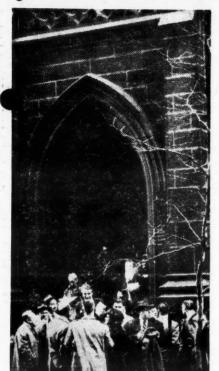
Churchmen, educators join civil liberties battle



Guardian photo by Bernard
THE DEATH OF FREEDOM? people of many shadings, arriv-or the Academic Freedom panel at N. Y. C.'s First Presbyterian Church, sought unity in the fight that freedom should live.

AST week-end more than 1,200 em-battled U.S. liberals took a stand in defense of the Bill of Rights. Some had spoken out before; many had not. Few up to then had come together. Iti-Communists and Communists ated their differences but stuck together on issues in a 2-day conference of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in New York.

From the platform, speakers deliberately confined themselves to statements of principle; speakers from the floor, by the time the conference ended, were getting down to cases, calling for or-ganization and action.

Retired Amherst College pres. Dr. Alexander Meiklejohn, speaking Saturday afternoon at the wind-up session in the Hotel Brevoort, took the Smith Act conviction of Communist Party leaders as the touchstone in the assault on U.S. freedoms. Taking issue with "my old friend" Justice Felix Frank-furter, who upheld the Smith Act's constitutionality, Meiklejohn said the 1st Amendment

"... does not say to the lawmakers, 'You must be reasonable in your destruction of the freedom of political advocacy.' What it says is that neither unreasonably nor reasonably may they enact laws which abridge that freedom. In a word the political freedom of the people of the U.S. is freedom of the people of the U.S. is

not subject to Congressional control." "FREEDOM IS WISE": On the "clear and present danger" doctrine, Meikle-

"It is never true that the security of a nation is actually endangered by the freedom of its people.... The danger of political suppression is greater than the danger of political freedom. Repression is always foolish; freedom is always wise." freedom is always wise.

Against legislation like the Smith Act he cited Madison and Hamilton, Act he cited Madison and naminon, quoted a historic dissent by former Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan who said in 1897: "Whatever it [Congress] does in excess of the powers granted to it, or in violation of the supreme law of the land, is a nullity and may be so treated by any person."
Contrasting Harlan with Frankfurter, Meiklejohn said:

Today the Supreme Court, more than any other agency or person in our society, must be held responsible for the destruction of those Constitutional principles which that court is commissioned to interpret and to defend."

The threat, said Dr. Meiklejohn, comes not only from courts but from Congressional witch-hunts:

"A legislative committee which asks the question, 'Are you a Republican?' or 'Are you a Communist?', accompanying the question with the threat of harm or disrepute if the answer is this rather than that, stands in contempt of the sovereign people to whom it owes submission."

THE SIN OF MAN: Sharing the plat-form with Meiklejohn was the commits chairman, Dr. Paul L. Lehmann Princeton's Theological faculty.

(Continued on Page 4)

NATIONAL progressive newsweekly

Vol. 5, No. 16

NEW YORK, N. Y., FEBRUARY 5, 1953

Dulles flies to complete G.O.P. encirclement of balky Europe

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Secy. of State in the new millionaire government of bankers and top monopo-lists, flew to Europe at the week-end to begin laying down the Republican law to Washington's faltering allies. In a foreign-policy speech on TV before he left, he intensified the "sheer arrowhich the Nation's Bruce Catton gance" which the Nation's Bruce Catton (1/31) found to be "the dominant note sounded by the new administration."

The speech, purportedly designed to restore public confidence in the State Dept., was made "off the cuff" from "scattered notes" (James Reston, N.Y. Times, 1/29). Veteran diplomatic observers sought vainly in U.S. annals for any parallel not only to its arro-gant condescension, but to its simple gant condescension, but to its simple inaccuracies and downright misrepresentations, strung together with a casual reference to "righteousness" and a Bible text—ominously apt in reverse of his use of it: "They that take the sword perish with the sword."

WE'RE ENCIRCLED! Ignoring the

continual U.S. press descriptions of U.S. encirclement of the U.S.S.R., Dulles blandly referred to the Soviets'

oulles blandly referred to the Soviets'
"...policy which they call encirclement ... to get control of the different areas ... around us so [we are]
cut off and isolated... Russian Communists completely dominate ...
800,000,000 people who are being
forged into a vast weapon of fighting
power backed by ... atomic bombs.
... [Compared with] our 150,000,000
people, the odds would be 7 to 1."
800 to 150 million equals 5.3 to 1. Of

(800 to 150 million equals 5.3 to 1. Of the 800 million presumably referred to, 500 million are in China, whose internal integrity—and the exemplary, unobtruintegrity—and the exemplary, unobtrusive behavior of the few Soviet technicians working there—has been attested by a series of Indian government observers and reported in the N.Y. Times.)

Further confusion was added by citizen Harry Truman who, flatly contradicting the President of the same name, said the Soviets probably have

name, said the Soviets probably have



How the Russians have encircled us

This map in the Jan. 30 "U.S. News" presumably illustrates the "deadly serious threat" Dulles says we face from "Communist encirclement." Note how American—pardon us, Russian—planes are poised on every side, within handy striking distance of Moscow, Tenn.; Kief, N.D.; Odessa, Minn.; Ural, Mont., and Warsaw, N.Y. Or are we looking at the wrong map?

Eisenhower: clubs, carrots, strings

DRESIDENT EISENHOWER, going well beyond "the state of the union" in his first message to Congress last Monday, offered to W. Europeans a cerinty of clubs with faint hopes of arrots; to Asians, an opportunity to fight each other; to Americans, liberation from price and wage controls.

He bluntly abrogated all "secret understandings of the past" with the so-cialist world, identified in the address as governments permitting "enslave-ment." From W. Europe he demanded a

"... more closely integrated economic and political system ... needed to maintain both necessary military readiness and respectable living standards [specifically, the European Army and the Schuman Plan]... We shall give help ... in the measure that they strive earnestly to do their full share of the common task."

"LEGITIMATE SAFEGUARDS": To compliant nations he offered these carrots, with strings clearly visible: tariff revisions—but not such as to "ignore legitimate safeguards of do-"ignore legitimate safeguards of do-mestic industries, agriculture and liv-ing standards"; U.S. investment abroad —but only in a "hospitable climate"; U.S. use of industrial facilities over-seas for "mutual defense" production, "not seriously competitive with our own normal peacetime production"; "receiving from the rest of the world, in equitable exchange for what we supin equitable exchange for what we supply, greater amounts of important raw materials which we do not ourselves possess in adequate quantities.

To the people at home he said he would not ask renewal of either price or wage controls when they expire April 30, and would recommend federal rent control only "where serious housing shortages exist." These he limited to "defense areas," and even there he favored lifting controls "as soon as practicable." Before lifting all rent controls, he said, states should have the chance to legislate their own.

"PRESSED PERSUASION": Labor, the President said, had been "affronted" President said, had been "affronted" by being addressed "as a group apart."
He promised a minimum of intervention in collective bargaining by his millionaire government, "free from the taint of any suspicion that it is par-tial or punitive." His faith in trade unionism was "proven, firm and final."

