

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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POLITICS

GOP charts new war boom after peace-talk victory

WHAT the people voted for was freely admitted last week. According to Paul Leach and Charles Cleveland of the Detroit Free Press (Nov. 6), Eisenhower's "top advisers" explained the vote this way:

Most of all they [the voters] were heart-sick over the war in Korea.

Scripps-Howard's Charles Lucey wrote (Nov. 5):

... The deep, gnawing concern of millions of Americans over the war in Korea appeared plainly in the returns that gave Gen. Ike his tremendous victory.

The Progressive Party had called the turn on what the people wanted most. Eisenhower captured the peace vote but, as Charlotta Bass remarked:

"Ike may fly to Korea but he sure doesn't look like a dove."

MCCARTHY'S BOYS: Eisenhower led his ticket in most industrial centers, indicating that many split their ticket—voting for local Democratic candidates. The Chicago Daily News polled labor leaders, found they agreed that Stevenson lost because of

... the Korean war and Gen. Eisenhower's promise that he would end the war as fast and as honorably as possible.

Many of the most virulent GOP witch hunters trailed their tickets and some were defeated. Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R-Wisc.) was re-elected by a much smaller majority than Eisenhower got.

In Illinois Rep. Richard B. Vall (R), former vocal member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, was defeated by Barratt O'Hara (D), a liberal who campaigned for peace and

civil liberties, Rep. Wm. E. McVey (R-Ill.) also won re-election after pledging to fight for a cease-fire in Korea.

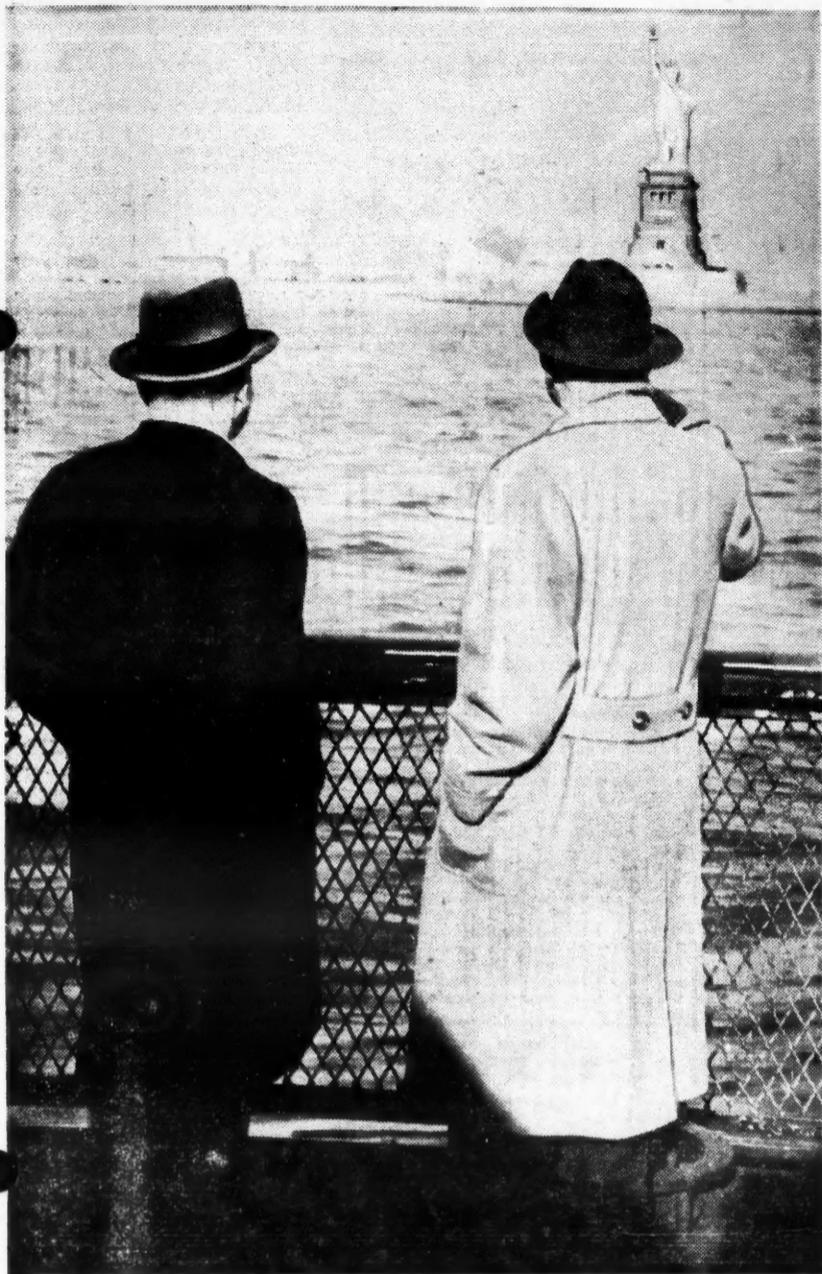
KEM, CAIN, ECTON: Grenville Beardsley, GOP candidate for state attorney



Herblock in Washington Post "Take this one out and burn it."

in Chicago, campaigned for "a little FBI for Cook County" and declared the Intl. Harvester strikers were "striking at the foundation of our society."

(Continued on Page 3)



Gov. Dewey and Gen. Eisenhower inspect the Forgotten Woman

"Give me your tired, your poor. Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free. The wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

—From Emma Lazarus' "The New Colossus," graven on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty.

Borough gets 400,000 votes on PP line for Senator in California

PROGRESSIVE voting strength reached a record high in California on Nov. 4. Incomplete returns showed close to 400,000 ballots cast for the Independent Progressive Party's Reuben Borough for U.S. Senator. The final total was expected to reach 500,000.

Borough, the only alternative to the China Lobby's Sen. Wm. Knowland (running on both Republican and Democratic tickets), won wide labor and liberal support, including groups of

Election analysis by C. B. Baldwin, PP natl. secy., appears on p. 3.

Americans for Democratic Action and local unions as conservative as the AFL Carpenters. Borough doubled his 1950 vote when he ran for state treasurer.

20% FOR COX: IPP's Raymond Cox, running for Assemblyman in the 5th AD, polled 20% of the total vote.

Congressional candidates Olive T. Thompson (23d CD) and Bert Sharp (24th CD) drew 18% each.

IPP's Horace V. Alexander, only Negro Congressional candidate, received 20,000 votes (12% of the vote) in the 26th CD against S. W. Yorty (D).

Robert L. Condon (D) in the 6th CD (Richmond) won his seat with IPP endorsement as did Democratic Assemblymen George Collins of San Francisco and Lester McMillan of Los Angeles.

The national ticket of Hallinan and Bass, clearly hit by the "lesser evil" theory, scored about 70,000 votes (2%).

The elections shifted Progressive center of gravity unmistakably to California, made that state the likeliest proving ground for broad rank-and-file coalition.

RETURNS SLOW: PP returns from the rest of the country were slow in coming in. (Some states would not count PP ballots for weeks.) Most news tallies listed only the two big parties. No estimate of total PP voting strength was possible. Here are spotty returns reported to GUARDIAN:

Michigan

Morton A. Eden, running on a non-partisan ballot but with PP backing, polled 69,861 votes for Supreme Court Justice. (Running for the same office in 1949 Eden drew 100,000.)

No other PP returns were available at press-time from Michigan but, for the first time, a Negro woman, Mrs. Cora Brown (D), was elected to the State Senate. She defeated her GOP opponent by 5-1. Another Negro woman, Mrs. Charline White, and Negro unionist Edgar Currie won Assembly seats. River Rouge voted a local FEPC 4,175 to 3,180.

