

# Big Steel begs for a strike as slack worries business

WITH nearly a million U.S. workers involved in major industrial disputes, the industrial production index tumbling to its lowest point since last August, Washington was engaged last week in "the greatest Constitutional debate in a generation" (N.Y. Times, 5/4).

The debate—over Presidential emergency powers to seize the steel industry to enforce a Wage Board award—was a wordy smoke-screen for big industry's mobilization for a showdown with labor. Behind the steel turbulence were the



implications of the continuing economic recession; the expected spring upswing of business had failed to develop.

In face of rising war orders, production of durables, non-durables and minerals declined in April for the second straight month; the Federal Reserve Board index of industrial production neared the 1951 low mark reached in the vacation and shutdown month, July. The Natl. Purchasing Agents April Survey found the business outlook "gloomy," the general industrial situation "deteriorated," with twice as many companies reporting declines as increases in output. Manufacturers' inventories (20% above March 1951, 50% above March 1950) showed "no major shedding of factory stocks has been accomplished" (Wall St. Journal, 4/29). The Bureau of Labor Statistics looked in vain for a substantial rise in employment, usual in March. Retailers saw an insignificant sales pickup.

**TO THE PUMPS!** To the Administration the recession spelled the need for more priming of pumps to prevent economic troubles in election year. While Pentagon spokesmen prepared to tell the House its 6.5 billion-dollar cut in military spending voted before Easter could bring a "business dip" (WSJ, 4/29), and the Pentagon promised to raise war orders by more than 1.5 billion a month between now and July, the Administration put through these quiet pump-priming moves:

- Treasury Secy. Snyder said the government would borrow "up to \$10 billion" between July and December, thus putting more money in circulation which it was hoped people would spend.

- President Truman took state and local governments out of the "voluntary credit restriction program" to encourage spending for public projects.

- Curbs on home building were relaxed; other controls were on their way out. The WSJ commented (4/26):

The pump of course may refuse to be

## Truman and the Sermon on the Mount

Last week Truman said he hoped that "we can make Stalin see that we believe in the Sermon on the Mount." He probably meant the Smoky Mounts of Tennessee, where Negroes have been listening to the white man's sermons for generations. Marcantonio, U.S. A. statesman, said last year: "Truman vigorously defended thieves, but he would not speak one word to save Willie McGee, an innocent man, from the electric chair." That piece of sermon was not on the Mount, but it was on the LEVEL — and the Negroes are likely to remember it for a long time.

—Rev. C. P. Bradley's United People, 223 9th St., Saskatoon, Sask., Canada.

primed. And if that should happen . . . the adverse psychological impact could be tremendous. But if the Administration's efforts even half succeed, it will have a potent talking point.

**FROZEN PROMISES:** The Administration's promise of wage increases to the steel workers—mainly a political bid for labor support in November—fitted in with its present anti-deflationary program. (Government theory holds wage raises to be inflationary. Said the Journal of Commerce (4/1): "Personal incomes could rise by \$10 billion if the proposed steel wage rise is adopted and becomes a pattern for industry generally.") So did its willingness to grant steel price increases substantially above those permitted under the Caphart amendment. Commerce Secy. Sawyer last week proposed a \$5- to \$6-a-ton increase, although Price Stabilizer Arnall said \$3 was enough.

Steel company attorneys disclosed that Sawyer had planned to grant a 17½¢ pay raise by government order, considerably less than the total amount recommended by the WSB. The Supreme Court decision to review the case May 12, forbidding changes in working conditions in the meantime, meant that five months after contract negotiations began, one month after government seizure, the workers had yet to receive a raise. Breakdown in management-union talks held in the White House after the Court agreement to review was inevitable.

**BEGGING FOR A STRIKE:** What the recession spelled to big industry was clear: it was the time to "cut the cost of labor"; the steel case was the golden opportunity. Steel magnates originally demanded a \$4.50-a-ton price increase, upped the demand with each government concession. But they knew, and business journals admitted, that steel could not be sold at such prices. Only 20% of current steel production goes for government orders and munitions

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# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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## Where there's smoke, there's fire

Steel workers' wives in Etna, Pa., look at the stacks of the Isabella furnace and wonder how much longer the smoke will rise. Restlessness among the workers increases as the pattern of big business' bust-labor drive becomes clearer—in steel, oil, rubber, textiles and elsewhere.

## MAY DAY ROUND THE WORLD

### N. Y. sees biggest parade in years

IF the May Day parade is a barometer this year's procession in New York gave evidence of a healthier and more spirited American Left than in many a year.

Under a brilliant blue sky on a Thursday afternoon cooled by brisk Hudson River breezes, the marchers thronged the three-mile route eight to 12 abreast for nearly five hours. The main theme was PEACE; ingenious signs and floats proclaimed a multitude of other issues; baby-carriage brigades joined brass bands in the singing, chanting contingents. Participation by youth and the trade unions was notably greater than in recent years.

The May Day Committee's enthusiastic report set the total of marchers at 80,000. A police "counting machine" added up a disparaging 6,900, but wary New Yorkers have long since learned to add a zero to police estimates of labor-progressive demonstrations. Easily 150,000 onlookers lined the route to the traditional finish in Union Square, where speakers and thousands more watchers greeted the marchers.

**HOODLUMS ACTIVE:** Onlookers were mainly sympathetic or passive. Only in the Chelsea "Tenderloin" area where teen-agers squirted ink and fired barages of eggs, tomatoes and over-ripe fruit, and on Third Av. where home-going paraders were jumped by hoodlums, was there trouble. Strict discipline among the marchers prevented any real outbreaks, the only serious casualty being a policeman who was hit by a stone.

An anti-May Day, "Loyalty Day" parade the previous Saturday in Man-

hattan slogged through pelting rains which had the effect (N.Y. Times) of "20 Russian divisions." Almost nobody watched; few marched except U.S. troops under orders.

Elsewhere in the world:

**JAPAN:** In Tokyo, three days after Japan gained U.S.-policed "sovereignty," anti-American demonstrations

press called "the most violent red demonstrations ever seen here" (Wall St. Journal, 5/2). Huge mass meetings under the auspices of the General Council of Trade Unions in Tokyo and Osaka were peaceful and disciplined.

Elsewhere in the country 3,000,000 persons marched in 331 parades.

**GERMANY:** In East Berlin half a million paraded and heard Wilhelm Pieck, President of the German Democratic Republic, say that East Germany would have to rearm if a West German army became integrated with the West. In West Berlin, the N.Y. Times said, 400,000 persons, less than last year, gathered to hear President Theodor Heuss at an anti-communist demonstration. Other reports said 120,000 police were mobilized by the Bonn government to prevent peace demonstrations throughout West Germany.

**SOVIET UNION:** Premier Stalin, variously reported in the last months as dead or dying, stood atop Lenin's Tomb in Red Square "looking fit and hearty" (N.Y. Times) saluting the 1,000,000 marchers. The slogan was: "We are for peace." Speakers stressed Soviet preparedness against any aggression.

**FRANCE:** Thousands filled the main boulevards in Paris as marchers denounced the "dirty war" in Viet Nam. North African workers carrying slogans asking independence for Tunisia and Algeria were arrested in clashes with police in northeastern France.

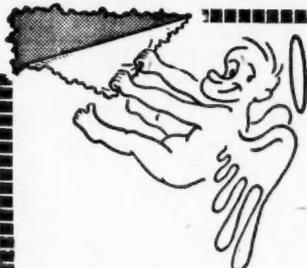
**ITALY:** All work except the main public services came to a halt in the big cities; thousands of marchers paraded in peaceful demonstrations.



