



Who wants this war?

An American soldier lights the cigarette of a North Korean soldier as they sit in their jeeps outside the truce conference building at Kaesong. Nearby a group of U.S. newspapermen, some flown fresh out of Washington, screamed like stuck pigs that the war had to go on unless they were present in Kaesong. The remarks of the GIs in Korea on the newspapermen were unprintable but illuminating.

AMERICA'S HORRIFIED ALLIES

# U.S. post-Korea war drive hits Europe-Mid East snags

TRUCE talks in Kaesong, central Korea, were continuing as the GUARDIAN went to press after a storm-in-a-teacup about press representation at the conference, which inspired thousands of columns of fuming type in U.S. newspapers. Some generally buried side-lights on the headline hurricane:

- Gen. Ridgway himself instituted the press ban which applied to both sides. The N.Y. Times said July 5 he even rejected suggestions that an army officer be assigned as press observer.

- The North Koreans and Chinese never "barred" the press, merely took up the U.S. suggestion when it was made—but had no time to reply.

- Among the 20 newsmen the negotiators tried to bring with them was one from Chiang Kai-shek's agency in Formosa. Japanese newsmen were at the Munsan press camp wearing UN insignia; British correspondents protested, since Japan is not a UN member.

- AP's Jim Becker reported from Munsan that most newsmen believed . . . the issue was handled badly—both by the press and the army. . . . A small but exceedingly vocal group of correspondents has been so consistently demanding the right of the press to enter Kaesong—where they would not have been allowed to sit in on the talks—that the hand of the UN Command was forced. Meanwhile, there was a great deal of criticism here over the harsh tone of Vice Adm. C. Turner Joy's reply to the rather conciliatory message from the Reds which preceded it. . . . The majority view was expressed by Hal Foust of the Chicago Tribune, one of the correspondents whom the Reds prevented from going to Kaesong: "It was a hell of a note to stop a peace conference over such petulant trivialities. . . . Some more American kids are going to get killed because of it."

**GLOOMY DEAN:** The North Korean and Chinese agreed to admit the press (but not to the talks themselves, which was never asked) and to "neutralize" Kaesong, in the interest of not letting "trifling" issues and "side questions" hold up a truce. Latest reports were that negotiations were "closer to har-

many than ever before." North Korean-Chinese terms were cessation of hostilities, withdrawal of both armies 6.21 miles from the 38th Parallel, evacuation of all foreign troops "in the shortest possible time." Washington officials said they would never accept, and were reported "gloomy" over the political implications of a truce, fearing they would then . . . have a much more difficult time in maintaining a solid front against the Communists. (James Reston, N.Y. Times)

In an apparent effort to offset the gloom, the State Dept. published a two-



weeks-old speech by Secy. Acheson in which he promised:

"We will be hit within the next six months to a year with a much tougher blow somewhere else."

**"PEACE" IN JAPAN:** The State Dept. published the text of the Japanese peace treaty; it gave Japan unlimited rights to rearm and full sovereignty; barred all reparations; absolved militarists and industrialists of war guilt; gave the U.S. (in a supplementary agreement) unlimited right to use Japan as a war base. Soviet demands for a conference of all nations that fought Japan were bluntly rejected as Washington proclaimed a Pacific Pact with Australia and New Zealand (Japan, the Philippines and possibly Chiang Kai-shek were to be included later).

U.S. allies were not enthusiastic but, forced to yield, were guarded in comment. The N.Y. Times reported Australia worried about revival of Japanese militarism; in Manila "a rising

(Continued on Page 3)

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

5 cents

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NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 18, 1951

## Anti-Negro mobs amok in Cicero

IN the fall and winter of 1949 Chicago "white supremacists" began resorting to serious violence to prevent "Negro infiltration into white neighborhoods." Major spearhead was a "White Circle League" formed by Joseph Beauharnais, who was finally brought to trial and convicted of violating an Illinois law against inflammatory racist publications.

The tense situation quietened somewhat, but the "white supremacy" poison bubbled under the surface of Chicago. It began to boil up again when Mr. and Mrs. Leo Yonik of 3437 S. Emerald St. where they have lived for 15 years, returned from final sessions of the recent Chicago Peace Congress. The Yoniks had been hosts to three out-of-town Negro delegates. A mob met them, threatened them, with death if they didn't leave, broke their windows with rocks, ruined their furniture. Next day a larger mob gathered, threatened to burn the house down.

On July 9 a permanent community council was formed by many civic, labor, progressive and church groups to combat mob outrages. On the 11th came strange news from New York. The American Civil Liberties Union had announced it would seek a U.S. Supreme Court review of the conviction of Beauharnais, as a test of the anti-race-provocation law under which he was found guilty. It was the ACLU's conception of liberty, it said, that Beauharnais should be as free to express his views—which already had led to widespread violence and terror—as anyone else.

**THE LAW AT WORK:** The day after ACLU's announcement, the results of cherishing such "freedoms" became manifest in an orgy of violence that for hours was completely out of control.

A Negro bus-driver, Harvey E. Clark Jr., had rented an apartment in the hilly-white suburb of Cicero. As he and his wife moved in, \$2,700 worth of new furniture last month, police had forcibly removed him and said he could not live there. Clark had filed a \$200,000 damage suit against the Cicero police and obtained on June 26 a Federal Court order in which police were told . . . to exercise the same diligence in seeing that these people move in as you did in trying to keep them out."

ACLU had asked the State's Attorney for Cook County and the U.S. District Attorney to investigate.

**A PLEASANT PARTY:** But on the nights of July 10 and 11 mobs began attacking the apartment house, causing such terror among the occupants that they left hurriedly. As night fell on the 12th, the day the Clarks were supposed to move in, a mob estimated at 3,500 persons, armed with bricks, stones, iron pipes and other weapons, milled around and into the apartment house which it reduced to an almost

total shambles. A New York Post reporter who was there wrote:

Shouting with maniacal glee, the invaders chopped woodwork and plaster. They ripped out bathtubs, sinks, radiators and toilets. They broke down doors, smashed windows and set a dozen fires. The flames gained headway but were kept under control by firemen who were kept under a constant bombardment of bricks and stones and other missiles by those intent on burning the structure to the ground.

Cook County Sheriff Babb said the police "turned their backs on the disturbance," and Illinois Gov. Adlai Stevenson ordered 500 National Guardsmen to Cicero. But while the battle raged the guardsmen remained three hours at Cicero City Hall waiting for "necessary papers to be signed and approved." Finally they moved to the battleground at the rate of 100 yards per hour. The rioting was under partial control by 2:30 A.M. but mobs were



still howling about the streets at 5:30. Tear gas was used once, to disperse one gang jammed into an alley. Asked why they did not turn their hoses on rioters, firemen said Chief Konovsky would have to give the order and he was not available.