Pennsylvania

No statewide returns were available from Pennsylvania, but from Philadelphia came these citywide estimates:

Hallinan-Bass: about 3,000; David P. Widaman for Congress, 4th CD, only Negro Congressional candidate in state: under 1,000 (winning candidate scored 89,000); Mrs. Catherine Hanrahan for Legislature: 100 (winning vote: 12,000).

Philadelphia was unique. Though the state went to Eisenhower, the city went Stevenson by a margin of 162,000. Reasons for Stevenson's local victory also shed light on the low PP vote.



REUBEN BOROUGH High man on the PP line

Last year Philadelphia broke a GOP stranglehold. A Democratic reform administration came in. City Democrats campaigned vigorously against McCarthyism and McCarranism. Unlike the state or national campaigns, they pulled no punches. Dist. Atty. Richardson Dilworth spoke out even against Sparkman.

Philadelphia sent seven Negroes to the State Legislature, a gain of one. Only other Pennsylvania return showed York Co. giving 87 votes to Hallinan. In 1948 the county gave Wallace 2,500.

Maryland

The national PP ticket polled 8,939 (incomplete), with 4,747 from Baltimore. There were no local candidates.

HEART OF THE RESISTANCE

At one of our California meetings a lawyer who is one of the most enthusiastic and tireless of GUARDIAN builders described his state as the center of the American resistance. If GUARDIAN circulation is any key to where resistance to the drive against truth and peace is strongest, then he was not far off the mark. And we believe that GUARDIAN circulation is such a key.

Cedric Belgrave on his California tour, GUARDIAN, Aug. 14, 1952.

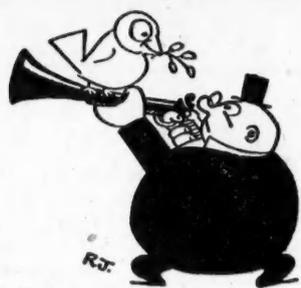
When your best friends ask

"What does the election mean—and where do we go from here? . . ."

TELL THEM

"You should be reading NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Let me enter your sub today."

52 weeks — \$2



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***Talkin' double**
SANTA FE SPRINGS, CALIF.
Harry Truman, during the current campaign, stated that Sen.

fore the committee and refuses to say if he or she ever belonged to a communist or front-communist organization, then he or she is hiding something. In my opinion only on one occasion was the right answer given. This party said that if he denied ever belonging to these organizations, then someone on a later date might lie and say that he once was a member, and then he could be sent to prison for perjury.

If this is true, the GUARDIAN should print it at every opportunity. We, the people, as a rule don't know this because none of the daily papers print the reason

At no time did Stevenson disagree with the Truman policy on Korea, or any other major issue. He out-did Eisenhower on the Communist issue of hate and more hate. How could one expect such a man to stand up and fight, as Roosevelt did, for what is right come what may?
A Reader

A woman's will

DENVER, COLO.
One of Denver's faithful called me to her bedside a few weeks before her death early in October. She wanted assurance that some money from her small estate would be sent to you to help carry on the work you are doing. That work, those "causes" which you promote, were her firm convictions, born out of years of intimate experience beginning some 50 years ago with monarchical persecutions in Hungary, and continuing in America with miner-labor battles in Illinois and Colorado.

Of course, I have no legal authority or papers to document her wishes expressed that night. But I am using the occasion to send you my own personal enclosed check for \$15 in her memory and in the hopes that her heirs will carry out her wishes.

Also, I use this occasion as an example and a plea that other progressive-minded people make provisions, and without procrastination, in their wills that direct gifts of money are bequeathed to the causes which they hold so vital. Let us progressive people not be negligent of our interests for the future.
Marion Ulmer

Friendship in Britain

LONDON, ENGLAND
The enclosed half-page ad from the London Daily Worker is just to show your readers that "red-baiting" has not been as successful here as its authors would wish. These are only some of the meetings held around British-Soviet Friendship Month celebrating this year's Nov. 7 anniversary. I can state from my experience that the public response is inspiring; the tide has, I think,



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monthly magazine, "News from behind the Iron Curtain," be sent to you regularly on a complementary basis. . . . With thanks for your consideration and such cooperation as you are able to extend, I am, Natl. Comm. for a Free Europe, Inc. Thomas W. L. Ashley
Circulation Manager

Enough crucifixions

WELLESLEY HILLS, MASS.
If Jesus should return, as expected by many, would he come like the conquering king envisioned by Paul or would the tragedy of Gethsemane be repeated? If the latter, what would be the framework of the second crucifixion?

Jesus, a Jew of working-class origin, was skeptical that the wealthy would be admitted to the Kingdom of Heaven. The common people heard him gladly; a stoop-pigeon betrayed him for cash; he was convicted of stirring up the populace; the legal sentence of death was duly carried out.

Amid the wild emotionalism of these times, duplication of the tragedy would be easy. An obscure Jewish carpenter, decrying the unequal

brief visits to the States I have seen and heard much to substantiate that fear. It is not that the Americans want a war, but that they have absolutely no idea of the extent that all Europe has suffered from German aggression. It is an impossibility either physically, morally or spiritually for France to fight another war in this generation or even in the ones to come.

"The fear of Germany remains, and there is no one, whatever his political opinions, that views the rearmament of the Boche with pleasure. The American plan to rearm the Wehrmacht has done much to increase U. S. unpopularity.

"The thought of Eisenhower is horrifying. He seems to have no opinions of his own and will probably have to make over his office to all the Old Guard elements."
Eric A. Starbuck

The Rosenbergs and Douglas

KNOXVILLE, TENN.
Guess who recently said this: "There is an ominous trend in this nation. We are developing tolerance only for the orthodox point

THE GUARDIAN'S FUTURE IS IN YOUR HANDS

Ever since Labor Day, NATIONAL GUARDIAN has been under constant threat of being shut down for lack of funds to meet our obligations.

We have refrained from placing this situation before you earlier because of our conviction that the campaigns being waged in behalf of peace and civil rights in the 1952 elections deserved the top-most priority on the energies and funds of our readers — and we did our level

best to stimulate and maintain them.

Now we must ask your immediate attention to the survival of the GUARDIAN, which stands today as the only nationwide medium in the American press serving the progressive and peace forces.

Within the next few days there will be in the hands of every GUARDIAN reader our 1953 annual Holiday letter asking for renewals and contributions to our Sustaining Fund.

We urge you to give this letter your most immediate attention and to make your response as speedy and as generous as you can.

If you receive your GUARDIAN via newsstand, bookshop or bundle distribution, we regret our inability to reach you by direct mail. But we most certainly need your help too.

Let's hear from EVERYONE, this time.

—THE GUARDIAN STAFF

McCarran wasn't his kind of Democrat, and the two McCarran Acts were evil. Talk, talk, just talk.

I quote L. A. Daily News columnist Peter Edson: "The McCarran Act was passed Sept., 1950, over the veto of President Truman, who feared it would infringe on the rights of free speech and assembly.

"Congress appropriated no funds to enforce the act, however, so the President advanced the board \$60,000 from his special funds to get going. Also, he ordered the Dept. of Justice to enforce the act as soon as possible."
A. Holeria

A vote for the future!

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.
One of the tragedies of our socialist movement in the U.S. is that it is divided into so many splinter groups. Of course, some of these divisions are secretly fostered by capitalists themselves in accordance with the old principle of "divide and rule."

But beyond this, we are responsible for a particularly silly kind of division which comes of quibbling over details. Some groups apparently would rather not have socialism at all unless some pet device is incorporated into the scheme.