On Taft-Hartley, as on the McCarran Act, he recommended "corrective amendments" but failed to specify. In place of an enforceable FEPC he proposed to combat discrimination by "the power of fact, fully publicized, of persuasion honestly pressed, and of con-science, justly aroused." Echoing a campaign promise, he said:

"I propose to use whatever authority exists in the office of the President to end segregation in the District of Columbia [he has no real authority; it is up to Congress], including the federal government and any segregation in the armed forces."

"None of our business"

Jailed for refusing to take the oath when the Army tried to draft him, 20-year-old Robert D. Walsh of Indian Lake, Mich., told the St. Joseph Herald-Press (1/23):

"I would volunteer to fight if this country was attacked, but I don't think this is our war. I don't think I'm better than anyone else. I don't think anybody should have to go."

to go."
He said no religious beliefs motivated him; the Korean War was just not "any of our business."

Fe

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re (T

If there's a bulls-eye above, YOUR SUBSCRIPTION HAS EXPIRED!

YOU MUST RENEW NOW to be sure of receiving your GUARDIAN in the future without interruption,

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Vol. 5, No. 16



FEBRUARY 5, 1953

REPORT TO READERS

Your pledge, please!

WE URGE YOU most strongly to consider and act on the pledge form below. On the success of this pldege drive rests the continued publication of the GUARDIAN.
We have no big financiers behind us; no big-business advertisers want us (nor us them). Therefore the continuation of this paper lies in your lap - and the pledge system of enlisting support is the fairest we can think of.

The replies to our first published appeal last week for pledged funds of at least \$1 a month for the rest of the year beginning with March has already brought a ready response, but it is only a drop in the bucket. Our letter to readers who have backed up the paper in the past with a few spare dollars extra from time to time is bringing a better response, but it also is slow.

O PLEDGE, you need send no money now (unless your renewal is due — see above). Just mail us your pledge on the form below and we will acknowledge it for March and for each month thereafter with a reminder and postage-paid envelope for your remittance.

Please do it today - and give the GUARDIAN the immediate assurance that we can depend on YOU PER-SONALLY to help with the job of keeping the paper going THE EDITORS throughout 1953.

NATION	AI	GUA	RDI	AN	SUST	AI	NING	FUND
	17	Murray	St.,	New	York	7, 1	N. Y.	

(circle amount)

I PLEDGE \$1 \$2 \$3 \$4 \$5 \$10

EVERY MONTH BEGINNING MARCH 1, 1953

Name

City..... Zone.... State.....

(The GUARDIAN will send you a monthly reminder and a postage-paid reply envelope for your convenience.)



Clergy and the Rosenbergs

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I have sent to 200 ministers and other friends a letter on clemency for the Rosenbergs, with a copy of the Pritt analysis, Dr. Irving Putnam, prominent local Methodist the Pritt analysis. Dr. Irving Put-nam, prominent local Methodist minister who is treasurer of the local Rosenberg Committee, said to me and others a few days ago: "I've preached the gospel for 46 years; that was easy. Now that I've begun to live the gospel, that's a much harder proposition, but I'm so happy, never happier in my life."

Making this case strike home to more of the cloth is in part a matter of learning the truth, in part a matter of "holy guts." Congratulations on your steady, courageous course, and God bless you.

H. H. Hester

LEXINGTON, MASS.

On behalf of the Rosenbergs I have written the President as an individual and again as a member of a group of ciergymen. Now I have a thought on the matter which, although it must have occurred to many, yet because of the urgency I am making bold to write to you.

Having noted the reluctance of witnesses to give evidence before the grand jury called by the FBI over the Brinks case, it is possible that the Greenglasses were afraid to name the people to whom they did hand over material. Consequently, in order to cover important and dangerous individuals, they named the in-laws against whom they had a grudge, and not imagining that this would mean their death. Perhaps naming Sobell was for the same purpose of covering the really guilty, also serving to get themselves off the hook. Killing the Rosenbergs brings the investigation to a dead end.

Merlin W. Ennis

Letters to Eisenhower

TORONTO, CAN.

I have written this to President Eisenhower: "As a Catholic, as a Canadian, as a lover of Lincoln who founded your party, I appeal to you for clemency on behalf of the Recenbergy

Rosenbergs.

"Guilty, the sentence is draconic.

Innocent, I don't know how any nation can survive their execution."

J. S. Wallace

SEATTLE, WASH.

My letter to Eisenhower, in part:
"The world is on fire. All over
the earth Vengeance has unseated
Justice. The nations eagerly look
to you to reverse the trend to international slaughter, and to build
the highway to world peace.
"An everlasting shadow hangs
over the U.S.A. for the vengeful
murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, Shall
we allow another, dark shadow to
hide the conscience of America? We
beseech you not to blot the first
page of your record with the blood
of the Rosenbergs." A. L. Giberson

New Jersey on the ball

New Jersey on the ball

New Jersey on the ball
NEWARK, N. J.
The N. J. Progressive Party State
Comm. Jan. 23 voted unanimously
to make building the GUARDIAN
a major part of its program for
the coming year. As a first step, a
budget was adopted which includes
a pledge of \$100 a month to the
GUARDIAN, beginning March 1. A
committee representing all the
functioning clubs in the state will
devote itself to increasing GUARDIAN subs. and collecting renewals.
Katharine A. Van Orden
Vice-Chairman

How to stop smoking

How to stop simuning
CHICAGO, H.L.

I have been trying to develop
moral courage to give up the habit
of smoking, but needed greater
motivation than just "will power."
You have provided it in your Jan.
22 appeal. It costs me \$5 a menth
to help support the tobacco industry, so as of today that money
goes into a pledge for the GUARDIAN. This is not really a sacrifice,
of course—you're doing me a favor.
Marjorie G. Kelly

Only one left

ST. PAUL, MINN.
During the 73 years of my life
I have seen many decent progressive
weeklies die for lack of support.
Now that the GUARDIAN is the w that the GUARDIAN is the ly true progressive weekly lef wish your readers would realize

How crazy can you get dept.

The simple Marxians of Mus-vy probably can't understand but here in America people e so rich they're hiring mil-naires to run the Government -Boston Globe, Jan. 29

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Joe Needleman, Rocksway Beach, N. Y.

the necessity not only to assure its existence but to enlarge it.

A. J. Bohdan

A toast to dignity

A toast to dignity
LYNN, MASS.
Enclosed \$10 for the GUARDIAN,
and \$5 for you workers to buy a
bottle and drink a toast to Peace,
to Human Dignity, and of course
to a greater GUARDIAN circulation. You men and women represent the apex in American journalism.
Lee Cowan & family

Good for GI blues

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.
It's greet to be a civilian again.
Will send a sustainer when I get organized. Your paper was of real value to me while I was in the service. It will be difficult for future historians to assess completely the kind of job you're doing in these years, with its great scope.

W. C. von Kessler



Laneaster in Daily Express, London and furthermore, I'm terribly, terribly ashamed to say I forgot to keep Mother's Day.

Suggestion box

Suggestion box
RICHMOND, CALIF.
We are in a war Congress did
not declare. The man who started
it is made Secy. of State by the
general we put in the White House.
Our tax money is diverted from
health and education to bomb
development and interna #Dnal terrovization. We have undermined. development and internae onal terrorization. We have undermined UN. We have made thinking a crime; many are in prison, and two fine citizens await death, for thinking.

The time has come for a memorial day for our deceased Republic. I suggest April 12, the day our last real President died.

J. J. McCullough

PAHOKEE, FLA.