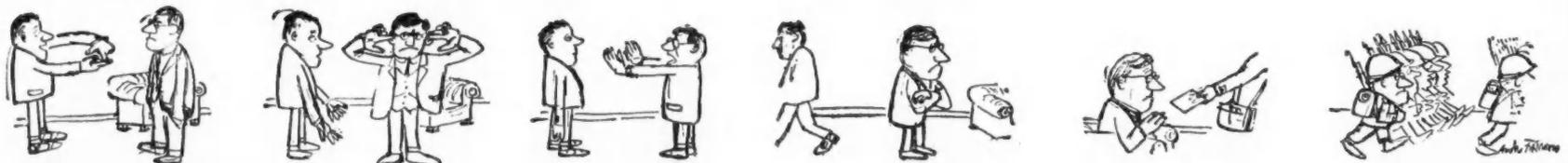
**"NO EVIDENCE":** Nineteen persons, including six guardsmen and four cops, were hospitalized after the battle. Six sheriff's squad cars were wrecked. Sixty rioters were released on \$50 bond each. By Friday the area was cut off by barbed-wire barricades and martial law was in effect.

The mob consisted largely of teenagers who, said the Post, "assaulted civilians, soldiers and police alike." The attitude of neighbors was indicated in a report by ACLU's Arthur McGiffert Jr., who said that when police forcibly removed Mr. and Mrs. Clark as they moved in their furniture, . . . a crowd of white people gathered in the street and far from manifesting hostility, some even asked what the Clarks had done.

Carrying the report of a "British peers' pub-crawl" on page 1, the N.Y. Times of July 13 ended its page 38 account of the Chicago incident:

Mr. Clark appeared at the U.S. Attorney's office today and requested that the Government take action. However, Asst. U.S. Atty. Lawrence J. Miller told him his office did not at this time have evidence to warrant Federal prosecution.

Life expectancy for U.S. Negroes is about 10 years shorter than for whites. Three Negroes die of tuberculosis for every one white American. — U.S. Census Bureau.



Why do people . . .

who are not . . .

interested in . . .

politics . . .

make them . . .

every 20 years?

Action, Paris

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the progressive news-weekly

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## REPORT TO READERS FROM A READER

# The Guardian is up to us

PALO ALTO, CALIF.

Dear Fellow Readers: All of us, I suppose, belong to various groups working for civil liberties, racial equality, and the like. We are pretty well drained financially by our contributions to these. Yet we must find money to keep up the GUARDIAN. For the GUARDIAN embraces all these interests, keeps us informed on their progress, ties them into a program, serves as a rallying point for all our concerns.

The program is the thing. In 1948 the GUARDIAN backed a program, a domestic policy that perhaps won the election for the party that borrowed it, a foreign policy that was sane, friendly, Christian, realistic, directed toward world welfare and peace. It holds to that program, developing it with the times, welcoming adherents by that standard, no other.

It seems to me a special merit of the GUARDIAN not to have in any degree adopted anti-communism as a political weapon. Any man surely does right to hold an anti-communist ideology if he has been convinced by study of

principles and facts. But anti-communism as a slogan, a bludgeon, a blind, is another matter and works harm to our country. It has stifled reasoning, shut out investigation, cultivated hysteria, brutality, espionage, tamercatism, worship of force, permitted intimidation of justice, divided and crippled organized labor, rejected negotiation and brought war. By keeping American attention concentrated on Russia and communism, it has effectively diverted our attention from the decline in our national welfare and the menace to representative government at home.

To put a liberal program into force we must keep up political action. The GUARDIAN keeps us informed on local activities in a way that binds us together. For the national struggle, it keeps up an organization fluid enough to respond to great occasions as they may arise. For instance, if a liberal party should take a fresh start in liberated labor, the GUARDIAN, I take it, stands ready to lead us into it.

We must save the GUARDIAN.

Alice Hill Byrne



### More hell, less flowers

LYONS, NEB.  
**WOMEN AWAKE!!** "If the war system is to continue, then let us renounce our religion; call it the religion of force, and let someone else take the sacred name of Jesus Christ and develop a religion which will be consistent with principles He enunciated in the New Testament. Organized Christianity must either stop participating in wars, or take the Sermon on the Mount out of the Bible."—Marshal Foch, Allied Commander, World War I.  
To which I say AMEN! American women should raise more hell—and fewer flowers. More hell (against war), and fewer flowers (for soldiers' graves). Mrs. Harvey Sydow

### Off the poop deck

MANCHESTER, N. H.  
I wouldn't want you pooping out in the middle of the summer—so here's my small (my pay is, too) contribution. This dollar is a small price to pay for a year-round antidote to the poison spread throughout this state by the newspapers and the American Legion.  
Fran Epstein

### \$55,000 justice

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
It was not until July 3 that I received the wonderful news of the acquittal of four of the Trenton Six. I had to wait for the GUARDIAN because the local papers do not think it important that there may be a small measure of justice left in this nation of ours.  
But the job is certainly not over. We have to free the two remaining men who are suffering because of an incredible compromise among the jurors.  
What a mockery is our usage of the word justice. I once had the naive idea that justice was guaranteed by our Constitution, but justice can hardly be guaranteed to all if it costs \$55,000 to carry the appeal to the courts. Perhaps we should amend our pledge of allegiance to read "... with liberty and justice for all who can pay for it."  
Manuel E. Nestle

### Baltimore fights back

BALTIMORE, MD.  
Enclosed is \$7 to take care of sub; accept the remaining \$5 as a donation to the cause of keeping this country out of the terrible catastrophes our "leaders" are leading us into.

## Give a Guardian sub today to build the peace paper

\$2 for 52 weeks.  \$1 trial, 30 weeks.

NAME (Print) .....

ADDRESS & ZONE NUMBER .....

• List additional subs on separate sheet of paper •

SENDER .....

ADDRESS .....

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

Here in Baltimore the Un-American Committee is beginning its terror campaign of smearing everyone with the red taint. Just as you predicted many issues ago, the committee is calling militant union leaders to testify at its subversive hearings. This act proves that the Communists are not the ones the committee is aiming at but really anyone with the guts to stand up and give battle, politically or otherwise!

Keep up the good work! They can't stop us anymore than they can stop a tidal wave!  
Ben Friedman

### A full heart

MORROWVILLE, KANS.  
I need a pair of new shoes but I need the GUARDIAN more. Here's \$5. I have so much in my heart and am so disgusted with the warmongers it is impossible to express myself in words.  
Ruby G. Heck

### David and Goliath

ARDEN, DEL.  
Whoever wrote the 2-column Korean war anniversary summary (p. 1—June 21) is a master mind. The giant Goliath of today's world crisis is made possible only through the monopoly ownership or control of our press, radio, screen, etc., by the big financial combinations. The "David" of the now rapidly growing peace forces in all nationally organized groups, including labor, churches, social workers, education, farm, and consumers, needs to find the effective instrument for meeting that "Giant" and defeating him.  
Edwin S. Potter

### Warning

SOUTHERN PINES, N. C.  
Will somebody warn Jesus Christ, the Prince of Peace, against a second coming just now? With the current FBI drive on, He'd go straight to jail.  
Byrd Willson

### Morality hits bottom

BOSTON, MASS.  
It is fearful fact, but none the less true, that our leadership seems more concerned with killing than with peace. Our indiscriminate bombings of the villages and towns of Korea with napalm bombs and other weapons is a shocking commentary on the low level of morality which now seems to dominate our top thinkers and leaders.

