



FIRE!

A cry often heard in the fire-trap city

## Rents, fare and tax rise in prospect for city

"... We cannot allow the city by its crude tax program to destroy hundreds of thousands of jobs and turn the most important and beautiful city in America into a ghost town."

—Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, March 9.

LAST week the Governor unfolded portions of his own program to save the city from bankruptcy by taking it out of the hides of the citizens: 15% rent increase for those who have not "volunteered" one since 1947; a subway fare rise to 12½-15c; city payroll taxes of ¼ of 1% each for employer and employe; more parking meters, \$5 charges for overnight parking and other nuisance levies.

He proposed raising the limit on realty taxes from 2 to 2½%, making possible an additional \$100,000,000—but restricted the city to use of only half that sum. ALP has long called for more realty taxes but would exempt small home-owners. If big real estate paid the same share of taxes they did in 1934, the city's deficit would be wiped out.

**PILGRIMS TO ALBANY:** With the Legislature being rushed into adjournment next week, delegations besieged Albany in a last-ditch effort to halt at least the rent business. Delegates included 70 CIO rank-and-filers representing 19 unions, 80 clergymen of all denominations, teachers who flew up and back Tuesday night to make class Wednesday

morning (they pressed for a teachers' wage boost too). The Conference on Housing Today and Tomorrow led by Rev. Herminio Perez (see photo story p. N. Y. 4) maintained a two-day vigil. Tenants Councils and ALP reinforced their long-standing lobby.

Rent-controllers rallied behind a measure introduced by Assemblymen Louis Peck (D-Bronx), and Irving Kirschenbaum (R-Man.), which would continue present rent controls to June 30, 1955. Landlords lobbied for further loopholes to boost rents higher than 15% if they could "show hardship."

**WINNING CHANCES:** But the tide ran for the landlords in (Continued on Page N. Y. 5)

By Elmer Bendiner

A BLANK-WALLED, semi-circular Coliseum soon to rise on the western arc of Columbus Circle will accommodate 25,500 convention goers; it may leave homeless 243 families on the site in grimy tenement houses and 362 other persons in rooming houses. There, as in many other parts of the city, the slum dwellers may be cleared out with the slums.

Behind the Coliseum two 12-story apartment houses are to be built, with tree-lined walks between them. The plan stipulates that the 528 new apartments are to be offered first to the tenants now on the site—at rents of \$43 a room. Average rent on the site now: \$33.23 for a 3-4 room apartment. Almost one-fourth of the neighborhood pays \$24 a month rent; more than half earns less than \$3,000 a year.

**TITLE I:** The Board of Estimate has already approved a plan to condemn the "56 parcels" now there and turn them over to "reliable private interests" who will build the apart-

ment houses. The Coliseum itself is to be under the Triboro Bridge and Tunnel Authority, whose boards are studded with bankers and real estate men.

The grim prospect for the Coliseum-displaced persons is shared by thousands more in the city, wherever Title I of the Housing Act of 1948 is being used in "slum clearance." The Act makes possible federal aid to cities undertaking new housing.



The Coliseum pattern of offering tenants luxury apartments they can't afford or eviction to new suburban slums, according to plans which await only Washington approval, will affect people in these areas:

Lenox to Lexington Aves., W. 139 to W. 143 Sts.; Fifth to Lenox Aves., W. 132 to W. 135

Sts.; Central Pk. West to Amsterdam Av., W. 97 to W. 100 Sts.; Corlears Hook and Delancey St. areas in lower East Side; Washington Sq. South; and Williamsburg.

**500 FOR 500,000:** The Title I project threatens to turn the city's long-standing housing crisis into disaster. There are already 500,000 applications for low-rent apartments; plans for low-income housing now on the books can accommodate only 500 families.

