'HAVE OUR LEADERS GONE DAFT'?

Foreign policy debate rages as Hoover kills bi-partisanship

AMERICANS tasting bitter defeat in Korea might take comfort A that some politicians who sent them there were last week in retreat at home. Heading the procession was Herbert Hoover, one of the architects of current U.S. policy in Asia. The aged ex-President asked the nation to admit failure in Korea, to

realize that land war against Russia and China "is sheer folly" and that "the atomic weapon is a far less dominant weapon than it was once thought to be."

Tailored to popular anxiety to get GI's out of Korea and avoid world war, Hoover's formula offered a Republicanformula offered a Republican-style war program: all-out armament at home, arming of Japan, Germany, Chiang Kāl-shek, UN branding of China as an aggressor, conversion of the UN into a complete U.S. in-strument. Yet his words were of momentous significance. of momentous significance, marking as they did the end of bipartisan foreign policy.

Quick approval came from GOP senators Taft (O.), Wher-ry (Neb.), Brewster (Me.), Mar-tin (Pa.), Saltonstall (Mass.) tin (Pa.), Saltonstall (Mass.), Aiken (Vt.). Republican strate-gists who attribute their recent success at the polls partly to widespread peace sentiment leaped on the bandwagon.

THE FLOOR IS OPEN: What Hoover said was less important than the fact that the Republicans — who, as the Wall St.

Journal pointed out, have "assumed their job was to help



suppress discussion" of foreign policy — now had thrown it into the arena of public debate. The Journal warned that the nation is "aroused" and will no longer put up with a situation

... no matter what might be proposed, no matter how many commitments were added to those which were already inflated beyond the country's will and capacity, one must not mention the circumstance. If he did, then he must at least be an "isolationist" and very probably he was an unwitting agent of Stalin's.

The Journal, which consist-The Journal, which consistently opposed the Korean adventure, earlier launched a foreign-policy debate of its own with publication of Joseph P. Kennedy's speech urging the U.S. to get out of Korea, leave Europe to the Europeans, and arm the western hemisphere.

KENNEDY ASKS WHY: Unlike Hoover, Kennedy did not urge arming Japan, Germany and Chiang, and saw some use in the UN as a forum for all nations. He said:

ations. He said:

"Half of this world will never submit to dictation by the other half. The two can only agree to live next to each other because for one to absorb the other becomes too costly. We have never wanted a part of other people's scrapes. Today we have them and just why, nobody seems to know. What business is it of ours to support French colonial policy in Indo-China or to achieve Mr. Syngman Rhee's concepts of democracy in Korea? Shall we now send Marines into the mountains of Tibet to keep the Dalai Lama on his throne? We can do well to mind our business and interfere only when somebody

STOP BEING DAFT: Wall St. Journal readers approved Kennedy's proposals as emphatically as GUARDIAN readers approved this paper's similar proposals six months ago. The Journal said it received no critical letters. Here are excerpts:

Thomas Marshall, Corpus Christi, Texas:

Have our so-called leaders all become daft together? . . The Kennedy platform would carry the country ten to one.

B. B. Conable, Warsaw, N. Y.: I would vote for Mr. Kennedy or President on this kind of

W. C. Mullendore, Los Angeles (director of Union Pacific North Am. Aviation Co., trus-tee of Mutual Life Insurance Co., former pres., L. A. Chamber of Commerce);

er of Commerce);

I am convinced that a clear and substantial majority of the American people likewise endorse Mr. Kennedy's views. . . Many of the most responsible leaders in business and other walks of life . . . express a different attitude in public than they do in private for fear that they may be accused of something.

Don Westover, Hastings, Pa.: The sentiment is sweeping the country to get "out of Korea, out of Europe and out of everywhere" except this hemisphere.

EARNEST CONFUSION: The search for a sensible foreign policy, in the backwash of the Korean defeat, was confused but earnest. The crisis cut across standard group views.

J. F. Lincoln, industrialist and former C. of C. president in Cleveland, wrote the Cleveland Press:

n Cleveland, wrote the Cleveand Press:

Has anyone thought of approaching the matter in a perfectly honest and straightforward
way? First, admit that we are the
aggressors and that we have no
business invading Korea or any
other country. Second, bring back
our army to America. Third, pay
for the damage that we have done
in Korea. In order to do this,
the following program will be
necessary:

First, impeach Truman as a
warmonger who ordered the invasion of Korea by illegal action,
without reference to Congress
who, under our Constitution, only
can declare war. Second, if the
dangers of invasion from Communistic Russia are in any sense
true, which is doubtful, build up
our home defenses and don't
weaken ourselves by a war on the
other side of the world. Third,
go to Russia and China, after
showing our honesty by the above
action, and tell them we are not
warlike; that the one thing we
want to do is to live at peace and
in cooperation with all nations.
State the fact that the invasion
which took place was contrary to
the desires of the majority of the
American people who, under our
representative form of government
should have and will in the future have control of our acts.

OUT OF QUOTES: Copper ty-coon Harry F. Guggenheim, former U.S. ambassador to Cuba, in a speech at the Univer-sity of Florida lamented that

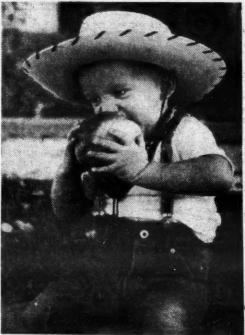
. . . the U.S. will have no rela-tions with any states unwilling to reform themselves in our own image of white, male, Anglo-Saxon democratic Protestant per-fection.

Washington efforts to frighten critics into silence had failed. "Peace" was coming out of quotation marks.

NATIONAL cents the progressive newsweekly

NEW YORK, N. Y., DECEMBER 27, 1950





Two children—what will the New Year bring them?

The little girl (above left) is Korean. She was found crying on a war-devastated street—alone, hungry, terrified. Perhaps her parents were blown to bits by a bomb made in the country of the little boy (above right) who is American. He is blissfully eating a fine apple, unaware that there are things more important than Hopalong Cassidy. Life could be beautiful for both children—for all children—if their elders could regain the sanity that must go into the making of a beautiful world.

Mr. Truman: will you accept the gift of American lives?

ON THE EVE of Christmas, the President called them "inheritors of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane, who were the greatest murder-

But inwardly, many an American family with father or son in Korea was grateful that the so-called inheritors of Genghis Khan held their fire, staved their jet fighters and charitably permitted the Christmas retreat of 100,000 U.S. soldiers from the huddled Hungnam beachhead in North Korea without loss of a

The whole power of the Truman-MacArthur propaganda machinery tried desperately all weekend to silence and distort the news of this significant act of mercy on the part of peoples whom we are ordered to regard as "enemy".

But this and other portents for peace would

Whether these portents got through to the 100,000 men who retreated from Hungnam-only to find themselves detoured to the Pusan beachhead miles 350 south—is doubtful.

YET THE FACTS are that a far less orderly retreat is in process right here at home, among the selfsame elements which originated the cold war and its now-backfiring hot war.

The details of this home-front retreat can be found elsewhere on this page. For people like the readers of this paper, who have never quit the fight for peace, these new-found voices should bring a certain understandable satisfaction. We may not share all their objectives, but we dare not miss the significance of their speaking out, now. Insofar as even Herbert Hoover is in effect a fellow-traveler with the GUARDIAN against the mad Korean adventure, we welcome him.

The safe evacuation of 100,000 American

fathers and sons from the trap of Hungnam vas indeed an unlooked-for gift. To permit these men to be thrown back into new conquest of Korea would be a senseless refusal of

NOW IS THE TIME to get back into the fight for peace.

Now is the time to help the people around you join the growing demand in America for an end to militarism and disastrous foreign

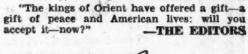
Now is the time to convince people that the defense of America is peace, and not new military adventures to take away the bad taste yet continue the profits of the old ones.

Three housewives in Denver had the right ea. They picketed the home where General senhower spent Christmas. They carried Eisenhower placards reading:

"Two hundred thousand rearmed Germans

"Will you lead Nazis, Mr. Eisenhower?"