The time has come when men who believe in religious principles must exert every effort to find peaceful alternatives to the tension which exists between East and West. "Operation Killer," and "meat grinder" tactics must be ended.  
Frank M. Dunn Jr.

### The DuBois indictment

MONTREAL, CAN.  
I write to you with sorrow in my heart at the all-embracing cruelty and wanton disregard which the American government today is manifesting towards its most creative

and finest citizens. I speak now of the indictment of Dr. DuBois. Such men make "love" and "brotherhood" and "unity" become real by their life's actions and give courage by their steadfastness to all of us who strain and strive for a world at peace.  
Annette from Quebec

### The united majority

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.  
This is no time for philosophical hair-splitting or intellectual gnawing. All liberals must unite: labor groups, liberal, religious groups, the arts and sciences, racial groups—on every level. Our duty and our necessity are one. United we are the majority.  
Dorsey Roth

### A cool breeze

HEYBURN, IDAHO  
Please find \$2 inclosed in this letter to help fight the hot foul air generated in hate.  
Charley Miller



Daily Express, London

"But Willy darling, it it's bad form to make jokes about Americans, and tactless to ask diplomats where they're going for their holidays, and breach of privilege to criticize the Government, what is one going to talk about!"

### A word on Werdel

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
The speech in Congress by Bakersfield (Calif.) Rep. Thomas H. Werdel is a lot more important than you made it seem. You failed to emphasize that this is an open plan for "force and violence" and that Werdel's language infers flatly that this plan has been accepted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The "11," though presumably convicted for advocating a plan to overthrow the gov't. by force, cannot match this now official (tho' still pretty secret) plan in the Pentagon.

Compare the full text of the Guderian Plan read into Werdel's speech on April 3 with the original Hopley Plan (Civil Defense for Natl. Security, Report to the Secy. of Defense by the Office of Civil Defense Planning, available in 1948 from Govt. Printing Office for \$1)—and you will note that the Forrestal-Hopley blueprint shows direct evidence of being influenced by Guderian's views. Werdel's data convinces me he himself doesn't make the connection. But remember that Ickes and even Winchell attacked this "little grey pamphlet" as a "blueprint for fascism."  
I am telling all my reactionary acquaintances to write Werdel for a

full copy of his speech and bone up on all the "secret" documents which the American people have every right to know about.  
Erma Dutton

### Prettiest gals in town

NEW YORK, N. Y.  
How about this thought for your female readers? The GUARDIAN can't very well use last year's funds—and wouldn't try using last year's news—but as for us gals, if we're smart, we'll freshen up last year's summer clothes and wear them proudly—after we've sent the money and have thus saved our newspaper.  
Helen Levine

### Untouched by human . . .

MANCHESTER, VT.  
This is written with due appreciation to the Truman foreign policy:

### TAKE MY SALAD . . .

I NEVER TOUCHED IT  
Out of the warm American heart To Asia and Europe we freely impart  
Freedom and Justice, we guarantee. Our Nation's honor, our Nation's pride.  
Packed in cold storage since Roosevelt died.  
Marshall F. Dubin

### Marc and Harry

NEW ORLEANS, LA.  
Glad to see FWR, Santa Barbara,

proposing Marcantonio for President on a Third Party ticket, as he is the one we have thought of right along. Why not Harry Bridges as V.P.? We need more union candidates and workers. Bridges is surely as near the Debs tradition as any man alive today. Would also like to see some women placed as candidates.  
E. S. C. R.

### Feeble labor

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIF.  
The country cries for a Karl Liebknecht, but none appears; but better than a hundred Liebknechts would be a UNIFIED LABOR MOVEMENT WITH A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF ITS HISTORIC MISSION.  
Looks from here as if our feeble imitation of a militant labor movement is more docile than the German Socialist Party was in 1914, when they voted for the war budget.  
Mac

### The price of things

CHICAGO, ILL.  
Enclosed find my check. It is all I can spare for now. But I will not say it is all I can afford. What we can't "afford" is for this priceless voice to expire. If necessary whittle the GUARDIAN down to postage stamp size and use micro-type—I'll read it with a magnifying glass. More when I'm able.  
C. V. Hubbard

## Let loose the tiger?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

It has long since passed the hour when we of the Civil Rights Congress should have congratulated you and the staff of the GUARDIAN for the magnificent manner in which you handled not only the fight for the lives of the Trenton Six, but of all the recent cases in which the constitutional liberties and human rights of Americans were so greatly jeopardized. I think it must be said very clearly that had it not been for the role that the GUARDIAN played in the fight of the Trenton Six, those six innocent men might all of them now have been dead, instead of four walking again in freedom.

Progressive America is truly facing a momentous hour. The efforts to stay the retreat of those who have been dismayed by the seeming strength of reaction, and to galvanize into action those who are hesitating, must be intensified one hundred-fold.

It seems strange to me that at such an hour as this Roger Baldwin or Arthur Garfield Hays could not be implored to call a monster meeting here in the City of New York in defense of the Bill of Rights. Surely if their voices were raised in a plea for unity and for action thousands of men and women could be brought together to prepare for the struggle to halt reaction. In 1932 I was in Germany, and I remember there were men who said, "Let them loose the tiger—he will only prey on those whom we ourselves dislike." Those men are dead today.

I am wondering if it is not possible to point out to these individuals more directly and more sharply that the arrests of men and women like Frederick V. Field, Dr. Alpheus Hunton, Elizabeth Moos, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and Dashiell Hammett indicate that reaction is entirely bereft of all decency. I believe it has overplayed its hand, and that we cannot in a reasonably short period cry "check-mate" unless men whose voices will be heard far and wide speak out—and that, too, from a public platform.

It is a wonderful thing to see your voice reaching into the highways and byways of the country with an honest appraisal of the period in which we live.

WILLIAM L. PATTERSON  
National Executive Secretary  
Civil Rights Congress



## ECONOMY

# Congress lifts the profit lid, puts vast squeeze on the people

By Tabitha Petran

(Most Americans — certainly most GUARDIAN readers—work with hand or brain for small salaries; having neither time nor energy to read the business pages and journals, they get their education in economics from the price-tags in stores where they must buy. As one of the services the GUARDIAN regularly offers its readers, Tabitha Petran covers economic developments and the business press with an expert eye, boils down into simple form the realities of the war-gear U. S. economy which places a daily tighter squeeze on the man and woman in the street. Below Miss Petran digests and analyzes the economic picture as it looked last week, as truce talks got under way in Korea. Ed.)