The main thing, it seems to me, is to proceed to socialism—that is, democratic ownership and operation of our industrial and economic system—and to work out the details of administration, which certainly cannot be set in advance or permanently fixed at any time, after we have achieved public ownership.
Vernon Ward

Why they are silent

LONG BEACH, CALIF.
Often on TV debates the Un-American Activities Committee is brought forward as the "true Americans," etc. A stock accusation is that when a person is brought be-

why those accused refuse to answer yes or no.
A. B.

This is half the answer. If he answers "no," he risks jail for perjury; if he answers "yes," and then refuses to give names of other members, he risks jail for "contempt."
Ed.

The Compass

NEW YORK, N. Y.
I would suggest to every devoted reader of the Compass that he or she decided to donate the 65c weekly cost of buying it toward the sustaining fund of the GUARDIAN.
A. Garcia Diaz

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Now more than ever, we need the GUARDIAN. The Daily Compass went out of existence while I am sorry, it could not be helped. Their policy-makers either did not think clearly on many issues or were afraid to face them squarely.

Its last mistake was to think that one man, Stevenson, would change a policy laid down by those who are driving this nation to war.

How crazy can you get dept.

HINT RED LINK IN NEW BIBLE.—Amid claims that some of the translators have Communist backgrounds, 700 Pentecostal church representatives here yesterday voted to withhold endorsement of the new Revised Standard Version of the Bible. Instead, they voted to set up a committee to investigate translators' backgrounds for possible future action.
L. A. Examiner, Oct. 31.

Free one-year sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: John Y. Quayle Jr., Long Beach, Calif.

definitely turned here.

Edgar P. Young (Cmdr. RN ret'd.)
(The ad lists 34 November meetings and "Soviet film festivals" in 25 London districts, with main meeting in the Empress Hall, London's largest; 39 meetings in English provincial cities, 23 in Scotland. Ed.)

"We Can Be Friends"

FALLBROOK, CALIF.
I and a couple of my friends have read We Can Be Friends and I promise no dust shall accumulate on this book for a long time. This is the book every thinking liberal should read.
J. C. S.

Our little angel

THOMPSON FALLS, MONT.
No other paper can offer anything to equal the contents of our beloved GUARDIAN. Only one criticism: please make our Guardian Angel a little more handsome. He is very cute, but too homely.
Mrs. William Herron

Art Editor Bob Joyce suggested something along the line of Hathaway Shirts' Man of Distinction as below. Ed.



Testimonial?

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Editor, NATL. GUARDIAN:
Because your publication reaches a segment of the public vitally interested in combating Communism, it has been suggested that our

distribution of wealth and speaking otherwise like Jesus, would presumably not be allowed in any Christian pulpit; but there are other ways of inviting Gethsemane. Jesus could return as a Negro or as a Communist. In either case, if he gave unchanged his original message, a crucifixion in the American way would be the natural outcome, with complete approval of the Pharisees.

Perhaps, after all, we have had enough crucifixions. Those who agree should help tell the world of two American citizens, the Rosenbergs, sentenced to death after a farcical trial in which they were unbelievably accused of trying to aid a military ally of the United States!
Alexander E. Wight

An American abroad

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.
The following extracts are from a letter recently received from England, from a near relative of two distinguished Presidents of the U. S. who has many contacts among men of large affairs.

"Without exception, from right to left, the main concern in Western Europe is the avoidance of another war (all these comments exclude Spain and Portugal). The fear in Europe is that the Americans believe that another world war is inevitable. And I must say that in my

Highly recommended as an instrument for peace through greater U.S.-Soviet understanding: the "35 Years of Soviet Progress" special issue (Nov.) of New World Review, with contributions by Shostakovitch, DuBois, Rivera, Mikhailov, O'Casey, Bernal, Pritt, Lamont, Maltz, Nearing, Fritchman, Harry F. Ward, Eslanda Robeson, Mme. Sun, Elmer Benson, Philip Morrison, Theodor Rosebury, etc. (NWR, 114 E. 32d St., N. Y. C. 16; 20c, \$2 a year.)

of view. . . . Orthodoxy was always the stronghold of the status quo, the enemy of new ideas—at least new ideas that were disturbing. He who was wedded to the orthodox view was isolated from the challenge of new facts. The democratic way of life rejects standardised thought. . . . It wants the fullest and freest discussion within peaceful limits of all public issues. It encourages constant search of truth. . . ."

Justice Douglas of the U. S. Supreme Court composed those courageous words. The same man, yes, who in the past few weeks joined in that court's cowardly refusal to hear Ethel and Julius Rosenberg's plea for a little of that "tolerance . . . truth . . . and justice."
A. R. Douglas

Well, not LIKE them . . .

ST. LOUIS, MO.
A little on the \$10,000 you need. If you just had 76 friends like Nixon's. . . .
Clara Perkins



Gabriel in Daily Worker, London
"I hope they allow you back into America, General—you know this is the hotel Charlie Chaplin's staying at."

The Progressive Party's analysis of the election and the job ahead

By C. B. Baldwin
Natl. Secy., Progressive Party

WHAT beat Stevenson was above all the Administration's failure to end the Korean War—and his failure to suggest that it ever would be ended within foreseeable time.

All the Monday morning quarter-backing cannot hide this and a few other basic facts about the election.

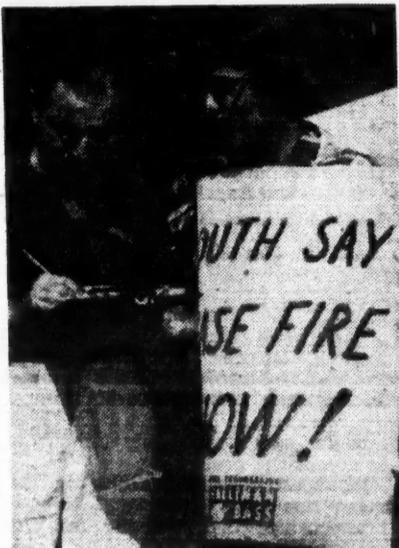
First, the American people voted their accumulated anger and disgust with the dead-end policies and failures they laid at the door of Truman and his party. Stevenson's early effort to clear his skirts of Truman and the party hacks was nullified by his own complete defense of the Truman foreign policy and the war in Korea. The only big-city Democratic machine which survived the election was Philadelphia's, which stressed its own good local record and soft-pedaled the national party, even continuing attacks on Sparkman.

CASCADE FOR PEACE: Second, the average voter, deprived of knowledge of a real choice, groped for the only alternative known to him—the candidacy of Eisenhower, who played on resentments but, far more important, finally offered to do something about Korea, the root of our ills.

Korea was forced into the campaign against the bi-partisan agreement to keep it out. Democratic leaders like Chapman admit this was a cascade of votes to end the senseless war and its consequences—high prices and taxes, wage freeze, betrayal of the Truman promises of 1948.

Stevenson and Truman riddled the Eisenhower platitudes and deflated the general's generalities—but they offered no hope for peace and no real promise of resistance to reaction. Stevenson's call for more sacrifice and more sweat—for what?—was no answer.

BLACKED-OUT ALTERNATIVE: Third, the Progressive Party program and candidates, which offered the only real alternative of resistance to reac-



ALL STATES PLEASE COPY
How California did it

tion and war in both parties, were almost completely shrouded from the voters. Probably not one voter in a thousand was permitted to hear about Hallinan and Bass; the blackout—one of the most rigorous in history—revealed the true nature of the big-business drive to get out the vote.

