-Guggenheim American Smelting & Refining Co.; Halfdan Lee, also a director of AS&R, and of the First National; Conrad Hobbs, retired wool merchant; Joel Harrell, president of New England Telephone & Telegraph and of the Union Trust, director of First National.

Among the educators and lawyers:

James R. Killian Jr., president of M.I.T.; Charles E. Wyzanski, U.S. District Court Judge; Thomas H. Mahoney, attorney, president of the Catholic Assn. for International Peace; Lewis Perry, former president of Phillips Exeter Academy; Philip Ketchum, partner of a big Boston law firm and director of New England Trust; Lawrence Lombard, lawyer and industrialist.

Others who signed were: Erwin D. Canham, editor of the *Christian National Science Monitor*; John H. Crider, editor of the *Boston Herald*; Thomas H. Elliot, former Congressman and lawyer in the U.S. Labor Dept.; and four prominent State St. attorneys.

**THE CONDITIONS:** The Dover Group, whose petition stirred much excitement in Boston, set several conditions to "acceptance of what we understand to be the three Chinese armistice proposals." These were that the Chinese also withdraw from Korea; that a primarily Asiatic UN Commission hold elections in all Korea; that a UN force police the terms of this agreement in Korea; that the Chinese agree to arbitration of the Formosan question in the UN. They also asked "vigorous and immediate building up of our defense establishment."

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DECEMBER 6, 1950

## THE MAIL BAG

### Marc's spirit

BERWYN, PA.

Marcantonio's picture on the front page (Nov. 10) is a most striking thing and I can't get it out of my mind. It is the picture of a real man of the people who after an election defeat during which he worked night and day, still looks as if he had an inexhaustible love for people, an unquenchable fighting spirit.

To me Marc is the symbol of the people's never ending fight for their rights, and I implicitly believe as he says, that "the ultimate victory belongs to us." And as someone else has said, "The people lose all the battles except the last one."

Just as Marc is almost the only clear voice raised continuously in defense of the people's rights, so also is the GUARDIAN almost the only organ which never stops fighting with words for the people.

C. Donald Woodward

### Daybreak in the South

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

I am enclosing \$1 to keep the GUARDIAN going. It is our only light in a war darkened world. But I feel that day is breaking in the South notwithstanding the fact that my grandson is somewhere in Korea. Here in Knoxville a Fellowship House has been organized by the Unitarians and a good lot of people from the TVA, the University of Tennessee and the leaders of the Progressive Party are taking part in it. Last summer there was a day camp for white and colored children and a number of worthwhile projects are planned for the future. Some day I may get up enough courage to go to one of the meetings and set right down in front with the white people where I can hear what is being said. Mary Baker

### Hope springs in Carlsbad

CARLSBAD, CALIF.

The editors sound a bit downhearted in the Nov. 15 article "The Progressive Movement, the Press and the Future." I was too, just after the elections, especially on election night when the only IPP and

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have to know and understand it. Before any strong measure of political action can be taken by the progressive movement, the American people must be told what the real situation is. There is only one medium through which this can be accomplished: building up the circulation of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

If the progressive movement wants more people on its side, it will have to get more readers for the GUARDIAN. This can only be done through making the sale of GUARDIAN subscriptions an important part of the regular political activity of the Progressive Party.

It is a disgusting commentary on our times that, as a government employe of 20 years experience, I would be fired if it were known that I wrote this letter. Therefore, though unsigned, I remain,

A Friend

### Guardian and the campus

CHAMPAIGN, ILL.

The Young Progressives at the University of Illinois feel that it is inadvisable to distribute the GUARDIAN as a club project, since our group does not completely support all the views expressed by your paper and since it is not an official YPA paper.

Your use of "sensationalism" in headlines, pictures, captions, is not quite fitting for a progressive newspaper that is trying to appeal to mature, alert adults. If you use this form of "yellow journalism" to obtain the N. Y. Daily News type of reader, we feel you will not only not succeed in the latter, but will alienate many of your progressive readers.

Diane Sank

Total agreement by everyone on everything is said to exist in heaven. Hope to see you there, Illinois YPA's! Ed.

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Another GUARDIAN reader and I have just made arrangements to place the GUARDIAN on the news stand of the store on the University of California campus, owned and operated by the Associated Students of the University. There is at present no general awareness of the existence of such a publication, but we feel certain that in a short while, with the possible assistance of an advertisement or two in the Daily Californian, a substantial readership can be built up. William E. Cook

NEW YORK, N. Y.

How about this plan to strengthen our movement:

Send sample copies of the GUARDIAN to a group of students in every college and university in our land. Have a questionnaire incorporated in each sample asking the student's opinion of the paper. In this manner we might broaden our appeal where it might do the most good. A Friend

### Replica of Germany

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

We earnestly hope the GUARDIAN will see its way to continue the marvelous work it is doing in giving the people of the U.S. the true facts at a time when we are receiving via newspapers and radio only "the big lie."