Similarly, one might ask President Trumans





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JOHN T. McMANUS General Manager

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Vol. 3, No. 10

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DECEMBER 27, 1950



It sings

It sings

OMAHA, NEB.

As the song goes, "If I'd lose you, life would never be the same. . ." I could wax lyrical and tell you at length how much brighter, more heartening and hope-giving the world and mankind seem to me and my kind every time the NATIONAL GUARDIAN arrives . . . amidst the confusion, the hysteria, the pessimism, cynicism, and the will to destruction rampant all around us. The arrival of our paper is like an ozonified breath of mountain air bursting into an atmosphere of choking and corroding fumes of lies, distortions, decerebration . . like letting the light of day and of reason into the House of the Dead.

And I assure you that it is a keen pleasure, a joy-giving privilege and a sacred duty to help maintain that beacon of light and of highthinking journalism.

Name withheld

Name withheld

Unintelligent protest

COEUR D'ALENE, IDAHO
"The mountain labored and brought forth a mouse" (rat). The above quotation can very aptly be ascribed to the results of the recent election. Prostituted editors, recent election. Prostituted editors, radio commentators, columnists and others looking for a reason for the swing towards the ultra-reactionary Republican Party give us all kinds of reasons, all of them wrong. They tell us it was a popular protest all right, a blind, unreasoning, urintelligent protest to be sure, but a protest nevertheless. The recent election was a protest against the Korean adventure, a protest against war by executive fiat, a protest against mounting taxes against the American people inseparable from the determination of Wall Street to plunge our people into World War III, a protest against rising costs for the masses coupled with unprecedented profits for big business, a protest against Truman's plan to settle the burden of war preparations on the wage earner and farmer, and finally a protest against the American Hitler program of "guns not butter" as exemplified by the fact that 80% of the national appropriations for 1950 and 1951 are military.

fact that 88% of the national appropriations for 1959 and 1951 are military.

I repeat, the pity of it is that the protest was unintelligent, a mere jumping out of the Democratic frying, pan into the Republican fire. The American people, the most politically illiterate people in the world, do not understand the common program of both old parties, the preservation of world capitalism under the hegemony of Wall Street at all costs, even the cost of its. own destruction fellowing world wide atomic war. Thank God for a few voices who refuse to be hushed, a few men who will not bow the knee, a few publications that are not for sale, a few patriots who place a higher value on truth, honor, decency and justice than on the lust for gold and the specious but false plaudits of their parasitic masters. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN is in that company. Keep up your good work.

Thomas B. Wood

Ex-Representative. Keefenal Co.

it work.
Thomas B. Wood
Ex-Representative, Kootenal Co.
Idaho House of Representatives

Leave it in the bus

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I find at least a little satisfaction in passing along my copy of the GUARDIAN by leaving it in places where it would seem to do the most good: buses and trains, libraries, restaurants and working men's hotels.

Subscriber

E. OAKLAND, CALIF.

Please send me your valuable paper. Recently found a copy on a motor coach. Simea J. Dennelly

Manifesto of a confident humanity

Following is the Manifesto adopted by the representatives of the people of 80 nations at the recent Peace Congress in Warsaw:

THE most terrible of all wars is threatening every man, woman and child. The United Nations has failed to justify the hopes of the peoples who long for peace. Civilization is in

Nevertheless, the peoples still cherish the principles that inspired the Charter of the organisation founded after World War II to ensure, in freedom, respect for international

Nevertheless, every thinking person knows at to say "war is inevitable" is to slander that to say mankind.

You who read this message proclaimed by the Second World Peace Congress, speaking from Warsaw in the name of the people of 80 nations in all parts of the world, never forget that the fight of the Defenders of Peace is your fight. Know that hundreds of millions of peop have come together. Their hands are stretch out to you. They call on you to share in the finest battle ever engaged by a humanity con-fident of its future.

Peace does not wait on us, it must be won. Raise your voice with ours to demand that the war in Korea—a war that may yet set the

world ablase—cease now, forthwith.

Stand with us against the attempts being made to light once more the hearths of war in Germany and Japan.

Together with the 500 million thinking human beings who signed the Stockholm Appeal, call for the abolition of atomic weapons and for general disarmament. The rigorous control of general disarmament and the destruction of atomic weapons are technically possible. All that is needed is the will.

Demand the outlawing of all propaganda

See that the representatives in our Parliaments and our Governments are made aware of the peace proposals put forward by this Second World Peace Congress.

The power of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world is great enough, the voices of free men are strong enough, for us together speedily to secure a meeting of the ve Great Powers.

The Second World Peace Congress provides the proof that men and women of all opin-ions, gathered from the five Continents of the globe, can agree in order to dispel the scourge

Let the governments follow their example and the peace of the world will be saved.



Daily Express, London "That's right, you old masochist, turn on the news and let's have a real good laugh!!!

Building with bricks
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
Enclosed my monthly pledge of support, a token of appreciation for your devotion to us—the common people. Use this to buy a big brick to whack Free Enterprise in the ships.

I am old and delicate, but old folks should protect the younger generation and should not object generation and should not object to being expended; anyway, I don't. MI health of life-long duration, poverty and everwork have not caused me to worship the thieves who comprise free enterprise. I soap-boxed for 25 years and still have my wits about me. C. P. W.

C.P. W.

Correspondent wanted

PARIS, FRANCE

I want to know more about your
difficult struggle against war. Is
there a progressive young woman
somewhere in the U.S., learning
French (I am studying English at
the People's University here), who
would like to correspond with me
and exchange progressive publications? I am 21 and work in a railway office.

Robert Lamarana.

Robert Lamarque c/o M. Marie 1 Rue Pissaro

Pre-Marxian

Pre-Marxian

PARMERSVILLE, TEK.

Have read several issues of your paper. Why don't you get away from the New York outlook and fight the system on a broader basis? We folks of the Southwest have a cuiture that antedates Karl Marx and Adam Smith, We Spanish-apeaking folks have a cuiture that has stubbornly resisted the eresion of contemporary American "gadget mongering." Why don't you folks publish a review of some books on Gatholic radicalism, such as Eric Gill's works, Juenger's Faffure of Technology, or Peter Maurin's works. This will boost your circulation among the Hispano-Americans.

Pablo Juan Sanchez

Congratulations, Marge & Ed MORTH HOLLYWOOD, CALIF. We've been smiting for certain small business or property deals to be settled in order to get a bundle or give you some names for subs.

But delays are demoralizing, and, though we're strapped most of the time in trying to make up our quotas for the Committee Against Loyalty Checks, we hasten to renew our subscription new. We couldn't get along without the inspiration of the GUARDIAN.

Incidentally was both withing a

the GUARDIAN.

Incidentally, we're both victims of
the L.A. City loyalty witch-hunt,
so we're really interested. In fact,
we met and married as a result of
this.

Margaret & Ed Havens

Rubble again?

Rubble again?

SEATTLE, WASH.

Now that elections and the hunting season are over you'll get more production from me re building the GUARDIAN in line with your stimulating editorial, "The progressive movement, the press and the future." The imminent threat of a war with Chins just five short years since I left rubbled Berlin numbs me until I look at my three beautiful children who are a constant renewer of the will to fight.

Lyle Mercer

Disgracing democracy

Disgracing democracy

ALGONAC, MICH.

Your paper is a continual inspiration and helps to asve our nation
from complete disrepute among the
peoples of the world.

What a fine, courageous people
we are becoming, killing women and
little children, burning and destroying, just like the Nazis did, God
help us, we are a disgrace—and ali
in the name of democracy.

Florence Flagg nocracy. Florence Flagg

Sordid marriage

MENILWORTH, N. J.
Most eloquent evidence that there is no divorce between domestic and foreign policy is your picture of the father of the infamous McCarran Bill in affectionate and respectful admiration of the Butcher Prance.

France.
The shady maneuvers of McCarran and his clique to have Franco represented in the UN are an insult to the Spanish people. Fublic opinion should be aroused to protest any dealings with the Franco adventurer.