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Although Democracy and Free Enterprise go a long way in our propaganda, I think it time to take in St. Peter. He could be a stepping stone to God Himself, so that way we could make it a holy war. As the Turk is our best ally and he is used to holy wars, we should not have much trouble in learning it.

Cardinal Speliman is ahead of reader Bue. In his Christmas sermon to Marines in Korea he said the Korean "police action" is "not an economic or political war but a crusade against Godless leaders whose aim is to destroy religion." Ed.

OVERTON, NEV.
Seeing my time is about up, will enclose that \$2. As for the Rosenbergs and that prayer meeting to save them, I am aure some lettuce (green) would do a lot more.

E. A. Jonely

Well, not quite all

Well, not quite all
NEW YORK, N.Y.
New York Pest publisher Dorothy
Schiff, who read "over and over
again" Elsenhower's speech in which
he referred to his meeting with
Soviet Gen. Zhukov in 1945, asks
(1/4): "Could [he] not have told
Zhukov that American democracy
was founded on a broad, worldencompassing principle... that all
men are created equal, that all have
the right to life, liberty and the
pursuit of happiness?"
Today the proof is before the

world of how Ike puts into practice that principle. With but one exception, every top official he has named to manage his Administration is a millionaire and former high-ranking executive of a large corporation or financial house.

Mrs. Schiff herself is a wealthy person, "Birds of a feather flock together."

A. Garcia Diaz

Then it was heretic

Then it was heretic
VICTORIA, B.C., CANADA
It must be very comforting to
many befuddled minds to have the
sound barrier of the ideolo
world broken. The Brit'sh histe
Arnold Toynbee, has done just sacactly that by clearly stating that
the word communism is just another war weapon. Many students
of history have long accepted the
label of "communist" as the counterpart of "heretic" which was used
at random in the dark ages when, as
now, the desire for both power and
loot was on the rampage. Ellen Hart

Russia—the truth at last

Russia—the truth at last
SAN LORENZO, CALIF.
The Oakland Tribune (1/23) explains everything. Editorial, filling
21 column inches, says of the
"open Soviet auti - Semitism":
"... There is the necessity of
finding scapegoats for the economic
miseries of a communist regime."
On p. 21, same day (2 inches, buried
in ads for gin, listerine, etc.), same
paper reports Moscow's announcement that 1952 industrial production was 11% higher than 1951,
wage-earners' real income rose 7%
and peasants' 8%. Tyler Brooke

BRONX, N.Y.

The N.Y. Herald Tribune quotes
"a former State Dept, attache" returned from Moscow duty as "detecting an unexpress of feeling of
defeat" there: "Pessimism is general
... although economic conditions in Russia appear to be improving, with more and more consumer goods available."

All clear now? Bernard Saltzman

Talk it over!

PROVO, UTAH Dear President Eisenhower: Dear President Essenhower:
At a meeting of our People's
League for Peace of Utah County
County last night, the question of
Premier Stalin's statement of willingness to meet with you to ease
world tensions was presented

aiscussed.

world tensions was presented cincussed.

Whereas easing world tensions can only mean to end the cold war, the war in Korea, to prevent a third world-wide war and to establish WORLD PEACE, this resolution was unanimously adopted:

"We consider Premier Stain's statement of first importance in welld affairs today, and we urge with all our might that it be so considered and treated by you and all others in position to influence our government."

George A. Startup, pres.

George A. Startup, pres.

A challenge

A CRIMINAGE

LOS ANGELES, CALLE.

Enclose 44 renews my sub for
two more years. Can't we make a
game of this: who can run up the
longest subscription? A weekly score
card might be printed, showing how
far ahead the subs run.

Estelle Weiner

Prisoners-U.S. & Korea

Prisoners—U. S. & Korea
NEW YORK, N. Y.
On an island off Korea, unarmed
Chinese-North Korean POW's are
slaughtered—on the ground they
were staging a break, presumably to
swim through miles of U.S. Navypatrolled waters. When prisoners
in our penitentiaries "riot," holding
wardens for hostage, they are often
bargained with, and seldom is extreme force used to subdue them.
May we not find the synlantion

May we not find the explanation in the U.S. military mind? Nurtured in race-superiority traditions, it feels no qualms in murdering non-white people, especially when they have destroyed the alleged invincibility of the American white demi-gods. For the first time in our history we have not been able to win a war; the "enemy" who brought on our humiliation is an "inferior" race. All that proved is that with equality an "inferior" race. All that proved is that with equality arms, all men are equals.

Capitalist plot

A trim, erect little man smart-ly attired in check tweed suit and cap waiked into the GUAR-DIAN office lass weet, asked to see the editor.

see the editor.
"I am a capitalist," he said.
"I want to knew if you intend to let up in your attacks on my system."

He paused, then added: "If you don't, that will be all right too"—extended a crisp \$10 bill, bowed and departed.

A salute to 60,000 New Yorkers who will not be moved

STUBBORN statistic came to light in New York

Enrollment figures for the 1952 elections dis-closed that 52,734 New York City voters wrote their names under the emblem of the most vilified politi-

cal party on the ballot, the American Labor Party (Progressive Party of New York).

The figure was only 3,000 below the 1951 total—stumping the press "experts" who had freely pre-licted the ALP's disappearance, and heartening ALP leaders who had feared a falling-off to as low as 25,000. Indications are that the statewide ALP enrollment will be about 60,000, compared to 62,705

THE determination of upwards of 60,000 New York voters to proclaim their progressive politics in the year of the Great Repression cannot be in-terpreted merely as a game, last-ditch stand.

It is rather a positive counter-thrust, by the best-informed and most highly purposed group of voters in the state, against attempts to terrorize a minority party out of existence.

The refusal to let their party be stoned to death

is only one of the determined acts of this hard-core 60,000 in the past year. In New York State, these voters alone forced into the political arena the issues of peace and civil rights and forced the campaign to revolve about them. In state and municipal affairs, they have initiated and led the fights for labor rights, housing, schools, hospitals and against rent, fare gouges and discrimination.

Among these 60,000 will be found, too, the men and women who have roused millions to protest in the Rosenberg Case; who have supported and rallied thousands of others to the momentous fights against Smith and McCarran Act prosecutions; and who can and do always find time, energy and money for simple acts of neighborliness and humanity on the community leaves. ity on the community level.

HOWEVER, this ceaseless activity on so many fronts by its members has prevented the American Labor Party from giving its whole attention for any sustained period to a job that has needed doing since the ALP was founded in 1936.

That job is the establishment of ward and pre-

cinct organization in every possible district of New York City and state. Whether the ALP can build again toward its peak in 1948, when it polled over 500,000 votes as against less than 100,000 in 1952, depends preeminently on its readiness to give topmost priority in the next few months to this hardest job of all—self-organization.

THE GUARDIAN intends to help in this job in every way possible, in line with our own conviction that strong, well-organized, independent political action is the only road to winning the objectives of American progressives.

Toward this end, we will begin publication next month of a weekly New York Edition of the GUAR-DIAN. We will cooperate to the fullest with the ALP in making the content of this edition useful and effective in political work. We urge our present New York readers—as we will our future readers—to lend their strength and time to this most vital job of building the American Labor Party into a mass party of independent political action.

