



One pair of boots will do for two

There are certain economies that can be instituted in the wake of war. Take this pair of Korean youngsters, for example. One had his right foot shot off and the other his left; so between them they can share a single pair of boots. Of course, there are thousands of other Korean kids who don't need any boots at all as the result of saturation bombings by the representatives of The Free World.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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WAR & PEACE

Sweeping news blackout promulgated by Truman

TO his press conference last week President Truman elaborated what Arthur Krock (N.Y. Times) called a "novel idea of the function of the press." His Sept. 24 Executive Order, extending to all federal civilian agencies the authority (long exercised by State and Defense) to suppress at will information deemed "dangerous to security," had been widely attacked. Defending it, the President placed on press and radio responsibility for breaches of security even when the government officially released the data. He lashed out at *Fortune* for publishing air photos of U.S. atomic installations, at the press generally for printing air views of U.S. cities. Told that the former were issued by the Pentagon, the latter by the Civil Defense Agency,

... the President replied he did not care who had given it out, that the publishers had no business to use it if they had the welfare of the U.S. at heart.

This exchange took place:

Q: When the Dept. of Defense hands us photographs and a story, are we supposed to censor that ourselves? A: The President asked whether the questioner believed in saving the U.S. from attack.

Q: I don't think it should have been given out at the Pentagon. A: That is your opinion and you are entitled to it, the President observed.

SO THIS IS FREEDOM: The Presi-

dent's view highlighted the extent to which the government, as the *Wall St. Journal* has repeatedly charged, withholds vital information from citizens and views the press simply as its propaganda arm. Editors and correspondents—the vast majority of whom long ago enlisted as cold-war propagandists—were yet uneasy over what Repub-

Letters from the Sing Sing Death House

The intimate correspondence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—starts on p. 3

lican David Lawrence called (N.Y. *Herald Tribune*, Sept. 26) "an official decree . . . as sweeping as any ever issued in a dictatorship."

Noting "a widespread suspicion here that the Administration tinkers with the news over and above the requirements of security," N.Y. *Times* Washington correspondent James Reston listed recent acts which have caused newsmen misgivings, among them: Secy. Acheson's opposition to publication of any information about the recent Ottawa agenda and debates; the complete blackout on the agreement reached there on sharing costs of U.S.

(Continued on Page 4)

Letter from the mother of a young American killed in Korea

(The following letter written with painful care in pencil came to the *GUARDIAN* last week. In the same mail there came two newspaper clippings recording the suicide of Mrs. Anna Ranieri, a Chicago mother of two sons aged 8 and 20, who threw herself in a lake leaving a note: "I can't stand this war on my nerves any longer." Mrs. Ranieri's husband, a plumber, was quoted as saying she had been worried about her oldest son who is serving with the Navy near Korea and had not been heard from for two months.)

TOWNSEND, TENN.

I AM a mother of a Dead young son whose Bodie is somewhere in Korea. I often wonder why things like that had to happen to so many mothers like me.

I loved my son. I taught him all I thought was good & how to treat his fellow man to be good and honest just like any other mother that loved her son would do. I was going under the Directions of our great adviser Jesus Christ who never advised his Peopel to pick up arms agenest his fellow man.

But what happened? He was forced to Join up in the seckoned Worlds War. He foght with Patton's armie until the last Battle was won. Then what? He returned to his Wife & children with nothing to offer them. He could not get a Job of sufficient surport for his family so in order to surport his children to hom his love was so great he sold his life & Joined up with the rest of our Boys to go & take a chance.

He like all other navy & soulder Boys was led to theair Death without an understanding of What it was all about. How meny mothers of America today that theair homes and minds are afected by this ofel tragicy which has Been Brought upon every Peace loving Person in America by the hartless Brutes that tell us our Boys are Dieing for Demockirie?

HOW can Peace come to any nation that is threathing other nations with Actomie Boms and all kinds of other Deadlie Weapons?

On november the 29, 1950, the father and mother & the hole familey of the onley son we had was

so Deeply grived about the Danger our son was in we could not sleep and what kind of news come to us that ofel lousom night? A news Boy come to the Door with a tellegron with that ofel message saying our son had Been Killed on november the 14, 1950. How can mothers bair things like that & go on Doing thair Daily Duties. They can not because thair harts are Broken. They know that all they have Bullt up in their sons lives has Been Destroyed.

AT that time of our season all mothers are Planing on the return of thair children to spend the holly Days at home. We the tipton familey & thousand of others was in the same sorrow. I set & think what an ofel crime it is for our sons to be given arms & forced to go seven thousand miles to Kill

This letter is
written by Doratipton
the mother of a
Dead son
Please Print this letter in
the Guardian for me

and Sloter other fathers & mothers & children & Burn thair homes and citys. Is that christ like?

Hary truman left his Duties & went to his home to Enjoy his self with a Enjoyful time with his friends. I will ask the readers—If that Pretty Daughter of harries had of Been Killed half frozen & starved like our sons had Died & are still Dieing could he Enjoyed the Holly Days? I set & Wept while Harry & Duglass & all the other war mongers had thair fun & Big feast.

Another thing that Brought more sorrow to my

heart was when Duglass come Back to his wifes home town to celebrate theair Weadding annieversity. Oh how they Put on the Dog Didn't Even leave the tall sticking out that Day I set in tears. Not Because Duglass had his son alive with him. It was because I Didnt have my son & knew I never could see him again.

If I had given orders to have mothers sons killed like Duglass had I would have Jumped in the ocen. I cant understand how he could face the Broken harted Peopel of america & stick his old face Back here. But does he think We the Peopel think he Did us a faver? I Do not.

If the comon Peopel of america Don't work for Peace to getther we will never get Peace and Macks young son arthur will Be leading your sons to thair Death just like his Dad led my son to his. We have got to stick to getther regardless What race or creed. We are We—all classed to getther. But it maters not if We are classed as slaves. We still love our children. That is why I am fighting for Peace.

I would like for some one to tell me if they realy know What nations have ask for Peace in the right way to get Peace. Who Want Peace in america? I say it is the Peopel Who suffer most By the results of war such as me & thousands of others. But those that Profit By War is the War mongers. Money & Power rises to getther & ever man that Becomes a millionair his money has Been Kept Back By Frod. Read James.

Why do we not hear a sermont Preached over the air from the Book of James? Even the minesters fear to Preach from certain chapters of christs teachens. Well the fear is that they will Be called red. I Wish we could all strive to find the truth. But how can we Beleve things Which Is Given to us through the Press & radioes?

We the Peopel of america have all Ways Been taught the teachens of christ & yet we have let the ofel Evel come up on us By Being listerners & not Doiers. So come now let us Work to getther like the to Big Parties Demercrat & republicons. Did not macarther & truman Work to getther as one? Why cant We?
Dora Tipton

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OCTOBER 10, 1951



Metzger stands firm

HONOLULU, HAWAII
Thanks for your letter of Sept. 5, enclosing copy of your newspaper. I have received many letters of commendation from all over the nation. Whether or not a few Senators whom I have displeased will be able to run me off the bench, I do not know, but they will not dictate my judgments, whether in bail or other judicial matters.
Delbert E. Metzger, Chief Judge U. S. District Court District of Hawaii
Judge Metzger last month set bail at \$5,000 (later raised to \$7,000) for seven Smith Act defendants in Hawaii against government demands for \$75,000 bail. His action brought from Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) and others demands for his removal from the bench. Ed.

Cinder identification

BOSTON, MASS.
How crazy can they get down in Washington? A Boston Sunday Herald AP dispatch from there tells us we are all expected to get a "dog tag," "preferably one with a high melting point."
Glad to have on hand through the GUARDIAN the ammunition with which to fight the hysteria. Even the Scientific American has turned its latest issue over to an apology for the present mobilization, in the guise of trying to find the best methods for utilizing the "human resources" of the U. S. My wife and I are going to send a letter of protest, and I hope some more of the same from people interested in a progressive science will produce some sort of a retraction from the magazine.
Leonard Zablou
Reader Zablou should not underestimate the importance of wearing a melt-proof dog-tag. When the wearer is reduced to a cinder, how otherwise would burial details at our segregated cemeteries know if it was a Catholic or a Protestant or a Jewish cinder—or for that matter, a Caucasian, Negro or Indian cinder? Ed.