A. Keen

Here's your paper!

HIGTO'S YOUT PAPET!
BUFFALO, N. Y.
Years ago, before the Socialists carried the city of Milwaukee, Wis, they distributed great quantities of leafets on Sunday mornings before the Sunday papers got around.
In Jamestown, N. Y., we did quite a lot of that kind of work and as far as I know no labor party has

had as large a percentage of the total vote as we had for Debs. We were the second party in Chautau-qua County at that time.

Readers of the GUARDIAN, I think, would be surprised at the results, if, when finished reading the paper, they would fold it up and throw it on working peoples' perches — at night if they don't think it wise to do it by day. Paul Revere rode at night, didn't he?

W. S. Bennett

How to do it

NEW ORLEANS, L.A.

Here's how the enclosed \$25 came about: We had some people over to hear a talk on "Inside Puerto Rico." The speaker had just returned from a teaching job at the University of Puerto Rico. After his talk, I said the only other source I'd found for current facts on Puerto Rico was the GUARDIAN. I quoted your excellent article in which it was shown that almost no one dies of cancer in Puerto Rico; cancer is a disease of old age, and no one lives long enough down there... Without further ado, a hat was passed and \$25 collected.

Forums and lectures on almost

Forums and lectures on almost any subject could be followed by the remark: "For more information on this, see the GUARDIAN; for continued information, support the GUARDIAN!" Hope some more people try it.

ple try it.

Merry Christmas, fellow GUARDIAN readers!

Jane Hodes

Apartment to share

Apartment to snare

New York, N.Y.

I have a three room, largish apartment which has proved a little too much for me to clean, after working hours. Is there a GUAR-DIAN reader (female) who would like to share it with me in exchange for keeping it in order? Since there is no rent involved, I hope you can see your way to printing my offer in your Mailbag.

Cecily Arnae

11-15 F. D. R. Drive New York 9, N.Y.

Greeting from Hungary

Greeting from Hungary
BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
Though belated a bit, I warmly
congratulate you on the occasion
of the 2nd anniversary of the
GUARDIAN. I, citizen of the free
Hungarian People's Republic, admire your undaunted fight against
the "commercial pross." against the
insane war mongers who are now
running your government. It is a
good feeling to me to read that
75,000 people read your paper.
Robert Balois

Sonnet For The New Year By Eve Merriam

YOUR democratic spirit bent self-lame,
My proud sweet country, what have you become?
Lying, crouched in a corner, rancid in slobbering shame, Mumbling stale leavings with a dirty thumb.

A greasy muffler bound around your neck,
Once you strode outdoors, wore no man's tie, Once you strade outdoors, wore no man's tie,
Frontiers were far, the mind was free to trek
And pitch a tent under any-color sky.
Any angel or jackass would take a soapbox dare
While the saintly mulish crowd chewed or spit out his words.
The shouts and murmurs are dumb. Now the public square
Conquered by mouldering statues and droppings of birds.
Liberty's body, raise up the halt and weak.
Rest is for the grave. Silence is foul-breathed. Speak!

START THE **NEW YEAR** RIGHT!



Why not send us the following resolution

HERE'S my \$2 now — extend my present subscription for a full year. No need to send me a renewal notice any time in 1951.

HERE'S my New Year's contribution:

Total Enclosed \$..... (Please PRINT-Include Zone)

NAME ADDRESS

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

Brussels blesses a German army as war-sick Europe shudders

RUSSELS is a long way to go to lay an egg." This was one observer's comment (quoted in N.Y. Times) on



Atlantic Pact plans drawn up in Brussels last week for a one-million-man European army. His words expressed a feeling widespread in Europe that the grandiose U.S. program is destined to

remain a scrap of paper.

As attacks on Secy. Acheson who wielded the baton got more and more violent at home, over 100 ministers and generals of the 12 Pact nations met in Brussels' dark gray Palais Provincial to approve German rearmament, cornerof Pact strategy. French to handing tommyguns, tanks and planes back to the mass-murderers of Oradour was won by agreement to in-tegrate German units of 5 to 7,000 men into divisions of other countries. But the High Commissioners will tell West Germany that this "combat team" structure is "transitional." The U.S., Germany that structure is "transitional." The U.S., said the Wall St. Journal, hopes to . . . talk France out of this after a few months of psychological preparation for the shock of the German arms build-up.

Approval was hardly given when those who okayed it got the "jitters," the Wall St. Journal's Edward Hughes reported from Brussels. A Dutch gen-eral said he would have "nightmares." A Belgian defense official said: "Let's see now if it explodes in our face.

Hughes wrote:
The fear that swirled in the undercurrent of thought among them [the delegations] was that hasty action might undermine any last chance of diplomatic understanding with Russia.

CRAZY FOR PEACE: Europeans, in-

cluding Germans, are sick of war. This political reality, making the Pact a museum item, centered Europe's atten-tion not on Brussels but on the hopedfor conference on Germany proposed by Russia. In Germany, the N.Y. Times' Russia. In Germany, the N.Y. Times' Drew Middleton reported from Frank-

irt, . . . Communist propaganda for "peace" affects hundreds of thousands who never were and never will be Communists. If the East Germans continue to offer the West Germans a choice between "unity and peace or arms and war" in their propaganda, the West's chances of obtaining popular support for rearmament in Germany may be even less than they are today.

In West Germany Social Democratic leader Schumacher violently attacked the Brussels decisions, threatened a national anti-rearmament movement, advised the West to take seriously Russian efforts to negotiate. The N.Y. es said he was

. . . playing on the Germans' fear of in-volvement in war. Many who in the past have been adamant against negotiations with the East are advising it today as a way out of the crisis.

Chancellor Adenauer, who liked the Brussels decisions, appointed ex-Hitler generals Speidel and von Heusinger to negotiate West Germany's military contribution. But while his government expressed approval there was "a care-fully inspired hint" (N.Y. Times) that might answer sympathetically



Ulenspiegel, Berlin Never again for profits.

East German government note asking talks on Germany's unification.

UNTIL IT HURTS: Schumacher's price for rearming Germany is full equality and U.S. support of a German crusade to "liberate" lost eastern ter-ritories. Adenauer has set the same high price. The U.S. is prepared to grant almost anything, and said so even be-fore negotiations began. The Wall St. Journal believes "the

West will give and give." It will lift all major bans on German industry, abandon all authority over German economy



comrade, and help us build the New Europe!"

and politics, and probably scrap the Oc-cupation Statute—a real political plum, since about a quarter of the West Ger-man budget now goes to pay Allied occupation costs.

occupation costs.

But while politicians jockey and bargain, it is still the German people "roused to the fear of war and anxious to keep out of it" (N.Y. Times) who would have to do the fighting. The Times' Middleton thought it

German army that takes the field, even if it enjoys complete equality.

FRENCH HEADACHES: In France the public was told that Secy. Acheson had modified the U.S. program in favor of fuller consideration of French views. Politicians pinned hopes on the time

ronucians pinned hopes on the time needed for negotiations. Said a French Foreign Office spokesman:

"The Brussels communique means the door has been left open for talks with Russia. It means that no irrevocable deci-sion on German rearmament has been taken."

But last week the U.S., Britain, and France rejected Moscow's Nov. 3 pro-posal for a four power conference to prevent German remilitarization. They prevent German remintarization. They said Germany could not be discussed in a vacuum and any foreign ministers' conference must be global in scope. (In the Far East, the U.S. is insisting that Korea be discussed in a vacuum, without relation to the Far Eastern problems to which it is tied.)

NOT A NICE SUBJECT: Washington, charging in a memorandum that Russia is responsible for all the world's ills and problems, was bashful to discuss German rearmament (central problem of Europe) and had evidently rushed through the Brussels decisions in order to present not only Russia but the Pact partners with an accomplished fact. But with the peace demand getting hourly louder, Washington proposed "exploratory talks" at UN—in a context indicating it hoped these talks would arrive nowhere.