This condition is viewed as a time of opportunity in an official statement of policy by the Natl. Assn. of Real Estate Boards. The statement, a text for real estate management courses in 127 colleges, cites the case of a hypothetical Mrs. Jones who refuses to give the

### The baby too

Charles Abrams, who helped draft New Deal legislation, writing in Nathan Straus' symposium *Two Thirds of A Nation* (Knopf, 1952), warned:

"The new fashion in slum clearance is to throw the baby out with the bath water. . . . The new program borrows its name from private enterprise, but the power and the greenbacks come from the government, federal and local. Under the Housing Act of 1949, cities may condemn land and resell it to private redevelopment companies at bargain prices; they may also dispossess existing tenants, use federal and local subsidies, and surrender streets to make the private projects attractive. Once built the projects are privately owned and free of regulations."

landlord a rent rise. She shops for another apartment, gives up, signs up. The statement sums up:

. . . the whole-scale residential rent may be raised at time of residential occupancy at the point of shortage from 35% to 50% of the family income.

**VANISHING POINT:** The "point of shortage" is being sharpened daily. The Real Estate Analyst Construction Bulletin (April 15, 1952) reported:

During 1951 residential construction took a worse beating in the large urban areas than in the smaller cities. The New York City area suffered a drop of 40%.

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)



ANYTHING FOR A LAUGH—AS LONG AS THE PEOPLE PAY  
Mayor Impellitteri (r.) and Lt. Gov. Frank Moore joke with Albany reporters

#### Inside the Guardian

Stalin's place in the history of our times

... by W. E. B. DuBois  
National p. 4

... by Tabitha Petran  
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**Housing scandal  
comes to boil**

(Continued from Page 1)

New York's Temporary State Housing Rent Commission last April reported that contracts for housing units of more than two families declined 30% the preceding year; new residential building as a whole, 27%. Federal housing has been limited by an 82d Congress appropriations bill to 35,000 units for the entire nation.

Real estate operators boast a field day in ads offering rooming and apartment houses with a guaranteed 25-30% return on investment. The N.Y. Times (1/19) ran this ad: **Harlem Sacrifice—Completely Rebuilt Building. 50% Return.**

**THE EASY MARKS:** At its conference in Albany early in February, the N. Y. State Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, whose chairman is Algernon D. Black of the Ethical Culture Society, reported that "housing for racial minority groups in N. Y. S. has deteriorated to its worst level in 10 years."

For such groups violations are multiplied many times, gouging perfected, rents are 50-60% higher than the rest of the city. Some tenement flats rent at \$60 a room; they're paid for by crowding 5-6 families into a single flat. Throughout the city there are 30,000

cellars illegally rented as living space, uncovered by controls. One cellar recently was disclosed housing nine children in a "1½ room apartment."

Landlords counter all protest from tenants or demands for services with the threat to dispossess on grounds that the apartment itself is illegal.

**CLEAR THE PEOPLE:** Robert C. Weaver, committee chairman of the Natl. Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, last May warned that



Title I programs could be "perverted from slum clearance to Negro clearance." Even the relatively few Negroes and Puerto Ricans who can surmount the economic hurdle face other barriers. The ghetto is not exclusively economic.

Though the victory at Stuyvesant Town has sparked other battles elsewhere to admit Negro families to middle-income projects, Metropolitan Life's Parkchester is the scene of a similar battle now. Residential Manager Douglas Lowe told visiting delegations: "We never have and we never will rent apartments to Negroes."

Middle-income developments



**GAPING HOLES OR HOMES?**

Above, a scene in a Harlem tenement. Right, the new Alfred E. Smith Houses, one of the city's low-cost housing projects. If the real estate lobby has its way, there'll be more of the above and less of the right.

so far house scandalously few Negro families. Despite state anti-discrimination laws, of 21 such developments outside Harlem, only four house any Negroes at all. These are: Queensview (the only one to seek Negro tenants; it now has more than 20); Stuyvesant Town, 8; Hillman Houses, 3; Bell Park Gardens, 1.