Self respect

GARY, IND.
As one of the victims of the deportation hysteria, I appreciate the firm resolve of the editors of the GUARDIAN to stand on their feet and fight back. This is the testing time for all Americans — whether we keep our self-respect and fight or seek a hole somewhere and

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Mailroom Memo

Everybody loves the GUARDIAN. It says so here in 25, 50, 100 letters we get every day.
But when renewal time comes around, some readers are apparently so busy with meetings, petitions, ringing doorbells or arguing for peace and progress, that they don't take time out to send us their renewals.
After several months of reminding subscribers (via the bull's-eye on page 8, as well as special notices), we reluctantly cut them off for non-renewal. Then later, we may get two bucks with a hot letter saying "Hey, is that the way to treat an old friend?" But often they just stay away.
Sending out repeated renewal notices costs money we ain't got. Everybody's whole story is in the mailing box on page 8. All any reader has to do is look there—and if the renewal is due, overdue or about to be due, drop two bucks in an envelope addressed to 17 Murray St., New York City.
I ask you—is that too much trouble for any subscriber who wants to keep the GUARDIAN in their pitching?
George Evans
If YOUR page 8 has a bull's-eye, best time to knock it off is right now. No check handy? Dollar bills ALWAYS get here. Ed.

let a few do all the fighting.

My parents were peasants in Europe —neither one of them had any education—but they taught us that before you can expect others to respect you, you must first respect yourself.
Katherine Hyndman

The Rosenberg Case

NEW YORK, N. Y.
I think the case for the Rosenbergs as put forth by the GUARDIAN and by Bill Reuben is one of the most brilliant and daring pieces of journalism in our times. I not only take my hat off to you, but I wish, as an American Jew, to express my sincere gratitude and my homage for your fearless and unshakable integrity. Some day when the history of these times is written, the story of the GUARDIAN and its incredibly principled and magnificent career, will be given the place of honor it deserves.
Howard Fast

"The Iron Heel"

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
In this present crisis in world evolution all seekers after truth and knowledge should read Jack London's famous The Iron Heel. Intensely interesting and prophetic of the near future, it will be found in public libraries, and should be passed on to as many as possible.
S. F.

New type spies

CHICAGO, ILL.
If the William Oatis spy case can be said to demonstrate anything

at all it is the brazenness of the military espionage network of which he was, by his own testimony, a paid agent. In the novels of E. Phillips Oppenheim and other writers the conventional spy was strictly on his own and could expect neither moral nor diplomatic support from his employers. But apparently the Army isn't recruiting conventional agents these days. It believes in the possibility of consuming cake and still retaining it.
Thus, it sends an Oatis to Czechoslovakia to ferret out secrets and then later uses the occasion of his exposure and subsequent conviction as a propaganda weapon in its cold war against the eastern democracies. Even the Nazis maintained discreet silence in these matters. But no such luck for Oatis. Is it his fault if the State Dept. considers him more valuable as a convicted spy than as an undercover gumshoe?
R. R.

Capital peace workers
WASHINGTON, D. C.
We have a group going out weekly into the neighborhoods getting people to send postcards to Pres. Truman asking for an immediate cease-fire and we have been selling the GUARDIAN and Freedom. We have sold every GUARDIAN we have received and perhaps we can increase our order soon.
It's really wonderful to experience the deep desire of the people for peace. The number of turn-downs we get is very small and the only deterrent to getting hundreds and hundreds of cards signed and GUARDIANS sold is the lack of people to do the work.
Eleanor Belser, Chairman Progressive Party Peace Comm.



SEE PAGE 8

Draft Congress

SOUTHERN PINES, N. C.
Shouldn't we recognize that those who are convinced of the necessity and value of war make the best soldiers? Why not draft Congress?
Byrd Willson

And Americans like you

CHICAGO, ILL.
I am a cab driver for 32 years in Chicago and belong to I. B. I. Fellow got to watch his language —you know the reason. I give the GUARDIAN to people that like to read something beside Big Bizz papers. Sorry my handwriting is not so good—never had time to go to school; been busy raising a family and paying for a home. God Bless America.
S.

Our duty: Speak up!

BRONX, N. Y.
It is our principle of government that sovereignty rests with the people. That means that the fate of the state rests in our hands! As citizens we not only have the right to express an opinion on affairs of state, but have the duty to speak our minds. Our obligation is as positive as that of any one in the administration of the government.
At the present time Truman and Acheson should be getting appeals from plain citizens in all parts of the country to bring the war in Korea to an end now at the 38th Parallel.
Charles J. Hendley

Depression's children

PORTLAND, ORE.
The boys fighting in Korea were the ones born and reared in the deepest part of our last depression. Their parents sat in crowded relief waiting rooms awaiting an interview with a visitor who would demand of them how they got themselves into this fix and would promise to see them next Thursday when, if they begged real pretty, they might be given enough to keep body and soul together. They were not to expect any of the good things, for were they not beggars?
But this economic system is perfect, and it is our God-given duty to kill everyone who says it is not. These boys of ours have a big job on their hands, killing hundreds of millions of people.
Their parents tasted of hunger and humiliation when they were small in order to keep them alive; now the boys themselves are privileged to taste of death to keep the economic system they were brought up under alive.
A. Heretic

REPORT TO READERS

Are you now or have you ever been decent?

THE accusation that a man has ever in his life performed a decent act, or called insanity, fraud or corruption by name and opposed them, is a dire and dreadful one for an American to face in these days. Did you ever do anything calculated in any way to advance the cause of peace or of democracy here or anywhere else? Are you or have you ever been so un-American as to advocate or appear to advocate that babies should get m... or that government of, for and by the people should not per... from the earth? If so, you're in trouble. Someone may tell on you (it doesn't of course, have to be proved); your bright and shining career will be ruined and your good wife will never be able to hold up her head in the Bridge Club again.

In the past week such accusations of democratic infamy have been made against Henry A. Wallace, former Progressive leader who apparently seeks to return to the good graces of the Truman Administration, and against Philip C. Jessup, who wants to be renominated to the U. S. delegation to the UN Assembly in Paris. We simple-minded folk at the GUARDIAN have watched with fascination—wondering just how crazy our country can get—as Henry Wallace hotly challenged the charges that he did not love Chiang Kai-shek and that he did not want the Pentagon under the late paranoiac Forrestal to have the world A-bomb monopoly. If Forrestal rises from the dead and squeals that Wallace favored sharing America's weapons with America's allies in World War II—as Forrestal has done in his diaries now appearing in the N. Y. Herald Tribune, syndicated throughout the country—then Forrestal is a liar, dead or alive. "I branded it under oath as a lie before the House Committee on Un-American Activities," Wallace said.

EVEN more indignant against charges of former acts of decency was Jessup. Said he under oath before the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee:

- "I NEVER participated in or contributed in any way to the Natl. Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights;"
"I DID NOT go to the dinner" (friendship dinner given by the American Russian Institute in 1944, when Russia after millions of casualties was pulverizing our common enemy almost single-handed);
"I NEVER had an association with the Coordinating Committee to Lift the Spanish Embargo" (the arms embargo which delivered democracy in Spain into the arms of fascist rebel Franco).

And finally, Jessup disproved the charge of "party-linism" in opposing aid to Britain in 1940-41—by triumphantly demonstrating that he did this not as a Communist "party-liner" but as an active member of the Nazi-loving America First Committee.