Defense de la Paix, Paris

resulted in injuries to 250 demonstrators and 200 police as 400,000 marched to Meiji Shrine Park for a rally; one person was killed. Shouting "Americans go home!" thousands converged on the Imperial Palace where they were attacked by police in gas masks with tear gas bombs.

With an anti-subversive bill coming up in the Diet, designed to outlaw all progressive and peace activity, onlookers suspected provocateurs, in accordance with Japanese government custom, were responsible for what the U.S.



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### Who suppresses Robeson?

BRISBANE, CALIF. When San Francisco's Mayor Elmer Robinson said Robeson would "desecrate the Opera House, memorial to the city's war dead," the Natl. Negro Labor Council's application for the hall for a Robeson concert was unanimously rejected.

Next day I heard Robinson speak over the air in behalf of the musical programs of the Steuben Society, of which he was announced as a member. Of this society I find in Carlson's Under Cover:

Its president, Hoffman, after being received by Hitler in Germany in 1934, called him an "idealist" in a glowing N. Y. Deutscher Beobachter article.

The Steuben News followed the accepted pro-Nazi isolationist line. Steuben member and former GOP Cong. John C. Schafer predicted in 1941 a Hitler victory followed by a "bloody revolution" here against democracy, with "purges . . . Roosevelt will be cleaned right off the earth along with the Jews. We'll have a military dictatorship to save the country."

Who would desecrate the War Memorial building—Robeson, champion of equality, or Robinson, member of the Steuben Society?

Louise H. Herr

### Southland calling

BROWNSVILLE, TEX. We love the Mail Bag (and every inch of the GUARDIAN) but we would sure like to see a few "Southern" letters in there now and then. I ordered a cloth from Czechoslovakia from Buying Service—it's about the loveliest thing I ever saw.

Skipper Jones

### On the Florida boycott

TAMPA, FLA. We appreciate the opportunity to state our position in connection with your paper carrying our ad for the sale of our citrus fruit.

We are thoroughly in agreement with the object of the ban on Florida products as a protest against the Moore murders. We were just as outraged as the progressives in other states and so were most of the people we have spoken to.

But we are wondering—who are these progressives fighting against? This battle is being fought on many fronts. For years, the small citrus growers have been engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the very same interests whose stooges murdered Moore. The small growers are fighting against economic extermination just as hard as Moore fought for political and economic freedom for the Negroes. These big interests own the sheriff's office in every county in Florida, the police, the courts, the legislature and the governor, and they control all the main industries in the state.

But they still do not own the small citrus growers who are very essential to their complete domination of one of the biggest in-

to the coffin which these big interests are preparing for him. We hope you will carry this message to those progressives who have objected to your running our ad.

M. A. Tucker  
Rt. 8, Box 618

### For harmonious unity

BAGLEY, MINN. There appears to be a controversial situation in the progressive political field which needs attention in order to have unity instead of a split and a consequent defeat.

The Progressive Party has already selected Vincent Hallinan as its candidate for President and the American Rally has slated Gen. Holdridge as another progressive candidate.

The declaration of principles of both is "Peace and the termination of the Korean war." If Gen. Holdridge is a practical man he should get out of the race and support Mr. Hallinan for the sake of harmonious strength and a big vote. Let us have open discussion in the GUARDIAN on this question.

A. L. Sykes

### To save the Pomeroy

SAN JOSE, CALIF. William Pomeroy and his wife Celia Mariano, leaders of the People's Liberation Army of the Philippines, the Hukbalahaps, have been seized by the Philippine government. Both of these people have long and courageous records on behalf of the Filipino people.

There is grave danger that they



WM. & CELIA POMEROY

may die after a trumped up trial by the Philippine government. Such an outrage must not be permitted. Because Pomeroy is an American, a big U. S. protest may save them.

I urge every reader to write an air-mail letter to President Elpidio Quirino, Manila, Philippine Republic, immediately, and ask that these Huk leaders' lives be spared.

J. D. Vanderlaan

### Decency vs. Dark Age

GLEN OLDEN, PA. Enclosed is \$10 to help keep the GUARDIAN a going concern. Your paper is too vitally essential to keep the spark of decency and democracy alive in these trying days of reaction. A new Dark Age threatens us, but with papers like the GUARDIAN in circulation we stand a good chance of winning.

Robert H. Gamble

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MAY 8, 1952

### Mrs. Ganley's "crime"

DETROIT, MICH. The Truman government is attempting to deport me, separate me from my daughter and husband and many friends. I've been persecuted for almost three years now, with taxpayers' money financing \$30 a day and expenses of stoolpigeons, nine of them testifying to my many years of "crime": fighting for unemployment insurance, for the freedom of the Scottsboro Boys, against war and discrimination and anti-Semitism. Now they can add another "crime"—I guess, I taught my daughter "subversive" ideas, like the ones Lincoln believed in.

Love your paper! What a bright light in the threatening night.

Anna Ganley

### Advice to Sen. Taft

CLEVELAND, OHIO Sen. Taft, in a radio interview, stated that he favors the enactment of a voluntary fair employment practices law, but is absolutely opposed to the adoption of a compulsory FEPC. He explained by citing the experience of a southern candidate who, in indicating approval of compulsory FEPC, immediately lost the Dixiecrats' support and was forced to retire from politics.

Let us ask the vote-hungry Senator to introduce a bill providing for a voluntary tax-payment law and a similar measure for a voluntary draft law. "Free enterprise" would be attained—and peace!

Yrs. Drooly

### Squandermania

NEW YORK, N. Y. I wish all my fellow taxpayers would take special note of this: "Aid Is Inadequate, Belgrade Asserts—Expected \$100,000,000 Offer from West Held to be Short of Meeting Yugoslav Needs." N. Y. Times, April 26.

And can we forget the billions already handed out just to keep afloat more than two dozen foreign governments, big and small, some of them unspeakably rotten? How long will it take us to wake up and put an end to this squandermania of our Washington officials?

F. E. Rowe

### The air got fresher

LEMON GROVE, CALIF. As a social science major in college, I know from studying modern European history where the present national trend will lead us if permitted to proceed: a militarist society with military leadership domestically, and internationally, war. The presentation by the daily papers here in San Diego of news

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which is not new, news which is not news, news which is propaganda, and the complete and effective blackout of information on what I, at least, consider to be important (UMT, peace congresses, etc.), has been discouraging.

Therefore the proverbial breath of fresh air blew over me when a friend introduced me to your paper last month. I hope that you will be able to continue the fair reporting and wonderful journalism which restored to me in some part the sense of basic human intelligence and goodness which I had rapidly been losing.

### Fangs of depression

E. PEPPERELL, MASS. The depression is beginning to creep into my small town now, spreading fear with its ugly visage. First it struck textiles with its cruel fangs; then shoes; now paper. With every added industry stricken its poison will prove more virulent and far-reaching. One explanation of course is the fact that there is no market. Capitalism must have an expanding market for prosperity.

Al Amery

### Shadows of shame

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. Atty. Gen. James P. McGranery Justice Department:

Incredible. That is what I said. But the press insists that the government of the U. S. is constructing on six separate sites concentration camps under the McCarran Act. Such construction can only remind one of the shameful past that associated Germany with such camps and the guilt that must remain upon that nation forever. The U. S. has had no such guilt. We, the citizens of the U. S., the successors to this good and clean history, want to keep it that way forever. Now it is in your power, and I plead with you, to please revoke all such orders for the construction of all the McCarran Act camps.

David Leon

### He gave his strength

LONG BEACH, CALIF. This is to inform you that Kyle Pugh of Yuma, Ariz., passed away on April 17, an enthusiastic supporter of the GUARDIAN, about 65 years old, a life-long worker for human progress. A copper miner at Butte, Mont., for some years, where he contracted silicosis, he had been an invalid for several years. However, he gave his strength and what he could of his meager income toward the welfare of his fellow workers regardless of race and color.