**WHAT'S NEEDED:** Housing expert Chas. Abrams warned of jimcrow's spread in the shadow of luxury housing projects:

"Once rooted in housing the segregation pattern will spread unarrested until the ghetto becomes part of the American landscape, sanctioned not only by custom but enforced by law."

Lee F. Johnson, another New Deal housing expert, said:

"You cannot get low-rent housing in your city unless you are willing to fight for it . . . Nothing short of militant action by organized voters will enable American cities to use the 1949 Housing Act for the rebuilding of the cities of our nation."

Thousands of New Yorkers have taken Johnson's warning and organized into Tenants' Councils (which for years stood almost alone in organizing the embattled tenants themselves);



Photo by N. Y. City Housing Authority

the Conference on Housing Today and Tomorrow, Rev. Herminio L. Perez, chairman; the Natl. Committee Against Discrimination in Housing.

**THE BIG BATTLE:** The American Labor Party has concentrated its fight in City Hall and Albany. There, within the next few weeks, landlords will stage their final offensive to lift rent lids sky-high. (See Albany story, p. 1.) At least four bills to ban discrimination in housing lie buried in legislative committees.

In the neighborhoods local

committees wage a daily, unpublishized battle against the rent gouge, fire, leaking gas and rats.

Though New Yorkers who are white and can pay over \$110 a month rent can find housing, they too will suffer if fresh ghettos are made in the shadow of projects like the new Coliseum.

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**'... merely because they die one by one?'**

**T**HE neighborhoods where poor whites, Negroes and Puerto Ricans must live are so overcrowded that, according to the N. Y. State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, if the density of one Harlem block (3,871 residents) were universal the nation's entire population would occupy only half the area of N. Y. City.

Hundreds of the city's jampacked poor were killed last year by disease, collapsing walls, fire and rats.

A Brooklyn grand jury, impaneled to investigate the fire which last June 18 took seven lives at 1101 Bedford Av., found that . . . the greatest city in the world is, surely but not slowly, being permitted to deteriorate and decay. Slums are being created much faster than they are being eliminated. Overcrowding is the germ of the slum disease. Occupancy of dark, damp and filthy cellars that defy description, and families of six, seven and more eating and sleeping in one room lacking proper toilet and bathing facilities are spreading the slum blight. It is the poor who get the least and not always at the lowest price.

The jurymen turned out these statistics:

From 1946-1951, 452 in the city died in fires, 54% of which were in houses built before 1901; carbon monoxide poisoning (from leaky pipes or refrigerators) killed 222 in 1950, 157 in 1951. They asked: "Shall we remain complacent merely because they die one by one?"

The jury selected as a test 15 blocks in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn and found 559 instances of Health Dept. violations by rodent infestation, 450 vermin infestations, 238 defective gas appliances (including 14 refrigerators that at the time of investigation were leaking carbon monoxide); 4 apartments in which there were no toilet facilities, no running water.

In a second presentment the jury detailed "the slum rooming house" and "the slum apartment," said both must go; commended public housing but said it was inadequate and "not the whole answer." It recommended "encouragement" to private enterprise by tax exemptions and concessions on interest rates and mortgages. Without specifically endorsing rent rises it favored "relief" to owners to encourage them to correct violations. It disapproved of "cheering squads brought to Albany by tenants and owners."

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# Mayoralty race on; Halley, FDR Jr., Powell, Javits head list of dozen

WITH 236 vote shopping days left before election, the ring in New York City was already cluttered with hats; issues and statements were being approached at City Hall with at least half an eye to the campaign.

Ever since their election Mayor Impellitteri and Council Pres. Halley have been dueling. Both were elected on "independent" tickets with a reform flavor indicating trends away from orthodox party lines. The Mayor has disappointed most of the reform groups, will take the rap for corruption in all departments undiminished since William O'Dwyer fled to the embassy in Mexico City.