THIS day—the day when an American charged with favoring democracy would "clear his name" by proving himself an active associate of fascists at the height of Hitler's power—this day we never thought we would live to see. Yet it is the essence of the American pattern in and with which we must now live. For example, in a Houston Post report of the admission of 130 aliens to U. S. citizenship, we find Immigration and Naturalization Service Examiner Q. W. Bynum gaily telling the federal district judge that 18 of the applicants formerly belonged to such outfits as the Hitler Youth. "None," he explained, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, "has ever been a Communist or a member of a Communist-front organization, only Nazi and fascist."

The question, "How crazy can our country get?" seems to have been definitively answered. The more important question is: How many of us can stay sane and how many can we reclaim to sanity?

Is the suicide of democratic America really necessary? Can it be prevented?

We remain simple-minded enough to think it can. We intend to continue doing our part by spreading the truth and NEVER apologizing for it.

How about you? THE EDITORS

German voice of peace

HAGEN, GERMANY
I was a prisoner of war in the U. S. A. from Aug. 1943 to March, 1946. Then I went to England until Aug., 1948. So I experienced war, its horrors and its terrible aftermath. And today I am fighting for peace with all my heart. Why? First, because of my witnessing all

that evil in war. Second, I am 31 now, have a wife of 26, a son of 3 and a girl of 2. I want my family to keep alive; I wish them to be happy and smiling all day; and I want this for everyone in the world.

Helped by friends in England we are forming a group of young people who honestly want to fight for peace, and they mean it! They are all common people who have everything to lose—and what could they win? Only a wooden coffin and a grave. I guess. And we don't want to destroy other people's lives and happiness.

Perhaps you can give our dress to readers who can help by sending literature for our work, and start a correspondence.

Friedrich Jaeger (21B) Hagen/Westfalen Langestr. 127 Germany

Good appetite!

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
Found a couple of copies of your paper in the City Library one day. Having digested the contents I felt hungry for more. Enclosed one year's subscription.

Ernest Lundberg
Have you entered a sub for YOUR home-town library? Get the library's permission first. Ed.

How crazy can you get?

WASHINGTON, Sept. 25 (AP)
—Asserting the country is being "flooded with un-American elements," Rep. Rankin (D-Miss.) today blocked House passage of a bill to admit a three-year-old half-Japanese child to the U. S.
Reminded by Rep. Feighan (D-Ohio) that the alien involved in this case is an infant boy, Rankin retorted:
"they all get some kind of excuse for bringing these people in here."
Buffalo Courier Express Sept. 26
A year's sub rewards the sender of each item published under this heading. This week's winner: John Touralchick, Buffalo, N. Y.

ALL your friends, subscribers? Phone today and make sure
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THE LETTERS OF ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG

'My heart cries out for you—take heart and know that we are not alone...'

Since early in August, special reporter William A. Reuben has been bringing to GUARDIAN readers the facts of the Case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. So much detail has been necessary that a most important aspect has been neglected: the human side of this young New York couple torn from their two children (who were placed in a shelter home), separated from each other for over a year, finally confined in the Death House as legal machinery for their appeal goes its interminable way.

Beginning below, we attempt to remedy this lack by the only means at our disposal: publication of the letters written by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, during their purgatory of isolation, to each other, to their children and to friends. The two letters reproduced here, which appear virtually in full, were the first interchange between the Rosenbergs after Ethel—within a few days of their sentencing on April 5—was transferred to the Sing Sing Death House from the Women's House of Detention in New York. Julius remained for another month in New York's West St. jail.

In the Death House they have seen each other for one brief period every week, at conferences with attorney Emanuel Bloch in connection with their appeal. Communication between them has therefore continued to be by letter. Excerpts from this correspondence and from letters to those on the outside, which we will publish next week, round out the picture of two Americans whose strength, tenderness and conviction should be a source of rare pride to the progressive movement in which they have for years been modestly active.

(April 17, 1951) My very own dearest husband: I don't know when I've had such a time bringing myself to write you. My brain seems to have slowed to all but a complete halt



JULIUS and ETHEL ROSENBERG

"... upon the journey's end and our triumphant return..."

under the weight of the myriad impressions that have been stamping themselves upon it minute upon minute, hour upon hour, since my removal here. I feel a sharp need to share all that burdens my mind and heart and so bring to naught, make invalid the bitter physical reality of our separation... Darling, do I sound a bit cracked? Actually I am serious about it and find that I must at least express my deep-seated frustrations so that you will comprehend all I must endure in order to "wrest from my locked spirit my soul's language." That's from Thomas Wolfe's "You Can't Go Home Again," from which inspired writing I am draining deep emotional and intellectual gratification.

As you see, sweetheart, I have already embarked on the next lap of our history-making journey. Already there appear the signs of my growing maturity. The bars of my large, comfortable cell hold several books, the lovely, colorful cards (including your exquisite birthday greeting to me) that I accumulated at the House of Detention line the top ledge of my writing table to pleasure the eyes and brighten the spirit. The children's snapshots are taped onto a "picture frame" made of cardboard, and smile sweetly upon me whenever I so desire, and within me somewhere, I shall find that "courage, confidence and perspective" I shall need to see me through the days and nights of bottomless horror, of tortured screams I may not utter, of frenzied longing I must deny! Julie, dearest, how I wait upon the journey's end and our triumphant return to that precious life from which the foul monsters of our time have sought to drag us!

Bunny, I'll have to write you a second letter after this one goes out as I don't want to keep you waiting a minute longer for word from me. Darling, I love you.

Ethel

(April 18, 1951)

Dearest Ethel:

I received your wonderful letter this afternoon. The first impression I got is that the situation as it confronted you was both overwhelming and to some degree you were a bit emotionally shocked. This is no doubt the effect one expects. However, more important I notice a marked clarity and steadfastness in all this turbulence. It is certainly remarkable to see that at this early date, the pendulum of emotions still hovers about a stable core and already you have begun to organize yourself. Your perfectionist's passion for detail will do you in good stead.

If our lawyers do not succeed in bringing you back to the Women's Detention Home I will move heaven and earth to be sent to Sing Sing to be nearer you and to be able to see you whenever it is possible.

During the weeks of our series on the Rosenberg Case, the GUARDIAN has received a flood of letters from readers asking how they can join in support of the young couple—the first Americans ever to be sentenced to death by a civil court for alleged espionage.

Last week formation began of a National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs. William A. Reuben, noted author of the GUARDIAN series on the case, will act provisionally as chairman. Formation of this committee was stimulated by the GUARDIAN series on the case and at the GUARDIAN's suggestion every effort will be made to enlist the committee from among rank-and-file people who are concerned over the case.

As the single group of Americans now best informed about the case, all GUARDIAN readers are invited to join this committee. Support on a nationwide scale—which our readers can provide—is needed NOW for the cause of securing justice in this supremely important case. By joining the committee you can, wherever you are, help in the tasks of bringing the facts to the general public in reprint and digest form, and of assuring that funds are available to carry on the appeals of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg against their conviction and sentence of death.

Will you fill out the coupon and send it in TODAY?

William A. Reuben, Provisional Chairman,
National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs,
c/o NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 17 Murray St., New York City 7
Dear Mr. Reuben:

Please enlist me in the National Committee to Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs. Enclosed \$..... to help bring the facts of the case to a wider audience and to assure funds for legal needs. Please send me copies of all materials issued by the Committee. You may (may not) use my name in the Committee's work.

Name

Address

City..... State.....

I beg you not to try to sway me from this decision as this is what I must do. Your single document is indelible proof that not only are you a tremendous person, but you have the courage, confidence and enlightened perspective to come through all this hell and then some. My wife, I stand humble beside you, proud of you and inspired by such a woman!

It is impossible to keep the truth and facts of our case hidden from the public. Sooner or later the true picture will become known to all. Many people have already expressed to our lawyers and my family, their sentiments and desire to help us. Take heart and know that we are not alone and that the monstrous sentence passed on us which at first stunned the people, will, as time goes on, result in an avalanche of protest and this great movement coupled to our legal fight will set us free.