V. Wase

## Report to Readers: A CONTRAST IN ARMS AND MISERY

COUNTRY	Population (million)	National Income (million)	Average Income per head	Amount Spent on Arms	Free Grants for "Development" of Backward Areas	Percent of Budget for Arms	Yearly Arms Cost per head
<b>The Squanderers</b>							
U. S. A. (1952)	155.3	\$277,984	\$1,789	\$65,296m.	\$ 33.6m.	73%	\$425
BRITAIN (1951)	50.6	\$ 31,556	\$ 624	\$ 4,172m.	\$109.2m.	38%	\$ 84
FRANCE	41.9	\$ 20,524	\$ 624	\$ 2,240m.	NIL	30%	\$ 34
<b>The Have-Nots</b>							
INDIA	350	\$ 10,600	\$ 56				
PAKISTAN	75	\$ 3,780	\$ 50				
INDONESIA	80	\$ 2,016	\$ 25				
PHILIPPINES	20	\$ 896	\$ 44				
SOUTH KOREA	20	\$ 672	\$ 33				
THAILAND	18	\$ 655.2	\$ 36				
IRAN	17	\$ 1,428	\$ 84				
BURMA	17	\$ 618.8	\$ 36				

SOURCES: UN "Statistical Papers," E/1, p. 15 (Dept. of Econ.). Britain, Cmd. 8195, p. 41. "Survey of Current Business," Jan., 1952, (U.S. Dept. of Commerce). "Statistiques, Etudes Financieres," July, 1951, Paris.

NOTE: The above amounts are not strictly comparable, as price-levels differ between countries — "Average Income" does not give a clear picture, because higher income-groups receive the largest part of the national income.

### The "White Man's Burden" — how long will it last?

United States citizens pay the average sum of \$425.60 for arms this year, that is, 17 times the total annual income of the average Indonesian, and their yearly average income exceeds 71 times the Indonesian average.

The three Western Powers alone spend on arms 2 1/2 times the total income that 600 million people receive in

Asia per year.

The purpose of rearmament is "to prevent the spread of Communism." The peoples in Asia desire higher living standards instead of perpetual poverty, caused by the arms race.

(From Peace News, Intl. pacifist weekly, London, Feb. 22).

CAMPAIGN OF TERROR AGAINST THE LAWYERS

# The vanishing right to legal defense

By Lawrence Emery

No fear of judicial disfavor or public unpopularity should restrain him [the lawyer] from the full discharge of his duty. —CANONS OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS.

AS the five attorneys who defended Communist leaders in the first big Smith Act trial went to jail last month, thousands of Americans proud of their country's traditions of justice were asking angrily: Has the U.S. climate reached a temperature in which Communists and other nonconformists in political trials can't get lawyers to defend them?

Last February pres. Whitney Seymour of the N.Y. City Bar Assn., in a letter to the N.Y. Times dismissing such claims as "false propaganda," wrote:

One of the main reasons the Communists have had trouble in certain instances in finding counsel . . . was that the Communists have in those cases failed to give assurances of freedom of action to the lawyers they approached.

He was promptly contradicted by two noted attorneys. John Raeburn Green of St. Louis, who represented one of the 1949 Smith Act victims in a Supreme Court action, described his own experience as "directly to the contrary." Although he had clearly stated his "utter disagreement with communism," he said his client imposed no terms: "I had a completely free hand."

Thomas I. Emerson, Yale law professor who participated in pre-trial motions in the current N.Y. Smith Act trial, wrote that he had not been limited in any way by any conditions:

I do not believe the N.Y. Bar can void its professional obligation in the Communist cases by reliance upon the theory that the Communists will insist upon terms which conscientious lawyers cannot accept.

**PRACTICE VANISHED:** A month before Seymour made his assertion, an article in the Nation (12/29/51) reported the experience of Los Angeles attorney Alexander H. Schullman, specialist for 23 years in labor law with a large and extensive practice. He hesitated considerably before he agreed to represent two defendants in the L.A. Smith Act trial. Said the Nation:

In less time than it took Schullman to reach his decision, his law practice vanished. Both labor and non-labor clients informed him in careful phrases that his legal services would not be required so long as he associated with and defended Communists.

Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, a defendant in N.Y. also answered Seymour:

About 200 leading members of the bar in various cities were reached. Long before any discussion of defense policy, the overwhelming majority of these men and women excluded themselves. Often they expressed sympathy with our constitutional right but declined the case on the grounds of possible serious economic and social consequences to themselves.

A leading lawyer and well-known former public official had replied that if he became involved "I would have to leave this happy association, dissolve my interest in this firm and open a new office." Miss Flynn added that many



THE 5 LAWYERS JAILED BY MEDINA AFTER FIRST FOLEY SQ. TRIAL  
A. J. Isserman, G. W. Crockett, Richard Gladstein, Harry Sacher, Louis McCabe

lawyers on a list submitted by the court had to be rejected:

"We are not in a position to pay \$500 a day even for a resurrected Clarence Darrow."

**"EVERYTHING RIGGED":** Steve Nelson, defendant in a pending Smith Act trial in Pittsburgh, reported that "over 730 law firms approached either in person or by mail in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia all refused to defend us." He cited some typical refusals:

"You just haven't got the money I'd want to take such a case."

"You have no chance. Your case is hopeless. The judges, the courts, everything is rigged against you."

"I'm not ready to give up my practice and become a crusader."

"Look what happened to Schlesinger [an attorney associated with the defense]. He got arrested."

Nelson said pleas to the American Bar Assn. and Civil Liberties Union in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh produced no willing lawyers.

**ABDICATION:** In its report on civil liberties at its 1951 annual convention, the Natl. Lawyers Guild had this to say:

Lower court judges who ran successful political trials resulting in convictions have been promoted to higher courts. Prosecutors who have successfully prosecuted targets of hate-mongers have been promoted to the bench. Judges who have failed to go along with zealous, ambition-driven U.S. attorneys have been denounced by them, by the press, threatened with impeachment.

The American Bar Assn. has indirectly condoned this conduct by voicing its approval of many of the appointments. Directly, it has launched a drive for political qualifications [periodic loyalty tests] of lawyers. . . . Fear of hostile bar associations, unfriendly courts and the loss of clients . . . has led to the shameful abdication of lawyers in the fight for civil liberties. The politically persecuted do not even get the basic protection of counsel. And even in the Supreme Court itself there are judges with political ambitions outside the bench, sensitive to present anti-libertarian feeling, and incapable of the strength to restore the nation to sanity. Thus, the bar and the judiciary have come to reflect the weaknesses of the society. They cannot be relied on to guard our liberties, but must themselves be reformed as part of the process of restoration.

Many state and local bar associations have rejected the A.B.A. proposal for periodic loyalty oaths on pain of disbarment; the N.Y. City Bar Assn. noted:

The establishment of the oath requirement might lessen the freedom of the Bar to accept the responsibility of representing unpopular causes. [A solemn obligation of all lawyers is "never to reject, for any consideration personal to himself, the cause of the defenseless or oppressed."]

**THE DARK TRAGEDY:** Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has also noted the intimidation of the legal profession; in an article in the N.Y. Times magazine (1/12/52) he wrote:

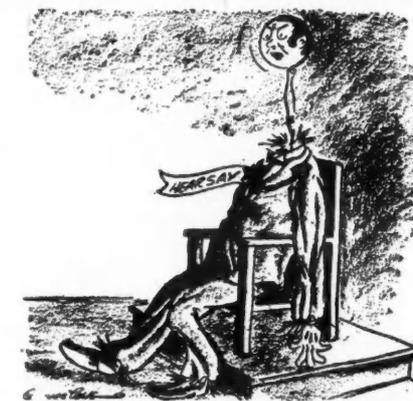
Fear even strikes at lawyers and the bar. Those accused of illegal Communist activity—all presumed innocent, of course, until found guilty—have difficulty getting reputable lawyers to defend them. Lawyers have talked with me about it. Many are worried. Some could not volunteer their services, for if they did they would lose clients and their firms would suffer. Others could not volunteer because if they did they would be dubbed "subversive" by their community and put in the same category as those they would defend. This is a dark tragedy.