It is sad beyond words to see the U.S. turned into a replica of Nazi Germany in the '30's and one's friends as completely under the spell of the big lie as the Germans were; and to be able to have nothing but utter contempt for those who happen at present to be in the positions of the controlling groups.

Margaret St. Clair

## Max Werner

# The Chinese offensive

IN the new battle for North Korea the Chinese have already shown war experience, tactical skill, good organization and discipline. The planning of their surprise offensive on the command level has been remarkable. The Chinese are using guerrilla tactics of surprise checks, ambush and night offensives but by big units.

It seems that Chinese strategy is elastic. Its first design is an outflanking maneuver against the core of the UN

forces in the west-ern sector. Objective of the move is encirclement and destruction of the three U. S. divisions on the left bank of the Chongchon river.

Yet the steady pouring of Chinese reserves all along the extended front indicates the intention to wage a long-drawn campaign of attrition, if neces-



Canard Enchaîné, Paris

"Oh, oh... here comes the Chinese delegation."

**BOMBS NO SOLUTION:** On the UN side it is mainly land power, the reserves in land troops, that can restore the situation and rebuild the front. Gen. MacArthur's main and urgent problem is that of reserves in combat power. In the sharply critical situation in North Korea there is no substitute for fighting men. As things stand, neither air offensive nor landing operations can stem the Chinese tide.

Bombing Manchurian bases cannot bring a solution since the Chinese troops do not depend on supply from Manchurian industry centers. Their field bases are dispersed and well-hidden. Besides, the air defense of the Manchurian bases might turn out to be quite strong. Furthermore, it is very probable that the Chinese Command might react to an offensive against Manchuria with the speeding up and strengthening of its own land offensive.

As the experience of the Korean war has already indicated, the heavy bomber cannot stop the land attack. Reports from the front stress now that even the mobile U. S. tactical aviation is rather ineffective against the scattered and guerrilla-trained Chinese troops.

**WHERE ARE THE RESERVES?** Neither can the UN command now count on a repetition of the Inchon landing. Battles now are being waged on the continent proper, with the battle front less accessible from the sea and strategically controlled from the north—from the North Korean-Manchurian land mass.

Yet it is not only geography that speaks against the immediate possibility of landings. To come to the rescue of a land army, amphibious operations need a stabilized main front of land defense, available reserves for attack and superiority in land power against the undefended flank of the enemy. Gen. MacArthur cannot yet count on either of these possibilities.

Immediate task of the UN forces is obviously to shorten the overextended front lines and bolster the defense forces, which can be carried out with U. S. reinforcements only. The problem is to hold a shorter front with more troops. More troops means fresh reinforcements from the continental United States.

**"HORDES" WITH A STING:** Even more than the preceding campaign, the Chinese stage of the Korean war will be a contest between two land powers. The Chinese are staking their offensive on the use of active infantry masses, fighting with limited amounts of heavy offensive weapons, of tanks and medium and heavy artillery.

The Chinese mass army is challenging Western superiority in air power, fire power and heavy weapons. But so far the Chinese offensive has shown the strategic possibilities of lightly armed mobile infantry. It has taught a lesson to Western experts who underestimated the modern Asian armies. There should be no doubt, however, that—as this column stated many times years ago—what is sometimes called "Asian hordes" is developing into a modern and effective land power. The war in Korea is a modern war, though the Chinese have only a few planes and tanks, and no super-weapons at all.

It is a modern war because it shows the change in the relationship of forces caused by the appearance of the new Chinese Army. About two-thirds of the entire U. S. Army is tied up in North Korea, but on the Chinese side probably less than one-third of one single army group is participating.

### How subversive can a tablecloth get?

The American Legion, according to UP, feels that it is "terrible, horrible" that Russian and Czech Christmas gift merchandise is being sold in the U.S. and says it should be banned. Said Donald Schoolman, business manager of Soviet Russia Today (which sent out circulars advertising the goods): "American concerns are currently buying manganese from the U.S.S.R., yet we don't hear any cry raised that this should be banned because it is communist manganese."

If you feel about the American Legion protest as we do, just turn to page 7 and order some of these fine bargain items from the GUARDIAN.

## Give the Guardian for Xmas

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



# World's people revolt to halt U. S. on brink of atomic war

(Continued from Page 1)

mobilization, rushed construction on a new H-bomb plant in South Carolina.

At his press conference last week, the desperately worried President grimly said the U. S. is fighting "for survival" in Korea, would not withdraw. Questioned by reporters, he said the U. S. was actively considering use of the A-bomb, that prior authorization by the UN is not necessary, that its use is up to the commander in the field. While correspondents flashed the sensational news to world capitals, the Atomic Energy Commission rushed out a statement that the deadly bomb could be used within hours of its authorization and MacArthur's headquarters radioed that airmen were ready. These statements suggested that A-bombs are in the Pacific ready for use.