France, warned by Russia that its consent to German rearmament is a consent to German rearmament is a violation of the Potsdam agreement and the 1944 Franco-Soviet alliance, seemed headed for political crisis. (Britain received a similar warning.) France takes seriously the Soviet warning. It is doubtful that any French government could survive if it agreed to the overall U.S. plan for Germany.

An attempt by Gen. de Gaulle to seize power remains in the cards, but such an attempt would probably mean civil war in France. Paul Ghali reported recently from Paris to the Chicago Daily News:

The general is ready for action. The form of this action depends on the result of Gen. Pierre Biliotte's conversations in Washington. Sources close to De Gaulle's said that Biliotte, who is De Gaulle's most trusted man, has been sent to the U.S. on a secret mission. [It is] to obtain the U.S. State Dept.'s approval of the general's intended action here. [According to intimates, he] would not hesitate to use force against the present government. . . .

GOP SPOILSPORTS: Britain and Western Europe were reported delighted at President Truman's selection of Gen. Eisenhower to head the European Army. (British paeans seemed partly a

(Continued on Page 4)

THE CRISIS OF THE LABOR PARTY

Britain's rank-and-file turns left

By Konni Zilliacus

(former Labour Member of Parliament)

LONDON RITAIN'S Labour Party is heading rapidly for a crisis as most of its leaders move right and most of its rank and file turn left. The people find in-tolerable the prospect of sacrificing their standard of living in an insanely costly arms race in order to lose their lives in a war which, whoever wins, this

country will lose.

American bossiness and blindness, the bellicosity of the Neanderthalers in Congress and the press and the per-formance of the megalomaniac politician-general MacArthur have released a swelling flood of alarm and irritation. Matters reached crisis point with Truman's statement suggesting that use of the A-bomb is purely a question of military tactics to be left to Mac-Arthur's discretion, if any.

THE ATOMIC REVOLT: The report of that statement came on the ticker in the House of Commons in the middle of the foreign affairs debate. Ian Mikardo, leftist foreign-policy critic and newly-elected member of the party's National Executive, broke through the crowd of MP's gazing at the dread news, cut the bit out of the tape with his pen-knife and hurried with it into the Chamber. He handed it to the end-man on the Front Bench, War Secretary John Strachey. Strachey turned white as a sheet, passed it to Hugh Dalton, who said, "My God!" and handed it to Foreign Secretary Bevin. Bevin's characteristic comments when the with the wind the said. teristic comment was: "Now they'll about the agreement, virtually accusing have to come to me!" (As a fellow Attlee of having sold out in his anxiety Cabinet member remarked afterwards, to appears Truman, who was busy ap
Brnie felt his employer—Truman—had peasing MacArthur and the Congress

made a mistake and new was the Neanderthalers. chance to get something out of him). Bevin passed it to Attlee, who kept a poker face but hurriedly walked out called an emergency meeting.

From this he was fetched over in

hot haste to face a revolt in the party: 150 MP's (i.e. about half the Parliamentary party), including four National Executive members, had signed a letter urging Attlee to fly to Washington immediately and tell Truman British forces would be withdrawn from Korea if he dropped the A-bomb. They warned Attlee that if the government associated itself with the dropping of the A-bomb they would all quit the party. "IT'S THOSE REPUBLICANS": Attlee brought back from Washington an agreement under which he would mere-ly be "informed" if and when Truman be "informed" if and when Truman thought it necessary to use the A-bomb. When tackled by Labourites in the House, Attlee's evasiveness merely confirmed the impression that he was trying to cover up his failure,

Later he told the party's foreign affairs group that he had Truman's assurance to consult him in advance of using the bomb but Truman did not dare say so for fear of trouble with the Republicans. The rebels were in no mood to be impressed by any hole-and-corner deal between two politicians trying to save their skins by not saying what they were up to. Tom Driberg MP, National Executive member who signed the "rebel" letter, used strong language

On one point the agreement was all too clear. Britain and the U.S. had "agreed to differ" on foreign policy



ANEURIN BEVAN The voice of the future?

(i.e., recognizing China, restoring For-mosa, dropping Chiang Kai-shek) but Britain undertook to stick to the U.S. in defense—that is, would obediently go to war if negotiations with China broke dewn on the very issues the two governments differ about. Yet as Tory MP R. A. Butler said winding up the foreign affairs debate, whereas the U.S. or the U.S.S.R. might survive an atomic war it would mean for us in Britain war it would mean for us in Britain the road to dusty death.

COSTLY EXPENDABILITY: In fact this Far Eastern crisis is expected to blow over without a major war. But

the degeneration process in domestic and foreign affairs will now be hast-ened owing to the increased fury of the arms race. In three years Britain's an-nual defense budget has climbed from £643,000,000 to £1,000,000,000 and the new budget will provide for £1,200,000,-000 a year. Now Attlee has returned from the U.S. pledged to go still higher.

These crushing burdens have been heaped on us not on any British view of our defense needs, but to conform with the U.S. defense system which regards Britain and Western Europe as expendable but useful as an air base and manpower source. Meanwhile soar-ing living costs threaten to let loose an avalanche of wage demands in the New Year. The government has no alternative but to back employers in rejecting these demands if they are to go on spending more and more on arms.

EYES ON BEVAN: There are strong divergencies in the Cabinet between Health Minister Aneurin Bevan on the one hand and Attlee, Bevin, Morrison on the other. Two junior members of the government actually joined the Labour rebels and offered to resign their posts, but were told to stand by. Bevan has sympathizers but no open supporters in the Cabinet, but has sup-port in the rest of the government and is regarded by rebel back-benchers— and by the growing numbers in revolt in the constituency Labour parties and union branches—as the main hope of change before it is too late.

The situation has reached a stage where a flare-up in the party will be hard to avoid. Something like a "politically effective demand" is arising for a showdown with the U.S. on the issue of peace. Either the U.S. agrees to our minimum demands in foreign policy or we disagree with them on defense—for it is foreign policy that decides what we have to defend.



Atlantic Pact

slap at MacArthur, who is hissed in British newsreel theatres.) But growing Republican opposition to sending U.S. troops to Europe—a precondition of the ract countries' own rearmament—threatened to pull the rug out from under the Truman-Acheson edifice right at the start.

President

President Truman told a news conference that more U.S. troops had been promised Europe. But Senators George (D-Ga.), Smith (R-N.J.), Crawford (R-Mich.), Martin (R-Pa.), and Saltonstall (R-Mass.), said they would oppose any such move until Congress made a careful study. President Hoover's de-mand that not another dollar or soldier go to Europe until it had rearmed itself won wide support on Capitol Hill.

Harry cries 'On!'; 'moral forces' retire

T was Christmas. In holiday mood in Kansas City the President called on "the moral forces of the world" to unite against the "inheritors of Gen-ghis Khan and Tamerlane, the greatest murderers in history."

In Rome Pope Pius approved of the Atlantic Pact, denounced Russia without naming it, yet appealed for East-West negotiations to avert war. In London Sir John Pratt, former

head of the British Foreign Office Far Eastern Dept., said the threat of war springs mainly from the U.S., whose

springs mainly from the U.S., whose failure to recognize China and intervention in Formosa
"... are a violation of the comity of nations and an act of aggression against China... A wide section of ordinary people [in Britain and Europe] do not want to be led along the discreditable road which American policy is following."

From Peking China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai cabled a rejection of the proposals for a Korean cease-fire by the UN Assembly's 3-man truce committee. Chou said the committee was mittee. Chou said the committee was illegal since it had been set up without Peking's participation, and that a cease-fire was sought only when U.S. forces suffered defeat. The only ac-ceptable basis for negotiation, he said, was withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, withdrawal of U.S. forces from Taiwan (Formosa), and admission of China to the UN. The Truce Committee was not expected to report until

after Jan. 1; further truce negotiations, it was indicated, might "await a better turn in UN military fortunes."