Halley continues to crusade, took the lead in Albany lobbying against rent rises. Landlords at the rent hearings there booed him and told him to go back where he came from (Harrison, N.Y.). His waterfront program shone by comparison with Impellitteri's lack of one, but had gaps which left progressives dissatisfied.

**MAYORAL DILEMMA:** Newbold Morris, who ran unsuccessfully twice before, announced on a Citizens Union broadcast that the mayoralty was the top of his political ambitions. He said:

"If a man is a good mayor he will make too many enemies. And if he is a bad mayor he can't go unless he is appointed an ambassador."

The liberal wing of the Democratic Party has launched a boom for Averell Harriman; similar booms for him as Presidential nominee and as state chairman of the party have been duds in the past. The regulars are far from sold on him, and there is some doubt that he can legally be nominated since he votes from an Orange County residence.

**ROOSEVELT IS COY:** The Harriman forces could switch to Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. At a recent top-level party conference where the mayoralty was singled out as key to a possible come-back on a na-



F. D. ROOSEVELT, Jr.  
He seemed reluctant . . .

tional scale, his name won support, would be likeliest to win the Liberal Party. The Congressman declined in typical candidate fashion which did nothing to lessen the boom:

"I am not a candidate for the nomination and would not lift a finger to obtain the nomination. And I certainly hope the trolley does not stop on this block."

Roosevelt later said he would look more kindly on the governorship.

Party regulars have frowned on the political careers of both Harriman and Roosevelt, would favor District Atty. Frank Hogan but fear that if Hogan leaves the DA post open Halley may win it.

Other nominees considered by the Democrats are: Kings Co. Judge Samuel Leibowitz, Controller Lazarus Joseph, Supreme Ct. Justice Henry L. Ughetta, Manhattan Borough Pres. Robert F. Wagner.

**POWELL IS WILLING:** Shocking the regulars was the possibility of a Negro entry into the race. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell Jr., after blasting the city administration on police brutality, announced over TV:

"I know the town and I'll gladly run for the mayoralty. If the Democrats want me,



ADAM C. POWELL  
. . . but he did not

I'm available. I'm not a rubber stamp for any organization but if the party and the people want me I will accept."

No Negro has yet headed any major party ticket in the city.

**ALP SEEKS ALLIANCES:** Only GOP nominee to date is Rep. Jacob K. Javits who said he would run as a Republican, Liberal or both.

Political descendants of the Fusion movement, including the Fusion Party and the City Affairs Committee, have been meeting but as yet have come up with no new names.

The American Labor Party has a detailed program on rent, fares, civil liberties, labor and peace, seeks alliances for it, will wait until the smoke clears before talking names.

Though the mayoralty will occupy the spotlight from now to November, these other key posts are to be filled: comptroller, city council president, borough presidents, district attys. in Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn; county judges in Bronx, Brooklyn; 2 general sessions judges in Manhattan; 6 supreme court justices in Manhattan, Bronx; 1 municipal court justice in the Bronx; 25 councilmen from Queens (4), Brooklyn (9), Manhattan (6), Bronx (5), Richmond (1).

brutality. The N. Y. World-Telegram cited four cases in the last four years with damage awards totaling \$169,500. Edward F. Jacko Jr., chairman of the NAACP's N. Y. redress committee, told the GUARDIAN:

"Because it takes from 30 months to 3 years in N. Y. county, many claims haven't yet reached the trial stage. The cases mentioned by the papers are old ones and the total sum involved in those pending against the city for police brutality add up to around \$3,000,000."

**CHIEF VICTIMS:** The Civil Rights Congress gathered a partial list of 35 cases of brutality reported in the city's press—enough to demonstrate by the numbers of Negro and Puerto Rican victims, the racist bias of police clubs. Here are sample clippings from the N. Y. press:

● The Dist. Atty's office today investigated charges that an off-duty patrolman fired a shot into a crowd of Harlem residents and touched off a near riot. (N. Y. Post, 2/15/51.)