Land og Folk, Copenhagen

**CONFUSION CONFOUNDED:** In Western Europe reaction to Truman's threat was so violent that three hours later the White House issued a denial that there was any change in A-bomb policy. GUARDIAN's John Stone, who attended the Presidential press conference, said that to most reporters present it seemed that the White House denial "flatly contradicted" what Truman had said. Stone reported:

Embassies in Washington are cautious and worried. It appears to observers here that America alone is eager to start World War III. Ambassadorial visitors to the State Dept. are silent, uncommunicative. Second-level diplomats are ready enough to say off the record that some peaceful means must be found, that their countries are not ready for war, that war is not necessary.

The U. S. S. R. and China, against whom the A-bomb threat was directed, ignored it. Peking called it "extreme provocation" but declined to be intimidated. Moscow had no comment. But reports of the "fear," "shock," "alarm" of the U. S.'s allies filled even the pro-war U. S. press.

**TORY EXPLOSION:** French and British misgivings had been developing (and chronicled regularly in the GUARDIAN) since last summer, when U. S. demands for all-out rearmament threatened to raise beyond control their already skyrocketing living costs. U. S. determination to arm Germany provoked opposition even among French ministers, some of whom advocated withdrawal from the Atlantic Pact into neutrality.

In Britain, Tory Lord Salisbury set off the simmering revolt last month when he demanded in the House of Lords immediate negotiations with Communist China on Korea and a positive reply to the Soviet proposal for a four-power conference on Germany. Even Britain's ultra-reactionary Daily Mail conceded that the West Germans are almost unanimously opposed to rearmament, wondered why "nobody has told the Allied chiefs about it."

More than 80 Labour MP's who have put motions on the calendar in the past month demanding a new initiative in foreign policy have done so, ex-Labour MP Konni Zilliacus told the GUARDIAN after consultation with Herbert Morrison, Leader of the House and final authority next to the Prime Minister on such matters. GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported that the protesting MP's

... were staggered at the response from the country. Mr. Ellis Smith received hundreds of letters a day, said: "I have never known any political move to produce such an electric effect."

Zilliacus reported:

Even in the high Tory Carlton Club there are now condemnations of American jingoism and the total disregard of British views and interests. A surprisingly large number of British Conservatives... are indignant because British protests against U. S. propping up of Chiang Kai-shek and refusal to recognize the Government of China have been contemptuously disregarded in Washington. Labour is feeling the same, only more so... The demand for negotiations with the Soviet Union to stop the drift to war has been taken up by mass circulation papers like The People and Sunday Pictorial.

**GALLIC EPITHETS:** Syngman Rhee atrocities in Korea angered British public opinion. When Washington recently brushed aside British, French and Belgian opposition to MacArthur's drive to the Manchurian border, and their proposals for a buffer zone in Korea, criticism of MacArthur became open and blunt.

Following last week's military reverses, the Press Chief of the French

(Continued on Page 4)



A sitdown for peace

Two hundred young men and women demonstrated against use of the A-Bomb at Lake Success last week. UN guards tried to freeze them out but they stuck it out for hours.

## Gen. Wu talks back and Asia comes of age

Guardian UN correspondence

LAKE SUCCESS

**A** WIRY, rugged, scholarly man with a yellow skin made history last week when he spoke before the international tribunal in which his people—one-quarter of humanity—are barred from membership. Heading one of the most youthful delegations ever to appear here, China's Gen. Wu Hsiu-chuan shattered the suavity of great white power diplomats by talking to them as an equal. He declared before the world that China is no longer their semi-colony, that it insists on full sovereign rights and cannot be moved by any kind of threats.

The arrival of the delegation from Peking coincided with the launching of Gen. MacArthur's "Home by Christmas" offensive in Korea. The offensive stilled Thanksgiving Day peace rumors which had been sparked by a three-week lull and withdrawal of Korean and Chinese forces and by release with friendly messages of groups of U. S. prisoners taken by the Chinese. UN delegates said bitterly that the offensive seemed deliberately designed to render futile the talks with China here. The right-wing Paris Figaro headline summed up West European opinion: "MacArthur Offensive Worst Service He Could Render UN."

**"KREMLIN SLAVES"—AUSTIN:** On Tuesday a special MacArthur communique, stating that "we face a new war" as a result of Chinese intervention, roused hysterical voices in the press with its demand in effect for new powers to carry the war to China itself. The eyes of all the world were on "Mr. Wu" when he rose that day to speak before the Security Council.