HEADING SOUTH: Meanwhile UN C-in-C MacArthur sought in a "my nose hit him in the fist" communique to justify his ill-fated offensive; and revealed that the U.S. 10th Corps had been "re-deployed" from the Hungnam beachhead in north-east Korea to Pu-san in the south. The U.S. apparently intended to fight on in Korea, though nearly all informed comment admitted its forces could be driven out whenever opposing forces chose and the only purpose would be to inflict a heavy price in lives. The N.Y. Times' Hanson Baldwin reported "some friction" be-tween U.S. and other UN units in Korea. The Times Seoul correspondent said "the morale of both the civil population and UN troops was shaken." Observers, he said, were unable to find evidence that a stand would be made at Seoul, and most troops were con-vinced the Chinese could not long be held back if they launched a full-scale

attack.
Gen. Walker, commanding the 8th
Army, was killed in a jeep accident.

UNFIT TO PRINT: Full scale censorship was imposed in Korea following U.S. publication of reports of Syngman. Rhee forces' atrocities against men, women, children—mass executions fi-nally halted by aroused British soldiers.



Two British soldiers, acting on their own initiative, broke up an attempted execution of 40, managed to save 17.

Rhee was finally forced to order a halt.

Britain's New Statesman & Nation
"believed" that diplomatic protests had made to Washington without Most significant fact about the

avail. Most significant fact about the atrocities, it said, was
... that action to stop [them] had to await the decent humanity of the men of the Northumberland Fusiliers and other British units... The inference, which must be inescapable, at least in Asian opinion, is that the West has been satisfied that they should continue. What is now required—and required at once if the reputation of Western troops in Korea is to be saved from universal condemnation—is for the UN to take and enforce any decisions that may be necessary to remove the South Korean leaders from all positions of responsibility.

Peace is keynote as the year turns

HE CONCOURSE PLAZA hotel in the Bronx rented the hall, accepted a \$25 dollar deposit from the American Labor Party. Then it heard from the Catholic War Veterans and canceled the rental: "the function was unac-ceptable."



Somewhere in Korea

"Mother is the name for God in the lips and hearts of children," Thackeray said. This photo, showing two children sitting by the body of their mother, killed by American bombers, gives life—and death—to the quotation.



"WE DEMAND PEACE" An Eastern European poster

The function: presentation of an award from the Second World Peace Congress in Warsaw to Paul Robeson, who was prevented from attending it by the State Dept. Supreme Court Jus-tice Dickstein ruled in favor of the hotel cancellation, took a gratuitous swipe at the World Congress.

But Robeson received his award as scheduled on Wednesday night—from congress delegate Rev. Edward D. McGowan in Hunt's Point Palace before an audience of more than 1,000.

Peace drive goes on

Judges and jingoists notwithstanding, U.S. peacemongers stepped up their efforts to stop the war in Korea:

STUDENTS: Nearly 125 students from nine colleges in the Philadelphia area held a weekend conference at Swarth-more College, voted overwhelmingly for a Korean truce, mediation of Far Eastern problems, a UN seat for China. At the University of Michigan, 70 faculty members and student leaders conducted an all-day peace conference, made plans for a far larger one soon. The Student Council of the uptown day session of City College of New York urged the President to seek an immediate unconditional truce in Korea. The New York regional organization of the National Student Assn. adopted a resolution protesting use of the atom bomb.

INTELLECTUALS: The National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions led a delegation of several hundred to the UN to present a five-point peace program to the assistant General Secretary and the delegations of the French, Indian, Polish and Egy tian governments. The New York Com mittee for Peaceful Alternatives held a public meeting addressed by prominent scientists and religious leaders. They emphasized: "World War III is suicide The Emergency Conference on China and World Peace, headed by Dr. Harry F. Ward, organized sending of thousands of "Peace by Christmas" postcards to Truman.

VETERANS: New York City's newest newest peace organization, Veterans for Peace, in one week distributed 10,000 leaflets, sent a peace delegation to the UN; held a two-hour conference with Warren Austin's official representa-tive; won 100 members in a night.

UNIONISTS: The American Trade Union Delegation to the UN, headed by Samuel Freedman, an official of the Fur and Leather Workers Union, submitted proposals for withdrawal of troops from Korea and an immediate peace conference to the three members of the UN's cease-fire committee. The New York Labor Peace Conference continued a campaign in the city's shops and factories to get signatures to peace petitions. In Detroit, the Michigan Labor Peace Conference distributed 20,000 leaflets to Ford workers urging action for peace. Ben Gold, president of the Fur and Leather Works Union, asked CIO president Phillip

Murray to invite all AFL, CIO and inde-pendent unions to a national confer-ence to unite labor's efforts for peace.

WOMEN: The American Women for Peace were conducting a five-borough peace-postcard campaign in New York In Baltimore Mrs. Gladys Walser, accredited observer to the UN for the U.S. section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, told a Woman's Club meeting that the choice now is between "international cooperation" or an "atomic incinera-tor." In Puerto Rico a delegation of mothers and wives of members of the Puerto Rican 65th Regiment in Korea called upon Gov. Munoz Marin to bring them home. All over the U.S. letters were turning up in newspapers from mothers of soldiers in Korea urging an end to the war.

MERCHANTS: In Kansas City a local chain of stores inserted a full-page ad in the Kansas City Times. Surrounded by announcements of bargains in slab

by announcements of bargains in slab bacon, hand lotions, margarine and canned corn was this boxed appeal:
"We Must Find A Way to Make Peace With China! Mothers—we ask you this question—which is more important? Saving face after our mistakes in foreign affairs or saving the lives of a million Americans sons? It's later than you think—write your Congressman now!"

This year the usual sermons on peace in the churches took on a new and deeper significance.

RELIGION

Truth on China embarrasses Baptists

N its 1950 New Year's issue the GUARDIAN published a long poem by a pro-Communist Chinese, Mei Ch'ing, translated by two U.S. missionaries in China. It was called Jesus. "I wanted to write a poem about Jesus," wrote Mei Ch'ing, "because he understood what the Chinese people are

fighting for."
On Nov. 29, 1950, accompanying a report by Mme. Sun Yat-sen on the new Chinese regime's first year of rebuild-ing for the people, the GUARDIAN published this testimony by a U.S.

Baptist missionary who has been in China since 1921:

"I absolutely believe this to be the most comprehensive renaissance the human spirit has ever experienced and the most dynamic change in human history."



The missionary who wrote this and helped translate the poem was Dr. Dry-den L. Phelps, a nephew of the late den L. Phelps, a nephew of the late William Lyon Phelps of Yale University.

COULD IT BE TRUE? Last week the

COULD IT BE TRUE? Last week the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society announced the recall of Dr. Phelps to "explain" his position on China which is "not in accord with policies laid down."

"A grand person," said ABFMS home secretary Dr. Jesse R. Wilson of Dr. Phelps, but "unpredictable." Baptist mission leader Dr. William B. Lipphard suggested that Dr. Phelps might be "playing for time" in an effort to "solidify himself" with the Communists. "solidify himself" with the Communists.

Admiral sees red; (it was orange)

ADMIRAL William H. Standley, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, in a holiday statement expressed horror that the stars of Bethlehem atop Chamber of Commerce Christmas trees in San Diego should be red.

Chamber spokesmen denied the charge. One said:

"We checked the stars. They are orange. They were painted orange with orange paint that came out of a can marked 'orange.'"

The Admiral insisted: "They look red in the daytime" in the daytime."

He attracted notice last spring by objecting to a plaque honoring the "four freedoms" on the grounds that freedom from want is communistic.

The 'loyalty' revolt at San Francisco State



"I am not, never was and never will be . . ."

Californians, more than any other U.S. citizens at the moment, are being hounded by the loyalty oath. More than any others, they are fighting back. Well over 1,000 state employes have support the demand for have spurned the demand for conformity contained in the loyalty oath requirement of the state's recently adopted Levering Act; more than a score of organizations have formed a federation to fight for the law's

Among the most active cam-paigners for repeal are a group of non-signing faculty members at San Francisco State College and a large section of the stu-dent body. The accompanying pictures show how they went into action.