● A King's County Grand Jury today refused to indict

## REPORT TO NEW YORK READERS

### This is your new paper — will you help put it over?

FOUR YEARS AND FIVE MONTHS AGO, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN came into existence. We said then:

We present our publication humbly, in the conviction that the times call for a voice in our nation which without fear or reservation will bespeak the cause of peace, freedom and abundance. . . .

Today we offer this first issue of our enlarged New York Edition, humbly, but with excitement. And again we ask your support—in these specific ways:

● WE URGE YOU to show the paper to friends, jobmates, others who are hungry for an independent, progressive approach to affairs in America's biggest city.

● WE URGE YOU to ask your corner newsstand dealer to order a weekly supply of our New York Edition and display it; and agree to help him get newsstand buyers. We believe—and have suggested to thousands of New York newsdealers—that most former Compass readers will be ready customers.

● WE MOST STRONGLY URGE YOU to patronize our advertisers. They seek your patronage with full knowledge that their wares and services must measure up to the exacting standards of New York's most buywise shoppers.

IN ADVANCE of mailing out this first New York Edition, we undertook the pretty colossal job of re-assembling our mailing list by postal zone, for two urgent reasons:

1. **Prompt delivery.** We will make every effort to have your paper at your zone post office by Friday night, which means delivery as quickly as your P. O. moves its second class mail.

2. **Community activity among readers.** As you can see from the map in your phone book, your postal zone pretty much corresponds to the community in which you live. As rapidly as we can spread ourselves out among the city's 100 or so communities, we will get to your community with plans for better coverage of the things you deem important where you live; proposals for enlarging GUARDIAN readership, building newsstand sales and ideas for stimulating discussion of public issues led by the best-informed speakers we can find, from our staff and elsewhere.

EAGER TO GET STARTED on this work, we had our first community organization meeting in Sunnyside, Queens, last Tuesday evening—even though our first New York Edition had not yet hit the presses. As a result of this meeting a cadre of "spark-plug" subscribers went right to work on rounding up lagging subscription renewals in the area; planned to help local newsdealers increase GUARDIAN sales; scheduled a meeting a week hence to add up the score and plan further activities.

Our aim is to have a "Friends of the Guardian" organization in every community or group of adjacent communities in the city by the end of spring—and in the course of this organization job, to achieve a NYC circulation of 25,000 by May 30.

ON THE THEORY that you New Jersey and Connecticut readers have a neighborly if not a personal interest in New York doings, we are sending you the New York Edition weekly on your present subscription.

With the same conviction as in '48, we ask you to pitch in with us.

—THE EDITORS

## THE CITY'S FINEST CLUBS

### City stirred to action on police brutality

By Eugene Gordon

PRESIDENT Grover Cleveland was the first of a long line of reviewing-stand officials to call a police detachment "New York's finest." By last week the tribute had worn thin. Even the city's "respectable" quarters had the cops under fire, though the full record was still under wraps. Miss Florence Kelly of the N. Y. Legal Aid Society on a radio interview said many of the "finest"

"... think it's all right to use brutal methods in making an arrest or, which happens more often, when they question a defendant in the police station. They take this attitude because I don't think a single one of them is convinced that the top brass of the police dept. really condemns such methods."

Last year nearly 2,700 cases of police manhandling came

to the society's attention, Miss Kelly said, but not a single indictment resulted.

**"RED PROPAGANDA":** The revolt against the police included not only individuals and organizations long in the fight for civil rights such as the NAACP, Civil Rights Congress, state CIO, but many of the city's big dailies, 20 labor, civic and religious groups. Only the police themselves leaped to the defense. John E. Carton, pres. of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Assn., complained that

"... policemen in NYC are the target of communistic and other radical groups, as can be easily demonstrated by the present hue and cry over alleged violations of human rights which is in line with communistic propaganda."