The dark tragedy has already struck many a lawyer with disbarment, trials for perjury, jail sentences for contempt and even prosecution under the Smith Act itself for mere association with Communists. In 1948 Seattle attorney

John Caughlan, vigorous defender of progressive causes—especially active in opposition to a Washington State counterpart of the House Committee on Un-American Activities—was tried for perjury because two years earlier he testified in a naturalization proceeding that he was not and never had been a CP member. He was acquitted.

**THE VICTIMS:** In 1949 Ben Margolis, Los Angeles attorney, represented four persons in a court action seeking to direct them to answer questions concerning Communist activity and records before a federal grand jury. Margolis was himself ordered to the witness stand and asked if he were a Communist; he argued that if he answered "No" he might be liable to a perjury charge as in the Caughlan case; if "Yes," to Smith Act prosecution. He was cited for contempt and forced, over strenuous objection, to continue the case in custody of a U.S. Marshal.

In Pittsburgh attorneys Hyma n Schlesinger and M. Y. Steinberg had to fight efforts to disbar them on the mere accusation that they were Communists. Maurice Braverman, Baltimore



STAR WITNESS

attorney who represented the CP in the Maryland-D.C. region for several years, is now under conviction for Smith Act violation. In a motion seeking to sever his case from the other five defendants—it was denied—he wrote:

Beyond the very important issues of freedom of speech, press and association presented in Smith Act cases, we have here the issue of the freedom and independence of an attorney practicing his profession. I was brought into the dragnet of alleged political conspiracy—where the essence of the charge is association—solely for the reason that I associated or met with some of the other defendants. Every overt act recited in the indictment that relates to me is an act of mere association—something a lawyer cannot reasonably avoid.

Public clamor supported by bar assn. resolutions against lawyers who defend Communists or who represent left-wing clients, threatened economic sanctions, fear of loss of clients and of unfavorable reactions, have created a situation where it is very difficult to secure counsel. My own case is a specific example. I have approached many attorneys in Baltimore seeking separate counsel for myself and I have appealed to the Bar Assn. in Baltimore City for help in securing counsel but with no results.

**"TYRANNY" IN FOLEY SQ.:** The five defense attorneys in the 1949 Smith Act trial, now serving one- to six-month

## The law in Argentina

Civil liberties in the U.S. could use a round-the-clock watchdog committee such as they have in Argentina, where the League for the Rights of Man—corresponding roughly to our Natl. Lawyers Guild—keeps one or two lawyers standing by in continuous shifts. Any political cases are taken up by the lawyers on duty. Few are ever paid.

Though operating under Peron's tight dictatorship, Argentine lawyers in some respects have it easier. None is disbarred for handling political cases (though they share the risk of jail with all oppositionists). Few lose clients, even among conservative businessmen, because they defend radicals.

Used to dictatorship, Argentines are still shocked by the costliness of justice in the U.S. where the cost of an appeal, including the printing of the record, must be borne by the appellant.

Elmer Bendiner

jail terms for contempt of court, were summarily sentenced by trial judge Harold Medina without notice or hearing; Rule 42(b) of the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure provides:

. . . If the contempt charged involves disrespect to or criticism of a judge, that judge is disqualified from presiding at the trial or hearing except with the defendant's consent.

Frank Serri, former head of the Kings Co. (N.Y.) Criminal Bar Assn. and now a defense attorney in the current Smith Act trial, in March, 1950, wrote in his association's bulletin that Medina's sentencing was "an indefensible blunder" and called such use of the contempt power "tyranny."

**THE PRICE IS PAID:** Medina said the lawyers had "conspired" to commit contempt and without the "conspiracy" he "would have overlooked or at most merely reprimanded" the acts for which he punished them. But Federal Judge Carroll C. Hincks, presiding at disbarment proceedings brought against two of the sentenced lawyers, Harry Sacher and Abraham Isserman, found no conspiracy proved; he threw out that charge, nevertheless disbarring Sacher permanently and Isserman for two years. He went out of his way to assert that no trace of "moral turpitude" was apparent in the behavior of Sacher, who was guilty of an "excess of zeal." An earlier ruling on disbarment by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit asserts:

Disbarment is fitting only when the attorney has been guilty of corrupt conduct; of some attempt to suborn a witness, or to bribe a juror, or to forge a document, or to embezzle clients' property, or other things abhorrent to honest and fair dealing.

Isserman was also disbarred in his home state of New Jersey; George W. Crockett Jr., another of the five, faces disciplinary action in his home state of Michigan. The Detroit Chapter of the Natl. Lawyers Guild and the Wolverine Bar Assn., of which Crockett is a member, studied the contempt case and unanimously resolved to give "full support to the defense" of Crockett. The organizations held that "a free bar under the Damoclean sword of intemperate contempt procedure is an impossibility."

**VOICES FROM THE PAST:** Many are today not prepared to pay the price, but there are still some who are. There are those like the late Harold Ickes who was grieved because his health and age prevented him from joining counsel in the current Smith Act trial in New York. He wrote:

It has not been my custom to run away from any fighting in the public interest. This is the most important issue that has been put up to me for decision, at least of a public nature, during my lifetime. I dearly wish that I might engage in this desperate fight to protect our liberties from further whittling by a sinister and ruthless, although frightened foe. If I were ten years younger I would take whatever risks might be involved and go in with you.

And there are those like Royal Wilbur France who on Jan. 14 this year wrote to Harry Sacher:

It was with deep regret that I read of your disbarment. . . . Although I abandoned the active practice of law a number of years ago in favor of the more or less cloistered life of a college professor, the trend in American life represented by your disbarment is leading me to consider an early return to active practice.



Drawing by Fred Wright  
"He's an investigator . . . says we have subversive elements!"

# Steel mess is part of get-labor drive

(Continued from Page 1)

(where the increase could be passed on); 80% to consumer industries like auto, homebuilding and other construction, which face declining demand and would not pay the increase.

The major companies in fact indicated "they will not take advantage of the government's authorization to boost



PHILIP MURRAY

Well, where do we go from here. . . .

steel prices \$3 a ton immediately," (N. Y. World Telegram, 4/29). The steel industry holdout begged for a strike. (When Philip Murray ordered his men back to work at the President's demand following the brief walkout after Judge Pine's decree that the seizure was illegal, U. S. Steel, giant of the industry, briefly attempted a lockout.)

**PREVENTING LOOSENESS:** A strike would help get rid of steel surpluses. Steel inventories have risen 8 million tons in the last year. National Steel's E. T. Weir said (4/29) a "very definite surplus" may develop in the next 12 months. A WSJ survey (5/1) found that "few industries will be pinched immediately" if the strike continued. The Journal of Commerce, explaining (5/1) "business calm" in face of the strike threat, said:

If the strikes last for two or three weeks, it is likely that it will prevent the appearance of any looseness in the steel supply during the third quarter, and possibly even in the fourth quarter. . . . Prior to the new crisis in steel, manufacturers had begun to predict a drop in the rate of steel ingot output during the latter half of this year, owing to the rise of new capacity; and the slowing down of consumer purchases. Some steel executives had even forecast a drop in production to about 85% of capacity by next Jan. 1.