We also suffered from a dose of lesser-evil illusions, which not only diverted votes but paralyzed many workers. Despite this, it was the Progressive Party campaign which hit the issues uppermost in the minds of the great majority of people: ending the war in Korea, civil rights, ending the wage freeze, controlling prices, lowering taxes, peacetime jobs.

Where the alternative was clear, as in the California races, our candidate for the Senate Reuben Borrough rolled up 300,000 votes, and Congressional candidates such as Horace Alexander rolled

(Calif., Colo., Fla., Mo.) but were leaning to the Democrats. Though the official margin was slim, many Southern Democrats vote with the GOP.

In the Senate the lineup was Republicans, 46; Democrats, 47; independent, one—Wayne Morse of Oregon, who read himself out of the GOP and campaigned for Stevenson. Ties are decided by Vice President Nixon as Senate president.

HUSH PUPPY: Nixon last week ran through a welcome-home greeting with his family three times for newsreel cameramen in Washington; the celebrated dog Checkers was nowhere to be seen. (Columnist Drew Pearson reported that the pup had been hired for Nixon's TV appearance, when he touched many hearts while explaining his private slush fund.)

Eisenhower, golfing in Georgia, took time out to name Mass. Sen. Lodge (defeated) as his main liaison officer with President Truman to effect the changeover. Truman offered Eisenhower the Presidential plane "if he still wanted to go" to Korea. Eisenhower said a simple army bomber would do. Jets would fly escort, the army said. At the week-end some of Eisenhower's advisers were reported against his trip altogether.

WHERE TO GO: The Democratic Party was looking for new directions. The question was: would the Democrats go on trying to reconcile the South (which, though badly dented, still yielded the party most of its electoral votes) with the liberals and labor (which was able to deliver only West Virginia, thanks to Lewis' Mine Workers).

There were indications that the voting signified no permanent geographical shift in party lines. Though GOP Natl. Committee chairman Arthur E. Summerfield told newsmen the South would be rewarded with GOP patronage, Southern leaders predicted the

up 20,000 votes, or from 12 to 20% of the vote.

RED LIGHT FOR LABOR: Fourth, there are real and potent dangers ahead. The people, in a profound sense, voted for a change—but the men who ran Eisenhower have their own definition of what the "change" is to be.

The NAM's coalition of Taft and Dixiecrats are whetting the knife for the unions, to extend Taft-Hartley, outlaw industry-wide bargaining, drive down wages, shift taxes further from the corporations to the people. The packers and the speculators eye the farm program: The Chamber of Commerce's blueprint of repression extending into every field of life is being dusted off for the next Congress. And worst of all, Dulles, MacArthur and the Pentagon are working up their plans for bigger armaments and wars. Wall St. market prices jumped—and so did the spirits of Formosa, Bonn and Franco—while the European "allies" that Stevenson boasted of were, to say the least, downcast.

THE JOB NOW: We face a real fight; but we face it with some confidence. For if the American people voted their disgust at the most unpopular war in our history and its consequences, then we have an unlimited opportunity to work with them to get what they voted for, and to fight against those who would try to use the election as a license for reaction. It is our job to help unite all those who voted for Stevenson as a lesser evil, as well as those who voted for Eisenhower in the hope he would end the war, to get action on the issues for which they voted.

There is no better prescription for the future than immediate action. And already our state organizations are launching the following actions to lead, to spark and to prod others into moving on issues:

• Step up the fight to end the war in Korea through letters and telegrams to both Truman and Eisenhower, and visits to Congressmen.

• Demand Eisenhower make good on his promise to do something about discrimination and segregation in the nation's capital. We are starting a drive now to make this an American inauguration in Washington, not a Jim Crow inauguration by demanding action to abolish segregation and discrimination

WE come to the end of the campaign with pride in our party, with respect and admiration for its devoted and courageous members, with confidence in the rightness of our program, and with renewed determination to carry forward the fight for its realization.

We take this opportunity to express our thanks to the GUARDIAN for its invaluable presentation of the issues and its excellent campaign coverage. We wish also to thank the GUARDIAN readers for their active support.

We know that we can count both on your publication and its readers to carry on the good fight which will continue until peace, freedom, equality and security have been won for the people of America.

VINCENT HALLINAN
CHARLOTTA A. BASS

in the capital's restaurants, hotels, and public facilities.

• Organize delegations at once to visit Congressmen—before they leave for Washington—with a program of action on civil rights, particularly Senate Rule 22 and FEPC, price and rent controls, abolishing the wage freeze, and peace in Korea.

• Stem the tide of repression by an all-out, stepped up campaign on the most immediate issue, saving the lives of the Rosenbergs.

The most inspiring thing about the campaign is that, having fought for the issues from the beginning, every single state and local group of the Progressive Party sees the aftermath as a tremendous opportunity to carry forward and broaden that fight.

Big business charts a new war boom

(Continued from Page 1)

Against him stood John Gutknecht (D), furiously red-baited by the Chicago Tribune. Gutknecht won.

Other extreme reactionaries retired were Sen. Kem (R-Mo.), defeated by former Air Secy. W. Stuart Symington; Sen. Cain (R-Wash.), by Rep. Henry M. Jackson; Sen. Ecton (R-Mont.), by Rep. Mike Mansfield.

Key inquisition committee in the 83d Congress is likely to be Un-American Activities under the chairmanship of former FBI man Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.). Ex-committee head Martin Dies (D-Tex.) may rejoin it.

LANGER'S FUTURE: Successor by seniority to Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, parent body of the Internal Security sub-committee, is Sen. Wm. Langer (R-N.D.) who in 1950 fought a whole night until he collapsed on the Senate floor in a vain effort to uphold President Truman's veto of the McCarran Act. Langer may be regarded by the GOP high command as too independent and may be maneuvered out of the way in favor of Sen. Ferguson of Michigan. More will be heard from the House Committee on Expenditures, to be chaired by Rep. Clare E. Hoffman (R-Mich.) and its Senate counterpart, headed by McCarthy. McCarthy said last week that he would concentrate on "graft and corruption," that Eisenhower would take the lead in the war on "communists in government." Republicans of varying shades will replace the out-going Dixiecrat chairmen in other committees.

The House shaped up this way last week: Republicans, 221; Democrats, 209. Four seats were still in doubt



Painting by Ted Gilfen
BIPARTISAN

South would return to the Democrats with greatly increased bargaining power, now that they could no longer be taken for granted.

On the other hand the Eisenhower landslide did not register in local races in the big Northern cities. There the Democratic Party was very much alive, in many places still in power.

WHEE-E-EE! A common thread ran through the big business press reaction to Eisenhower's election. It was reassurance to its readers that Eisenhower would not live up to his campaign promises to cut the budget and taxes and end inflation; but that he would instead increase the flow of war spending. Said Journal of Commerce (11/6):

DEFENSE PROGRAM SEEN ASSURING PEAK BUSINESS RATE; STOCKS UP, COMMODITIES OFF ON EISENHOWER VICTORY—HIGH LEVEL LOOMS FOR 9-12 MONTHS WITHOUT THREAT OF DISRUPTION.

Even assuming the new Administration is successful in its initial attempts to seek out waste, defense spending will continue to increase throughout next year . . . probably at a faster pace and to a higher peak than generally anticipated.

The Wall St. Journal, Business Week and U. S. News gave Eisenhower verbal tricks to explain away his promises, and statistical tricks formally to "cut" the budget while actually increasing war spending. They warned him not to take seriously the "mistaken impression" that he has a mandate to end inflation (WSJ, 11/6).