**WHILE** Wall St. brooded about what it called the "Malik depression," the Administration moved to rush through Congress its mobilization program: its Defense Production Act (DPA), its \$10,000,000,000 tax rise, its requests for \$8,500,000,000 in foreign military aid and \$59,000,000,000 for arms in fiscal 1952. Seeking to whip up enthusiasm were General Electric's Charles E. Wilson, who as mobilization tsar suggested the Soviet truce proposal was a plot to wreck U. S. mobilization, and Textile Workers' Emil Rieve, who as head of CIO's Economic Policy Committee said: "Soviet Ambassador Malik's truce was timed deliberately to weaken the act [DPA]."

Their fears seemed groundless. Capitol Hill, as well as the White House, appeared in complete agreement with the N. Y. World-Telegram business editor who called a return to peacetime economy "unthinkable." Behind a smokescreen of "national defense" and "fighting inflation," Congressmen of both parties joined with lobbyists, corporation officials in and out of Government, Administration bureaucrats, to gouge more profits out of the people's living standards.



Drawing by Fred Wright

## Defense Production Act

The 1950 DPA, which expired June 30, froze wages, "controlled" prices by guaranteeing increases and more profits. Every DPA regulation was designed to maintain profit margins. Last spring the President demanded DPA's extension without substantial change. During a one-month extension voted by Congress the Senate wrote a new draft, scrapping authority to rollback prices, and insuring (said Administration officials) a \$1-a-day increase in living costs of the average family.

Last week the House, besieged by lobbyists, voted still more profit-gouging amendments. It banned livestock slaughtering quotas (a weapon against the black market), imports of goods that compete with U. S. farm products, use of subsidies to hold down food prices, curbed power to prohibit hoarding. Altogether big business lobbyists prepared 100 or more amendments to raise prices. Of one amendment introduced by Rep. Lucas, which would abolish the present Wage

Stabilization Board, board chairman Taylor said it would end the right to strike.

## Labor

The United Labor Policy Committee (AFL, CIO, railroad brotherhoods) — which walked out of the mobilization setup but returned two months ago because, it said, of its confidence in the new control bills—issued emergency appeals to unionists for pressure on Congressmen. After a meeting with the President, ULPC told a closed conference of 170 House members it would defy wage controls unless an effective price-control bill were passed. (Meanwhile Harry Bridges' ILWU followed John L. Lewis' Miners in calling for abolition of all "price-wage controls.")

Response to ULPC's appeal was meagre; its bargaining power on Capitol Hill was practically gone. In the Senate fight it mustered only 25 votes for continuing rollbacks—an all-time low. Factors in its failure were:

- Its policy of identifying price control with the war program, which has undermined the entire fight for genuine controls;

- Its support for the President's control program—in fact, a dressed-up wage freeze;

- Its continued backing of an Administration which has repeatedly kicked labor in the teeth.

This month the Senate Labor Committee issued a report on the Administration's handling of the railroad workers' demands. Signed by seven Democratic senators, it depicted the President as a ruthless enemy of labor who has used the full power of government and courts against legitimate worker demands. The President's Atty. Gen. McGrath last week asked Congress to tighten up the anti-Communist provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law.

**THE LOST DOLLAR:** While labor is now operating under a wage-freeze 10% above the Jan., 1950 level, prices have shot up 25%. The new revised cost-of-living index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, worse than the old one, showed a rise in that period of 9½%. The gross inaccuracies of the BLS index were exposed at House subcommittee hearings by United Electrical Workers (GUARDIAN, May 2), but last week the committee shut up shop without taking up these basic questions.

Labor's real earnings meanwhile were falling. The latest BLS monthly report of spendable average weekly earnings showed a drop of almost \$1 from Dec., 1950, to March, 1951—in 1938 dollars from \$33.77 to \$32.37 a week for workers with three dependents. Yet the Journal of Commerce (July 12) estimated an overall labor productivity increase of 5% from May, 1950 to May, 1951, adding: "In civilian manufacturing, increases of 10% and more must have been fairly common over the past year." Productivity increases are due to speed-up and installation of labor-saving machinery.

## Arms and Taxes

Washington correspondents reported that the Administration, as in the 1948 Taft-Hartley fight, was putting up a sham battle for price controls: at first compromising with the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition, then collapsing. At the end of last week the President said he had done all he could. But he was using every weapon at his command, including patronage, to insure passage of the full tax and arms program. The Wall Street Journal, reporting that "truce or not" the arms and tax program would go through, said the Senate would scrap the so-called 'soak-the-rich' provisions of the House tax bill and would add excise (sales) taxes to balance its cuts on House-approved tightening of corporation taxes.

A plea for lifting the tax load on lower incomes, made by United Elec-



Wall Street Journal

"Two pounds of steak. Would you like it gift-wrapped?"

trical Workers, was ignored. UE testimony before the Senate Finance Committee showed the falsity of the Administration theory that inflation is caused by too much money in the pockets of consumers. They just don't have it. Using government statistics, UE showed that one in three U. S. families gets less than \$2,000 a year, 53% less than \$3,000, while \$3,700 is the necessary minimum for a decent standard of living. A worker with three dependents earning \$65 a week, or \$3,300 a year (more than the \$64 average weekly wage in manufacturing, highest-paid), now pays \$720 in federal, state and local taxes. He will pay \$750 if the House bill is passed, \$788 if the Truman program is adopted.

## "Malik depression"

The Journal of Commerce reported July 10: "Drive to Keep Defense Program at Full Blast Brings Market Rally." A survey published the same day found "many industrialists" prepared to accept price controls if only the defense program is kept "at or close to levels mapped by the Administration." Although the Monthly Letter of the National City Bank insisted business would welcome peace so it could return to "its natural function of increasing the flow of goods to consumers and raising the standard of living," government and business figures showed consumers priced out of the market.

The Dept. of Commerce reported business inventories (stocks on hand) reached the record level in May of \$69,700,000,000. Commented the Journal of Commerce: "Industry continued to grind out goods faster than the public would buy them. 'The pile-up was in products ranging from cars to hardware and clothing."

The Wall St. Journal (July 7) said: "Retail trade will soon look super sick in comparison with year-ago volume." It added (July 12) that retailers were

## How crazy can you get dept.

(The GUARDIAN solicits short press items from any part of the U. S. suitable for publication under this heading. A gift sub. for yourself or a friend will be awarded for each item published. Mark envelope: "CRAZY DEPT.")

A web system would be used by underground Communists systematically to kill civilian defense officials and workers during a Soviet air raid. Small groups of Reds in an organized network would — by various spider-like ruses — entice a civilian defense warden into an open position where he could be garrotted with the "cheese-cutter," knifed, shot or run down by a vehicle. In the last month underground Communists have been instructed in the use of this system.