Wu's mission was to press his government's charge of U. S. aggression against Taiwan (Formosa), China's island now occupied by Chiang Kai-shek; Peking had declined to discuss a U. S. complaint of Chinese aggression against Korea based on a MacArthur memorandum. With the help of Council President Bebler (Yugoslavia) the U. S. got the two items lumped together on the agenda. Reversing the usual procedure whereby the accuser speaks before the accused, Bebler gave the floor first to Austin of the U. S.

Austin accused China's Communists of being Moscow's slaves because they took the same "line" as Russian Communists. From the record of U. S.-China relations he picked American school and hospital projects in China as evidence of disinterested friendship. He did not mention the estimated \$6,000,000,000 aid to Chiang nor the fact that as he spoke the U. S. barred shipment to China of penicillin and other medicines. He accused China of "open and notorious aggression" in Korea. His "20 questions" to Wu boiled down to a threat to carry the war to China if China presumed to take an interest in developments in Korea.

**CHINA HAD IT BEFORE:** Speaking in Mandarin, the standard literary Chinese (Chiang's delegates use English), Wu tersely declined to take part in any discussion of "aggression against South Korea" and said as long as China is excluded from UN it "has no reason to recognize" UN resolutions or decisions. Then he devastatingly presented China's case against the U. S. for its interference in Taiwan (barring China by armed force from access to its own island), continued violation of China's frontiers, bombing of Chinese towns and citizens.

Recalling that "long before Columbus discovered America, the Chinese people were already in Taiwan," he quoted recent recognitions by the Cairo and Potsdam agreements, U. S. statesmen (including Presidents Roosevelt and Truman), the State Dept. White Paper, that Taiwan is part of China. To show that the Korean war is only a pretext for seizing Taiwan, he used U. S. sources for documentation and asked: "Is it conceivable that because of the Spanish Civil War, Italy was entitled to occupy the French territory of Corsica?" The U. S., he said, is following the plan of the Japanese aggressor Tanaka—that to con-

quer Asia, one must first conquer China; to conquer China, first Manchuria and Mongolia; to conquer these, first Korea and Taiwan. He warned Council members:

"Do not be taken in by the U. S. Do not pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the U. S. If you support the U. S. aggression, you must bear the consequences of your actions..."

"Have Chinese armed forces invaded Hawaii of the U. S., or have U. S. armed forces invaded Taiwan of China? ... It is precisely because the U. S. armed forces crossed 5,000 miles of ocean to commit aggression against Korea and Taiwan that security in the Pacific has been shattered."

**NO MORE COOLIES:** Wu wound up with a demand that the Council apply "severe sanctions" against the U. S. and effect its withdrawal from Taiwan and Korea. The shock, hostility and dismay of master-race delegates at this 90-minute speech by an Asian who neither crawled nor begged, who was neither a coolie nor a quising nor the grateful pupil of some Christian mission, was more pleasant to Orientals at UN than most of them would put into words. For the first time ordinary Asians had taken power into their own hands and were standing up uncompromisingly against Western imperialists (the Japanese had done it, but they were imperialists themselves). What had been shown was that the new China was afraid of nothing and would talk as an equal. What U. S. delegates and press falsely tried to make out of it was that Peking's intransigence shattered all hopes for negotiation.

Russia's Malik supported the Chinese charges but did not succeed in getting Council members to discuss them after Austin said the U. S. had no time for such "lying propaganda." The Council voted down 9 to 1 the Soviet resolution demanding U. S. withdrawal from Taiwan and Korea; Malik vetoed the six-power resolution calling on China to get out of Korea.



GEN. WU HSIU-CHUAN AND JACOB MALIK  
The meeting and greeting at Lake Success

Sir Benegal Rau of India (which did not participate in the voting) spoke briefly, stressing the desire on all sides for peace. He suggested Wu travel around the U. S. to discover that Americans are really warm-hearted people. (What Rau apparently didn't know: Wu and his delegation are in the U. S. on "restricted visas" barring them from anywhere outside the N. Y.-Long Island area.)

Next U. S. step was to take China's intervention in Korea to the General Assembly, which under the Acheson Plan now has the right to apply military sanctions. Conscious of a world-wide revolt against its policies which have led to the brink of disaster, Washington was moving with caution pending the discussion with British Premier Attlee.



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# of intervention in the name of peace

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invited by Joliot-Curie to speak  
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would deny Cromwell, Wash-  
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Pierre Cot (former French Air  
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Cot said:

who support the new democracies  
capitalism. If we tried to hide  
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bring in all men and women who  
just war. It is the diversity of our  
which makes this Congress so in-  
disturbing to our enemies. . . . It  
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friends of peace and enemies of war."  
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orea. It was only when Tru-  
tion to intervene in Formosa  
refused North Korea a hearing  
y saw who were the aggressors.