POINT OF VIEW: A loan company head, William Thompson of Seaboard Finance, Los Angeles, said:

"We expect to move ahead substantially in 1953."

An appliance dealer, Frank Fabrizzi of Ideal Appliances, Detroit, was less elated. He said:

"My customers will think twice before letting go of a dollar."

Puerto Rico doubles independence vote

THE Puerto Rican constitution, approved early this year by the U.S. Congress, was calculated to appease independence sentiment without granting independence. In last week's elections, the first under the constitution, the Independentista Party, campaigning for full independence, doubled its 1948 vote, polled 125,403 and became the island's second largest party.

Gov. Luis Munoz-Marin's Partido Popular won, as expected, drawing 426,524 votes. Other results: Estadistas (Statehood advocates), 84,056; Socialists, 21,907.

WAR & PEACE Chiang, Franco, Bonn like Ike; world takes dim view

WHILE President-elect Eisenhower recuperated from campaign exhaustion on a golf course in Georgia, reactions to his landslide victory from nations all over the world whose destinies are bound up with U.S. decisions began to come in. The "satisfaction" in Spain (N.Y. Times, 11/5) at the election of a general, allied with Sen. Taft and likely to sympathize with the views and aims of Spain's Gen. and Chief of State Franco, was reflected also in Chiang's Formosa, Rhee's S. Korea, and Adenauer's W. Germany.



Carrefour (Gaullist), Paris

"For some time they've been conducting their diplomacy as a team. The donkey does the thinking and the elephant does the execution."

Elsewhere in Europe and Asia, misgivings were either implied or frankly expressed, as in India. With the Nehru government fearing cuts in U.S. aid (Ambassador Chester Bowles, who may now be replaced, has plugged for \$1 billion in grants and loans to India), the austere Times of India in an editorial "The Wrong Man" (11/6) said:

[Eisenhower] has proven himself a willing and effective tool in the hands of the professional politicians. The democratic world cannot be blamed for assuming that... it is the disastrous tribe of McCarthys and Tafts who will shape American policy.

KOREA ON ICE: UN delegates withheld comment, waiting for announcement of a new cabinet. The chief problem, Korea, was more or less on ice pending Eisenhower's trip to that devastated country, his announcement of which had drawn votes from millions of war-sick Americans. Few at UN saw hope of an early effort to settle the Korean question, and there were fears that the trip would lead to Washington pressure on its already feet-dragging allies to join in an extended war.

Little progress toward ending the truce deadlock had been registered so far. The Indonesian, Mexican and Peruvian proposals, ostensibly meant to reconcile the U.S. and Soviet positions, had in fact supported the Acheson proposal by accepting his stand on principles of POW repatriation. India's delegation was reported trying to sound out the Peking government through the Indian embassy there as to the latest Chinese view of the POW issue. But as Alvarez del Vayo wrote in *The Nation* (11/8), to prevent expansion of the war... truce negotiations will have to be filled with a new content... for example, the question of the eventual admission [to UN] of Communist China, or of a general conference on Asian problems... From this point of view a new commission [to Korea] like that proposed by Mr. Vishinsky would feel freer to explore beyond the narrow problem of the exchange of prisoners.

For their proposed new commission to settle the war, the Soviets this week nominated the U.S. and U.S.S.R., Britain, France, China, India, Burma, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, N. and S. Korea.

"HOUR OF DECISION": Possible implications of Eisenhower's trip had been suggested before his election in a U.S. News forecast (11/7) of the use, under a new President, of more S. Korean and other Asian troops including Chiang's. AP's John Randolph had cabled just before America went to the polls (Newsweek, 11/10):

The Allies have come to the hour of decision... They must call [the war] off as ruinously expensive in men and material, or... raise the ante and win it once and for all... The Allies have paid a price in blood and ammunition that

has shaken UN commanders and will jolt the public when the full cost is disclosed. CBS' Ed Murrow (11/6) gave a glimpse of the briefing Eisenhower was likely to get from U.S. brass in Korea:

- Without tremendous reinforcements and willingness to gamble on taking heavy casualties, there is no way to force a truce or a military decision in Korea.
- Gen. Clark's HQ believes Chiang's troops should be used in as large numbers as possible.
- Due to oncoming sub-zero weather, neither side projects a major offensive.
- U.S. weapons are adequate, but troop morale is lower than a year ago.
- It would take two years or more to train and equip 10 new S. Korean divisions.
- Increased air activity will not sap Chinese-N. Korean strength enough to force them to talk peace.
- A big effort next spring to force a decision in Korea is not recommended; commanders trusted by Clark urge all-out war against China with a naval blockade, air attacks on China, a diversionary attack by Chiang troops in S. China, amphibious operations to cut off the Communists and destroy or force them out of Korea.

JAPAN WAR BOOM: As U.S. casualties in Korea rose by 1,174, N. Korea again asked UN to hear its side of the

Such women are dangerous

CHELSEA, Mass., Oct. 28 (UP)—Nurses in Korean combat areas are "making babies" of wounded American troops, according to a VA psychiatrist. Dr. William F. Murphy, chief of the open ward neuro-psychiatric services at Cushing VA Hospital, said:

"It has been found that the female influence tends to encourage a giving-in and a regression to more infantile character patterns."

Los Angeles Examiner, Oct. 28



Tribune des Nations, Paris

11/6). But the conflict between U.S. rearming pressure and the need to improve living standards to maintain internal order was likely to be "a big political problem," said Cabinet secy. Ogata.

West Germany

Nazi, anti-war forces both gain strength

EISENHOWER'S victory brought "unbridled elation" (NYT, 11/6) from W. Germany's Adenauer, who hoped the new President would be able to push Paris and Rome ratification of the European Army treaty. As the news reached Bonn, W. Germany was getting set for communal elections in the midst of an upsurge of Nazis, whose Socialist Reich party in anti-Semitic leaflets was urging Germans: "Do not vote, but wait. We shall return." An early election winner in Saxony was Gen. Schepmann, former chief of staff of Hitler storm-troopers.

Meanwhile Adenauer was "plagued" (NYT from Bonn, 11/8) by the announcement of a new political party based on the majority German insistence on re-unification of the country and against rearmament. Among leaders of the new party were former Interior Minister Heinemann of the Evangelical wing of Adenauer's own Christian Democratic Union, and former Catholic Center Party parliamentary leader Helene Wessel.

SHADES OF HINDENBURG: Also plaguing Adenauer was a protest against ratification of the Bonn peace pact and the European Army plan signed by 33 prominent Germans, including zeppelin pioneer Dr. Hugo Eckener. The group demanded postponement of ratification until all avenues for a four-power agreement on Germany unification were explored; declared that the pact would saddle W. Germany with unbearable economic burdens and increase the danger of war.

From Max Brauer, Socialist mayor of Hamburg, came a dissenting voice on Eisenhower. He recalled that Germany, too, once elected a general—Hindenburg—and hoped the general Americans elected would be a general of peace.

Fear of 'new' Germany mounts in France

What pleased W. Germany's government only added to the worry of France's; general French feeling was that Eisenhower's victory would aggravate all their problems. Still smarting from his campaign remark about their "decadence" as a people, the French had learned last month of an off-the-record meeting in Washington (front-paged by well-informed *Tribune des Nations* editor Andre Ullmann, 10/17) in which Eisenhower told "some trustworthy journalists" about "his real attitude toward U.S. military aid to Europe." The general was reported as having said that, in its insistence on getting more U.S. "off-shore" arms

"FRIENDSHIP MUST BE MUTUAL"

Exclusive interview with leader of China's peace movement

By Israel Epstein

PEKING

IN an exclusive interview granted me by Kuo Mo-jo, World Peace Council vice-chairman who gave the keynote report at the Asian Peace Conference here, the noted Chinese author and leader had these things to say to Americans:

FRIENDSHIP: "There is no reason why China and the U.S. cannot live and co-operate in peace—but friendship must be mutual; it cannot be unilateral. Chinese people know and respect its peace."