Some commentators pointed to the high cost of police



SALVATORE PACE  
He was beaten in police car, but 2 cops went undisciplined

a Brooklyn policeman who had shot in the back and killed a Negro motorist May 26, and was promptly denounced by an assist. D. A. for "a capricious disregard of justice in this case." (NYP, 6/21/51.)

● Union Sq. was turned into a battleground Aug. 2 as one of the largest police mobilizations in the city's history launched a violent assault on thousands of New Yorkers who turned out to protest a ban on a scheduled peace rally. Two demonstrators were hauled down from



POLICE COMM. MONAGHAN  
He was indignant at the charges against his men

lamp-posts, savagely jumped on and kicked by police. A Negro youth lying on the ground was prevented from moving by a policeman's foot on his head while a call was put in for the patrol wagon. (Federated Press, 8/3/50.)

● Percy Hope, 40, 944 Leggett Av., accused Lt. Louis Hyman of brutally beating a young Bronx Negro mother and her husband, and of then conducting a four-day program of intimidation against the family. The incident began over a ball bounding into the family's yard. (Amsterdam News, 10/4/52.)



GUARDIAN photos by Bernard

**Tenants celebrate in Washington Heights: they fought the landlord squeeze — and won**

Victory over their landlady was celebrated last week by tenants of the apartment house at 736 W. 171st St., Washington Heights. Landlady Mrs. P. Bustamente more than a year ago "welcomed" Puerto Rican tenants by dividing up her apartments into furnished rooms, renting each room to a family, boosting her income from each apartment from \$60 a month to \$200.

Similar moves by landlords in East Harlem, Brooklyn and the lower east side had helped make slums. When tenants and neighbors organized at

W. 171st St. with the help of Tenant Council leader Mrs. Miriam Tobias, landlady Bustamente was accused of switching locks on rooms, selling furniture when tenants were out, harassing them with dispossession forms, etc.

Then followed court fights, delegations to City Hall, Tenants Council demonstrations. A month ago the landlady surrendered. By that time many of the tenants had been forced to move. One six-room apartment still housed six families. Following the surrender each family moved into its own apart-

ment at the old rental.

For the victory party Rev. Herminio L. Perez turned over his First Spanish Presbyterian Church, 512 W. 172d St. Rev. Perez has always mixed low-cost housing campaigns with his ministry. He heads the Conference on Housing Today and Tomorrow, led Albany lobbies against the rent rise.

Rev. Perez joins in the victory dancing (left, above). He also refereed potato races, led the singing. At right above (in left corner) he drinks a toast (in coffee) with tenants.

**MRS. VAN ORDEN HONORED**

**Our time 'rushing to meet us,' N.J. progressive leader says**

FIVE HUNDRED New Jersey-ites honored Mrs. Katharine Van Orden of Verona, N. J., civic leader and Progressive Party state vice-chairman, at a dinner March 8 at Newark's Essex House, attesting to her years of leadership in consumer work (she was formerly natl. pres. of the League of Women Shoppers) and in the interests of civil rights and peace. The gathering gave Mrs. Van Orden a fine bag-and-belt ensemble and contributed nearly \$2,000 to continue her weekly N. J. radio commentaries sponsored by the PP. Speakers included toastmaster James Imbrie, N. J.'s "grand old man" of independent political action, who led in the fight to save the Trenton Six; ALP chairman Vito Marcantonio; C. B. Baldwin and Thelma Dale of the PP; the GUARDIAN's John T. McManus; N. J. Progressive Party secy. Morton Bloom, and

Mrs. Jessie Campbell of Montclair.

In reponse to the testimonial presentation by Mrs. Campbell, Mrs. Van Orden spoke of the struggle all progressives were making for

"... a strong, sane, peaceful America... We are actually the most fortunate people in the U.S. at this moment. Our consciences are clear because we know we are doing what is right. We can live with ourselves; we cannot be hurt because we understand our place in history and know it is an honorable one. Those who may try to hurt us do so because their time is fast running out. Our time is coming—it is rushing to meet us!"