Then, in a brilliant analysis of the European situa-  
tion, Cot showed where millions of allies for the  
cause of peace could be found. There were in West-  
ern Europe, he said, many supporters of the capitalist  
system who were alarmed at the clumsiness of U. S.  
diplomacy, and who feared to be drawn to a point  
beyond which they would not wish to go. These "par-  
tisans of neutrality" could become valuable allies.

**NEVER AGAIN:** The Congress was conscious all the  
time of the need to broaden its appeal, but the grim  
facts of the world situation prevented it from divor-  
ing itself from reality. The Chinese delegation, which  
included members of the government, underlined  
with fierce insistence the actual threat of world war  
which hangs over the East. China sees MacArthur  
defying the wishes of the UN and disproving the  
honeyed words of O. John Rogge, bringing war to  
China by the same steps as the Japanese militarists.  
Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, China: to the Chinese  
people it is the Tanaka Memorandum over again.  
And to them the need for resistance is as clear as  
in the years when these same politicians in the  
West were appeasing Japan.

Warsaw, where representatives of the colonial  
peoples voiced their demands with a freedom they  
have only known heretofore on the platform of the  
WFTU, could not ignore the right of all peoples to  
freedom and self-determination. It made crystal  
clear what is perhaps the focal point of the world  
situation today: that in the name of peace, human-  
ity cannot acquiesce in new wars of intervention by  
the U. S. and her satellites designed to repeat against  
the revolutionary movements of today Churchill's  
intervention war against the young Soviet Republic.

Provided that fact is realized by the West, the  
way is clear for peaceful settlement of all outstand-  
ing differences. As Ilya Ehrenburg proclaimed in a  
speech which gripped the huge Congress, the par-  
tisans of peace do not look to war to solve social  
problems:

"War is not the midwife of history. It is the abor-  
tionist of the flower of humanity."



**ALBANIAN CHURCH DELEGATES ARRIVE**  
Hundreds of clergymen of all faiths were there

of some 700,000 in 1950 contests, headed  
by a total certain to top 250,000 votes  
for George Walsh, California IPP  
candidate for secretary of state. It in-  
cluded an estimate of 215,000 for the  
N.Y. ALP's first statewide ticket, 36,000  
for Hugh DeLacy for State Represen-  
tative in Cleveland, 12,000 for Harlan  
Talbert for U.S. Senator in Oregon.

Detailed breakdowns of local cam-  
paigns showed many candidates run-  
ning far ahead of the PP's 1948 Wal-  
lace-Taylor vote.

Said PP executive secretary C. B.  
(Beanie) Baldwin:

"All of us can take pride in the way our  
party responded to the challenge which  
these elections posed. . . ."

## POLITICS

### CALIFORNIA

#### Progressive polls 20% of total vote

**T**HE official count of Progressive candi-  
dates in the November elections  
was trickling in slowly. With 18 (the  
biggest) of California's 58 counties tal-  
lied, George Walsh, San Francisco  
longshoreman and Independent Pro-  
gressive Party candidate for California

secretary of state, had 241,636. (Wal-  
lace's vote in the state was 190,381).

Percentage-wise, top Progressive vote-  
getter throughout the country was John  
A. Peterson, San Mateo railroad ma-  
chinist and IPP candidate for Congress  
from the Eighth District. Peterson's poll  
of 32,559 was 20% of all votes cast in  
his district. Other IPP congressional  
candidates in California polled 15% to  
18% of the vote.

The IPP, flushed with electoral  
gains, went to work on its all-year-



**JOHN A. PETERSON**  
He was the top man

round campaign. In San Francisco IPP  
plunged into the fight against rent  
decontrol, rallied 20 other organizations  
to join it in a fight for a fair employ-  
ment practices ordinance.

### MARYLAND

#### Progressives miss convention status in state by squeak

Though the Ober Law, the nation's  
first and most thorough measure for  
thought control, was backed with hys-  
terical zeal by almost every civic group,  
every radio commentator and news-  
paper (except the Negro Afro-Ameri-  
van), 76,000 Marylanders (12%) voted  
against it. Where the Progressive Party,  
operating on a shoestring, concentrated  
their door-bell ringing, the vote went  
against the law.

Prime PP objective was to keep con-  
vention status. Chances for that were  
just about lost when Louis Shub, PP  
candidate for governor, was ruled off  
the ballot. Sam Fox, furniture worker  
making his first political race, drew  
6,100 votes, as PP candidate for senator  
—350 short of qualifying the party  
statewide. But the vote gave the party  
convention status in Baltimore, where  
it can wage its campaign for mayor  
next spring. Fox's vote, outside of Balti-  
more, topped the Wallace 1948 vote.

### GEORGIA

#### Talmadge takes a licking

Herman Talmadge had stumped the  
state for an amendment which, by  
extending the unit-county voting sys-  
tem, would have given far greater  
power to the rural areas (where Tal-  
madge is strongest) at the expense of  
the more populous city counties. That  
system of weighting votes now operates  
only in primaries.