Sweetheart, I am not trying to minimize all the difficulties you face. Believe me I am fully aware of the nightmares, the pain and hurt you feel. My heart cries out for you and I want so to shield and protect you and be with you in this time of need and to hold you in my arms. Yet I feel so sure of you that I just know you will always be there and that is the assurance that we will some day find each other again and go back, as

you say, to our precious life and wonderful family.

Constantly you are in my thoughts. At times I close my eyes and see you so closely; your sweet, pretty face, wide-awake eyes, a pleasant smile, you are ever beckoning to me and I very willingly pursue you—but the reality of our separation jolts me back to consciousness. It would take me many hours to tell you of my profoundest feeling—of my deep love for you, but I am sure I cannot convey all this to you in writing. Ethel, you're just my girl and nothing on this earth can change that.

In a couple of days the Passover holidays of our people's search for freedom will be here. This cultural heritage has added meaning to us who are locked away from each other and our loved ones by this modern Pharaoh. It has such meaning to us and our children. Yes, we are missing a lot but this, too, shall pass and we will have cause for greater celebration. Since we are unable to do much but talk about the children, do not worry as everything that is possible is being done for them. See if you could do a great deal of writing—I want so to be closer to you and your letters are so satisfying. Try to drop a few words to our two dears.

Always your very own,
Julius

PEACE

9,000 keep N. Y. peace vigil

IT rained heavily in New York City on Sunday, but the weather didn't prevent some 9,000 persons from attending three simultaneous vigils for peace conducted by the Interfaith Committee for Peace Action sponsored by 28 Protestant and Jewish religious leaders. A "family prayer" prepared for the rallies concluded:

We ask that our President hear our plea. We ask Thee to bless our path as we seek out friends and families to petition the President to bend his efforts towards an end to the hostilities in Korea, the prelude to peace on earth.

Principal speaker at the rallies was Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Negro scholar and leader, who goes on trial Nov. 1 as a "foreign agent" for his work as head of the Peace Information Center (see p. 8). He denounced U.S. military spending, emphasized the fact that the Soviet Union has never attacked the U.S., and said:

"Remember, there are 200,000,000 Russians, 500,000,000 Chinese and 100,000,000 other human beings living under communism that no atom bomb can exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven of our white God."

Other speakers included N.Y. Daily Compass editor Ted O. Thackrey, actor Morris Carnovsky, atomic scientist Prof. Philip Morrison, Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass, former publisher of the California Eagle, and Dr. Lucius C. Porter, for 21 years a Lutheran missionary in China.

'Free' cooperators won't cooperate

THE U.S. threw its weight into the erection of another iron curtain last month when, "after debate in which U.S. delegates took an active part" (Co-Op. News Service, Sept. 28), the Intl. Cooperative Alliance Congress meeting at Copenhagen voted 624-354 to uphold its Executive's expulsion of the Polish Cooperative Movement. Americans journeying to Denmark to preserve "freedom of co-ops from control by governments" included Kansas City Consumer Co-Op pres. Howard Cowden, Seattle Group Health Assn. counsel Jack Gluck, and U.S. Cooperative League secy. Jerry Voorhis, who based his appeal for exclusion of socialist co-op movements on "the rights of the 'little people' to freedom of speech." The Congress went on to vote down a peace action resolution introduced by socialist delegations, a opting instead

a resolution "on the role of cooperatives in peace."

The exclusion vote ended a period of State Dept. and British Foreign Office embarrassment when—following their successful splitting of the World Fedn. of Trade Unions—the world cooperative movement remained as a last ground on which Western and Eastern working-class leaders could continue to meet on equal terms.

The bridge had been maintained at the Prague ICA Congress in 1948, after which East Europe saw intense cooperative development with membership jumping by millions. Western ICA leaders saw a threat to the balance of voting, and a membership application from the East German movement was turned down—in spite of the fact that an ICA delegation had seen the rebirth of cooperation in East Germany in 1946 when it was forbidden in the U.S. Zone.

Then came the refusal to accept a re-constituted Hungarian movement.

TOO MUCH ROCHDALE: Invited last May to Oslo to state why they should not be excluded, the Poles gave ICA a standing invitation to investigate Polish co-ops for themselves, and delegate Kuszewski explained:

"The Polish Co-Op movement is based on democratic self-government and the general meeting of all members is the supreme authority. The law issued by the Polish Parliament accords to the Co-Ops full self-government based on the Rochdale principles and assures their voluntary character."

He went on to explain that far from being dictated to by the government, Polish Co-Ops participated in the government by drawing up their own plans for integration into the national economic planning. Co-op organizations in Poland have been given by the government sections of the economy for cooperative development.

As one British cooperator pointed out, this situation is an endorsement of the ideal of the Rochdale weavers in organizing the first co-op store 107 years ago. Early records show they saw in the cooperative machinery they set up an instrument by which they hoped to capture an increasing share of economic power from the capitalists.

The Poles had carried cooperation too far.



Truman insists on drastic censorship

(Continued from Page 1)

bases abroad; the White House attempt to block publication of a report, by one of its own top officials, critical of some aspects of rearmament.

Foreign correspondent Allen Raymond, returning to the U.S. after ten years abroad, wrote in *The Reporter*:

I have been startled to learn to what an extent the practice of secrecy in government has grown up in my own nation.

He quoted James S. Pope, Louisville Courier Journal managing editor and chairman of the Am. Soc. of Newspaper Editors' Comm. on Information, as believing that

... the biggest story in America today is the story of the vast amount of news to which the people of America are entitled, that is being kept from them by their government.



People's China, Peking
"Peace doves" by Yu Fei-an

"REPLACED FACTS": A direct charge that Americans have from the start been misinformed about the Korean War came from the N.Y. Times' Hanson Baldwin on Oct. 2. Declaring that Gen. Van Fleet's recent report on the war "smacked too much of propaganda and too little of fact," Baldwin said it

... followed too closely the pattern of most of the announcements from Korea since the start of the war—embellished adjectives and replaced facts. . . . The result is all the more dangerous since censorship in Korea has been severe and often captious.

The N.Y. Post, strongly pro-Administration, complained (Oct. 2) that "we still have too much censorship and too little fact" about Korean developments. It wondered whether American lives have been "capriciously risked," declaring that "from the outset of the negotiations there has seemed ample reason to believe" that the Koreans and Chinese want a peaceful settlement. "Yet the negotiations have repeatedly bogged down on issues of procedure and protocol." The U.S. press, with the exception of the N.Y. Compass, suppressed the London Times' recent call for a settlement on the 38th Parallel.

DECISION BY FORCE: A new "partial news blackout" was announced as UN forces in Korea launched their biggest offensive since truce talks began. From Tokyo, Lindsey Parrott reported to the Times that behind the new offensive was "a ruling theory that only a real beating would convince them." The 180-degree shift in Pentagon policy from willingness to settle at the 38th, publicly expressed last spring, was spelled out by Chief of Staff Bradley who on returning from Korea last week said: "There is a chance of winning a military decision in Korea."

Among the vital facts about the truce talks kept from the American people are Gen. Nam Il's statement of Aug. 17 (broadcast by Peking) that he would not insist on the 38th Parallel but would

High cost of dying

Library of Congress statisticians have figured out the cost of World War II. It comes to a total of four trillion dollars (\$4,000,000,000,000). The cost to every man, woman or child on earth was \$1,708. The U.S. share will be \$1,400,000,000,000. Forty million persons were killed.

negotiate a "defensible" truce line, and the U.S. demand for a truce line considerably north of the present battle line. The Aug. 17 hint of Korean concessions was answered by a UN offensive and invasion of the neutral zone by an armed band which killed a Chinese platoon leader—the first of a series of incidents, which the U.S. has not denied but for which it has disclaimed responsibility. The U.S. line

Sorry

Gordon Schaffer's report on the coming British elections, promised for this week, is held over for lack of space.

has been to deride the Communists for their alleged inability to control the neutral zone but it was at U.S. insistence that all armed Communist forces were withdrawn from the area.