A strike might also enable industry to deal a fatal blow to the weakened labor movement—a hope more likely of achievement against Murray's union, subservient to the Administration, than against a John L. Lewis. The Journal of Commerce (5/2), blandly conceding the correctness of the CIO contention that pay raises could come out of excess profits not only in steel but in all industry, said the raises would then be compensated by reduction of tax income and the government would be the real loser. But industry was determined to expand its excess profit margins, not reduce them, and had long been girding for its showdown with labor scheduled for 1953 when the arms boom would be tapering off. (John L. Lewis warned last year that this showdown was coming, urged labor to stop relying on government and build up its own strength. His plea went unheeded.)

**MR. SMITH ACTS:** While labor had little with which to meet the offensive, industry mobilized its coalition in Congress, the Administration, organs of public opinion, for a drive to abolish outright collective bargaining, key reform of the Roosevelt era. In Congress, Rep. Howard Smith (D-W. Va.), author of the Smith Act and the 1941 Smith Connally Act, introduced a bill pro-

viding indefinite extension of the 80-day cooling-off period called for in the Taft-Hartley Act. If union and management failed to agree before expiration of the T-H injunction, a federal court would appoint receivers for both industry and union, the receivers being barred from making any changes in wages or working conditions, thus freezing the situation on management's terms. It would end collective bargaining (long by-passed and weakened by labor reliance on government), prohibit strikes in major industries.

Passage of the Smith bill or anything like it would provide the instrument for an over-all crackdown on labor by an Eisenhower if he became President. The great financial groups mobilizing against labor were also spearheading the Eisenhower candidacy—the Morgans, the Rockefellers, Guggenheims, DuPonts, Mellon, Kuhn Loeb. But as Eisenhower drew even with Taft in delegates to the Republican convention, his managers expressed fear that when he returns home "he will say something that will minimize his present popularity" (James Reston, NYT, 5/4). The candidacy's true character had to be kept under wraps.

## Wild charges, new curtains

**T**HE recession and the need for more pump-priming multiplied Washington's problems abroad as at home. Fear of a let-down imperiling immense appropriations needed for pump-priming was one factor in Washington's dilemma in Korea. It feared to make peace but the strength of the other side was a powerful counter to plans for renewal and extension of the war. That such plans were still harbored was suggested by David Lawrence (5/2) who said the U.S. had delivered an ultimatum in Korea which "might easily lead to a showdown in world affairs."

Blocked abroad, Washington turned its wrath on Chinese here at home. The Treasury Dept. indicted the only progressive Chinese newspaper in the U.S. (China Daily News, N. Y.), and three Chinese laundry operators on charges of exporting money from Chinese to aid Peking. (The century-old practice of Chinese here sending money to relatives in China has been exploited by Chiang Kai-shek agents in Hong Kong to whip up anti-Peking feeling and line their own pockets.)

In the UN's Narcotics Commission the U.S. planned to press charges that Peking is "the major narcotics control problem" in the world. Leading China Lobbyists including representatives of Morgan's Natl. City Bank set up an "Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals" Committee to preserve

. . . a large body of trained and competent Chinese in communities outside the borders of China which could be available to the Chinese people when freedom returns to that unhappy land [Dean Rusk, former Asst. Secy. of State, now head of the Rockefeller Foundation].



Action, Paris

"Heads, I do business with Moscow. Tails, I go broke."

**CLANG:** Washington's fear of the "Iron Curtain's" trade drive, and of the effect of U.S. citizens' contact on any level with the socialist world, was reflected in a State Dept. order banning all travel to Russia and Eastern Europe (travel in China already was

forbidden). Lord Boyd Orr, former head of the UN Food & Agriculture Org. and leading British delegate to the Moscow Economic Conference, said it "succeeded far beyond their [British] expectations" (Nation, 5/3).

British businessmen were still winging to Moscow to do business. The conference was still getting wide coverage in West Europe, where resentment against the U.S. Congress' "Buy American" drive grew with the economic crisis. Belgium became the first U.S. ally to retaliate with a new tariff against U.S. goods.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 5, 1952

## Political Realities Emerging From West German Talks

We got tired of writing this head, decided to let the Times do it this week.

**T**HE toughest of the immediate problems centered in Germany. Reflecting the position of West Europe's anti-Communist Social Democratic movements, the British Labour Party's natl. executive voted unanimously for British participation in 4-power talks with Moscow on free all-German elections. In Bonn, the Intl. Socialist Conference urged immediate Western talks with the U.S.S.R. Earlier Chancellor Adenauer himself suggested such talks, causing Paris' Le Monde to comment that if he lets himself speak thus it is because

. . . he must be so assured of U.S. support that he feels himself able to do without the "European" policy of which he has till now been the fervent champion.

In the Bonn Parliament the Free Democrats and the German Party, which with Adenauer's Christian Democrats form the government coalition, caustically denounced the "peace contract" Adenauer is negotiating with the Allies. Adenauer must have their votes if the "contract" and its companion pact bringing West Germany into NATO by the back door are to go through. The British have refused to make further concessions to German demands which would satisfy these parties.

**VOTE FOR PEACE:** The strength of the Socialist anti-rearmament position was demonstrated in Hesse where local elections gave the Socialists 38.5% of the vote to 17.5% for the Christian Democrats. The three Western powers were reported readying a reply to the latest Soviet note in which they would "be prepared to confer" with Moscow on German unification but would demand that a UN or international commission inspect both East and West Germany as a prior condition even to talking about elections.

Le Monde's reaction to Secy. Acheson's attack on Soviet negotiation offers as "golden apples of discord" was a renewed plea for some explanation by Washington of what it is aiming at. It complained of Acheson's

. . . unprecision concerning the final aims of U.S. policy and the means of realizing them. . . . Nothing stands in the way of engaging in talks with the East, of seeking whether a deal is possible. . . . The "peaceful actions" which U.S. leaders await on the part of the U.S.S.R. are, let us have no doubt about it, considerable concessions such as the Kremlin would regard as capitulation.

## PROGRESSIVE PARTY

### PP well over the top in Michigan

**T**WO months ago the House Un-American Activities Committee held hearings in Detroit. After the inquisition came the firings; Walter Reuther seized control of Ford Local 600, progressive stronghold; Gov. G. Mennen Williams signed the Trucks Bill to register or jail "communists."

Michigan in that setting became a test of Progressive Party strength. To get on the ballot the PP needed 9,800 signatures on a petition. No more than 35% could come from any one county; there had to be at least 100 signatures from each of 10 counties.

Last week PP exec. secy. Jerry Shore drove to Lansing with 14,000 signatures, was met on the capitol steps by some women who had raced from Berrien with 250 more (they had already gathered over 1,600.) The PP had topped requirements by almost 5,000.

**FORD SPEED-UP:** In all, 400 canvassers went out on the petition drive. They gathered signatures in front of Detroit dept. stores, in factories, homes and shops. At the River Rouge plant it took one hour for 11 canvassers to get 500 Ford workers' signatures; in downtown Lansing three canvassers got 1 in two hours. Al Leonard, a Negro auto worker from Detroit, led all canvassers with a total of 650.

Robert E. Jones and his wife Dr. Margaret Bradley sparked the drive in Berrien, Shirley Foster in Flint, Hugh and Hester DeLacy in the western counties, Edna Squieres in St. Joseph, Virginia Glen, Grand Rapids, Dorothy Marsh, Leah Love and Rev. Charles A. Hill in Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties.

For the PP across the nation; Michigan was a test, a model and a boost.

**NEGRO CONFERENCE SET:** The fight for national representation of 15 million Negroes (now limited to 2 Congressmen) is to be carried to the midwest in a "Conference on Negro People and the Peace Election Campaign," set for May 10 at Chicago's Quincy Club.