N. Y. Herald Tribune, July 16

rushing to unload heavy inventories, with generally indifferent results.

**AUTOS:** With some 600,000 new cars stacked unpurchased in showrooms and 3,500,000 used cars in lots, about 100,000 auto workers were laid off or unemployed in Detroit. Auto companies blamed the 35% cutback in steel; but the automotive editor of the Detroit News commented:

Carmakers have somehow managed to obtain enough materials to keep their schedules at what could be called pretty high levels.

Real reason was seen in declining sales which have run consistently below a year ago for the past three months.

**FIVE IN A FIX:** Production cutbacks, 3- and 4-day work weeks, wide-scale layoffs were also common in textiles. The Wall St. Journal called this "one of the sickest summers that textile makers have known in years," adding:

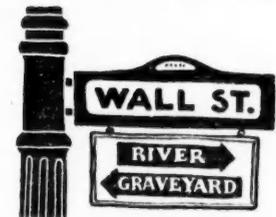
The illness has been brought on by the inability of the buying public to keep absorbing the huge flow of cloth from U. S. weaving plants.

One big wool weaver reported civilian business "non-existent." He added, according to the Journal: "If it weren't for government orders, we'd be in a terrible fix."

The Journal of Commerce reported a "none too favorable" outlook for the shoe business, which has been kept going with military orders. Military business, it said, would now be cutback. In rubber circles, it said, the principal concern is "the prospect of burdensome surpluses." A cotton surplus was also in sight. European buying of wheat and cotton was expected to be cut by the necessity to buy coal from the U. S., to keep arms factories going.

**THE PROP AND THE PEACE:** One of the biggest props under the post-war boom has been business expenditure for new plant and equipment, which reached a new high in 1951's second quarter — 48% above 1950's second quarter and \$5,000,000,000 above 1951's first — or an annual rate of \$25,680,000,000. The DPA tax amortization provision, which allows business huge write-offs for expenditures for defense plants, headed it to new highs. Tax write-offs have been permitted for everything, however remote from defense: cardboard, lumber, nylon, woolen cloth. Also, according to stabilizer Eric Johnston, 40 to 50% of the arms budget has gone to plant building and expansion. The result has been a big increase in U. S. industrial capacity (39% overall above 1946, and 105% above 1939), intensifying the contradiction between industry's capacity to produce and consumers' to pay.

Business is worried that a Korean truce would bring a decline in these expenditures. A Wall St. Journal survey found "a wide divergence of opinion sweeping industry"; some businessmen were going ahead with plant ex-



pansion but others were already holding back. It found some consumer goods businesses already cutting expansion plans because of the slump in retail sales. Others said high inventories, government materials allocations and high taxes would force cuts.

In this uncertain situation the Journal of Commerce complained that the government was not being sufficiently specific and reassuring about defense spending. "The rate of defense spending," it said, "would make the difference between a relatively stable economy and a 'boom and bust' cycle."

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"WE'VE SUFFERED SO MUCH NOW WE'LL NEVER GIVE IN"

# New Mexico Empire Zinc strike holds solid in 9th month

By James Aronson

THE Silver City mining district of New Mexico is the home of Billy the Kid and the giant mining corporations which extract fortunes in copper, lead and zinc—Kennicott, American Smelting & Refining, U. S. Smelting & Refining, Illinois Zinc, New Jersey Zinc.

Most workers in the district are Mexican-Americans; most are poor and live in decrepit housing on the hot, dry, dusty land. For years they have been treated as second-class citizens; the area is still known as the "meaneast for discrimination in New Mexico"—a reputation built by the mining corporations.

Silver City district is also the home of the Amalgamated Local 890, Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers—1,400-strong, militant, and just about the only thing in the area not dominated by the corporations. Local 890 has led the fight to end discrimination against Mexican-Americans and for decent union contracts. They have been successful at all the companies except New Jersey Zinc, which operates the Empire Zinc Division at Hanover, N. M.

**WHAT THE UNION ASKED:** Last fall the E-Z miners, tired of working under conditions everywhere else obsolete, asked for a contract similar to those at the other mines. Among the demands: 8-hour day, paid vacations, pay for all time underground, health insurance, sick benefits, one rate of pay for a given job. (N. J. Zinc cleared \$10,024,294 in profits in 1950).

The company said "No." Not only that but, as international representative Clint Jencks said: "They even claim unions have no right to raise such questions." A dozen meetings brought no results.

On Oct. 17, 1950, the workers at E-Z walked out. The strike involved more than 90 families and about 500 people. Strike leader Ernesto Velasquez, a young veteran with four dependents, said:

"If Empire Zinc thinks its workers have nothing to say about their working conditions, they'll wait a hell of a long time to have us produce their ore."

N. J. Zinc is a tough outfit; it has broken every strike challenge to its theory that "we know what is best for our workers." It can get tough in other quarters too. For example, during World War II it restricted production of zinc in the U. S. while helping zinc output in Germany. Special Asst. Atty. Gen. Allen Dobey said N. J. Zinc "made a vital and substantial contribution to the German war machine."

**THE ATTACK BEGINS:** Last winter E-Z's strike-busting apparatus went into operation. Strikers were provoked into fights, arrested, framed on charges pulled out of a hat. Personal letters and bribes went out to entice them back to work. There were attempts to starve out families. Full-page ads misrepresented the workers' demands, got laughs from the workers who were addressed in them as "Mister." A striker commented:

"They don't call you mister when you're down in the hole breakin' your back."

The line held solid. Nobody ate well, but nobody starved. Mine-Mill members at other mines assessed themselves \$1 a month to help out E-Z families. The AFL and the Railroad Brotherhood in the area pitched in. Food, clothing and cash came but it cost \$4,000 a month to pay for the bare necessities.

In spite of all provocation, the picketing was peaceful. Business and professional people of Bayard, Santa Rita, Hurley, Silver City and Hanover were sympathetic. Nothing went in or out of Empire "except the birds and the breeze."

**THE WOMEN:** Despite the old Spanish-Catholic traditions in the border-strip area, there was a revolutionary change among the strikers' womenfolk: more and more women became involved in the strike. They went on radio programs, drew up leaf-

lets, wrote letters to the papers, formed groups to visit and pep up discouraged wives, gave parties, cooked food for the strikers, took care of one another's kids. Said Daria Chavez, president of the Hanover Auxiliary:

"Yes, we're all a little worn down. Sometimes it seems like it will never end. But this strike has done so much for us. I didn't know enough. Now look! You couldn't drag him in to work—or any of the other men—until they win. We know the company hopes they can starve us out . . . but they won't. We're going to get our just demands."