The pattern by which every Communist concession is viewed as a sign of weakness and answered by a new U.S. demand has become clear. With U.S. casualties mounting sharply, the press freely predicted an intensification of the war—a prediction underlined by the suggestion of Gordon Dean, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, that the U.S. may use its tactical atomic weapons (which, he said, were now in mass production) to wind up the Korean War.

Stalin & the A-Bomb

THE White House announcement that the U.S.S.R. has exploded a second atom bomb was viewed in UN as either a psychological smokescreen for things to come in Korea or as a means of steeling Americans for the big new tax bite due Nov. 1.

The *Compass*' I. F. Stone described "a considerable number" of the men who run Washington as "thieves, liars and cowards" who "will do anything to save their political skins, up to and including another world war, to shut off all criticism and ensure their victory at the next election." Others saw an attempt to whip up support for the decision to expand the Air Force from 87 to 140 groups; to expand the atomic weapon program six to ten-fold; to prepare the way for Washington's diplomatic drive at the Paris General Assembly session next month.

U.S. UN delegate Gross told correspondents last week the U.S. will go to Paris determined to deflate the Soviet's "phony peace offensive" and efforts to lessen world tensions. If there is no truce in Korea, he said, UN will be asked to push the war to the hilt; if there is, the U.S. will be adamant on the seating of China and the Formosan question. In the economic realm, it will "remind the world" of U.S. generosity with money and goods to strengthen the West.

"POINTLESS ALARM": Three days later Premier Stalin confirmed that the Soviet Union had exploded an atom bomb and would in the future conduct "tests on atomic bombs of various calibres." U.S. "experts" hurriedly and lengthily proved that the U.S. was still way ahead while officials demanded still more bombs, more planes, more



Chicago Sun-Times
Boarding-house reach

arms. The news was said to prove false Soviet claims (which have never been made) to be using atomic energy "exclusively" for peaceful construction.

Stalin said that the U.S.S.R. will never attack anyone; that if the U.S. is not thinking of attacking the U.S.S.R., the alarm of its leaders should be considered pointless and false; that in the event of such an attack the U.S. will use the bomb, and the U.S.S.R. is prepared to defend itself. He went on to propose again the outlawing of atomic weapons, under an international system of control.

In presenting his statement, U.S. press and officials were again at pains to deceive the people about Soviet atomic control proposals, repeating the lie that Moscow opposes international inspection and insists on a veto in the UN atomic commission. (Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky, on Nov. 23, 1949, in the UN General Assembly, put his country on record in favor of inspection and said that "under our proposal no unanimity principle, no veto, would be called for." The Soviet objection to the U.S. Baruch plan is its provision for international ownership of atomic energy.)

A PLOT TO SAVE LIVES? Stalin's statement added:

American "control" derives not from a prohibition of the atomic weapon but from its legalization and legitimization. Thereby the right of warmongers to annihilate tens and hundreds of thousands of the civilian populace by means of the atomic weapon is legalized.

That U.S. officials are not unaware of the truth was clear from the statement by AEC's Gordon Dean urging use of atomic tactical weapons. Dean conceded that the Communists' whole atomic program might be designed to "cancel out this weapon as a means of warfare."

THE WORLD

Oil crisis brings Mossadegh here

WEEPER MOSSY HERE TODAY FOR UN SHOW. This N.Y. Daily News headline foretold the press treatment to be expected by Iran's Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, who flew half around the world from Teheran to stop, if he could, Britain's attempted use of UN to preserve one of its most precious imperial properties. Mossadegh, whose ill-health and emotional outbreaks are not unrelated to 16 years spent in his country's jails, is staying at the N.Y. Hospital for the duration of the UN debates. Expected when he took office April 29 to be an easy mark for tough British-U.S. diplomacy, Mossadegh has stood firm for nationalization, ousted the last British technicians from Anglo-Iranian's great Abadan refinery.

Britain's move in bringing the dispute to UN put the West in an uncomfortable position. Memories linger in UN of the Iran dispute of 1946, when the complaint was against Russia, brought by Iran (asking withdrawal of Soviet troops)—and despite agreement between the two parties the Security Council voted to keep the question on the agenda, to irritate the Russians. The old dispute remains on the agenda even as in the new one Russia emerges as champion of Iran's claim that nationalization is a purely domestic matter.

As Mossadegh neared New York, Britain signified willingness to renew negotiations and abandon its demand that the Security Council tell Iran to obey the Intl. Court of Justice "preserve the status quo" ruling. Behind the scenes Washington worked for a "compromise," nullifying nationalization. (Its plan, said the *Wall St. Journal*, was one under which Iran would own the oil and refinery, Britain would market the oil, a foreign company under a "neutral" manager would run the refinery. The company proposed was reported to be Royal Dutch Shell in which the Morgans have an interest.)

BRITAIN BLAMES WASHINGTON: British bitterness at U.S. policy boiled

over last week. The *Economist*, most pro-American of all British journals, blaming Washington for forcing Britain into "a Middle East Munich," wrote:

This policy of appeasement has created a vacuum of power in the Middle East. Are the Americans ready to fill it? Otherwise, if their policy is appeasement and nothing more, it will have the usual consequence—the Middle East will pass to those who have more logic and courage.

The circumspect Church of England Newspaper & Record commented:

Abadan will rank with Munich and Singapore as accursed names in history. . . . Our government lacks the manliness to stand on its own feet and begs President Truman for orders. Were their object the ruin of Britain the politicians of the White House could hardly have furthered their intentions more efficiently.

STRONG-ARM STUFF: Britain has used threats of force, bribery (papers seized in A-I's offices named deputies and government officials on A-I's payroll) and economic warfare in an effort to overthrow Mossadegh. It stopped oil



PREMIER MOSSADEGH
The right to their own oil

payments in May although it continued to ship out oil; recently banned important exports to Iran; restricted Iran's ability to convert sterling so it could not buy elsewhere. With 20,000,000 tons of oil now crammed in the Abadan refinery, Anglo-Iranian has threatened lawsuits and injunctions to scare off potential buyers. Iran cut its oil price 20% below the world level, but to date only reported offers have come from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan.

But Anglo-U.S. pressure appears rather to have strengthened Iran's popular movement. Last week, following Tudeh Party demonstrations, Mossadegh banned the U.S. Korean War film *Steel Helmet* and conferred with Soviet Ambassador Sadchikov, thanking him for Soviet support in the Security Council. Sadchikov was reported to have suggested easing restrictions on the Tudeh. Vice Premier Fatemi said Sadchikov "promised his government would give Iran sugar and other essential goods in return for rice and wool." (A \$20,000,000 barter trade pact was made with Russia last November.)

ANOTHER RUSSIAN MYSTERY: Iran's economic crisis is severe owing to prolonged U.S. dumping and resultant severe inflation rather than to loss of A-I's royalties which amounted to only 11% of the Iranian budget. Even if Iran operated the industry at a small percentage of capacity, it would still get much more income than it ever did from A-I. Soviet technical help is to be had for the asking. There seemed to be some confusion in Washington, however, on this subject, as these quotations show:

In addition to lacking technicians and managerial staff to take over the Iranian oil industry, Russia has neither the sales organization to dispose of oil if she could produce it, nor the tankers or other transport facilities to get it into the Soviet Union from Iran.

James E. Warner,
N.Y. Herald Tribune, Oct. 3

There is no doubt at all that the Soviets can find technicians in the satellite states and elsewhere to run the Iranian oil wells and the great Abadan refinery. . . . they can easily buy more than 100 T-2 tankers on the world market if they offer the right prices.

Joseph Alsop, same paper, same day.