(Above, right) An S.F. State College student reveals her opinion of a professor who took the job of one who refused the oath. (Right) Dr. John Beecher, sociology professor, a non-signer, reveals his opin-ion of the law's fingerprint requirement.



A meeting of the executive committee of the Students Committee for Academic Freedom at S.F. State College.

Denied campus facilities, they had to rent a nearby basement to serve as headquarters in their fight against the loyalty oath.

ECONOMY

Profit controls bank on 'faith, hope, cheek'

PRICE Regulation No. 1 of the Eco-nomic Stabilization Agency went into effect Dec. 20, but it was scarcely a regulation and there was no visible effect. It was little more than an appeal; compliance was voluntary.



It said companies making as much It said companies making as much profit as, or more than, the record-high 1946-1949 average ought not to raise prices beyond the Dec. 1, 1950, level. But prices on goods and services now failing to make a profit could be raised, even though the companies producing them might be pocketing vast profits on other items. (Businesses habitually make "loss leaders" items sold at a loss to attract leaders," items sold at a loss to attract sales of more profitable products.)

Profit margins were to be held to June

Even if businessmen wanted to comply, none knew how or as of what date profits were to be measured. There were blenty of places in the ledger to hide profits, but there seemed no reason to hide since there was no law to break, no policeman to catch the transgressor,

no penalty if he were caught.

The Wall St. Journal said the stabiliz-

ers were banking on
... fath, hope and cheek ... like a small
boy in a new neighborhood ... hoping nobody calls their bluff.

SURRENDER TERMS: The Stabilizers chalked up a small victory when General Motors rescinded its most recent price rise and contented itself with the inflated prices of Dec. 1. For four days



Discharged instructors at S.F. State College hold a "last class" in the streets. Students cut their own classes to attend. Phiz Mezey, fired journalism instructor speaking from the truck, quoted a great editor: "By your failure to use your freedom you will have slain it; with freedom of speech dies liberty of conscience . . . and another civilization will have gone to its grave."

after the government requested it to cancel the price increase, GM had held up sales of Pontiacs, Chevrolets and Cadillacs, ESA froze wages for 1,000,000 auto workers until Mar. 1. (Under the escalator clauses the next wage rise is not due till Mar. 1 anyway.)

WE SHALL LOSE BOTH!

The government hoped that some businessmen might comply similarly with ceilings they were contemplating in oil, meat and scrap steel. These, too, were to be imposed "by voluntary or other means."

While prices still rose, a drastic and enforced wage-freeze seemed imminent. enforced wage-freeze seemed imminent. In the emergency, labor leaders in the United Labor Policy Committee (representing AFL, CIO and some independents but not the United Mine Workers or the leftwing) laid down conditions under which it would surrender. These included enforceable price controls on all items including food, correction of wage inequities, modest cost-of-living increases before the freeze, a greater labor voice in mobilization planning.

WAR PATTERN: The pattern set by the CIO United Auto Workers—long-term contracts with wages tied far behind the cost of living—was applied to the railroad men. Union leaders conferring at the White House with government officials and rail executives tentatively agreed to a 3-year contract with a 23c-an-hour raise for yardmen, less to others, plus a cost-of-living in-crease of 1c an hour for every rise or fall of one point on the consumer index.

These were approximately the same terms rejected by the men long before



they struck. They had asked for a 40-hour week at the same pay received for 48 hours. It would have meant a 31c-an-

Don't be an 'armchair progressive.''
Get subs — Send \$\$ to the Guardian.

LABOR

'Xmas with grenades' sparks varied views

THE bitter "national emergency" Christmas of 1950 brought war-whoops mainly from the officially favored labor leaders who had once been "left." Conservatives hesitated disconsolately between peace and war. Progressives took a fighting message from the holiday season.

The Machinists Monthly Journal, or The Machinists Monthly Journal, organ of the conservative Intl. Assn. of Machinists (independent but now considering a return to the AFL), saw grenades in the holly (picture, p. 6). The IAM paper said:

Peoples do not declare war. Wars are declared in the name of the people and the people must fight them when they are declared but people are maneuvered into war.

The world was choosing up sides for Armageddon, IAM said, with democracy opposing a regimented way of life. It added gropingly:

War can only determine which side can

(Continued on Page 6)

(Continued from Page 5)

hill more and destroy more in the shortest length of time. . . The die is east and we are committed to such a program. All of us must be ready to do our share: That is why "Merry Christmas" is a meaningiess phrase this year. . . . God grant us the will and wisdom to do the right thing.

MERRY MOBILIZATION: No doubts troubled the Natl. Maritime Union (CIO). Page one of the NMU's Pilot earried this headline: NMU TELLS GOVERNMENT: MOBILIZE SHIPS NOW. And in ornamental italies at the bottom of the page: "A Merry Christ-mas to the Membership."

mas to the Membership."
Ford Facts, organ of the CIO United Auto Workers Local 600, carried on page one a call to a mass meeting to discuss imminent, lay-offs as a result of the turn to war production. On an inside page Local President Carl Stellate pleaded for more war production, considering it shameful that

... America's politicians campulgaed for

America's politicians emmulgued for ite office and were elected on a program cace, Julling all Americano into fains

Progressive labor took for its text the editorial in UE News, organ of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine

Norkers:

As we celebrate Christmas let us dedicate ourselves to staying the hands of war. The people have the power to make the dream of Peace on Earth a reality; they have only to find the way of using it.

LEAVE IT TO THE BOYS: Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Long-shoremen's and Warehousemen's Union,



Machinists Monthly Journ Words-and deeds

declaration of war against most of the world, a war which the U.S.A. would apparently have to light and finance witually alone, it certainly constituted a declaration of war against the living standards and basic rights of the working people who will be impoverished if the program is given full force and effect.

His suggestion for a Christmas gift: If the situation is so critical that the drastic controls ordered by President Truman are needed, why not put the decision directly up to the American people through a referendum vote, including especially the boys now fighting in Korea?

FARM

FU leaders get as wild as Harry

AMONG the three to four thousand A farmers gathered in St. Paul for the annual convention of the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Assn. (GTA), many scratched their heads wondering whither the leaders of the traditionally militant Natl. Farmers Union were ng. A GUARDIAN correspondent

heading. A GUARDIAN correspondent wrote from Minnesota:

By comparing the news stories of the Farmers Union GTA convention with the Farm Bureau (which reflects big business interests) convention in Texas at the same time, many progressive farmers began to ask if the two organizations weren't really competing as to which can best mobolizational divisions have all passed fairly strong pro-peace resolutions this fall did not seem to register with GTA manager M. W. Thatcher and his board of directors, The convention speakers' list was heavy with Washington bureaucrats, all of whom talked of "mobilizing farmers" for the emergency. One speaker even discussed atom-bomb-proof grain storage. The resolutions passed by the stockholders sounded like they had been written by senators McCarthy (R-Wise.) or Bridges (R-N.H.).

HANG OUT MORE CRAPE: NEU president James Patton said glumly:

"I am sure that we will have a garrison state for some time to come. I do not see in my lifetime a situation in which we will have a settled peace."

A major resolution pledged resistance

to "an aggressive and imperialistic world communism." From Glenn Tal-bot, North Dakota FU educational division president, came an interlude of horse-sense. Criticizing the govern-ment for its alignment with world reaction, he demanded a new policy. His speech won the strongest applause



CHICAGO

Mayor denounced in firetrap horror

ON Dec. 9 fire swept a tenement at 134 East 31st St., in Chicago's overcrowded South Side. Eight persons were burned to death. The building, constructed to accommodate 104 people housed more than 300. All were Negroes.



It was the latest in a series of fires ravaging the Negro sections of the city where firetraps flourish. Eleven Chieageans have died in fires in the last iwe menths.

The recurrent disasters have stirred the city, revealing a housing scandal that may well unseat Mayor Kennelly's administration in the spring muni-cipal elections.