The company was just as determined that they would not. On June 3 it brought its "labor relations" man from New York with a special strike-breaking formula. A conference was called in the office of E-Z's attorney, Joseph Woodbury, at which Sheriff L. K. Goforth and Dist. Atty. Tom Foy were present with other company officials. E-Z handed Goforth a check for \$1,000, which he placed in his personal bank account, to pay salaries for 24 special deputies who would, in effect, be paid company gunmen. (He

freed. They went right back on the line and no scabs went through.

The union had brought charges against the company for refusing to bargain, and on June 22 NLRB hearings opened in the Grant County Courthouse.

The government attorney listed nine counts against the company, charging deliberate violation of the law in their attempt to smash the union. The company attorney made no reply. Not one reporter from press or radio was present, although the picket line violence had made page 1 all over the state. District Judge Marshall gave the company 10 days to reply.

**THEY DIDN'T BUDGE:** That same week Local 890 received a wire from Cyrus Ching, director of the U. S. Mediation Service, asking for a special meeting to try to settle the strike. The union agreed immediately and a meeting was scheduled in El Paso for July 5. But on July 4, Judge Marshall released a letter which in effect told E-Z it need not enter



E-Z DOES IT—THE HARD WAY

A brave armed deputy sheriff struggles with two women on the line

was able to corral only 17.)

**SCARCE SCABS:** On June 11, E-Z announced it would reopen its mines. But scabs were hard to find and only four former employes showed up. Some high school students were recruited. A picket line was circling the road leading to the strikebound property. Goforth pulled Jencks out of the line and told him to halt the line. Jencks refused and was arrested.

"Shall we pick up the rest of them?" a deputy asked. Goforth nodded and the deputies arrested 11 men, a 50-year-old woman and a 5-year-old child. They were charged with obstructing a public road. Replacements filled the line immediately.

A federal judge granted E-Z an injunction to keep the road open, without a hearing, in violation of New Mexico law. The strikers held a meeting from 9 p.m. to 2:30 a.m. While the men talked, the women acted. Noting that the injunction applied only to "members of the union," they picked up the signs and got on the line. They sent the remaining men off the line, elected captains, sent recruiting agents out for more women, set up four-hour shifts around the clock—and virtually took over the strike.

**MASS ARRESTS:** On June 16 the mass arrests started. The sheriff and his deputies picked up 40 women and their children and was forced to hire a bus to take them to jail and to two hotels when the jail got too full. But as fast as the arrested women went off (100 were taken in all) others poured down from the hills. The deputies moved in with tear gas and roughed up the women. The pickets moved up the hill long enough to let the tear gas disperse and then reformed to block the way to the scabs. "No los dejan!" they shouted. ("Don't let them!").

Many children were taken to jail. One baby was forced to go without milk for 12 hours. Charges of unlawful assembly were placed against the pickets. "No charges were brought against 17 children," reported the Albuquerque (N.M.) Journal with a straight face. One girl of 15 complained:

"I told them they could go ahead and charge me if they wanted to. I fought the cops just as hard as any of the others. Why, I bit one of them and spit in another's eye."

**NO TAKERS:** The sheriff offered to let anyone free who would promise not to picket again, but no one took the offer. "We'll stay here together or go free together," the women said. Finally after a telephone call from the Governor's office, the women were

negotiations in good faith because it could count on a permanent injunction against the strikers, their families and their friends. This action was taken five days in advance of the time (July 9) that the judge had set for filing of briefs.

The conciliation meeting was held but recessed after two days. Orville Larson, Mine-Mill vice-president, said:

"The union entered the negotiation in a sincere attempt to end the long strike. It is obvious, however, that N. J. Zinc has no intention of seeking a peaceful solution. . . . The position of the company has not changed one iota in a year. . . . It is regrettable that N. J. Zinc prefers to conduct their negotiations through the medium of injunctions, scabs and gunmen rather than across the bargaining table. . . . The strike cannot be broken."

The international union asked the federal government to call all parties in the strike to Washington "to prevent tragic consequences" (a few days ago a child was knocked down by a strikebreaker's car). Sens. Murray (D-Mont.) and Humphrey (D-Minn.) were asked to open an investigation in Hanover where, the union charged, law enforcement agencies had completely abdicated their duties.

**THE BIG ISSUE:** Last week it became clear that far more was at stake than the fate of a few hundred E-Z strikers. In Denver, representatives of 80,000 non-ferrous metal workers called on major corporations in the industry to "end the stalling and get down to genuine bargaining" on 1951 contracts. For two months the corporations have refused to bargain seriously, although most contracts expired June 30. If the E-Z strike is broken, it will open the door to union busting in the entire industry. If the E-Z strike is won, the corporations will be forced to bargain in good faith.

Meanwhile, in Hanover the struggle goes on. The business people of Central, N. M., and the City Council of Bayard have petitioned the company to negotiate a settlement. The union lines are holding. In the face of hardship and hungry bellies and deputies' clubs, the strikers and their families are determined to win. Mrs. Braulia Velasquez spoke for them all when she told Virginia Jencks in jail:

"They can machine-gun us if they want to. We've suffered so much now that we'll never give in."

## How E-Z pays off

THIS is the story of John Fletcher, retired E-Z hoistman, who worked for the firm 34 years and never had anything to do with the union. When he retired he asked E-Z how much pension was coming to him and was told \$64 a month. At El Paso the Social Security field office told him Uncle Sam would pay him \$38 a month. That came to \$102, so Fletcher thought he'd try to make a go of it.

When E-Z heard Fletcher was getting \$38 social security, they subtracted that from his \$64 and sent him a monthly check for \$22. His total pension thus was \$60 a month. Fletcher took this for three years until the Social Security was upped recently. His U. S. check was increased \$24.50, making his total monthly pension \$84.50. When E-Z heard about this, they cut Fletcher's pension without notice from \$22 to \$5 a month.

For 33 years' service.

Checks, food and clothing for the E-Z strikers may be sent to Simon Molina, Local 890, Mine-Mill, Box 98, Bayard, N. M.

# THE LAW Communists' bail revoked despite Judge Hand's ruling

Excessive bail shall not be required . . . Article VIII of the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution.

LAST June 22 U.S. Atty. Irving H. Saypol argued in the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals that bail offered by the Civil Rights Congress for 17 Communist leaders arrested on June 20 under the Smith Act should not be accepted. Said Judge Frank:

"I don't think it is any of our concern or yours who puts up the money." Said Judge Learned Hand:

"If they come to you with a negotiable instrument, you have to accept it. It makes no difference even if it was stolen."

CRC bail of \$171,000 for 15 of the defendants was finally accepted; bail for the other two came from private sources. On July 2 four of 11 Communist leaders earlier convicted under the Smith Act failed to surrender to start serving their sentences. Their bail of \$80,000 was forfeited and Saypol saw another opening to attack the CRC bail fund.