—THE EDITORS

ALP rallies New Yorkers to fight on transit steal, rent-control peril

GOV. Thomas E. Dewey, fresh from helping to instal the elephant era helping to instal the elephant era in Washington, prepared to inaugurate it in his own bailiwick with higher rents, higher fares for New Yorkers. (The era is already marked in other state legislatures by introduction of similar bills, notably California where 9 anti-labor measures are docketed.)

New York City's needs were rising sharply. A Brooklyn grand jury last week found the city

Last week found the city

. . . is surely but not slowly being permitted to deteriorate and decay. Slums are being created much faster an they are being eliminated. . . . cupancy of dark, damp and filthy cellars that defy description, and families of six, seven and more cooking, eating and sleeping in one room lacking proper toilet and bathing facilities, spread the slum blight.

Last week the Governor proposed to lash state aid to the city by \$3.936.841.

slash state aid to the city by \$3,936,841.
(N.Y.C. provides most of the state's revenue. State aid is distributed out of the state's surplus revenues.) The fare boost was forecast in a proposal by N. Y. C. Mayor Impellitteri for a Transit Authority to take over subways, city-and perhaps privately-owned bus lines.

"LOST TO THE PEOPLE": The American Labor Party rallied a state-wide fight on the new plan and exposed it in a 36-page memorandum to the Legislature by Paul L. Ross, chairman of the party's municipal affairs committee, who summed up:

We believe the evidence proves conclusively that the only purpose behind the creation of a Transit Authority is to increase subway and bus fares immediately to 15c, and ultimately to a quarter. We will show that establishment of such an authority would result in turning control of the city's \$2 billion subway and bus plant over to the banks, real estate interests and insurance companies, to be forever lost to the people. . . . The ALP quoted Commissioner Robert Moses, chairman of the Triborough We believe the evidence proves con-

Moses, chairman of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel Authority (8/7/49):

"We did not believe such an Authority . . . could sell bonds and remain ivent unless it had a free hand to ise fares at will without public debate and popular approval."

With limited public debate and no descentible public approval.

discernible public approval, subway fares have risen from 5c in 1948 to 10c; bus and trolley fares from 5c-7c-10c Passengers declined from 2 billion in the nickel era to 1,573,000,000 in June, 1952. More than 20% chose to walk.

THE GRAVY BOAT: Ross took the Port Authority as a grim foretaste of future authorities. Bankers make up the Board's majority and include: Bayard Pope, Marine Midland Trust



PAUL L. ROSS The people against the banks

Co.; S. Sloan Colt, Bankers Trust; Charles Hamilton, Jr., Wall St. law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell; Joseph Byrne, Jr., Merchants and Mfrs. Ins. Co.; Frank D. Abell, 1st Natl. Bank of Morristown; Horace Corbin, Fidelity Union Trust of Newark.

Relieved from public debate, this is the way the Port Authority has made its projects pay:

- Holland Tunnel. Cost: \$48 million. Grossed: \$180 million. No reduction in original 50c toll.
- George Washington Bridge. Cost: \$70 million. Grossed: \$110 million. No reduction in 50c toll.
- By 1946 the Holland Tunnel had earned six times its bond interest over its operating expense and almost three times its pro-rata interest and amortization. By 1948 Port Authority had paid back \$10 million borrowed for the bridge and tunnel, retained \$32 million in reserves and paid bankers fees totaling \$14 million.

The Triborough Bridge Authority shows the same profitable figures, with bankers doing well, the public paying.

SIMPLE SOLUTION: The ALP, arguing simply that real estate interests rather than the public ought to pay the freight, declared:

ne freight, declared:

The 1952-53 budget calls for expenditure of \$1.49 billion. If big real estate [ALP placed the emphasis on "big," specifically excluded small home-owners] continued to pay the same proportion of city taxes as it did in 1934...its contribution would be \$2.66 billion. Obviously the city would have no financial problem at all—transit deficit or not.

ALP celled not only for defeat of the

ALP called not only for defeat of the Transit Authority proposal but for rati-

fication of the constitutional amendment raising the limit on real estate taxation to $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, and upping big real estate assessment by \$5 billion.

Tenants face rent threat

The ALP took on the real estate lobby in the rent-control front as well. At GUARDIAN press time a mass tenants lobby (supported by ALP as well as many other organizations) was on its way to Albany to try to save rent con-trols at Tuesday's hearings by the State Temporary Housing Rent Commission. N. Y. State maintained partial rent control until next June after controls were lifted federally, but commission chairman D. Mallory Stephens has pro-posed measures which would raise rents 20-150% for many tenants.

ALP exec. secy. Arthur Schutzer re-vealed that Stephens is also director and vice-chairman of the board of the landlord City Title Insurance Co., and asked him to resign from one of his conflicting interests. Stephens ignored

"ALERT THE PEOPLE": The Gov-ernor and GOP majority leaders in Albany were preparing to boost rents now, lift all controls in June. Pressure from tenants was forcing the Demo-cratic minority, mainly from N.Y.C., to make a last-ditch stand. Assemblyman Louis Peck (D), who



had introduced a bill extending rent controls to June, 1955, warned:

"The temporary rent commission is being buried alive. This is the most critical issue for millions or people in this session." Minority leader E. F. Bannigan said:

"The people must be alerted. There is no time to lose. You must ring doorbells to alert tenants."

Doorbell-ringers last week were spurred on the one hand by the call for 20% raises (over 1947 rents) by the Metropolitan Fair Rent Committee of landlords; on the other by calls to Tues-day's Albany lobby from ALP, from the Conference on Housing Today and To-morrow (which also urged letters to legislators), and from the Natl. Lawvers Guild.

THE LAW

'Fear, cajoling' fail to move Rosenbergs

WHILE the Justice Dept. Pardon Atty.'s office sifted through the mountain of legal documents and mail in the Rosenberg Case the press said the clemency appeal might take weeks to reach President Eisenhower's desk), pressure mounted on the couple to "confess" and implicate others in the "plot" to transmit A-bomb information to Russia. In a letter to the N. Y. Times (1/23) William L. White, board member of the American Civil Liberties Union some of whose branches support the clemency appeal, suggested that

. . in atonement [they] make what the FBI would recognize as a full and complete confession. . . . Barring that, he wrote, "then let them die." Some efforts to break the couple were threatening, others coaxing: even family influences were

couple were threatening, others coaxing; even family influences were brought to bear. To them all, Julius Rosenberg had this reply in a letter made available last week:

Truth must out. We are not surrendering to either fear or cajoling. Again at this late hour, I must reassert with all the emphasis I possess that we are completely innocent. We sincerely believe that we will again be reunited with our darling boys and live once more as the happy family we were before the catastrophe befell us. We await the decision with courage, confidence and perspective.

MUDDY WATERS: There were other

MUDDY WATERS: There were other attempts to cloud the waters of the world-wide clemency campaign. Columnist and ex-lawyer Leonard Lyons, who boasts of inside court sources, suggested that Fiesphower might commute gested that Eisenhower might commute Ethel's sentence, let Julius' stand:

Judge Irving Kaufman meted out the same sentence—death—to both, because their guilt was equal. A judge cannot take into consideration the fact that a defendant is a wo-man. A President can do so.

The Gallup poll reported a 73% "yes" vote on whether death should be the sentence for treason. The question itself made no reference to the Rosenberg Case, but the Gallup report on the response made the reference and a clear connection, giving the false impression that treason was the charge in the case. (The actual charge was "conspiring"

(Continued on Page 4)

GUARDIAN specials you must not miss!