He appealed for the amendment as a  
bulwark of white supremacy; took ads  
showing interracial school scenes with  
the warning: "Don't let this happen  
here"; threatened local politicians:  
"Back the amendment or lose your  
new road."

The amendment was defeated over-  
whelmingly.

**IDAHO:** Glen Taylor, lame-duck Sen-  
ator, said:

"I got defeated because I kept saying we  
could have peace. . . . I could never get out  
and make a stump speech giving the Rus-  
sians hell because I don't feel that way  
about them or anybody else."

He plans to go into business in Idaho.

## FREEDOMS

### Bill of Rights loses on many fronts

**T**HE U. S. Constitution took a further  
beating last week with these devel-  
opments marking the decline and fall  
of basic freedoms:

• William L. Patterson, head of the  
Civil Rights Congress, was indicted for  
contempt of Congress following his ap-  
pearance last August before a House  
committee investigating lobbying. In  
the committee hearings Rep. Hender-  
son L. Lanham (D-Ga.), who has re-  
ceived no official rebuke, called Patter-  
son a "G-- d--- black son of a b----"  
and tried to assault him.

• Also under contempt indictments  
for standing on Constitutional rights  
not to answer questions were Frederick  
V. Field, Far East expert; Philip  
Jaffe, former editor of the magazine  
**Amerasia**; Earl Browder, former Com-  
munist Party head; and Edward A.  
Rumley and Joseph P. Kamp, repre-  
sentatives of extreme right-wing  
groups. Browder's bail was fixed at  
\$1,500; unable to produce it, he asked  
the judge for freedom on his own  
recognizance, but the judge remanded  
him to jail.

• The N. Y. Appeals Court unani-  
mously declared constitutional the state  
Feinberg Law barring arbitrarily-styled  
"subversives" from employment as  
teachers. Arthur Garfield Hays, lawyer  
for a group of teachers and taxpayers  
challenging the law, said the decision  
would be appealed to the U. S. Supreme  
Court.

• The American Bar Assn. appointed



**WILLIAM L. PATTERSON**  
Against Lanham, no charge

a committee to probe lawyers accused  
of being Communists, or who have de-  
fended Communists.

• The U. S. Supreme Court refused  
to postpone argument in the case of  
the 11 top Communist Party leaders,  
thereby making it impossible for them  
to be represented by D. N. Pritt, noted  
English lawyer whom they had engaged  
after 24 leading U. S. attorneys turned  
down the case.

• Gen. Eisenhower's Columbia Uni-  
versity barred novelist Howard Fast  
from speaking on the campus as one  
whose "record creates honest doubt"  
that he would "contribute to an ob-  
jective examination."

### Fighting back

The National Lawyers Guild, under  
attack by the Un-American Activities  
Committee, replied by calling the com-  
mittee "the chief instrument for un-  
dermining the whole democratic pro-  
cess in the United States."

University of California faculty mem-  
bers fighting a loyalty oath got help  
from the Northwestern University chap-  
ter of the American Assn. of University  
Professors, which voted to raise \$1,500  
to aid those fired and to help find  
them new jobs.

Rev. Richard Morford, director of the  
National Council of American-Soviet  
Friendship, was back at work at his  
desk after a three-month jail sentence  
for contempt of Congress. Movie di-  
rectors Edward Dmytryk and Herbert  
Biberman, of the Hollywood Ten, were  
paroled after serving five months of  
six-month sentences. Seven of the other



eight are still in prison; one of them,  
Lester Cole, lost an appeal by Metro-  
Goldwyn-Mayer, who had been ordered  
by a lower court to reinstate him in his  
job with \$76,500 in back pay.

**GILBERT WON'T DIE:** President Tru-  
man took heed of the coast-to-coast  
protests against a death sentence for  
Negro 1st Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, victim  
of a jimcrow court-martial in Korea  
for "misbehaving in front of the  
enemy," by commuting it to 20 years'  
hard labor with dishonorable discharge  
and forfeiture of all pay and allow-  
ances. The new sentence brought forth  
even stronger protests. The Natl. Assn.  
for the Advancement of Colored People  
decided to join Lt. Gilbert's lawyer in  
an appeal against it. Rep. Vito Marcan-  
tonio pledged the American Labor  
Party to a fight for Gilbert's full  
freedom.

City officials ignore race riot threat

# Detroit tension near breaking point

FOR months the GUARDIAN has warned of the danger of a race riot in Detroit, scene in 1943 of the worst race riot in recent times. It has frequently documented the grievances building up tensions: frightful slums for the Negro population, organized violence by real estate groups to preserve lily-white neighborhoods, an official policy of segregation in public housing projects, police brutality.