REV. CHARLES HILL  
They went over the top

Keynoter will be Rev. Charles A. Hill, chairman of Detroit's Baptist Ministerial Alliance, vice-chairman of the Michigan PP. The conference in its call plainly declares that "no Presidential candidate of the two old parties has shown any genuine concern for civil rights," as increasing numbers of Negro spokesmen hint at a big-scale breakaway from the old parties by Negro voters. In announcing the conference Willard B. Ransom of Indianapolis, chairman of the PP Natl. Committee to Elect Negroes to Public Office, said:

"It is now quite clear that two parties dedicated to warlike policies and to support of colonialism abroad cannot and will not support the fight for freedom of the Negro people at home."

He outlined the partisan and non-partisan aspects of the campaign:

"First we will rally support of the only candidates who do show concern for civil rights and a peaceful world—Vincent Hallinan and Mrs. Charlotte Bass on the Progressive Party ticket. Second, we will help elect Negro candidates to all levels of public office, in the Congress, in state and city legislatures, to the courts, and urge appointments to high office. These two fights are intimately connected."

**THEY LIKE VINCE:** On April 18 in Bloomington, Ill., Pantagraph headed a news story: **TAFT OUTDRAWS IKE AT ISNU; HALLINAN SURPRISE WRITE-IN.**

The item recorded results of an unofficial preferential primary poll conducted at Illinois State Normal University by the College League of Women Voters. Of candidates listed on the ballot, Taft beat Eisenhower 217 to 202, Kefauver won over Stevenson 128 to 75. The write-in vote was: Hallinan 34, MacArthur 9, Sen. Paul Douglas 5, Henry Wallace 2, Norman Thomas 2, Truman 2, Justice Wm. O. Douglas 1.



**A WAY TO END ALL WARS**  
Men have never been able to outlaw war, Could women? Since the first cave-fire women have been the Peace Ambassadors of the home and family! And never by war. Not peace at any price—but peace without bloodshed! **BET YOUR LIFE!** Somehow—some day—**WOMEN** will outlaw war!  
Chicago Daily News

**PEACE**

**In Washington State it's Initiative 183**

"WE are three women who are tired of war." That's how a mimeographed leaflet published in Bellingham, Wash., last week began. It was signed Mrs. Mona Thomas, Mrs. Ruby Davis, Mrs. Patricia Cary, three Bellingham mothers whose sons are in Korea. Attached to the leaflet was a legal form for signature to Initiative Measure No. 183, entitled:

AN ACT to petition Congress to declare a policy of the United States to live in peaceful co-existence with other nations and to call a conference of the heads of leading nations to negotiate a settlement of existing differences.

The petition would put the question of peace on the ballot Nov. 4, for vote by the people in Washington State. Tacoma and other Washington cities reported that other groups were considering the new peace proposal opened up by 183.

Address for the Bellingham group: Committee for Initiative 183, Box 164, Bellingham, Wash.

**PTA FOR NEGOTIATION:** Peace sentiment was stirring in the midwest too. The Illinois Parents Teachers Assn., convening in Chicago, declared

... its faith that war is not inevitable and that no differences exist between nations anywhere in the world which cannot be resolved through the process of peaceful negotiation.

The PTA, representing 500,000 members, called on the President, Secy. of State Acheson and U. S. delegates to the UN "to proclaim these principles [for peaceful negotiation] publicly, and to take steps toward their achievement." Other convention actions put PTA on record against universal military training, racial segregation in schools, teachers' loyalty oaths and other inroads against academic freedom.

**PEACEMAKERS MAY 30:** "All people who believe in non-violent living and action" were called to a national conference to reactivate the "Peacemaker Movement" May 30-June 1 in Yellow Springs, Ohio. The conference poses this question: "Should non-payment of taxes for war be a definite Peacemaker discipline?" It will discuss

... programs of civil disobedience, non-payment of war taxes, demonstrations against militarism, community building, international fellowship [in relation to the] non-violent society of brotherhood.

**METHODIST PEACE PLANKS:** The Methodist Church, opening its quadrennial convention in San Francisco, received several peace recommendations from the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The Federation had just wound up its own three-day panel on civil liberties at which Dr. Willard Uphaus, co-chairman of the American Peace Crusade, said of his experiences at the Warsaw Peace Conference:

"For the first time I fell fully into the pattern, the passion, the rhythm of the heart of humanity. I went to Warsaw out of a feeling of Christian responsibility and came back a better man."

**THE LAW**

**High Court decision weds church & state**

**JUSTICE** William O. Douglas, usually a spokesman for the Supreme Court liberal minority, wrote the majority opinion last week upholding the practice of public schools releasing children for private, sectarian religious instruction. He wrote:

"The First Amendment . . . does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of church and state."

The 6-3 decision left only Justices Black, Frankfurter and Jackson dissenting. Jackson said the day the U. S. . . ceases to be free for irreligion, it will cease to be free for religion except for the sect that can win political power.

Under the N.Y. State Law which served as the test case in the Supreme Court decision, a pupil who declines religious instruction must stay behind in school. Jackson said that the school then "serves as a temporary jail for a pupil who will not go to church."

**ILLINOIS PRECEDENT:** Justice Black in his dissent referred to an earlier case which had ruled that Illinois could not "channel children into sectarian classes; yet that is exactly what the court holds New York can do."



Proponents of released time had rejected an earlier compromise that would let all children out of school early one day a week so that those who wanted to take religious training could do so; others could take what secular training their parents might want, or else have additional playtime. The Greater N. Y. Coordinating Committee on Released Time argued that with such a choice "secularism" would gain.

Justice Douglas dismayed even his most ardent supporters. While for the N. Y. Daily Compass he remained "our favorite candidate for President," publisher T. O. Thackrey chided him for his "capacity for rationalizing an occasional grievous error."

**ROMAN DOUBLE-TALK:** The High Court ruling was a victory for the Natl. Catholic Educational Assn. which has put on most of the pressure for released time, claiming nowever to "believe in the public schools," in paying taxes to support them, and in their "expansion."



The council of Protestants & Other Americans United for Separation of Church & State challenged these statements of the Catholic Church position as "out of line with many clearly-observed practices of the Church," pointing out that:

• The Church's canon law 1374 says: "Catholic children may not attend [schools] which are open also to non-Catholics" except in special circumstances where it may be "tolerated" under "instructions from the Holy See."

• In one of many such statements published under imprimatur and never repudiated, Father Paul Blakely wrote: "Our first duty to the public school is not to pay taxes for its maintenance."

• In Pierz, Minn., last year Catholic layman Henry Gau was excommunicated for supporting a proposal to build a public school.

• Catholics' "duty to take an active interest in public schools" takes "too often the form of infiltration, resulting in changing their character. . . . POAU has received hundreds of documented complaints from all parts of the country, and 11 different court actions are now pending to rectify some of the most flagrant situations."

**Wide Rosenberg Case interest on W. Coast**

**M**OVED by the GUARDIAN's articles on the Rosenberg Case, Mrs. Sophie

Davidson, a Los Angeles pharmacist, her 72-year-old mother, a needle trades worker and two housewives got together two and a half months ago to form the L. A. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. Last month they invited the GUARDIAN's special reporter William A. Reuben, author of the Rosenberg series, to come to L. A.

Last week, what had been a seven-day tour was winding up as a month's tour. Interest snowballed beyond expectation up and down the coast, GUARDIAN's L. A. correspondent June Cannan writes. In ten days in L. A. Reuben addressed 20 meetings; 1,000 persons attended one, at the Park View Manor Hotel. A lunch meeting with Sam Gach, publisher of the Voice, largest West Coast Anglo-Jewish paper, resulted in financial contribution and a request for by-lined articles on the case. Scores of protests have been sent to the President and local Congressmen.