THE NEW WORLD OF NEW CHINA: In a few short years life has completely changed for one-fifth of the people on earth—the people of China. The U.S. delegates to the recent Peking Peace Conference saw it in its many phases and have described it as it looks to ordinary Americans. Excerpts from their report will be published in a lavishly-illustrated 4-page report in our issue of February 19.

NEGRO HISTORY WEEK: Next week (Feb. 12 issue) we shall publish a special section devoted to Negro History Week.

Liberals join fight for U.S. liberties

(Continued from Page 1)

Where Meiklejohn cited jurists he cited scripture, recalling Jeremiah's prophecy: "When men bend their tongues like a bow from falsehood."

Arguing that liberty is rooted in re ligion, he said New Englanders learned how to govern in their prayer meetings and acted on the conviction that "sin is the havoc wrought upon man by

From the floor a woman told how. when she asked her pastor to join the committee and was told "the American Civil Liberties Union is already in the she warned him:

"The Catholic Church was pointing the way to heaven long before yours. There has to be room for all kinds in this fight. We must learn to work with those a little to the left or a little to the right of ourselves. The Apostles of Hitler were only 38% of the Germans but the liberals were divided into 28 groups."

A Negro woman asked the committee to seek support from all Negro ministers, not confining Negro leadership to NAACP leader Walter White. (White, originally scheduled to talk, was reported to have sent regrets adding that NAACP's exec. board asked him not to.)

ACTION WANTED: Though no reso-ACTION WANTED: Though no resolutions were formally voted, speakers from the floor repeatedly called for action and organization; the committee said it would consider all proposals.

Some asked action to win bail for Smith Act defendants pending appeal, some for aid to the foreign-born. A woman from Vermont said "committees of correspondence" were already functioning. A man offered an aid "to the mental health of all present": he cited a psychiatrist's maxim that debate without action leads to frustration, prescribed for all a letter to Eisenhower asking clemency for the Rosenbergs, another to Gov. Fine of Pennsylvania asking bail for CP leader Steve Nelson.



EMERSON, DELANEY, BOUDIN The 5th Amendment: protection for the innocent

Langer's new "watch-dogs"

The conference opened Friday night in Carnegie Hall when Sen. Langer (R-N.D.) announced a 5-man subcom-mittee of the Senate Judiciary Comm. (of which he is chairman) that would work to "protect the interests of the people." (Under Langer, a maverick GOP liberal, the Committee—which stole the witch-hunt show when Sen. McCarran headed it under the Truman administration-is expected to fade as witch-hunt device.)

Langer said he had "ignored" pres-

sure to decline the conference's invi-tation to speak. His new civil liberties watch-dog subcommittee included Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.), but also veteran witch-hunters Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) and Dirksen (R-Ill.).

THE 5th AMENDMENT: On Saturday the conference divided into panels which made these points:

• Loyalty and the 5th Amendment: Judge Hubert Delaney, prominent Negro jurist, Yale Prof. Thomas Emerson,

and Constitutional lawyer Leonard B. Boudin urged witnesses before commit-tees or courts to use the Amendment, called it a protection for the innocent called it a protection for the innocent as well as the guilty; denounced loyalty oaths as a "screen for political conformity" (Emerson); estimated that 10,000,000 people and their dependents are affected by loyalty screening programs. Judge Delaney attacked the "professional anti-Communist" who would not support a civil liberties fight because Communists are involved.

because Communists are involved.

• Freedom of the Arts: Merle Miller, author of The Judges and the Judged, a study of the blacklist, said the main enemy was in Moscow, Prague and Peking. Atty. Ephraim London, panel chairman, and author Matthew Joseph-son decried conditions abroad but said:

son decried conditions abroad but said:
"The job is here." Josephson termed
the present state of U.S. arts "a cultural depression, in fact a panic."

Political Use of Fear: Carey McWilliams (editor, the Nation), journalist
I. F. Stone and psychiatrist Dr. Lawrence J. Roose warned liberals their

Crowded out

F all N.Y. dallies only the Times and Daily Worker reported the conference, the Times with 3 paragraphs on Saturday and a column on p. 65, Sunday. Almost all had printed advance attacks on the committee by Columbia's Prof. George S. Counts. The N.Y. Post (early edition, 1/21) ran answers to Counts by Profs. Robert S. Lynd, Columbia, and Broadus Mitchell, Rutgers, but tacked them on a story denouncing the committee's sponsol denouncing the committee's sponse as red, then yanked it altogether.

as red, then yanked it altogether.

The N. Y. Herald Tribune, which gave space to Counts' attack, printed nothing on the conference itself, though it received AP coverage. The World-Telegram, which also ran Counts' charges, listed the meeting under "City Briefs" in early Fri. edition, pulled it later.

Counterattack, blacklisting anti-Communist bulletin, devoted an issue to denouncing the conference's sponsors and speakers, but in response to a telephone inqury said Sen. Langer

a telephone inqury said Sen, Langer as an exception.

"turn is next" after the Communists; declared "we have laws against violence" but the Smith Act prosecutes ideas (Stone); urged local civil liberties committees to work through churches

and existing community organizations.

• Academic Freedom: Dr. Dirk

Bodde of the U. of Pennsylvania decried the "double standard of political
morality" that says academic freedom is for everybody but the Communists; predicted that "if the death of freedom comes, it will not come from external aggression but from the totalitarians, McCarthys and McCarrans within." Dr. Scott Buchanan, (Foundation for World Govt.) said: "The best that a student or teacher can do is to learn to teach truth by rebellion to tyrants.'

To meet the emergency

If you are interested in the principles and aims of the Emergency Civil Liberties Comm., write for further details to: Clark Foreman, director, E.C.L.C., 421 7th Av.,

Rosenbergs

(Continued from Page 3)

to commit espionage; the Rosenbergs could not have been tried for treason because the Constitution provides there must be at least two witnesses to the same overt act. In the Rosenberg Case the testimony of the government's one major witness had no independent corroboration.)

From California came word that an American Legion Post had volunteered to shoot the Rosenbergs.

"THEY SHOULD LIVE": But around the world new hosts of people continued to join the million-strong fight for clemency. During the week New York had a Labor Rally for Clemency; besides trade union leaders the speakers included Dr. John Codington, noted research chamist and ever host dimensions. search chemist and exec. board member of the American Assn. of Scientific Workers. Grand Secy. W. C. Hueston of the Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks, the country's largest Negro fraternal society, wrote President Eisenhower:

I am not going into the guilt or innocence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg but I am joining in with the petition to commute this sentence to life imprisonment or a lesser term. It seemed to me that the U.S. A. could lessen the harshness of their sentence in keeping with the punishment dealt out by other countries for similar crimes.

In a lecture on Freedom of Speech at the University of N. Carolina, Dr. Zachariah Chafee Jr., Yale law profesand leading authority on the Constitution, said:

"There is some doubt of their guilt; they should live. Other people have committed worse offenses and have been allowed to live."

In Seattle, Wash., a third picket line,

numbering more than 60, paraded be-

fore that city's Post Office building with fore that city's Post Office building with clemency placards. Publications editorializing for clemency or publishing letters urging it included the Cleveland Plain Dealer, McKeesoprt (Pa.) News, Mitchell (S.D.) Daily Republic, U. of Minnesota Daily, Christian Century, New Religious Frontier (Seattle), Jewish News Letter.