SNEAK CONVERSIONS: Chicago has grown by 200,000 families, Only 121,000 dwelling units have been added, of these, more than half were made by chopping the old tenements into tiny one- and two-room apart-ments, leaving them darker, more dismal, more crowded, more dangerous. Buildings constructed before 1900 now hold 40,000 more apartments than they did ten years ago. The Chicago Housing Authority in a report this month called them "dangerous, sneak conversions." Many are obvious violations of the city code, but in 21 years not one landlord has been fined for a violation in converting apartments.

More than half of the city's housing need, estimated at 292,000 units, is among the non-white population which has doubled since 1940. Housing development under Kennelly is typified by the N.Y. Life Insurance Co. "dehousing" project which will house 1,400 families, displace more than 3,000.

PIRETRAP POLITICS: The Progressive Party of Illinois, warning after the 31st St. fire that these would not be "the last deaths by cremation" urged: immediate recheck of firetraps; 24-hour ultimatum to landlords to correct violations or else have the city make repairs and charge costs to the land-lords; city to find emergency space for fords; city to find emergency space for tenants now in unfit housing; dismissal of Roy E. Christiansen, head of the Building Dept.; adequate housing pro-gram on vacant land to go with slum clearance. The PP placed blame for the firetraps "squarely on Mayor Kennelly and the City Council majority" who have "played cheap hack politics with housing."

The recently-formed Emergency Committee to End Firetraps sent a delegation of 60 to the Mayor. Its secretary, Mrs. Raomi Komorowski, said the 60 got "one big brushoff."

PAGE BUTCH: Four Protestant cler-gymen—Revs. Julian J. Keiser (Warren Av. Congregational Church), William T. Av. Disciples of Christ Church) in a letter to 100 ministers and rabbis wrote:

. . The time has come when either the major political parties must produce a mayoral candidate such as we have not seen here in Chicago, or a strong independent meetant be built for a good government candidate of La Guardia caliber.

The clergymen blamed "at least half"

The clergymen blamed "at least half" the tenement fire deaths on the mayor's "de-nothing policy"; denounced his record on "the race question" as poorer than Mayor Kelly's—and on crime:

Either the mayor refuses to recognize the seriousness of our city's place as the eriousness of our city's place as the orime nerve-center of America or he is impotent to deat with it. . The evident property of a large number of police coptains seems to disturb him not at alf. We segret that he has become an ideal protector of the granulus element by his very indution.

FIZZLE AT THE UN

What the Assembly didn't do

LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y. AS the UN's Fifth General Assembly ended with a fizzle three months after opening with a bang, it was easier to enumerate what it didn't do than what it did; and what it did, it should not have done.

• It accepted the Acheson resolu-

tion (ironically called "Uniting for Peace") to by-pass the Security Council on security matters including military sanctions—which the Charter

elearly forbids.

• It re-elected Secy.-Gen. Trygve Lie for three years. (The Charter says permanent Security Council members must approve; one of them—Russia didn't)

• It tacitly authorized MacArthur to cross the 38th Parallel in Korea, despite Indian warnings that the Chinese would thereby be brought into the fight. (They were).

ATOM CONTROL & DISARMAMENT: President Truman's statement in his UN Day speech that control of atomic and "conventional" armaments are linked was hailed as a great discovery. It was precisely the position taken by the Russians for two years, U.S. opposition to which has prevented any move to stop the rearming trend. Yet the only result was creation of one more committee to "study" methods of co-ordinating the Atomic and Consensional Arms committees. ventional Arms committees work and "report next year."

Soviet proposals for aften control

and outlawing the bomb were rejected. No one paid any attention to Vishin-



"Please, teacher, when China crosses the 38th Parellel, will she be guilty of Non-Aggressive Police Action like the Yanks?"

sky's important Dec. 12 speech listing the Morgan, DuPont, Mellon and Rockefeller monopoly spokesmen—all concerned to block use of atomic energy for peace—who helped frame the atomic policy imposed on UN by the U.S.

BRICKBATS & BOUQUETS: Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria, countries building socialism and proscribing all race prejudice, were condemned for violating human rights. India's old complaint against the violent racist persecutions in South Africa was dismissed with advice to hold a round-table conference and report in April, 1951. A Greek delegate deplored condemnation of South Africa "whose boys are fighting in Korea." Restrictions against fas-eist Spain, imposed in 1946, were lifted.

The Assembly which intervened so energetically in Korea took no action to carry out last year's resolution to internationalize Jerusalem, which Jordan and Israel refused to accept.

FAR EAST: Where the world expected a statesmanlike performance and admission of China so it could talk and be talked to as an equal, Far East problems were left in the air and the Assembly recessed instead of ad-

the Assembly recessed instead of adjourning till next year.

The work will drag on and peter out. Without discussing Formosa it is meaningless; but with the pessibility of having to withdraw altogether from Korea the U.S. wants to consolidate its hold on Formosa, and therefore will do everything to avoid discussing Formosa. do everything to avoid discussing For-mosa in the open. This explains the U.S. refusal to admit China to UN or to negotiate on Far East issues as

L-O-V-E: To all this a constructive note was added last week by a report from Hollywood that, as a result of UN's public relations work there, a film is in preparation on a "fictional UNESCO expedition into the Himalayas." As one jaded UN official remarked taking comfort from the fact marked, taking comfort from the fact that his ample tax-free salary sup-plies him with enough alcohol to rout

acute after-hours melancholia:

"As long as fictional UNESCO blond teach fiethanal Himalayans how to spill I-O-V-E, we must not abanden hop

EDUCATION

Fake 'defense' drills appal educators

AT a teacher's signal public scheel children in Albany, N.Y., pull down classroom shades and crawl under their desks. After an interval for an imaginary atomic blast, they are led into the corridors where they lie on the floor corridors the walls. against the walis.

In Los Angeles children are being In Los Angeles children are being trained to respond to a signal by kneeling beside their seats, burying heads in hands. In Portland, Ore., they go down on their knees, press their faces to the floor. In Seattle, where a similar program was instituted, Superintendent Samuel E. Fleming, said. Samuel E. Fleming said:

"We are making every effort not to dis-turb the children emotionally—especially the little tots."

Directives from the New York State Educational Dept. are that atomic bomb drills should be made "part of dramatic play," a "fairly natural, everyday experience ... as we have learned to brush our teeth." Some teachers refer to the exercise as "playing Indians." Younger children are urged to smile.

CLICK THOSE HEELS: In the Cen tral Needle Trades High School of N.Y. City, teachers have been advised that at all times "a military discipline should prevail."

After a daily swearing of allegiance, comes physical inspection to be "done

with military precision with the class at attention." Then come "Orders of the Day." At the end of the homeroom period a Bible reading is marked "op-tional." Class officers, elected or ap-pointed, are to be newly designated "captain, lieutenant, sergeant."

teacher directs:

In the gymnasium the Marine Handbook will supplement the course of study. Formal drills and military exercises will take the place of the informal game period.



CARE AND BREEDING OF CHILDREN IN PORTLAND, ORE. Second graders huddle on basement floor during a "defense" drill.

THE SUNDAY BOMB: Many educators are appalled; they disagree about what is to be done. Dr. Howard A. Lane of the N.Y. University School of Education deplored the effects of shelter

drills, the constant presentation of a future of violence and war in the pre-sent "crisis culture." He thought atomic bomb drills were necessary, but

". . . there is evidence that youngsters te-

day are often being frightened unnecessarily. It is possible to take precautions with out pressing a mental atmosphere of fear

Me advised "talking out" the children's fears. That seemed difficult i cases like the one described at a recer. Brooklyn meeting of the Parents Com-Brooklyn meeting of the Parents Committee to Safeguard Children From Water Tensions in the Schools. (Mary Jan Melish, wife of Rev. William Howar Melish, is chairman). A parent told of one child who as a result of school drill and a television program became convinced that an A-bomb would be dropped on a specific Sunday. The teacher tried to reassure him, telling him if would not fall that Sunday but "if it does, this is what you do..."