**3 GO TO JAIL:** Judge Sylvester Ryan instituted a week-long probe of bail fund trustees, demanding the surrender of contributors' lists and all books and records. Trustee Frederick V. Field refused on the ground of self-incrimination; he was sent to jail for 90 days without bail, spent three days there before the Circuit Court of Appeals ordered temporary bail of \$10,000. He had to put up cash. Trustee Dashiell Hammett, popular mystery story writer, and Dr. W. Alphaeus Hunton of the Council on African Affairs both got six months for criminal contempt of court for similarly refusing to answer. Last week the Appellate Court fixed \$10,000 bail for them.

(On Saturday Hammett's secretary offered \$10,000 in cash to U.S. Commissioner Edward M. McDonald, but when Asst. U.S. Atty. Roy M. Cohn insisted the source of the money be disclosed, it was withdrawn. Defense attorney Mary Kaufman said questioning of cash bail was "unjustified and unprecedented." Hunton was to have offered \$10,000 of his own money, but Cohn said he too would be quizzed on its source. Both men remained in jail over the week-end.)

In the course of the hearings Judge Ryan declared on Monday that the CRC should not be permitted to "write any more bonds for anyone in this court." Saypol said he would "so move" the next day. On Tuesday Judge Ryan put into effect a decision he had reached before a hearing on the issue: the 17 were ordered into court and CRC bail for 14 was revoked. Bail of a 15th was revoked because it was posted by Field personally. Two with private

bail were untouched; the 15 were hustled off to jail.

**ONLY ONE LAWYER:** Demands that the total bail for the 17 be increased to \$876,000 were denied. But, cut off from CRC funds, it was impossible for any of the defendants to raise the previous bond from any other source. Government prosecutors announced that, with Judge Ryan's ruling, they would move to revoke bail posted by the CRC for some 30 aliens held for deportation under the McCarran Act. It was also reported that the State Banking Dept. was considering a cease-and-de-



JUDGE LEARNED HAND  
Faith in the Constitution

sist order against the CRC bail fund and seizure of its deposits.

Judge Ryan in his ruling declared the CRC bondsmen were "unworthy of trust." He granted a week's delay, from July 18 to 25, to the defense to file motions attacking the indictment. The 17 were represented by only one attorney, Harold I. Cammer, who was so occupied with the bail fight that he could give little or no time to preparing motions. (One of the defendants was being represented temporarily and reluctantly by his nephew.) The defendants had had no time to secure adequate counsel.

**WHOSE MANDATE?** On Thursday a hearing was held before Judge Learned Hand of the Circuit Court of Appeals on bail for Hammett and Hunton. After Judge Hand set bail at \$10,000 (against \$50,000 demanded by Saypol), he got up to leave the bench. Cammer asked to be heard, reported Judge Ry-

an's revocation of bail. Judge Hand, 79 and already retired but still on call, protested wearily: "Take up the matter with some active judge." But when Saypol argued that Judge Hand was "utterly devoid of any power" to intervene, he came back. After hearing Cammer, he said angrily:

"He [Judge Ryan] has revoked a bail which we said should be granted. The question then comes up whether that is in accord with the mandate of the appellate court."

After reading the mandate aloud, he said:

"That is the order of this court. It means that until the new proceeding [Judge Ryan's inquiry into bail fund sources] is completed, the defendants must remain on bail."

**BITTER WORDS:** An angry exchange followed between the elderly judge and the prosecutor:

SAYPOL: "I don't agree. . ."

JUDGE HAND: "I don't care whether you agree or not. If Judge Ryan chooses to disregard it, that's another matter. I have made my order. I don't care to hear any more, sir."

SAYPOL: "This is a terrible thing. An outrage."

The judge ordered release of the defendants overnight and left. But the order bogged down in red tape. Saypol argued before Judge Alexander Holtzoff that the order did not reinstate bail; the judge expressed uncertainty and declined to act. Defense attorneys presented Judge Hand's order at the Federal House of Detention, but officials refused to release the prisoners. They were not freed until late Friday when Judge Ryan finally bowed to Judge Hand's order. A substitute bond in the form of real estate was accepted for George Blake Charney, but \$10,000 offered for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn by her sister was rejected by Judge Ryan when the defense refused to tell where it was borrowed. On Monday Judge Ryan concluded his hearing and again revoked the CRC bail.

**FROM ALL SIDES:** There were other harassments. Field on Thursday was called before a subcommittee of Sen. Pat McCarran's Internal Security Committee, questioned for two hours about his relations with the Institute of Pacific Relations with which he was formerly connected. On Friday the Treasury Dept. placed a \$100,629 lien against Hammett, alleging unpaid taxes from 1943 to 1945. In Washington the House Appropriations Committee approved a \$90,000,000 budget for the FBI, an increase of \$20,000,000 over last year.

The CRC called the attack on its bail fund

... the latest in a series of violations . . . of the Eighth Amendment of the Bill of Rights and common decency. [It is] the equivalent of the Nazis' hated method of holding hostages. The government's action is also an attempt at reprisal against those Americans who have found an avenue for expressing their defense of our country's democratic heritage by making loans to the CRC bail fund. It is an established tenet of ancient democratic law that a bailor is not responsible for the actions of people for whom bail has been posted.

There were other protests:

• I.F. Stone wrote a notable series in the N.Y. Daily Compass defending the right of bail and the right of the CRC trustees to refuse to disclose their fund's sources.

• Civil rights attorney Arthur Garfield Hays praised Field's conduct.

• The Baltimore Afro-American published a letter from Jefferson School director of curriculum Doxey Wilkerson attacking the Smith Act.

• The executive board of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union called the Smith Act and other laws "outrageous encroachments" on civil rights.

• The official organ of the CIO Textile Workers Union warned that the Supreme Court decision upholding the Smith Act is a danger to all trade unions.



FARM

## HST okays Mexican exploitation bill

LAST April a President's Commission on Migratory Labor turned in a 188-page report describing the exploitation of 1,000,000 wandering farm workers, giving special attention to the aggravated problems of migratory Mexican labor in the Southwest. The commission made a number of moderate recommendations some of which would slow, if not halt, the use with government connivance of some 400,000 Mexicans in this country illegally.

An agreement between the U.S. and Mexico governing employment of Mexican labor expired June 30. On that day Congress adopted a bill perpetuating the ills described in the commission's report — not only containing none of its recommendations but going counter to most of them.

All of organized labor urged the President to veto. Southwestern Congressmen, looking after the interests of big growers in their districts, urged him to sign. The growers won: Truman made the bill into law on Thursday. Next week the GUARDIAN will tell the full story of the Mexican farm laborer in the U.S.