OF BARBARISM": Canada was aroused from coast to coast. A week ago a dramatization and appeal was broadcast over Toronto's station CKEY. Daily vigils are being conducted before the U.S. Consulates in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Windsor, Edmonton, and in Toronto where 36,000 copies of a 4-page tabloid on the case have been distrib-

The influential Jewish Standard published a clemency appeal by Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple, Toronto Globe and Mail columnist J. V. McAree replied to criticism of a Rosenberg ad appearing in the paper:

Sympathy for the Rosenbergs is not confined to one race or religious group. There is world-wide sympathy for them among Christians.

Rev. George W. Marshfield, a Unitarian minister, in a letter to the Ottawa Citizen called the Rosenberg sentence a "relic of barbarism." Delegations to the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa continue. In Moose Jaw a large group signed a wire to the U.S. Ambassador to Canada.

NAZI ECHO: U.S. officials in Britain are being deluged with petitions; a continuous day-long vigil platform is being maintained in London's Hyde

From Brussels came a signed by 50 leading Socialists who, said Socialist Senator Henri Rolin, "feel repugnance" at joining "a communist protest" but "must yield to the evidence.

By last week protests had come from 7 organizations and prominent individuals in Germany—most of them in the West. Atty. Georg Grendel of Bingen-on-Rhine responded to an ap-peal of the German Union of Democratic Lawyers (which issued a special 4-page report quoting largely from the GUARDIAN) by recalling a client he defended before the Nazi Special Court in Dortmund; the evidence was based

in Dortmund; the evidence was based
... on the incriminating testimony
of a co-defendant, who incidentally
had a sizeable amount of criminal
sentences in his native Poland behind
him. My client continuously proclaimed his innocence and wrote his
co-defendant—in the absence of any
other means—with his own blood on
a scrap of paper, to tell the truth.
But the co-defendant remained
silent; and the death sentence was
carried out... I gladly join you in
this protest against the execution of
the Rosenbergs...

The Paris Observateur commented
that an act of clemency that might
have been "deemed an act of weakness" on Truman's part was possible
for Eisenhower, who

ness" on Truman's part was possible for Eisenhower, who

or Eisenhower, who

... has enough prestige to face the ire of the extremists of the McCarthy and McCarran type. But he is not sure that he will decide to do it. Whatever happens, world opinion will judge him by this test.

In Wuhen, China, 19 Christian missions appealed for clemency. In Calcutta, India, the Indian Peoples Theater Assn. and the Progressive writers and Artists Assn. joined the clemency

and Artists Assn. joined the clemency movement; earlier both the All-India Peasants Union and the All-India Trade Union Congress had acted.

"SHAMEFUL REPORTING": On Jan.

the N.Y. Post published a short United Press item from London quoting Labour MP Sydney Silverman as denouncing charges of anti-Semitism in connection with the Rosenberg case and describing the recent Prague trials as anti-Semitic. Called to Silverman's attention by sources here, it drew this

I am shocked and distressed beyond words. . . . It [the UP item] reveals about as shameful a bit of dishonest reporting as I have come across for a long time.

Denying all statements attributed to him by UP, he added:

so far from intending to imply any support for the hysterically extravagant sentence on the Rosenbergs (even if guilty, which seems to me very doubtful) I had only the previous evening been the principal speaker at a large and very crowded public protest meeting which apparently the U.S. press did not report at all! In the course of my speech I said I did not think a conviction on the evidence could have been obtained or held on appeal in the United Kingdom and that to carry out the capital penalty would be to indict not the Rosenbergs but the U.S. Government. In a postscript he added: In a postscript he added:

I have talked to the United Press News Editor here this morning. He informs me that he has no record and has no knowledge of any such report and that in any case the N.Y. Post does not take the UP service. (The fact: the UP item carried a Lon-

don dateline; the N.Y. Post is a UP

As the worldwid eprotests mounted, ne N.Y. Herald Tribune reported

Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman, rederal Judge Irving R. Radianal vilified by Communists since he imposed the death penalty on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, atomic spies, has been forced by his doctor to take a rest. He is in Florida.

Dulles on European encirclement tour

(Continued from Page 1)

FANCY FREE: Other Dulles points: • "Russian Communists and their allies [are] plotting our destruction ... their leaders teach it openly."

FACT: Soviet and their allied leaders ceaselessly stress the possibility of co-existence—most recently, Stalin in his reply to NYT's Reston.

his reply to NYT's Reston.

• The U.S. is fighting in Korea and aiding the French in Indo-China because "the Soviet Russians are making a drive to get Japan" through these territories; "Stalin has boasted that with Japan the Soviet Union would be invincible."

FACT: Stalin's attributed "boast" is pure imagination. Japan has attacked Russia in the past, and evidence mounts that the U.S. intends to use it again for that purpose; the Chicago Sun-Times (1/12) quotes Japan's ex-finance minister Ishibashi: "Training of our forces suggests American officers always have in mind Korea or some other place, not merely Japan's home defense." Dulles' new interpretation of the Korea and Indo-China wars left diplomats bewildered, Reston reported.

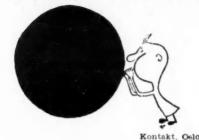
• In the Middle East "Communists are trying to inspire the Arabs with a fanatical hatred of the British and ourselves. . . [and in Africa] to arouse the native people into revolt against the Western Europeans."

FACT: No "inspiration" from "Communists" or any other source except "the British and ourselves" is needed, as the back files of newspapers—and current files on S. Africa and the various white-ruled colonies-will show.

THE BLACKJACK: Nobody, however, was accusing Dulles of being as simple-

minded as he tried to look. Recalling Meerlo's comment on Hitler in **Total** War & the Human Mind ("Hitler al-ways made the Germans believe they were threatened with encirclement"), his speech showed that after seven years of cold war Washington's policies are dangerously close to erupting into hot war if it does not make peace. His real policy peeped through in the pas-sage where he warned W. Europeans sage where he warned W. Europeans that if, after getting \$30 billion in U. S. aid, they should "go their separate ways" (i.e., seek any sovereignty over their own affairs), then the U. S. must do some "re-thinking."

Added weight was given Dulles' warning by the fact that he was accompanied on the trip by Mutual Security Administrator Stassen, who in a May, 1952, U.S. News interview replied "Yes, I would" when asked if he would favor "political strings" to U.S. aid to Britain.



CHILL OVER EUROPE: The speech pleased the government of W. Germany, but "spread a diplomatic chill" (UP, 1/29) over other W. European leaders as they prepared to receive their new American boss. The chill worsened when Washington, without even noti-'take the wraps off' Chiang Kai-shek, to let him raid the China coast with the U.S. weapons of destruction he has been piling up in Formosa.

Truman's order to the 7th Fleet to

"neutralize" Formosa strait would be withdrawn; presumably—but this was left vague—U.S. units would be ready to protect Chiang's forces, thereby increasing the peril of world war in view of the Chinese-Soviet military pact.
"Interest centred in diplomatic circles"
on how much aid the U.S. would give,

... because it was generally assumed that if left to his own devices, he [Chiang] would do little raiding (NYT, 1/31).