On Sunday morning, Nov. 19, the breaking-point seemed to have come. Two policemen went to the home of Charles M. Gordy, 53, a long-time employe of the Ford Motor Co., to arrest his son, Charles Jr., as a robbery suspect. Police had long harassed him because, his father said, he owned a Cadillac. The two officers had no warrant. One entered the house, roused Charles Jr. from his bed, hustled him out before he could finish dressing. On the porch both officers handcuffed his hands behind his back, kicked him and shoved him forward with a gun in his back.

**THE SHOOTING:** Charles Sr. got his deer rifle and returned to a window. He says one of the police saw him with the gun and fired at him, but accounts differ on who fired first. At any rate, when the shooting was done one cop was dead, the other wounded. Charles Jr. ran around a corner and surrendered to a Negro policeman.

Within moments a large force of policemen surrounded the two-story house and for a full hour poured pistol, rifle and sub-machine-gun fire into it. On the second floor live the Butler family of 15, four of them women, seven of them children. All of them, together with Gordy Sr., were eventually routed with tear gas grenades. Miraculously, none was hurt.

But a crowd, estimated at from 2,000 to 6,000, had gathered near the house. It was an orderly crowd but an angry and tense one. It did not go away



THIS WAS DETROIT IN 1943  
Roundup of Negro residents who were gassed from their homes

when the 16 occupants of the house came out and the police, after kicking, cursing and threatening them and striking William Gordy, 16, on the head with a rifle butt, took them to the station as they were, some partially dressed and barefooted, one man in pajamas.

**THE WRECKERS:** Police reinforcements were called up and for hours confronted the tense people crowding the sidewalks. Rumors that a Negro child had been killed rippled through them. In mid-afternoon four squads of police commandos in full battle gear—gas masks, crash helmets, sub-machine guns, army rifles with bayonets—arrived. The crowd was eventually dispersed and an explosive situation was averted without an explosion. But Rev. Charles A. Hill, a community leader, gave credit to the Negro policemen present. The crowd, he said, "was in a mood for direct action, but they responded to the Negro officers. The commandos couldn't have

handled them without a lot of bloodshed."

But when the Butler family returned that night they found what had been their peaceful home looted and turned into a shambles. GUARDIAN's Detroit correspondent, Ruth Haney, described it:

Every window in the house broken; glass crunching under foot; hundreds of embedded bullets and bullet holes in the walls, the ceilings; bullet holes through clothes hung to dry in the attic; even holes thru the roof. Dresser drawers and trunks broken open, their contents strewn on the floor; beds pulled apart, turned on their sides, broken, footprints on the mattresses. A grenade shell lay where it landed in the middle of one bed, the bedding burned. Several hundred dollars of the women's savings were gone from purses and trunks, along with \$40 of the children's savings. Curtains were torn from the windows, venetian blinds dumped on the floor.

The house was so saturated with tear gas that the Butlers could stay only long enough to assess the damage. Representatives of many organizations visited the scene and confirmed that it was thorough, deliberate and wanton wreckage.

**THE AFTERMATH:** Charles Gordy Sr. was held on a first degree murder charge; his son, though cleared of the robbery charge (police after five days' stalling admitted they had no evidence against him), was held in \$10,000 bail as a material witness.

Today outraged anger burns through the Negro community of Detroit. A city official who preferred anonymity said:

"The effect of last Sunday's affray is to intensify anti-police feeling in the Negro community. . . . The police feel this hostility—it is frightening to them—and they react to it. The tension increases; the overbearing and arrogant attitude of the police is continued and emphasized; the tension reaches the point where any slightest act by either side may touch off an explosion."

Rev. Hill, speaking for the Baptist Alliance and the Inter-Denominational Ministers Alliance, said:

"We condemn the ruthlessness of the police and warn that if the administration doesn't change its policy to regard for the right of Negro people to be secure in their homes without molestation by police, except on proper legal authority, even worse things are in store than what took place Sunday."

Mrs. Elizabeth Tyrrell, chairman of a 1,000-member Baptist Women's Council and a vice-president of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said:

"I am very much wrought up about this. It all creates a bad feeling that shouldn't be. . . . I have never been so shocked as I was when I saw how the police wrecked the Butlers' home."

**THE REDS:** On the Sunday following the tragedy, the ministers of each of Detroit's 500 Negro churches read from their pulpits a petition demanding a thorough investigation of police action. Other organizations have demanded the removal of Police Commissioner Boos and a reorganization of the department.

But the city administration has made no move in that direction, and the city's newspapers have used the situation to promote a demand for a grand jury investigation of local Communists. Said the Detroit Free Press:

The Communists, well-organized and alerted to the possibility of any incident occurring at any place and any time, attempted to start a race riot.