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**More names of U.S. prisoners**

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 only names of individuals reported  
 by the Chinese to have signed  
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 messages to Chinese correspond-  
 ents or representatives. Since  
 only a very small percentage  
 of POW's can have had the oppor-  
 tunity to send messages or sign  
 statements or would have done so,  
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- Cave, Carl, R.A. 18280230; 1506 Illinois St., Jacksonville, Fla.
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- Disney, Cpl. Donald, R.A. 15284043; 1700 Hilton Av., Ashland, Ky.
- Dukes, Cpl. Ollum; Rt. 2, Eashey, N. C.
- Gray, Pvt. Robt.; 2214 Norris Av. SW, Roanoke, Va.
- Harding, Cpl. Franklin E.; Newmarket, Md.
- Herrington, Cpl. Garland A.; Gardner, La.
- Lawrence, Cpl. Jack; Route 3, Mansfield, Pa.
- Pfannenstiel, Cpl. Victor J.; P.O. Box 156, Ness City, Kans.
- Porter, Cpl. Jimmie, 39305704
- Riddle, Pfc. Robt.; Rt. 1, Box 304, Etawah, Tenn.
- Searles, Pfc. Fred C.; 192 Bowman St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
- Serish, Pfc. George M., R.A. 13312667
- Sykes, Cpl. Leroy J., 2009 Harden St., Savannah, Ga.
- Tolan, Pfc. Jos. W.; 240 Second St., Port Carbon, Pa.
- Vanderford, Sgt. Kenneth J.; 9522 Val-dina St., Anaheim, Calif.
- Waller, Pvt. Donovan D., 17250460; 707 N. Cherry St., Creston, Ia.
- Wyatt, Cpl. Robt. Lee, R.A. 13270868; 212 N. Dalas Court, Baltimore 31, Md.
- Zacherle, Lt.-Col. Alarich E., 042817; 13025 Gravelly Lake Drive S.W., Tacoma, Wash.
- Zeller, Pfc. Edw.; Taylor Springs, Ill.

- Brassfield, Sgt. Harry; 1618 Woodburn Av., Covington, Ky.
- Bryant, Lt. John D.; 3118 N. Marlinda Av., Baldwin Park, Calif.

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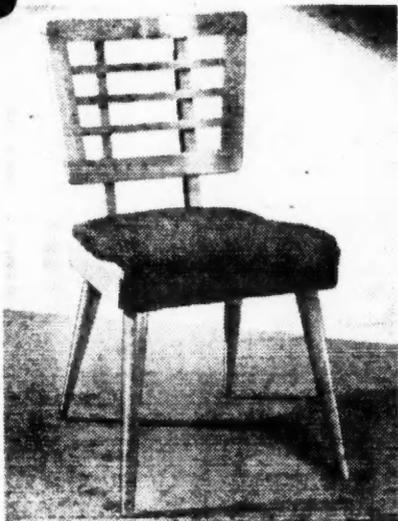
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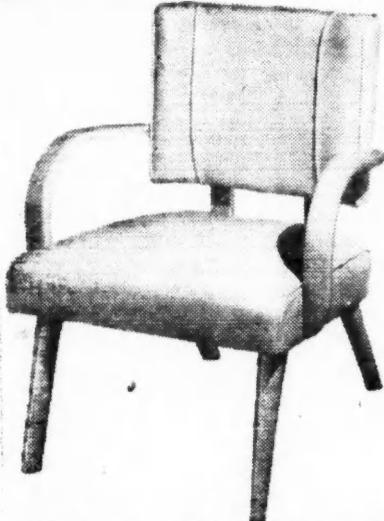


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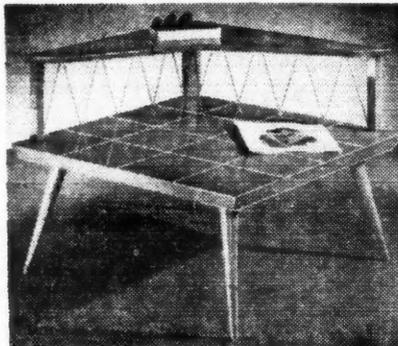


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**ADVICE FROM THE ROBIN HOOD COUNTRY**

**Let's judge our fellow men carefully**

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**YOUR** paper keeps me well-informed of American progressive opinion, and in doing so it is an added inspiration and aid in my work as a City Councillor of Nottingham. I find it good, because it is not rigid in system or dogma. Thus it lends itself more readily to experiment and adventure. Living experimentally does not mean rejecting the past, but applying known truths to present circumstances.

We of the British Co-Operative movement agree that peace with Russia is possible. Outside the strictly "Party-line" there are many issues which we can resolve together. To the average Britisher, peace—the difference between life and death—is every bit as important as it is to the average Russian.

Whether the enormous propaganda about Russia is lies or truth, the nature of the Soviet Union is not the real issue to us who are outside it. Therefore, we should not allow such propaganda to deflect us from the real issues we face from day to day. Our primary task is to recruit people to co-operation because we need it. There will be plenty of time to argue about respective systems later.

The ancient Greeks and Romans argued about systems heedless of impending war. The Greeks had three wars (Peloponnesian Wars) and their civilisation was entirely shattered. The Romans had three major wars (Punic Wars) and their civilisation, built—as they believed—to last for eternity, was rent asunder.

**ARE** we so obstinate as to learn nothing from history? The danger is that peace-loving people who speak out boldly are attacked as Communist dupes, fellow-travelers, and so on. Already these labels have been imbibed, absorbed and accepted. The acceptance of labels shows a lack of thinking. We must ignore and positively refuse to echo labels and look instead at issues.

Want of thought and imagination distinguishes the "herd" man—the man who follows instinct rather than thought. This type sup-

ports repressions of "the new thing" in life, simply because it is strange and upsetting. It is true society must hold together. Our social life is built and depends on conventions and traditions.

Loyalty to tradition is taught as a social duty; disloyalty to it, any preaching of a "new thing," is discouraged and even punished. It has thus come about that we tend in our communal life to give the same class of treatment to all who offend against tradition or what is customary. The pioneer, the reformer, offends,



in religion, art or morals, because he is prophetic of a new order which demands change and adjustments of the old.

**THE** "rogue" offends because he does not respect those embodiments of tradition (laws and conventions) which experience shows make social life possible. All uncommon ideas or behavior, all refusals to "toe the line" thus become matters of suspicion. It was consequently no accident that Jesus and the thieves were crucified at one and the same time, as being equally unsettling and dangerous to society.

The tragic cost to the world of such indiscriminating treatment is clear to us all. We should be warned that one of the weaknesses of democracy is that it is not always right. Someone once said: "Mortal eyes cannot distinguish the heretic from the saint." But man's history teaches us to be careful in our judgments of our fellow-men.

John W. Kenyon

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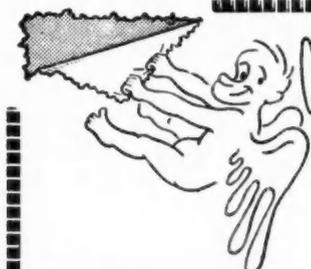
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