These were some of the situations Dulles would find in Europe:

Italy

In poverty stricken Italy, the first port of call, pro-U.S. Premier de Gasperi is in the final stages of pushing through an unconstitutional "electoral reform" law, violently debated in parliament, to give his coalition 65% of the seats with 50% of the votes. In Rome (Tribune des Nations, (1/23),

ome (Tribune des Nations, (1/23), the situation is tense and demonstrations go on endlessly, forcing the police to erect barricades in the parliament area. Every day people are reported wounded and arrested. In the south, the centre and the north of Italy, strikes and demonstrations continue without let-up against the electoral law and economic conditions. On Sunday [Jan. 17] a veterans' march in Rome particularly riled the police, who went so far as to attack the disabled men with clubs.

Britain

With the slight edge that it has over Washington's Latin poor relations on the European continent, the Tory government of the British "unsinkable aircraft-carrier," with its imperial wealth of raw materials needed by the U.S., is making last-ditch efforts to assert itself. To Dulles' speech, London replied with a re-assertion that it could not yield to NATO sovereignty over its



Vie Nuove, Rome "This proves we've the government of the center."

own armed forces; but "it was said authoritatively" in Washington (NYT,

as they have, there is the danger that Congress might "lose patience" and favor arming the Germans unlitaterally ilaterally.

The announcement on Chiang indiannouncement on Chiang indi-cated new U.S. pressure on Britain to withdraw recognition of the Peking government—a recognition based large-ly on the fact that China could throw Britain out of Hong Kong whenever it so desired. Washington's policy change stirred broader anti-U.S. sentiment in stirred broader anti-U. S. sentiment in Britain than anything since the start of the slow U. S. rape of the Empire. A cold welcome for Dulles in London was prophesied by the Tory imperialist Sunday Express and Dispatch, the former charging Dulles with "pulling a fast one on Britain" with the Japanese peace treaty, the latter bitterly resenting the political strings that Dulles had implied would be attached to U. S. aid. Labour's Aneurin Bevan, reminding an audience of 1,500 at Birkenhead that audience of 1,500 at Birkenhead that his party is on record for recognition of Peking, flatly declared the U.S.

"... will not get the co-operation of the British people in backing up Chiang's military adventures."

(Continued on Page 6)

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PUBLICATIONS

"All, all past, and decision close at hand; for us, sitting here and fighting for breath in an ever narrowing circle of tightening time, it looms large and unknown, color-blurred and shapeless upon the gigantic canvas of a furious age. And yet, essentially, it is a simple decision predicated upon a few simple propositions. . . ."

January 19, 1953

To spread the truth about the Rosenbergs in this time of decision.

To put into print the thoughts and feelings of "ordinary people" whom ordeal has made great.

To help two children who, whether their parents live or die, will not know a normal family life.

The Foundation for the Rosenberg Children announces as its first act the publication of a book of

THE LETTERS OF ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG

Written in the Death House

To assure publication immediately—within a few weeks-the Foundation urgently needs your help in the form of pre-publication orders at \$1.00 per copy.

It asks that you order a copy by return mail—and, if possible, an additional copy for that friend who can't make up his mind.

Proceeds from the book will launch the trust fund for the two boys.

Emanuel H. Bloch, attorney for the Rosenbergs, has agreed to act as treasurer for the Foundation pending its formal establishment. Please make checks and money orders payable to him. All orders must be prepaid.

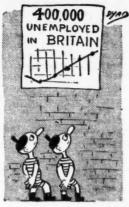
Room 810, 401 Broadway, New York 13, N.Y.
Please send me copies of "The Letters of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" at \$1.00 each for which I enclose dollars,
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Address
City Zone State

(Continued from Page 5)

France

French newspapers called Dulles' speech "brutal," "a veiled threat"; a Foreign Ministry spokesman called it "an ultimatum" (UP, 1/29). The press was full of condemnation of the Defense Community treaties to rearm Germany as, in effect, senior NATO partner—reflecting the view of ex-Premier Herriot that in forcing ratification Washington would be "condemning France to death." But it seemed likely that the completely dollar-dominated Mayer government would force ratification of these "monstrous products of delirious technocrats, of acrobatic theorists and of enslayed diplomats" (Observateur, was full of condemnation of the Deenslaved diplomats" (Observateur,

The mood of the French people, a Paris correspondent wrote the GUAR-DIAN, is "not less anti-Communist, but there is no fear of Soviet aggression and the anti-U.S. feeling is certainly the strongest impulse." Hatred of Germany stirred up by the current trial of minor participants in the 1944 massacre at Oradour, whose population was machine-gunned or burned alive by SS troops, is accompanied by resent-



Dyad, London

ment at U.S. refusal to hand over the SS leaders of the massacre now in Germany. Compounding the anti-U.S. attitude are the Rosenberg Case which has stirred the country; the McCarran inquisition of French seamen; the rehabilitation of Nazi arms king Krupp, which inspired a mass demonstration in Paris Jan. 17 involving deputies,

church leaders and veterans' group Piling more fuel on the fire on the eve of Dulles' visit was an editorial in Life (1/26) implying that France is a prostitute who "slips a billion-dollar bill into her stocking" after pacifying

the State Dept. The article brought a formal French protest.

The cry for trade

The chief obstacle to Dulles' plans would be the pressure for trade outlets from businessmen of every country who hungrily eye the forbidden Eastern markets, failing lower U.S. tariffs. Admitting in a Bonn dispatch (1/28) that "the queue of W. European businessmen" for E.-W. trade is "a lot bigger than many of the Western officials admit," the N. Y. Post pointed out that the businessmen actively organizing it "include some of the biggest names in W. German industry," and that the British E.-W. trade group headed by Lord Boyd Orr, former UN Food & Agricultural Orgn. chief,

. . . already have firm, sound orders and government export-import licenses for about \$30,000,000 worth of trade with the Soviet satellites. . . Over 1,100 British firms have applied to trade with China in four weeks.

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Demoralization in Korea

MORE evidence of U.S. frustration and low morale seeped through from Korea. U.S. newspapers, irritably conscious of public disgust with the war, gave headlines to the inviting of top brass and visiting firemen to witness—with an embossed "scenario," as remiere—a suicidal on Chinese posiif it were a movie premiere "Operation Smack tions at T-Bone Hill, beyond which lie Korea's biggest tungsten mines. The story dramatized for many the futility of the war; a draft board member in Hyde Park, Mass., resigned in protest and called on other members to do likewise. Connecticut businesswoman Vivien Kellems declared that it was was done, but if it was not done she would lead a march of a million women on Washington.

Cardinal Spellman reported (NYT, 1/27) narcotic addiction among "a frightfully high number" of U.S. troops whose habit "had originated in the U.S." NYT (1/25), AP (1/26), UP (1/26) reported that not only Puerto Rican but many mainland GI's were court-martialed for refusing to enter combat.

Los Angeles: Please Note!

The world-wide appeal of Clemency for the Rosenbergs which halted the execution set for Jan. 14, must be intensified and directed to the new administration without delay!

Only this can keep the Rosenbergs alive-and prevent the carrying out of a sentence, the brutality of which has shocked the world!

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13 New York Communists sentenced to jail; Russia 'alternative' rejected

THIRTEEN "second string" leaders of THIRTEEN "second string" leaders of the U.S. Communist Party were sentenced to prison by Federal Judge Edward J. Dimock in New York Feb. 3 for "conspiring to teach and advocate violent overthrow" of the government. They were, in the order sentenced: Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Pettis Perry, Alexander Bittelman, Alexander Trach tenberg, V. J. Jerome, Louis Weinstock and Arnold Johnson, each three years and \$6,000 fine; Albert Lannon, Betty Gannett, Jacob Mindel, William Wein-stone and George Blake Charney, two years and \$2,000; Claudia Jones, a year and \$2,000.