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5a	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50
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9	White double damask. Hemstitched. 12 matching napkins	70x108	30.00	20.00
9a	Pure linen damask. Floral design. 12 extra large napkins. Blue, green, white	64x104	30.00	20.00
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By Elmer Bendiner

TO an American Jew, his own antecedents appear to have played no part in the world. Here and there he comes upon a Shylock character in fiction. In Jewish folk-lore there are tales of ghettos and pogroms, and without explanation the freakish rise of a Disraeli or a Jewish Viceroy of India or a Baron Rothschild. Of the existence of ordinary Jewish people—Jews who with common people everywhere made history—there is hardly an inkling in school texts or the great Anglo-Saxon novels. The great upheavals of "Christendom"—its wars, revolutions and civilizing development—seem to have taken place without Jews.

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**THEY WERE THERE:** One seems to see all history in a new light, when one reads a seemingly unimportant anecdote in the letters of a Jewish soldier in the Union army. He recalls the Jews who fought at



the Battle of Waterloo, and one who cried out: "Sh'ma Yisroel" whenever he fired his gun because "it may be some Yehudee gets killed by him and he could never pardon himself if any one of his brethren should, through him, go out of the world without Shemos." Why has no novelist written the story of a Jew at Waterloo or a Jew at Valley Forge?

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LITTLE SCARED ONE

By Don West

(NOTE: To a certain church leader who signed a peace petition, then under pressure backed down and cried: "I was taken in by the reds.")

Hey, little scared one, Run quick and hide If you can't stand up When the furies ride!

But where'll you hide? Huh, don't ask me— There's only the earth, And the sky and sea!

Maybe crawl in a hole— Pull it in after, Or climb in the loft Under a rafter.

Little scared Christian— Signed your name for peace Then sniveled and cried To get a release!

Once the floods were here, Now it's the fire, So little scared one, Is your soul for hire?

And what do you ask, What's the Judas price? Little scared soul, With the feet of ice!

There's no hiding place In the earth below, And heaven's a spot Only brave men go!

synagogues, speeches in Congress which reveal a part of what Jews were doing in the first two centuries of our country: 1654 to 1870.

The evidence they offer not only reveals the simple but forgotten fact that there were Jews in all our wars, crises, victories and defeats, but that among these Jews there were Jeffersonians and Federalists, abolitionists and slavers; that they were divided by influences of class as much as any other Americans, though always subject to a special impact as Jews.

**FIGHTING AND DYING:** In these documents are pictures of Jews protesting the anti-Semitism of Peter Stuyvesant, fighting the British, dying at the hands of tory-instigated Cherokees, addressing the Continental Congress, campaigning for Jefferson, fighting with the Confederacy as well as with the Union, appealing for the relief of famine-stricken Ireland, calling upon the Bible to prove the merits of slavery and also the sin of slavery, pioneering in the west.

Here is the union private . . . most solemnly impressed by hearing in these Virginian forests my brethren utter the Shymang Israel, which first our great lawgiver proclaimed in the plains of Arabia.

Here is Benjamin Nones, in 1800 called upon to defend himself against an anti-Semitic diatribe in a Federalist newspaper. He writes:

I am accused of being a Jew, of being a republican, and of being poor.

Proud of all three conditions, he details his revolutionary war record—and writes of the monarchy:

Kingly government was first conceded to the Jewish people as a punishment and a curse. . . Great Britain has a king, and her

enemies need not wish her the sword, the pestilence and the famine. . . I am a Jew and if for no other reason, for that reason am I a republican. . . But I am poor, I am so, my family also is large, but soberly and decently brought up. They have not been taught to revile a Christian because his religion is not so old as theirs. They have not been taught to mock even the errors of good intention, and conscientious belief. I hope they will always leave this to men as unlike themselves as I hope I am to your scurrilous correspondent. I know that to pursue proud aristocracy poverty is a crime, but it may sometimes be accompanied with honesty, even in a Jew.

**ELEGANT BLOT:** By contrast there is the fantastic, elegant aristocrat, Judah Benjamin, Louisiana planter, lawyer, legislator, Senator, brilliant pro-slavery secessionist, Attorney General, Secretary of War and Secretary of State of the Confederacy under Jeff Davis, he was a Jew but after the fall of the Confederacy and his flight to England, he sent back funds to help found the Ku Klux Klan.

He, too, taken side by side with all the common and better Jews of America, makes up the picture.

All of these documents are enriched by the profound scholarship, evidenced in copious notes, of Morris Schappes. It is not a history that Schappes has given us, but the breaking of fresh ground for the writing of history, the discovery of a lost vein which must one day enrich, perhaps rewrite history.

\*DOCUMENTED HISTORY OF THE JEWS IN THE U. S. Edited by Morris U. Schappes. Citadel Press, N.Y. 800 pp. \$5.

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