THE LAW

CP '11' ask court for a rehearing

LAST JUNE 4 the Supreme Court—in a tortuous majority opinion with two powerful dissents—upheld the constitutionality of the Smith Act and confirmed the conviction of 11 top Communist Party leaders on charges of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by force. Since then 51 other persons have been indicted under the act and now await trial (17 in New York, 15 in Los Angeles, seven in Honolulu, six each in Baltimore and Pittsburgh). Last week attorneys for the 11 filed a supplemental petition with the Supreme Court asking a rehearing of the case.

They argued that the Smith Act ruling has emboldened "McCarthyism" and helped it achieve "a dangerous as-



pendancy in the life of the nation." The petition catalogued recent repressions, and said:

The right to reasonable bail, the right to be represented by counsel, the right to a presumption of innocence, the right to protection against possible self-incrimination—all these and more are being undermined and nullified.

A supporting "friend of the court" petition was filed by two well-known Negro attorneys, Richard E. Westbrook, chairman of the Civil Rights Committee of the National Bar Assn., and Earl B. Dickerson, former member of the Chicago City Council. They argued that if the Smith Act ruling stands, it is "bound to have a disastrous impact upon the century-old struggle of the Negro people for complete emancipation."

TAP, TAP, TAP: In New York two affidavits were filed charging the government with tapping the phones of Communist Party headquarters and of one of the defendants. A motion was made for dismissal of the indictments against

the 17 Communists if based on illegally-acquired evidence.

Similar charges of wire-tapping and interception of mail were made by the Baltimore defendants, who pleaded not guilty at their arraignment. In Los Angeles government attorneys have admitted wire-tapping. Two federal judges in Pittsburgh and Detroit have rebuked the FBI for "harassment" in its round-the-clock surveillance of Smith Act defendants.

In San Francisco the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals denied a writ of habeas corpus for the California defendants, who have been in jail on \$50,000 bail each since their arrests July 22. The court ruled that a writ was not a way to seek a bail reduction, but added that even a motion for bail reduction would be denied.

NOTHING IS SECRET: In Los Angeles defense attorneys attacked the 15 indictments on six major counts; hearings on motions for dismissal are proceeding, although the trial date is tentatively set for Oct. 30. During the hearings, Federal Judge William C. Mathes told defense atty. Margolis:

"Don't interrupt me, Mr. Margolis, or this court will be short another lawyer."

From her jail cell Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates, one of the 15, filed as a candidate for Board of Supervisors of San Francisco, her native city. She has twice before run for the post, with an impressive showing each time.

DANGER OF MUZZLING: Concern for freedom of the press continued to mount (six of the Smith Act victims are newspaper editors or writers, one is head of a book publishing firm). The *Oil Worker*, official organ of the CIO Oil Workers International Union, cited the arrest of two editors of the West Coast *Daily Peoples World*, warned of . . . a great danger that your union newspaper . . . may be put out of business by Uncle Sam. . . . We won't win anything by muzzling the people we disagree with. We will only wind up being muzzled ourselves.

Protests against the indictment of Alexander Trachtenberg, director of International Publishers, have been received by President Truman from publishing firms in India, Denmark, England, France and Germany.

In sharp contrast to feeble protests in the U.S. was action taken last Thursday in Havana, Cuba. On that day not a newspaper went to press, not a radio newscast was heard. The Reporters Assn. conducted a one-day general strike in protest against the government's "aggression" against newspapermen and "attacks on the freedom



Halley the Hearstling

Rudolph Halley, Liberal Party candidate for President of the New York City Council, has joined the Hearst stable. This fearless prosecutor (on television) of gamblers and gangsters, is now telling his story in the N.Y. *Journal-American*, the gamblers' favorite evening paper. Ex-J-A favorite contributors: Goebbels, Mussolini; present ones: Pegler, Sokolsky.

of the press." Two papers have recently been seized and their editors arrested; last month a masked band destroyed property of the Communist paper *Hoy*.

CALIFORNIA

L. A. witch-hunt ends; Buchman defies probe

THE HOUSE COMMITTEE on Un-American Activities last week ended a seven-day roadshow in Los Angeles, went home with nothing new except some previously un-smear names. These were supplied by a committee gold mine—screenwriter Martin Berkeley who, out of a remarkable memory, named 152 persons he said had been his fellow-Communists.

Fate of the newly-named was forecast by committee chairman John Wood:

"If by any chance we can remove from the field of entertainment, especially from the view of youth, those who refuse to answer questions regarding their Communist activities, it would please me very much."

A score of witnesses refused on constitutional grounds to answer questions. The So. California Council of the Arts, Sciences & Professions picketed the proceedings, held a protest rally (1,000 came) in Embassy Auditorium.

The un-AAC was denounced by executive director A.A. Heist of the local American Civil Liberties Union. He said there was "nothing so un-American as the committee's own activities":

"There can be no compromise with the conclusion that the Committee should be abolished."

THE MCCARTHY ROSE: The committee also drew fire in the religious community. It was denounced by Rev. Stephen A. Fritchman, pastor of the First Unitarian Church, who had been summoned to a secret hearing. He was backed by his entire congregation and by Rev. George A. Warner, L. A. District Supt. of the Methodist Church:

"The Committee's attack upon the Unitarian Church and its pioneering pastor is pressure par excellence against freedom of religion, right of assemblage and free thought in the realm of morals. When the church is persecuted for trying to develop the conscience of the times, the tyranny of Rome against the church of the catacombs is on the way back to power. . . . It is McCarthyism come to flower."

The committee's last witness was the biggest Hollywood figure questioned yet: Sidney Buchman, executive assistant to Harry Cohn, head of Columbia, and an independent producer who releases through Columbia. He freely answered questions about his seven-year CP membership, but when it came to naming others, he "most respectfully" declined. He refused to invoke the Fifth Amendment, but stood on personal principles: "It is repugnant to any American to inform."

HE WON'T CHANGE: When it developed that no quorum was present to hear his defiance, Buchman waived the technicality that could save him from a contempt citation and possible jail. He told newsmen:

"I am not a character who would thrive in jail. But in testifying, I adhered to the truth and in declining to divulge names I acted in response to principle."

The committee said it might call him to Washington for a reappearance; Buchman said he would not change his testimony.

Left in Los Angeles were committee agents preparing an investigation of war industries. (Since August committee investigators have been in Chicago preparing for hearings on the independent United Electrical Workers, its farm equipment section and the University of Chicago.)

Also in Los Angeles were Jay Lovestone, once head of the U.S. Communist Party, and Irving Brown, both international representatives of the AFL in Europe. They had a scheme: use film stars as ambassadors of good will abroad. They suggested a typical delegation: one actor, one butcher, one plumber.

CALENDAR

Boston

OPENING OF THE PEOPLE'S VICTORY FORUM, Sunday, Oct. 21, 11 a.m. John T. McManus, general manager of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, speaking on "Inside Story of the Rosenberg Case." Morton Plaza, Dorchester. Admission free.

A NIGHT OF NEGRO AND JEWISH CULTURE presented by the People's Victory Forum and Freedom Associates, Sat., Nov. 10, 7:30 p.m. Jeremiah Burke H.S. (near Grove Hall). WATCH HERE FOR DETAILS.

Philadelphia

ON THE AIR—Every Thurs., 9:45-10 p.m., Station WPEN, 950 on dial. Report to the Voters by Alice F. Liveright and John L. Holton, Independent Progressive candidates for Council-At-Large.

Los Angeles

THE FRATERNAL SONGSTERS present World Premiere Performance "MY GLORIOUS BROTHERS," Sonny Vale's thrilling cantata. Howard Fast in person. Also "CONCERTO FOR PEACE." The event of the year. Oct. 20, Sat. night, 8:30 p.m. Embassy Aud. Admission: \$1.

St. Louis

CONFERENCE ON ACADEMIC FREEDOM, sponsored by ASP. Speakers: Robert Moras Lovett, Joe Joseph, Brockton Schumacher. Oct. 18, 8 p.m. 1244 Union. Public invited. Admission: 50c.