**25 COMMITTEES GOING:** Committees are now functioning in Long Beach, Santa Monica, Hollywood and the San Fernando Valley. They have distributed

**Rosenberg appeal June 7**

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, sentenced to death on a charge of giving atomic secrets to the Soviet Union, were given a month's delay until June 7 to file their appeal with the Supreme Court. The stay was granted by Justice Robert H. Jackson; Morton Sobell, who was sentenced to 30 years, was included in the order. The delay may mean that the Supreme Court will not act on the case until the fall calendar—but there is no certainty.

4,000 copies of Reuben's Rosenberg pamphlet, collected 1,000 names on a Friend of the Court petition.

The first San Francisco meeting addressed by Reuben drew 350 persons who contributed over \$700. A press conference next morning brought out, among others, the S. F. Chronicle and the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

In New York last week the national Rosenberg committee (246 Fifth Av., Rm. 441) announced that local defense groups had been formed in 25 cities, and plans are set for committees in 20 more cities. For two months, not a day has passed in New York without a neighborhood meeting.

On the night of April 30, 30 volunteers distributed a fact-sheet on the case outside Ebbets Field in Brooklyn, where 35,000 turned out to mark the fourth anniversary of Israel's independence. Two distributors were arrested and fined for "disorderly conduct." One is a woman of 65 who weighs 110 pounds. The committee denounced the police attempt to "interfere with the lawful efforts to make the long-suppressed facts in the case public," filed an appeal. The distributors reported many expressions of sympathy and serious interest in the case.

**CALIFORNIA**

**8 L. A. cops indicted by jury for beatings**

**P**OLICE brutality is standard in most

U. S. cities; nothing much is ever done about it. But in Los Angeles a particularly savage beating given seven youths last Christmas, during a drinking party attended by upwards of 100 cops, angered a judge; he denounced the affair, demanded a grand jury probe and got it. By last week, after questioning 79 witnesses, the jury indicted eight policemen, including a lieutenant, for "assault with force likely to do great bodily harm"—a felony. The jury also recommended departmental discipline for every sergeant and lieutenant present at the time of the beatings; criticized the police dept. in general; hinted that some witnesses it heard might be indicted for perjury.

During the probe some 30 persons, emboldened by action at long last, filed additional complaints of brutality. The Police Commissioners took them under study, and the grand jury promised to

turn its attention next to at least one of them.

**PAINFUL FOR PARKER:** With the heat on, Police Chief William H. Parker suspended two other cops accused of beating with a gun-butt a suspect whose home they entered without the formality of a warrant; felony complaints were later issued against them. At least two suits for damages, one totaling \$310,000, have been filed against the police since the probe started. While the probe was on, Chief Parker ordered a drastic shake-up of the dept. involving 49 officers and employees, including some top brass.



Eyeing the situation for possible violation of federal law, the FBI sent reports of 20 cases of police violence to Washington for study. Meanwhile Parker and two of his predecessors were asked to explain a "big wa. . ." of \$440,000 for a new police building.

**CASUAL MAYHEM:** But there was still police violence in L. A. On April 23 an off-duty cop thought another motorist trying to force him off the road. The cop brought the other car to a halt, shot its driver dead when he said, he lunged at him. The victim was unarmed, turned out to be a veteran drawing full disability compensation for war injuries.

Footnote: whenever a major U. S. city blows its police dept. wide open for brutalities, it is news. Few if any newspapers beyond the immediate region have reported the story.

**LATIN AMERICA**

**Cuba gives N.G. man Peronistic welcome**

**G**UARDIAN's Elmer Bendiner, home last week after a 7-week Latin American tour, added a postscript to the story of his jailing in Argentina (GUARDIAN, April 16). The sequel came in Cuba, still bristling with guns a month after Col. Fulgencio Batista's seizure of power on the eve of elections he was set to lose.

In a second customs inspection at Havana after Bendiner had been swiftly cleared at Camaguey, police claimed to find suspect documents (one was a Maxim Gorky book). Armed with tommyguns, they drove him to headquarters where he was questioned with some 20 armed soldiers surrounding him, his luggage and papers scattered over the floor. A dove appearing along with the image of Christ in a photo of a Brazilian religious rite brought a shout of triumph from the chief: "That's their sign!"

The "questioning" ended when without warning the police chief wined Bendiner with a blow in the solar plexus and, while he reeled against a wall, hit him again. Then Bendiner was led off to a cell.

**PAGE THE FBI:** Hours later other police officers, polite, offered apologies, admitted they found no "communism" in what he had been carrying, released him. Next day Bendiner talked with a UP reporter from his hotel in Havana.

The reporter had already filed his story but called to see if there was anything he could do. Bendiner said there was. The police had not returned all his documents. Maybe UP could help. The reporter said it would be simplest to call the U. S. Embassy and ask for the FBI. He added:

"They know all about you. That's where I got a lot of the information."

Suddenly the phone went dead for ten minutes. Contact resumed, the reporter said inspectors at Camaguey had been alarmed by Bendiner's books. The other books he carried were of so innocuous a type that he clearly owed his second Latin American jail visit to Gorky.

**CALENDAR**

**New York**

**PLAY DUPLICATE BRIDGE** in Greenwich Village, Sat., May 17, 8:30 p.m. Prizes. Refreshments. For reservations call Ann McCann, AL 5-2314. Benefit 1st A.-D. Village American Labor Party.

**Los Angeles**

**"END OF A DAY,"** French classic directed by Julien Duvivier; also, **"THE STEPS OF AGE,"** Vincent Sherman, guest speaker. Fri., May 16, 8 p.m. Adm: 65c. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

**"THE U.S. AND THE UNITED NATIONS,"** by MARTIN HALL; one of the best in an extremely worthwhile lecture series; 8:15 p.m., Thurs., May 15. First Unitarian Church. Adm: 60c.

**THIRD ANNUAL MEXICAN-JEWISH FRIENDSHIP FIESTA,** Sat., May 17, 8 p.m., Straus Auditorium, 213 N. Soto St. Mexican and Jewish food — tacos, gefulte fish, enchiladas, knishes, chile, kugel. Dancing, entertainment. Program featuring **FREEDOM STAGE** in scene from "Longitude 49." Adm: 75c. Auspices: Eastside Committee for Inter-cultural Friendship.

**TODAY'S NEWS ANALYZED** with discussion in town meeting tradition. **MARTIN HALL,** every Monday night at ASP Council, 7410 Sunset, 8 p.m. GR 4188. Don.: 60c.

**A. S. P. PRESENTS** its 3rd monthly News Forum. Sidney Roger, well-known news commentator will speak on **"THE PRICE OF HYSTERIA."** Wed., May 14, 8 p.m., 1561 Fillmore St. Donation: 50c.

**NEW YORK**

Attend the  
**AMERICAN LABOR PARTY ELECTION RALLY**  
**MADISON SQUARE GARDEN**

**MAY 13 TUESDAY, 7:30 p.m.**

HEAR  
**VINCENT HALLINAN**  
for President of U. S.

**CHARLOTTA BASS**  
for Vice-Pres. of U. S.

Hon. Vito Marcantonio  
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**The Village LaGuardia Club American Labor Party** invites you to join us in honoring **MOLLY TALLENTIRE** our beloved & devoted secretary  
**SAT., MAY 10—9 p.m.**  
Contribution: \$1  
**UPSHURE MUSIC STUDIO**  
647 E'way (just above Bleeker)  
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Beautiful things for the home. Gifts from Scandinavia and all the world.

**CONNECTICUT**  
**RALLY TO HEAR**  
**Vito Marcantonio**  
**Shirley Graham DuBois**  
**SUNDAY, MAY 11—3 P.M.**  
Contribution: 50c  
**HOTEL BARNUM, Bridgeport**  
Ausp. People's Party of Conn.