KUO MO-JO

Friendship is possible

Jefferson, Lincoln and Whitman. If Americans similarly understand and respect our democratic aspirations and achievements this will help good relations."

WAR ECONOMY: "We—think peace leads to prosperity, not depression. Countries of lower productivity want to

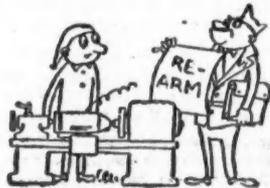
buy materials to help their industrialization. We Chinese have no curtain, iron or bamboo, to ban importation of things we need. So there is no reason for highly productive countries to be anxious about economic prospects; this is the time for them to enjoy good trade. Many capitalist nations have already broken their own official embargoes to trade with us.

"The threat of economic crisis is created by the present war economy. Producing more arms means producing less goods for the consumer, represents tremendous waste of man-power and materials and causes inflation; arms, particularly planes, quickly become obsolete and useless junk."

JAPAN: "China has raw materials essential to Japan and requires industrial goods Japan can sell. Trade would be useful to both, particularly to Japan. Rearmament of Japan helps neither Japan nor America. Japan could never create enough strength to hurt China and the U.S.S.R. in battle. And having lived in Japan for 20 years, I know pretty well the thinking of the Japanese militarists. If they are allowed to build up new power, they will certainly hit out where it is easier, not where it is harder. Hitler was built up by the West but struck first at the West; Japan also picked Pearl Harbor as its first target. If the situation is renewed, Japan will not fight in the direction Washington wants. So if you pardon my saying so, rearming Japan is a policy of fools."

U. S. ILLUSIONS: "When Roosevelt died, many Chinese people wept; I can't imagine them weeping for Truman. Peace is of benefit not only to us, but especially to Americans. As U.S. delegates here have seen for themselves, we have developed with tremendous speed even with embargo and blockade. The U.S. and its associated countries have on the contrary run themselves into serious difficulties.

"It is clear that any profit the U.S. hopes to get at others' expense is illusory and dangerous, and that the only real way out for the American people



Work



Pay



Shoot



The German-American, New York

orders, France was behaving "like a spoiled and capricious child accustomed to getting everything by means of tears and supplications." According to him, W. Germany had much more right to U. S. military aid than France. . . . For this reason, Eisenhower said, if he became President he would see to it that U. S. military aid to Germany would be increased.

Conscious that the attempt to impose the European Army scheme on an increasingly reluctant Europe would be one of their first headaches, Eisenhower's advisers moved swiftly on election night. UP reported (11/5):

President-elect Eisenhower broadcast a message of friendship to France today over a French radio network. . . . It was believed to be the first time an American President-elect has made such a gesture toward a particular country on the day of his election.

"IS IT INSANE . . . ?" The growing fear of a rearmend, un-denazified Germany was reflected in an article by editor Beuve-Mery of the neutralist *Le Monde* (10/29). France, he wrote, must take a chance on reconciliation with Germany—but only on condition Germany definitely repudiated the men and ideas of Hitler. Quoting the British Royal Inst. of Intl. Affairs—"Germany will be in five years the most powerful member of NATO"—Beuve-Mery summed up the nature of this power as now taking shape:

Alfred Krupp absolved of all sin. . . . Hjalmar Schacht making his world tours to fructify once again the same sort of genius he so long put at the service of the Fuehrer. . . . Adenauer's bland statement that two-thirds of his Foreign Ministry personnel are former Nazis. . . . Gen. Ramcke exalting the SS and denouncing the Allies as "the real war criminals." . . . Newly-pardoned Kesselring speaking of rearmament and adding: "For me, the future is contained in the past." . . . German terrorist groups subsidized by Americans. Is it insane to hope still for an awakening of good sense in Washington. . . ? A profound impact had been made

bomb. According to him, the only problem is to convince the politicians and industrialists, "who have not the imagination and breadth of view of the Fuehrer," said Prof. Heisenberg recently. Germany, then, is going to make atomic armaments. . . . It is probable that at the start this enterprise will be semi-clandestine and will be concentrated in the U. S. Zone . . .

BRITISH LABOR "DISMAY": Britons, reported NYT from London 11/6, were "nervous about Eisenhower." The press from Left to Right worried about his inexperience and the type of politicians surrounding him, and wondered what he would do to stave off world depression. Labour's *Daily Herald* commented: . . . All liberal and progressive Americans and all organized labor in particular will accept it with dismay and foreboding.

The "serious 'bad feeling'" (AP from London, 11/8) between U. S. troops and the British public, which has been flaring up in incidents of violence, caused U. S. cultural attache R. P. Taylor to form an Anglo-American group to press Churchill and Eisenhower into "an effort to improve relations."

S. Africa: more violence

Attempts by the Malan government in S. Africa to enforce segregation laws caused mounting violence. When thousands of diamond miners in Kimberley, who are recruited from tribal areas in what amounts to a system of penal labor, "rioted after drinking strong Kaffir beer" (NYT, 11/9), police used machine-guns, killing 14, injuring 39.

In Durban "rioting which broke out as police went in to disperse an illegal meeting" (AP, 11/9), 10 were killed including two whites.

In Port Elizabeth, where bloody riots occurred three weeks ago, the African Natl. Congress had called a mass 24-hour strike for Monday to protest the ban on Negro meetings.

THE LAW

Supreme Ct. weighs 2d Rosenberg appeal

FOR Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—under an unprecedented sentence of death on a charge of relaying atom-bomb information to the Soviet Union while that country was a war-time ally—time was running short last week. Their last hope for a judicial review of their conviction and sentence lay in the hands of the Supreme Court which had before it a petition for a re-hearing of its own earlier decision not to interfere with lower court rulings.

An adverse ruling there would limit the Rosenbergs' chances to escape execution to executive clemency vested in the President. Around the country and around the world many new voices last week were added to those already raised in behalf of the couple.

Mass rallies were held in Newark, N. J., and Chicago; others were planned in Manhattan (Palm Gardens, Nov. 19), the Bronx, N. Y. (New Terrace Gardens, Nov. 19), and Los Angeles (Embassy Auditorium, Nov. 20).

From coast to coast door-bell ringers were working toward the goal of a million messages to President Truman urging clemency, a campaign sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Av., N. Y. 18, N. Y.

"HORRIBLE KILLING": Famed civil rights attorney Arthur Garfield Hays, writing in *The Nation* (Nov. 8), argued against "the damnable death penalty"



and urged that "this horrible killing" be avoided. From California's East Bay district a group of influential laymen associated with the weekly publication, *The Catholic Worker*, made this appeal to the President:

Motivated by a belief in the Sermon on the Mount, we are opposed to capital punishment on the part of our states. Furthermore, we believe that the sentences of death imposed upon the Rosenbergs are vindictive, out of all proportion to other

Adolph J. Sabath

IN 1879 a 13-year-old boy in Bohemia (now part of Czechoslovakia) heard about the wonders of U. S. democracy and freedom. For two years he saved small coins for a \$40 steerage passage, had just enough left to ride a cattle-car to Chicago. He got a job as a shoe salesman, became manager of the store, went to night school, took a



law degree, saved enough money to bring ten brothers and sisters here. He got into politics, served ten years as a police magistrate, won a reputation as a defender of the underdog. In 1907 (Teddy Roosevelt was President) he took his seat in the House of Representatives for the first of a record 24 consecutive terms. Last

Thursday, at the age of 86, with a total of 45 years service in the House, Adolph J. Sabath died.