Chicago

CHICAGO PROGRESSIVES KEEP NOV. 3 OPEN. Gala Halloween Costume Party. Prizes for best costumes. Auspices: Illinois Progressive Party.

HELP RESTORE FREE SPEECH! ASP presents I. F. Stone, N. Y. *Daily Compass*, speaking on the Smith Act. Also premiere presentation by ASP Theatre Group, Friday, Oct. 26, 8 p.m. Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. Adm.: \$1.20 (tax incl.).

ATTEND AN OPEN FORUM on "Significance of Cicero Mob Violence and Indictments." Speakers: Norman Silverman, Lester Davis. Tues., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. Rembrandt Hall, 2726 W. Division St. Sponsored by: Liberty Bell Chapter Civil Rights Congress. Admission free.

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The best defense of America is peace with China.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY

Peace No. 1 issue in Nov. 6 elections

AROUND THE COUNTRY the Progressive Party was swinging into election activities last week. Major emphasis everywhere was on peace; this was related directly to all other national and community problems. A big issue everywhere was Negro representation in government.

Illinois

The Illinois PP held a two-day special convention to fight a new law that might bar it from the ballot. It voted to test the constitutionality of a status making it a crime to circulate nominating petitions in a county by non-residents of that county. Said state director William H. Miller:

"We intend to use every avenue open to us to bring our program of peace, free-

dom and security to the people of Illinois. If the Democratic and Republican machines close one door to us, we will use another."

Another door chosen, GUARDIAN's Sidney Ordover reported, was to enter progressive candidates in the primaries of the two old parties. (The Progressive Party first established itself by this method in 1947 in Cook County).

CICERO FIGHT PUSHED: The 300 delegates planned a finish fight to quash Cicero riot indictments against the victims of the mob and for punishment of the mob leaders.

Keynote speaker was Fred W. Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union and national co-chairman of the Progressive Party. He saw a clean-up job for progressives:

"We must scrape the military scum off the devil's brew of war in Washington. We must scrape the barnacles of imperialism off our ship of state, and certainly we need to scrape the political leeches and influence peddlers from our body politic. . . . There isn't a nickel's worth of difference between the foreign policy of Truman—Acheson—MacArthur."

Attorney Pearl M. Hart was elected

Statement of the Ownership, Management and Circulation Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233), of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1951.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Editor, Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Managing Editor, James Aronson, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

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Aronson, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.; John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner. 5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 58,029.

JOHN T. McMANUS, Business Manager. Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of September, 1951.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public

(My commission expires Mar. 30, 1953)

new state chairman; Robert Morss Lovett continues as honorary state chairman.

New Jersey

The PP of New Jersey held a statewide legislative conference in Newark, adopted a platform for candidates to the state legislature in the Nov. 6 elections. Included was a program for civil rights with emphasis on real citizen-



JOHN L. HOLTON
Fresh air in Philadelphia

ship for Negroes. Compensation was demanded for the Trenton Six and freedom for the two still in prison.

In Essex County, N.J., the Progressive Party withdrew five of its 13 candidates when the two major parties nominated two Negro leaders and three representatives of organized labor. Chairman Katherine Van Orden explained the move as one

"to promote unity among the thousands of voters of all parties who believe in decency in government, equal rights for all, and a decent standard of living."

Pennsylvania

Philadelphia's Progressive Party campaign got under way with the first of six broadcasts by Mrs. Alice F. Live-

right and John L. Holton, both candidates for City Council-at-large. Mrs. Liveright was Pennsylvania Secretary of Welfare for four of the Great Depression years; Holton is a Negro trade union leader. Both stressed a ten-point program of improvement in the city government.

New York

New York's American Labor Party held a nine-city upstate conference in Syracuse, heard reports that Sherman Walker, candidate for Councilman in the Ellicott Dist. of Buffalo, stands an excellent chance to be the first Negro elected to the post. Frank Merriweather, Negro candidate for Fifth Ward Supervisor in Buffalo, was also given a good chance for election. Both have ALP and Republican nominations.

Put THIS in your pipe and smoke it

From page 240, "The Diplomat," by James Aldridge, Little, Brown, 1950; Scene: British diplomats at an interview with Joseph Stalin:

As Stalin produced a pipe Essex saw his opportunity . . . he brandished his pipe at Stalin. Professor Stein was amused. "Comrade Stalin offers you some of our Caucasian tobacco. He is particularly fond of this supply because it is a gift from his native Georgia. It is strong."

"The stronger the better," Essex said with nice bravado. "You might tell the Marshal that this is a real luxury for me. Tobacco is hard to get in England these days, particularly good tobacco." Stalin nodded and pushed his thumb in his pipe bowl and told Essex to take the box with him. . . . He thanked Stalin.

From half-page ad July 12th, 1951 in the N.Y. "Journal-American," by B. and Names Foundation, Inc., 119 W. 57 St., N.Y. 19, N.Y.:

THIS MAY GET STALIN IN A JAM WITH THE POLITBURO. He's against just about everything American—except certain American brands that help him live better. Stalin likes a manufacturer's brand of American pipe tobacco—and buys it regularly through his Russian Embassy in Washington. . . . We don't blame him. In Russia he has no real choice of good makers' brand-name products.

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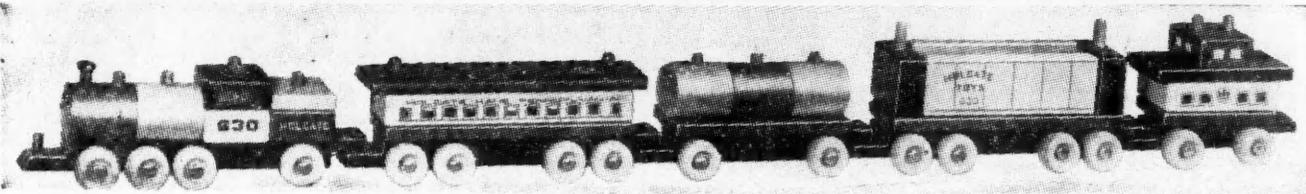
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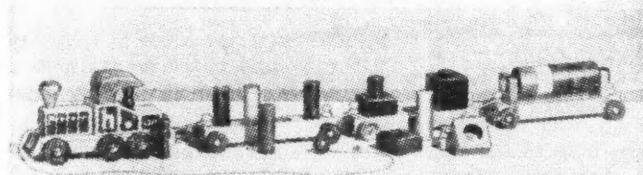
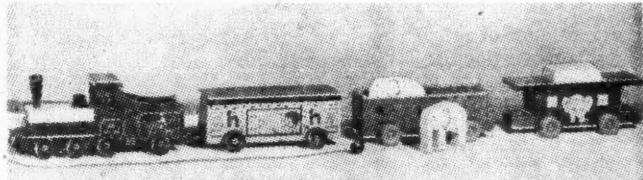
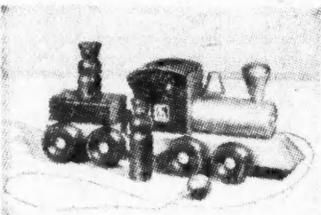
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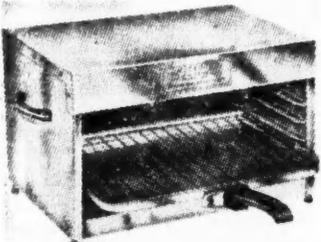
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23. with 6 napkins	52x70	13.00	10.00
24. with 8 napkins	60x90	18.00	15.00
26. with 12 napkins	70x108	35.00	20.00
27. with 12 napkins	70x126	47.50	37.50
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Holiday cards by Gropper, Gellert, Refregier

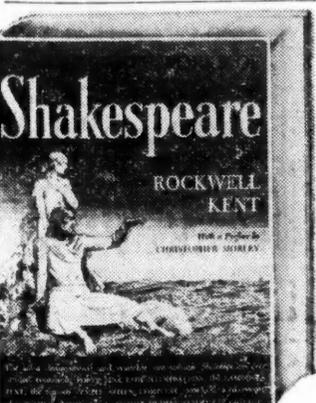


Six differing silk-screen cards in rich colors by William Gropper (sample design above) and Hugo Gellert (below) stressing peace. Postpaid with envelopes **6 for \$1**



... And on earth peace, good will toward men.
 Luke 11, 16

Muralist Anton Refregier has made his personal holiday woodcut design (above) available exclusively to the GUARDIAN for this season. The 11"x6" card folds attractively, with "Seasons Greetings" and the above message visible on the folded card. In three colors, with envelopes **10 for \$1**



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Build the GUARDIAN—the Peace Paper

'Why do so many people feel the way they do about Dr. DuBois?'