**"THE FRATERNAL SONGSTERS,"** directed by Sonny Vale, are starting rehearsals for the great new **"NEGRO CANTATA."** If you like to sing, and can carry a tune, audition any Tues. in May, 8:30 p.m., 7675 Beverly Blvd. See you Tues. nite. Start singing for **PEACE & BROTHERHOOD.**

**Philadelphia**

**"PEACE ON THE '52 BALLOT"** every Friday evening, 8:30 p.m., Station WHAT, 1340 on the dial, starting May 9 for 13 consecutive weeks.

**CLASSIFIED**

Listings in this section are available at 40c 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.

**General**

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**New York**

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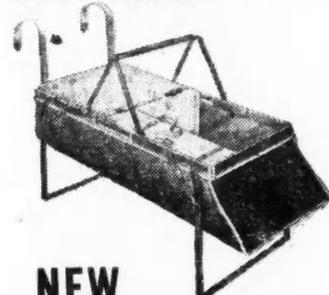
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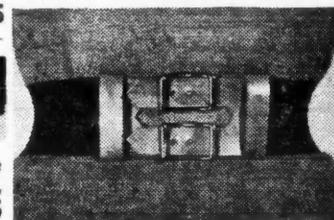
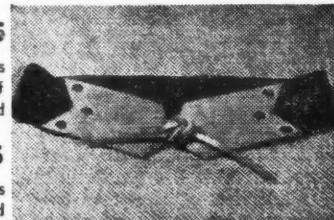
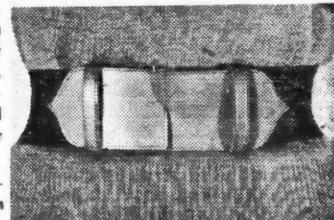
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By Cedric Belfrage

ONCE upon a time "the best expression of free speech, civil liberties and democratic methods ever formulated," since monkeys came down from trees and began the long march toward manhood, was enshrined by a new and ardent people in a Bill of Rights. The American people, who had cut adrift from feudal monarchism, threw off the chains of superstition and declared in effect that man himself, "relying on the scientific method as the best way of solving his individual, social and international problems," had all the stuff required to build a free and abundant society.



Das Andere Deutschland, Hanover "He threatened me!"

("If someone comes to your door and talks about peace, grab hold of him and call the police"—from a Birmingham, Ala., radio broadcast.)

Equating the American tradition with The Humanist Tradition, scholar-philanthropist Dr. Corliss Lamont defines this humanist materialism and briefly traces its philosophical lineage. In another of his excellent series of "Basic Pamphlets" (small enough to tuck in an envelope with a letter, and warmly recommended for that purpose), Lamont lists the 33 different kinds of violation of the Bill of Rights, imposed by law or hysteria-bred custom during the Loyalty Oath era, which add up to The Civil Liberties Crisis<sup>1</sup> of today.

"LOYALTY"—AND ROT: Practising what he preaches about scientific method, Lamont spares us the "don't get-me-wrong" preamble of crossing himself against the communist incubus (he prefers not to insult his readers by explaining—what is as obvious as it is irrelevant—that he is not a Communist).

The 17 round-table participants (including Yale Law School's Thomas I. Emerson, The Nation's Carey McWilliams, American Civil Liberties Union's Patrick Malin) whose discussions resulted in Loyalty in a Democracy<sup>2</sup> feel called upon to "proclaim abhorrence" of the Soviet Union; but with this out of the way they produce a lucidly-argued warning, aimed at the real target, against relying on governmental agencies to defend traditional U.S. liberties. Such an inspection of the Truman "loyalty" program under comparatively "respectable" auspices is so rare that progressives should make it their business to get this one around.

How the "loyalty" program has put American book "culture" likewise between quotation marks is expounded by One Who Knows in the pamphlet-length article "The Crisis in Books," appearing in the California Quarterly<sup>3</sup> for Spring, 1952. The author is the former vice-pres. of Little, Brown &

Co. in Boston, Angus Cameron—once called America's leading book editor by Time, but recently unloaded by Little, Brown when after a short, sharp witch-hunt it retreated from publishing books for good books' sake and fell in line with the cold war. Cameron's analysis of how far the cultural rot has gone, why, and what might be done about it, is a tribute to his intelligence and integrity and a precious reminder that while there are Camerons there is hope.

SPAIN & GERMANY: Two aspects of the reign of violence and hate in U.S. foreign policy, of which the domestic crises are a reflection, are commendably treated in Germany—Hope or Peril?<sup>4</sup> and Spain and Peace.<sup>5</sup> Howard Fast's pamphlet on Spain, to which Picasso has contributed a cover design in colors, appears when it is most needed: when Washington is attaining its ultimate moral degradation in an "unspeakable, and once unthinkable, alliance with Franco," and when executions of leaders of last year's mass strikes and demonstrations in Spain show us how the Madrid "No Pasaran" spirit lives on in the people. Fast is emotional about Spain—he himself went to jail for refusing to betray it—but he gives the essential facts showing the extent and meaning of the Spanish people's resistance to their 14-year-old bondage. The story needs to be pushed under the noses of millions of Americans who once defended Spanish democracy and have relapsed into apathy.

The pamphlet on Germany by Gerhard Hageberg, associate editor of the progressive German-language monthly The German-American, is just what the GUARDIAN would have ordered if we were the doctor. By-passing all side issues, it goes—with the sort of documentation that's hard to argue away—to the heart of today's most inflammable world problem. Though written before Moscow's new proposals for Germany, this does not date it; what it provides is the stage setting against which the proposals were made. The facts here quietly summarized are the most damning indictment imaginable of Washington policies everywhere. Facts to fight with, right now—yes, indeed.

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RAISING CURTAINS: While genuinely alarmed and conscience-stricken liberals, struggling to remain respectable, "proclaim abhorrence" of societies seeking something better



Daily Worker, London "You have just heard an SS hero of the Katyn massacre testify in favor of democracy and against communist savagery. . . ."

than a romance with Hitler's hired assassins, other Western observers obstinately proclaim the opposite. The British authors of Peace on the Vistula<sup>6</sup>—"an eye-witness account of the first five years of people's democracy in Poland"—tell about a people's rebirth out of total horror and disaster in so short a time as to demand a new concept of the capacities of our race of bipeds. Is their story to be believed, or should we accept the only alternative version we are offered: that practically everyone in Poland is a slave, yearning for the gentry and the "colonels" to return and start up again the good old pogroms of the good old days? We can only say that the Peace on the Vistula version is better documented; and we commend it to the critical attention of all truth-seekers—to be read preferably after seeing the Polish film, Peace Will Win.

Equally obstinate in accepting and recording as true what they see with their own eyes are Canada's Charlotte and Dyson Carter, the second part of whose account of the Soviet Union We Saw Socialism<sup>7</sup> has now appeared. When graduate nurse Charlotte and research chemist Dyson were shown a few months ago the spacious, beautiful city rising on the blood-soaked earth of Stalingrad, they explained to their woman guide: "People need courage to fight for peace in Canada." The guide said she understood that, and added: "When you find people who

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"During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotion. . . ."

—Gen. Smedley D. Butler

need courage to fight for peace, tell them about our city."

THE WAY IT LOOKS: The Carters tell, very simply and without inhibitions, what sort of a country the Soviet Union seems to them to be after traveling all over it, talking with hundreds of people, noting down each day what they learned about its legal and voting system, its work and its play, its trade unions, its col-



lective mechanized farms, its programs for children and for once-backward national groups, its therapy for the physically and mentally sick, its culture and its science.

These two Canadians are as thorough as they are enthusiastic in their account of Soviet socialism's bid to "rely on the scientific method" in the machine age as American capitalism set forth to rely on it in an earlier age. Theirs is now the most complete and up-to-date layman's study of the U. S. S. R.

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