In an extraordinary scene before sentencing, Dimock offered defendants, including the U.S.-born majority, the "alternative" of going to Russia rather than to jail—a proposal called "shocking" by defense counsel. The "offers were turned down; Miss Flynn, commenting that it was like asking a

Christian who believed in heaven if he wanted to go there right away, said:

"We believe we belong here. We have no desire to avoid responsibility by going abroad."

TWO QUESTIONS: Lannon in his statement recalled that Judge Dimock had been praised as "fairer" than his predecessor, Judge Harold Medina, in the first Smith Act trial:

"You're no fairer than Judge Medina. You're just a little more skillful in smoothing down the rough

Pettis Perry, only Negro among the men, asked: "Where is the jury of my peers I'm supposed to have?" The indicting grand jury was "lily-white." Miss Jones, also a Negro, asked:

"Will your grandchildren, your Honor, be any more secure by your jailing of these 13 Communists?"

Defense filed notice of appeal, said it would fight to obtain bail to pre-



pare its case.

MARCHING BOOTS: Sentencing had been postponed because of the illness of defendant Pettis Perry, 56-year-old head of the CP Negro Commission who acted as his own attorney. During the delay defense attorneys presented arguments, citing 76 reasons why the convictions should be set aside or another trial granted. Atty. John T. McTernan told the court:

"The hobnailed boots of the storm-troopers are beating a drumroll in this trial record."

The defense charged that the prosecution knew one of its star witnes Harvey Matusow, committed perjury on the stand. McTernan argued that the government's case was based on the "guilt by association" theory traditionally repugnant to Anglo-Saxon law, and that the intent in effect is to outlaw the CP despite the government's own insistence that membership as such is not a crime. He said:

"Anything allegedly done anywhere in the Communist Party can be chargeable to any member of the CP. . . This means that the right of freedom of opinion, freedom of the press is at stake. . . Any officer of the CP can be convicted without any showing that he had personally joined in a conspiracy, by showing that he was a member of the party."

Dr. Harry F. Ward, Prof. Emeritus of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, called the verdict

"... another stage in attempting to establish thought-control, in the substitution of mass hysteria for processes of justice and convicting people purely for their opinions with no evidence of any overt act."

(Continued on Page 8)

CALENDAR

Listings in this section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge 82 per insertion. Copy deadline Friday before publication, Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

GUARDIAN THEATRE NIGHT—Wed., April 8th, "WONDERFUL TOWN," with Ros.lind Russell, Betty Comden, Adolph Green. Leonard Bernstein will conduct. Tickets from \$5 to \$12. For information: National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York City 7. WO 4-3960.

dian staff writer, speaks on the charges of anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe, Sat., Feb. 14, 8:30 p.m., Ridgewood ALP, 53-39 Myrtle Av., Brooklyn. TABITHA PETRAN, National Guar-

FORUM: SOUTH AFRICA 1953, Pri. Feb. 13, 8:30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Maude White Katz, Mr. Olapido Onipede, Nigerian student, East Midtown Club ALP, 137 East 34th St. Admission: Free.

PARTY NIGHT: For a gay, social evening come to Apt. 72, 335 W. 14th St., Sat., Feb. 7. Dancing, singing, entertainment, games, re-freshments. Contribution: 75c.

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Washington, D. C.

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(Continued from Page 7)
Vito Marcantonio, state chairman of
the American Labor Party, said:

"This was a trial for political heresy. . . . Communism is not the issue here, democracy is. It is high time to reinstate the Bill of Rights for all. The Eisenhower administration should take a first step in that direction by seeing to it that the Atty. Gen. agrees to the setting of reasonable bail . . . so that the defendants may have full opportunity to appeal the verdict to higher courts."

WASHINGTON

New civil rights pigeonhole found

TEN Southern Senators last week offered a resolution calling for a Constitutional amendment to outlaw the politax, for years a political stormcenter. The move came at a time when

assaults on the tax, begun by Negro citizens who have been its chief victims, had so discredited it that even bitter-end white supremacists had to call it a lost cause and look to other bulwarks. (The tax, repealed by Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and the Carolinas, still exists in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas and Virginia.)

The Dixie "surrender" was less than it seemed and held a clue to future maneuvers on civil rights. A Constitumaneuvers on civil rights. A Constitu-tional amendment is the longest pos-sible way around a measure. It must be voted by $\frac{2}{3}$ of the House and Senate, then ratified (either by the Legislature or special Constitutional conventions) by 36 states. Few have been ratified in less than five years. One (on child labor) has been waiting state ratification for 25 years.

OBITS PREMATURE: The tactic would not only delay the death of the tax; it offered no guarantees. C. P. Trussell reported from Washington (N. Y. Times, 1/24) that "it was doubted in Congress that the South would ratify" such an amendment. Dixiecrats

seemed hopeful that FEPC and antilynching measures might be taken out of public debate by the same Constitu-tional pigeon-holing. Sen. Holland (D-Fla.), principal sponsor, commented:

"Perhaps the speedy settlement of this issue may lead to moderate and clearly legal settlements of other long-standing questions on which we have been long divided and some-times even bitterly divided." Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), siled as the man most responsible for

hailed as the man most responsible for the Democratic Party plank calling for an enforceable FEPC, was reportedly preparing a "moderate" proposal call-ing for an FEPC without any powers whatever except to investigate and report on discrimination.

MORSE SEES "PLUNDER": The opposition's banners were carried more bold-ly by Sen. Wayne L. Morse (Ind.-Ore.), removed from all influential committee assignments due to what he called "tremendous pressure" brought by Eisenhower's aides. Last week Morse warned the new Administration's "plundering by law" was under way. The "tidelands steal" would come first, he said, followed by moves to give the

he said, followed by moves to give the rivers to "private utilities" and the public lands to "cattlemen."

At the Franklin D. Roosevelt Day dinner of Americans for Democratic Action Morse condemned liberals who lack either "the brains or the guts" to take on Eisenhower now, and asked:

"Why the honeymoon? This is the time to fight in the streets and on the housetops. The battle of liberalism against reaction is on now, whether you know it or not. The challenge is not only to stand for principle but to act in support of it." Charging that liberalism had no chance in the Republican Party and little with the Democrats, he said:

"I believe the time is not far distant when there will be a call for a new party."

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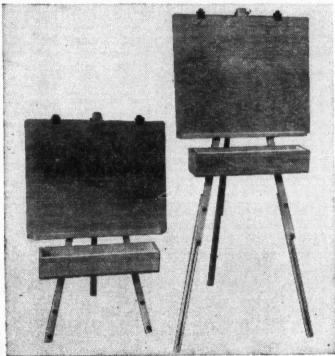
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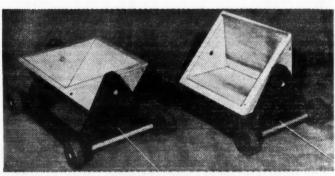
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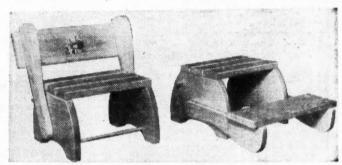
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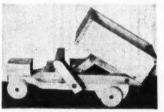
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