Two days earlier, his Chicago constituents had re-elected him. He represented them so well that, as usual, no campaign was needed. His record:

- As Dean of the House, chairman for most of 15 years of its Rules Committee, he racked up a record of honest progressivism hardly ever equaled;
- None fought more fiercely for the foreign-born (his was the voice of the immigrant American; to his death he preserved a strong Bohemian accent);
- There was no stauncher supporter of Roosevelt (in the FDR era he saw many of his long-fought-for measures enacted into law);
- The House Un-American Activities Committee had a powerful foe in him from the outset; he regularly introduced bills to abolish it.
- Even more opposed to the McCarran Act of 1950 and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act (to him, a mockery of his whole career) which goes into effect Dec. 24, he lauded the Natl. Comm. to Repeal the McCarran Act last year as "a potent force" to wipe from the books "this legislation . . . contrary to the principles of American democracy."

His death is a sad one for the people; he was one of the very last of the very best of an earlier America. The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference wired Mrs. Sabath:

Millions who supported [his] efforts to repeal the Smith thought-control Act mourn with you. . . . Your husband will ever be remembered as one of our country's greatest fighters to strengthen the Bill of Rights which the Smith Act abrogates.

sentences given in the same trial, out of all proportion to any sentences in a peacetime trial in our history. We therefore ask you to grant clemency to the Rosenbergs. Their execution would not serve justice or mercy but only revenge.

George Sarton, president of the Intl. Historical Science Union, declared:

It is clear to me that the death sentence is as harsh and unjust as it is unprecedented. . . . The sentence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg should be commuted for the sake of justice, not of charity.

SUSPECT: Waldo Frank, well-known American writer, said:

The generous way in which we have punished malignant and traitorous advocates of Fascism, like Axis Sally, Tokyo Rose and Ezra Pound, makes the death sentence against this unfortunate couple suspect to the entire world.

Other U. S. leaders speaking out last week included the Rev. John Paul Jones, Prof. Anatol Rapoport, internationally-known biologist of the University of Chicago, Dr. Paul L. Whitely of Franklin and Marshall College, and Dr. Roland H. Bainton of Yale Divinity School.

Two more British attorneys spoke up, Dudley Collard and Stanley Moore; the latter said:

I can assure you that I speak on behalf of a number of lawyers in this country, in expressing these views, and if these views can be brought before the Court in any way and will assist in the death sentence being commuted, I shall be extremely happy.

In London a group of five well-known British authors appealed for clemency to the U. S. Embassy, and the British Natl. Assn. of Women sent a delegation.

CHINA TO AUSTRALIA: Sydney Silverman, a leading British Member of Parliament, sent this message to the Rosenberg Committee:

I have no hesitation at all in saying that I contemplate with horror the possibility that the death sentence could really be carried out in such a case by any civilized country, least of all by the United States of America, upon whom history has placed in our time so heavy a responsibility for the wise leadership of so many nations in the onward march of civilization. . . . To exact the extreme penalty from these two unfortunates . . . is to make the Rosenbergs personally responsible for all the errors of all the statesmen of the world which since the end of the war have so tragically lost the peace for which we all hoped.

Protests came in also from the Intl. Assn. of Democratic Lawyers with headquarters in Belgium, the Democratic Rights Council in Sydney, Australia, and the All-China Federation of Labor. From New Zealand the Very Rev. C. W. Chandler, Dean of Waikate, wrote:

It is to be hoped that a reprieve will be granted to both these people, if not on the grounds of innocence in all particulars, at least on the grounds of human

justice, especially as in this instance, it concerns two Jewish people.

The first "atomic spy" brought to trial by the West, Dr. Allan Nunn May of Britain, will be released "probably in December," Britain's Home Office said last week. May, who confessed and said he "did it for the safety of mankind," has served a sentence of 6½ years.

Smith Act victims increase across U. S.

FOR Smith Act victims and their kin, anything seemed fair to the government last week.

In Detroit William Allan, *Daily Worker* reporter under indictment with five others, was notified that an effort will be made to revoke his citizenship which he has held for 17 years.

Mrs. Peggy Wellman, wife of another Detroit victim and mother of two children, was arrested and held in \$5,000 bail on a charge of illegal entry; the government listed a date two days before her birth. At Danbury prison Jack Stachel, serving a term under a Smith Act conviction and suffering a serious heart ailment, was ordered to a deportation hearing without time or opportunity to consult an attorney.



In San Francisco Al Richmond, an editor of the *Daily Peoples World* recently convicted under the Smith Act but free on bail pending appeal, was hit with a new charge that he swore falsely when denying Communist affiliations when he was naturalized.

In St. Louis, three of five Smith Act victims there were still in jail with excessively high bail ranging from \$25,000 to \$40,000.

In Pittsburgh, where a Smith Act trial of five victims opened last week, Steve Nelson, one of the defendants held in a county prison without bail under an earlier state seditious law conviction, was variously housed in a dungeon, a cell on Condemned Row and in the narcotics-psychopathic section until protests returned him to a regular cell.



Mittelberg in L'Humanite, Paris "Who is it?" "The European Army."

on France by the statement of President Auriol, in opening the Donzere-Mondragon dam on the Rhone river, that the "unhappy and futile enterprise" of the Indo-China war (Combat, liberal, 10/27) had cost twice as much as all aid given France by the U. S. Combat bitterly asked:

How many Donzere-Mondragons, how much housing for the French people, how many factories and tractors could have been produced with the 1,600 milliards of francs and the men thrown into the mud of Tonkin?

GERMAN A-BOMB LOOMS: Conservative French newspapers were not only expressing hurt national pride following Britain's successful explosion of an A-bomb in the Montebello Islands while France is years from having the bomb; they were horrified by the likelihood that Germany would have the bomb in short order. Heartened by the British success in exploding a completely home-made bomb, the Germans, wrote Jerome Cardan in *Tribune des Nations* (10/24), feel they can do even better:

The new Degussa-Auer-Otavi-Goldsmit combine could construct large plutonium-isolating facilities under conditions superior even to those in the U. S. . . . Krupp engineers have already developed greatly improved detonating mechanism for the bomb. Prof. Heisenberg believes he has all the necessary know-how to make an A-

Ward goes on trial Nov. 24; protest high

IN Chicago the hard-fought strike of the Farm Equipment division of the United Electrical Workers against Harvester last week was in its 3d month and Harold Ward, financial secretary of FE-UE Local 107, a Negro, was being held without bail in Cook Co. Jail, indicted on two charges: assault against one man; murder of another.

Trial has been set for Nov. 24. Meanwhile Chicago's south side has taken action. A motorcade of 50 cars, manned by men and women from three Harvester locals, toured the area last week with placards calling the case a "frame-up." Twelve Negro churches have formally denounced the charges.

VARIATIONS ON THEME: The assault

charge grew out of a complaint by non-striker Watson Wright that he had been slugged over the head with a baseball bat. After talking with Chicago Police Capt. Barnes, head of the bitterly anti-union labor squad, Wright named Ward as his assailant.

The murder indictment came after another non-striker, William Foster, 62, was found dead on Oct. 8 near his home. Foster also was a Negro. Chicago newspapers in the first day ran police accounts of the murder which varied with each edition as to time, place, weapon and the description of the killer.