TRUTH MIGHT HELP: Pediatriciar Dr. Les Jenkins at the committee's conference warned that children could no be fooled into thinking shelter drill were games; attempts to fool them were dangerous. He charged that "defense' preparations were fraudulent, that in the event of an atomic attack it would be impossible to provide adequate shelters or even furnish enough supplies a care for the injured. It would cost \$46, 000,000 just to give every New Yorke a tetanus immunization, and

". . . It is obvious they won't spend tha kind of money. But they can frighten kid —that doesn't cost much."

One parent at the conference mad this suggestion:

"I think we always have to tell the kie the truth. The truth is that we don't hav to have wars. There are more good people in the world who don't want to go to we than there are people who want us to g to war."

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2b	White with colored borders	56x83	8.50	5.51	
Ze	White with colored border	54x54	5.50	3.54	
3	White flowers on white	56x68	7.50	4.90	
4m	Peach, rose, blue	56x56	7.50	5.00	
46	Gold, lavender,	56xGB	9.50	6.00	
4c	Rose, purple, pink, blue or gold	69x82	13.50	9,00	
44	Green, gold, blue White with Blue Border	56x83	12.50	8.00	
Sa.	(with 6 napkins)	60x60	11.50	6.50	
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MARCANTONIO LOOKS AHEAD

'Best defense of America lies in a policy of peace'

The following speech, excerpted from the Congressional Record, is perhaps the last major speech made by Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) in the present Congress.

By Vito Marcantonio

RISE in opposition to the proposed appro-

priation for armaments.

Armaments per se have always meant nothing; armaments are merely the implementation of a policy. Armaments implementing a policy of genuine defense of a people's interest is one thing: armaments implementations in pursuance of a genuine defense policy is always in the interest of the Nation, but these arma-ments implement an insane war program which has never been in the interest of the Nation



and it is today definitely not in the best interest

of the people of the United States.

This insane war policy culminated last June in our Operation Desperation in Korea. I do not believe I am subjecting myself to an ac-cusation of immodesty when I now say beyond challenge that I stood up here as the only Member of this House in opposition to our interven-tion in civil war in Korea. I did so on the very day on which the President announced our disastrous adventure in Korea. I said then, on June 27, after the majority leader had read the statement that the President had issued:

"Mr. Chairman, we have heard words read here by our distinguished majority leader-which I think will mark a disastrous course, and the words I am using do not adequately describe the disastrous consequences this course will have on the people of the United States unless checked by the people

THE TRAGIC ROAD: That was said on June 27. Events since June 27, I maintain, have vindicated the position I took at that time. There are very few people in America today who do not wish we had never gone in Korea. I said also at that time that the Chinese people would fight; and I explained that our action there was not in the defense of a single American interest in Korea, but that we were fighting against the national aspirations of the people of China, Korea, Viet-Nam, and other peoples in Asia for national liberation and self-deter-

The only alternative that is offered to the people of the world and the only alternative that is offered to the people of the country as a result of this insane war policy which you are implementing with this appropriation is world conflict and use of the atom bomb.

I stated also on June 27:

I stated also on June 27;

"Remember one thing: A bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. It had terrible consequences, but it did not frighten the people of China and it did not frighten the people of Korea and the people of Asia." So the threat of the use of the atomic bomb has only alienated decent-minded people away from us. Events show that that threat has not frightened the people of China.

NEGOTIATE AS EQUALS: The best defense of

these United States is a policy of peace.

I say that our problems can be resolved without the sacrifice of a single interest of the American people; they can be resolved by a policy of courageously carrying out two steps cease fire on both sides and at the same time honest negotiations for an honest conclusion for peace. But you cannot enter into those honest negotiations unless you recognize the right of the Chinese people to self-determination and the right of the people of China to national unity. We must accept the people of

national unity. We must accept the people of Asia and China as equals.

You cannot enter into any honest negotiations for peace as long as you want to hang on to a corrupt dictator like Chiang Kai-shek and insist on establishing false, unjustified, and pretended defense lines for America in Formosa

or in other parts of Asia.

The best defense of America does not lie in this armaments race implementing this insane program of war. Such a race will lead only to a war which at best no one will win, but which will destroy civilization as we know it. The best defense of America does not lie in the atom bomb. It can be thrown in both directions and destroy us, too. The best defense of America lies in a policy of preserved today excellent. lies in a policy of peace and today specifically the best defense of America is peace with China.

Interview with Wu

The men of Peking as they really are

By James Imbrie (Progressive Party candidate in 1948 for governor of New Jersey)

LAWRENCEVILLE, N. J. ON Dec. 17 a few Progressive Party leaders had tea with Ambassador Wu and other delegates from the Peoples' Republic of China, in the envoy's hotel in New York.

The public has been given the impression that these delegates were arrogant in attitude, shrill their views; ion that these delegates



JAMES-IMBRIE There are two sides . .

robots manipulated by Moscow; representatives of brutal agessors demanding everything, giving nothing.

NO ARROGANCE: As one who recognized this press and radio propaganda line as part of the total unreality of present U.S. foreign policy, I found it good to have the opportunity to see and talk to these people. These are the impressions they left:

. I found them gentle, softspoken, friendly, frank and sincere.

· Their youth was startling. considering the gravity of their mission; but their enthusiasm, intelligence and confidence might well offset a lot of experience at conferences.

 I felt that Ambassador Wu answered all questions without These questions covered reli-gious freedom in China, treatment of missions and missionaries, and many other subjects, including Korea, Formosa and the UN. I found convincing his flat statement that his gov-ernment would continue to guarantee religious freedom in China, and that it valued the Christian missionaries who had done so much in the past for the Chinese people.

YOUNG, PROUD, & PEACE-FUL: What of Peace? I came away with the strong impres-sion that these people truly and deeply want Peace. Yes, I am aware that masses of Chinese troops are fighting our forces in Korea, aware that we and they are suffering tragic casu-alties. But I am also aware that this young and proud Peoples' Republic of China honestly believes the U.S. has violated Chinese sovereignty on two

Chinese sovereignty on two crucial counts:

1. That we supported their No. 1 Enemy, Chiang, to the tune of 5 billion dollars; and after he was driven from the mainland to take refuge in Formosa we continued to recognize his exiled government, and prevented the UN from recognizing the new Peoples' Republic and seating its representatives in the Security Council. This meant that 450,000,000 Chinese people, or nearly a quarter of the world oppulation, were unrepresented in the Parliament of Nations at a time when decisions

vitally affecting their interests were being made. 2. That when President Tru-man ordered our 7th Fleet to 2. That when President Truman ordered our 7th Piect to "patrol and protect" the Island of Formosa last June, it was an act of aggressive international intervention because Formosa was Chinese Territory by right of the Cairo and Yalta Agreements, to which our Government was a signalory, and because the Japanese surrender terms signed, sealed and delivered Formosa to China in 1945.

A MATTER OF GEOGRAPHY: Continued recognition and sup-port by us of the discredited, exiled and beaten Chiang re-gime would seem untenable on the record.

In Venezuela in 1947 Romulo Gallegos was elected President by a 75% vote under a demo-cratic constitution. This demo-cratic government was overthrown by force and violence in 1948, free institutions were suppressed, and a diotatorship recognized this dictatorship and helped to have its representatives seated in the UN.

It therefore seems absurd for

us to refuse recognition to the Peoples' Republic of China; and ironic that its delegation should arrive to find UN flags at half-mast for a murdered member of the military trium-virate fo the duly-recognized Venezuelan dictatorship.

MILLIONS FEEL THIS: I left the conference sad at heart be-cause I felt there were two sides to the questions at issue between my government and that of the Peoples' Republic of China; that World Peace hung in the balance; and that my government had refused to attempt to find the answers

through negotiation.
As Progressive Party Secy. C.

As Progressive Party Secy. C.
B. Baldwin wrote to Ambassador Wu before his departure:
We will continue to work for the
day when you will take your
rightful place in the UN and our
government accords you the full
recognition you so richly deserve.
We want you to know that mitllons of our citizens share our
feelings.

hesitation and without guile. CHICAGOANS

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