At New York's Town Hall Sept. 28 the Natl. Council of the Arts, Sciences & Professions held a meeting—"The Right to Advocate Peace"—in honor of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. A large audience heard Dr. DuBois and these other speakers: Dr. Lawrence D. Reddick, former curator of the Schomburg Collection of the N.Y. Public Library and at present librarian of Atlanta University; Dr. Corliss Lamont, author and teacher; Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild, professor emeritus of N.Y.U.; Bishop R. R. Wright Jr. of Atlanta, and L. Howard Bennett, trustee of Fisk University; Shirley Graham (Mrs. DuBois), author. Following are excerpts from the speech of Dr. Reddick.

I HAVE JUST COME from a part of our country where the flag of the Confederacy is more popular than the flag of the U. S. A.; where Robert E. Lee is not only more of a hero than Ulysses S. Grant but also more than George Washington; and where the Governor threatens to close down the State's entire system of education if the courts should compel the public, tax-supported institutions that are presently maintained for whites only to admit a single Negro.

In such a land, the struggle for life and liberty is real and the issues raised by the case of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois are clear.

For the hundreds of thousands of youngsters and their big sisters and brothers who are striving for an education; for the thousands of dirt farmers and day laborers who defy the hooded sheet and the flaming cross and march to the ballot box; for all of those who in one way or another must face the enemy each day, and indeed do so without bowing or scraping, standing their ground manfully and whenever it is strategic, slugging it out—to all of these benighted fellow citizens, the fate of DuBois is almost a personal crisis.

"DO YOU THINK they'll do anything to the Old Man?" is a frequent question. Also, I have heard them say, "He's no spy; they're just trying to shut him up." (The term "foreign agent" in the public minds means "spy.")

The deep concern of the Negro people in this case is nation-wide. It ranges from the highest professional circles to the man in the street who may have heard about it. The Negro press has given wide coverage to the events and strong editorial support to Dr. DuBois.

Why all this commotion? Why do so many people feel the way they do about Dr. DuBois? We do not have to look far for the answer.

For more than a half century, Dr. DuBois has been a hero to the Negro people (and to many others, too). A slightly unusual type hero, to be sure; not a famous athlete or soldier or musician this time, but an intellectual hero—a champion of the spoken and written word; one who had the brains to know and the "guts" to say what he knew to be true.

Here was a black man who had excelled at the best universities in America and Europe. He earned a Ph.D. when a Ph.D. meant something. And yet whenever justice was at stake, he would wade into the thick of the fight, giving no quarter. His pen, always deft, could be eloquent or bitter; his scorn devastating. For decades, whenever some new anti-Negro protagonist appeared on the horizon, the gen-



DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS
"He will not be disowned"

eral feeling, even among Negro intellectuals, was "just wait until DuBois gets hold of him!"

REMEMBER, as a boy in High School, how I used to wait each month for the mail man to bring the Crisis magazine that DuBois was then editing. I waited excitedly for I knew that its facts would be accurate, its analyses acute and its editorials straightforward. While in college, I read everything DuBois wrote—the historical and sociological investigations, the novels, the plays, even the poetry.

But for his color, an academic career would have been a "natural" for him. His work for the Ph.D. at Harvard was so brilliant that he was among the chosen few who were selected for additional study in the seminars of the German universities. When he returned from abroad, his doctor's dissertation was published by Harvard as the first volume in its famous historical studies. And yet Harvard did not invite him to its faculty. DuBois' teaching took place at Wilberforce and Atlanta. These are Negro colleges.

Before going South, for a while DuBois was attached to the University of Pennsylvania as a researcher working on a survey of the Negro community in Philadelphia. When this project was completed and printed under the title *The Philadelphia Negro*, it was praised far and wide as a model community study. It is still a classic in its field. And yet the University of Pennsylvania did not invite this black man to teach its white students.

And so Professor DuBois came finally to Atlanta University. Here he initiated and sustained the first scientific sociological study done by anyone in the South. This was about the same time that the University of Chicago was assembling what it hoped would become the most important Dept. of Sociology in the world. And, again, Dr. DuBois was not invited

to the faculty.

What is a man to do under such circumstances? How much snubbing, shunning and by-passing is a human being supposed to take? Yet DuBois held on. He kept faith. He poured much of the suffering and the pity of it all (but never self-pity) into that beautiful book, *Souls of Black Folk*, and into his autobiography.

America should appreciate the patience of a man like that.

DuBOIS HAS CONTRIBUTED HIS LIFE to the ideals of our Declaration of Independence. His achievements in scholarship and literature are proof positive that all men are created equal and deserve an equal chance. Over the years, his energy has been consumed by the great American struggle to realize, for all men, their inalienable rights. DuBois is thus a personification of the truth of the American Dream and at the same time a reminder that we must work and fight if that dream is ever to be fulfilled.

Rightly, America should acclaim DuBois as one of her great native sons. We should seek, even at this late date, to make up to him for past neglect. He should not have to wonder at all about his last days. His sunset years ought to be filled with honors and with security. While he is still with us and can himself see and enjoy them, his head should be reproduced in bronze and set up in public places; his portrait should be painted by our best artists. This would show to ourselves and to the world the value that we place on courage and scholarship.

It is shameful that a man who has done so much for his country should be handcuffed and jailed like a common criminal! It would be even more disgraceful if the American people—the Negro people in particular—should stand idly by and permit this man to be further mistreated.

LET US FACE IT. Why was Dr. DuBois handcuffed? Was it fear that he would overpower the guards or would run away—an 82-year-old man? Or was it to humiliate him; to reduce him to the level of a pickpocket or murderer? Was not this a figurative brandishing of the nightstick as a warning to any and all who might advocate opinions that are not presently acceptable in certain quarters?

I say to you that when Dr. DuBois is humiliated, the whole Negro people are humiliated. He has been our leader, our champion. We may disagree with him but we do not repudiate him. He will not be disowned.

I say further that when Dr. DuBois is humiliated, the whole American people are humiliated. We go down in the eyes of the world and in our own honest eyes, too.

When Dr. DuBois is humiliated every one everywhere who respects the dignity of man is humiliated.

Friends, we must not let this happen. There is yet time. President Truman and fellow-citizens, let us free and honor Dr. W. E. B. DuBois.

Dr. DuBois and his four co-defendants against charges of advocating peace go on trial Nov. 1. Funds and support for the defense are urgently needed. Address: National Committee to Defend Dr. DuBois, 16 W. 29th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

Guardian Theater Party

FRI., NOV. 2

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Produced by **CHERYL CRAWFORD** Directed by **DANIEL MANN** Choreography by **AGNES de MILLE**

Shubert Theater **8:30 p.m.**

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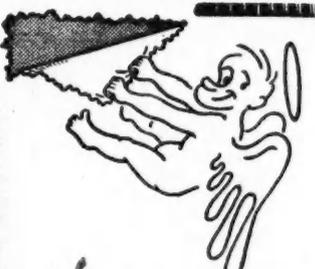
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