No inquest was held. While the police said they had no clues, the company, within hours after the crime, declared the union responsible, posted a \$10,000 reward, sought and won an injunction drastically limiting picketing. (Foster

was found five miles from the plant.)

The Chicago papers took their cue. Sample headlines:

HUNT UNION HEAD IN FATAL BEATING (Herald-American, Oct. 5); **STRIKER SEIZED IN SLAYING OF NON-UNION MAN** (Sun-Times, Oct. 4); **CHARGE UNION BOSS IN MURDER** (News, Oct. 10); **GRAB STRIKER IN HARVESTER MAN SLAYING** (Tribune, Oct. 4).

MYSTERY MAN: Harold Ward, long a target of the company and the labor squad, militant unionist and peace leader, was reported sought. He walked into police headquarters with a union attorney. Two witnesses, Foster's wife and a janitor, failed to identify him. Police then turned up a "mystery witness" (described by the Sun-Times, Oct. 10, as a "non-union employe of the company). He said he had seen the killing from a parked car, "identified" Ward. On his testimony alone an in-

dictment was obtained.

SUPPORT NEEDED: The strike, despite injunctions and press attacks, is solid, the scab line thin. Smoke pouring from the factory chimneys last week, union spokesmen said, was tar paper being burned to give the impression that production was going full blast.

Grant Oakes, treasurer of the union's Natl. Harvester Welfare Committee, asked support from all labor. He said:

"As you can well imagine a strike of 30,000 involves countless food, rent, medical and hardship cases, and the Harvester men and women, fighting courageously for a decent future for all, seriously need your financial help."

Cash or food may be sent to the union's headquarters, 37 S. Ashland Blvd., Chicago.

The Natl. Committee For Freedom of Harold Ward set up offices at the same address.

CALENDAR

Listings in this section are available at 40¢ a line (five words); minimum charge \$2 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

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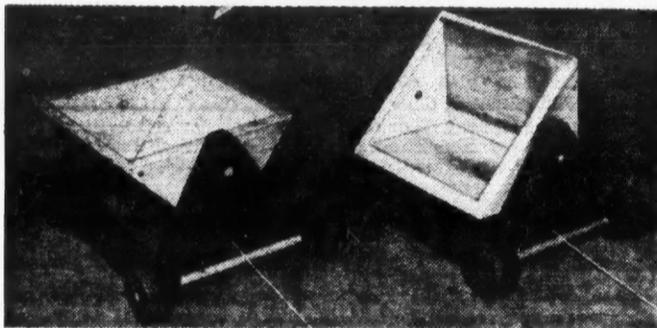
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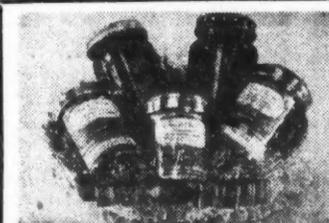
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NEW QUAKER PAMPHLET

Idea is to agree before we fight again

By Cedric Belfrage

... Mankind's next step is to disarm, and the time for disarmament to begin is NOW.

THE words of the Quakers—mild, firm, chosen with infinite patience so as to exercise the greatest possible influence on war-heated brains of every hue—come to us like an echo from some dim past when America honored reason. In a new pamphlet* developing some of the ideas advanced in Steps to Peace (1951), their approach and argument are again so devastating that scared liberal rabbits making pretensions to objectivity may prefer to avoid the challenge by the simple process of not reading it. Thus it is again the duty and privilege of progressives—for few others will do it—to get the pamphlet into as many hands as possible, by force and violence if necessary.

The Quakers are, of course, getting a strong dose of the blackout treatment since they publicly took up the arms of reason against the murderous idiocy of the cold war. But they cannot be altogether fenced off and silenced short of a Budenzian or other "proof" that they are agents of the Kremlin. Until that is "proved," their publications are of quite outstanding importance to all of us in the peace movement.

CLEARING THE AIR: This is the pamphlet for your acquaintances (and you must have many of them) who go about saying: "How can you make an agreement to ban A-bombs and reduce arms when the Russians won't allow anyone to see what's happening behind the Iron Curtain?"—and similar nonsense. On this point the Quaker "working party," which has spent over a year (with a number of distinguished non-Quaker experts in the subject) digging into every detail of the disarmament talks, explains:

That inspection is an essential feature of any practicable plan for disarmament is admitted by all. Spokesmen for both American and Soviet blocs have agreed on this from the start.

Each side in the controversy started by proposing what kind of inspection seemed most advantageous to its own national interests. Each side has made some changes in its position, bringing agreement theoretically closer. The problem is to eliminate the remaining disagreements by reasonable mu-

tual compromise; but this can never happen unless there is "a genuine desire to arrive at agreement," and unless victims and/or creators of today's "frenzied atmosphere" will stop confusing two totally different things: negotiation, and "ap- peasement."

A TWO-YEAR PLAN: So it is with other roadblocks to disarmament; and the Quakers have a set of simple proposals to offer for an agreement on all points, involving further reasonable compromises by



Canard Enchaîné, Paris
BRITAIN EXPLODES A-BOMB
"I'd like to sign the Stockholm appeal."

both sides: proposals as nearly "foolproof" (the continual U.S. demand) as anything could be, subject to the inevitable proviso that both sides want what they say they want. If they don't, the disarmament talks in UN are a waste of time anyway; but the Quakers cannot see any reason to suppose that either the American or the Russian people crave to be atomized, nor any reason why their two systems cannot "evolve peaceably."

The carefully-explained proposals include retention of the veto right in the Security Council with regard to sanctions against violating nations (but not on day-to-day control decisions, which both U.S. and U.S.S.R. now agree should be by majority vote); a four-stage schedule of arms reduction starting with repudiation of use of mass-destruction weapons, ending in two years with a complete ban on their production and possession; permanent and continuing UN inspection of all military potential; abandoning the U.S. plan for international ownership of atomic facilities. (On

the latter point, one of the main stumbling-blocks, it is pointed out that—among others—the Carnegie Peace Endowment scientific-political committee, the British UN Assn., the London Times and Fedn. of American Scientists have called the U.S. plan impractical or unnecessary or urged restudy.)

NOW OR LATER? The question remains whether both major teams in UN really desire disarmament and the general settlement without which, as the Quakers point out, a disarmament agreement cannot alone bring peace.

But this pamphlet is a masterly challenge to the sincerity of the disputants. It would seem unanswerable that

... agreements must be made, and it is far better for them to be made before a third world war than afterward.

*** TOWARD SECURITY THRU DISARMAMENT:** a Report Prepared for the American Friends Service Committee. 48 pp. 25c from the Committee, 20 S. 12th St., Phila. 7, Pa., or branches.

Word-power for peace

From the Amer. Friends Service Comm. (address as above) you can also obtain **Quakers Visit Russia (75c)**—a report on the recent visit to the U.S.S.R. by six leading British Quakers. An excerpt:

... In an ordinary week-night service in the Baptist Church in Moscow, a congregation of some 1,800 persons, unaware that we were to attend, crowded the aisles and galleries of the church. Leslie Metcalf ... explained briefly in Russian the purpose of our mission, conveyed the Message of Good Will to all peoples ... and brought us all, Russians and Britishers alike, to our feet in a few moments of silent intercession before God that His peace might come into the world.

The Intelligent Reader's Guide to Disarmament (26 pp.; 25c, 12 copies or more 15c each) is a first-rate job, consisting mainly of quotes from U.S. official and press sources, by the Comm. for Peaceful Alternatives, 30 S. Dearborn, Chicago 2, Ill.

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