"PRINCIPLED COURAGE": As an outstanding indication that "the Age of the Abject" is drawing to a close, Mrs. Van Orden pointed to the "phenomenal" growth of the campaign to save the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—an example "... of the reawakening of American independence, as well as a tribute to the principled courage of the NATL. GUARDIAN and the few brave souls who started this magnificent campaign."

The main fight ahead, she said, will be to give effective leadership to the 85% of Americans (Gallup Poll figure) who want a cease-fire in Korea:

"Knowing the kind of people you are, I am confident that we will rise together to the grave responsibility that has been placed on our shoulders by this grim but exciting time we live in."

Martha Schlamme, People's Artists soprano, accompanied by Tanya Gould, sang two



ADA B. JACKSON  
The reason why

**Worked for peace; she can't run home for aged**

BECAUSE she was to speak at a Natl. Council for American-Soviet Friendship meeting, and went to a peace conference in E. Europe in 1948, Brooklyn progressive leader Mrs. Ada B. Jackson has been asked to resign from the board of the Brooklyn Home for Aged Colored People, of which she is chairman, according to the Amsterdam News. Mrs. Jackson has attended peace congresses in Hungary, China and the U.S.S.R. and has been a candidate for N. Y. City Council, Brooklyn borough president and U. S. Congress. She organized and headed the Bedford-Stuyvesant Better Schools Committee and is pres. of the Brooklyn Council of Negro Women.

groups of songs. Mrs. Ida Rocklin of Newark was in charge of arrangements.

**IT'S MURDER ON THE AIR**

**Dewey knives plan for educational TV**

LAST April the Federal Communications Commission reserved 242 new TV channels for non-commercial educational stations, allotted 10 of these to N. Y. State as alternatives to pistol-brandishing children's shows and vaudeville.

Commercial programming now gives education and science only 1.8% of TV time. Deadline for non-commercial applications is June 2. After that, the channels may be opened to more commercial TV.

On Feb. 12 FCC Chairman Paul A. Walker told the Natl. School Boards Assn. convention in Atlantic City:

"I wish all you school board members could come to the FCC offices and see for yourselves the intense contests being staged by commercial applicants for channels in competitive hearings. Some of these applicants are spending up to \$25,000 and \$50,000 or more to present their claims... Let each man in authority examine his conscience now—today—and decide whether he is truly doing all he can do to build these stations and thus save the channels for generations to come."

GET A MOVE ON: On Feb. 20 Walker wrote to Arthur Schutze, exec. secy. of the ALP:

It is my opinion that with respect to many channels presently reserved for non-commercial educational use for which no application has been made by June 2, 1953, considerable interest will be evinced by commercial applicants looking toward the deletion of such reservation... I have strongly counseled interested educational organizations to proceed as expeditiously as possible.

At public hearings in January representatives of CIO, parents' organizations, the Natl. Citizens Committee for Educational Television, the ALP, colleges, Citizens Union, Soc. for Ethical Culture all spoke for a TV plan recommended by the Board of Regents. The ALP further recommended that labor be represented in the program direction, racial stereotyping banned, church-state separation and free public discussion adopted as principles.

THE DEWEY FREEZE: But the tide against educational TV was running strong in Albany. Gov. Dewey had pointedly ignored it in his message to the Legislature. After the hearings were over, the commission voted 10-5 against the plan despite the preponderance of favorable testimony.

Voting for the plan were representatives of the Board of Regents, State University, minority leaders in the Legislature, the commission's sole woman member Mrs. Isabel H. Kideney, former pres. of the American Assn. of University Women's state chapter. The majority consisted of four out of six appointees of the Governor, three GOP legislative leaders, State Commissioner, State Budget Director and the Chairman. The N.Y. Times (5/25) reported that several minority members had said privately the decision was "dictated by Gov. Dewey."

After the commission's report protests were voiced by the United Parents Assn., ALP, City College pres. Dr. Buell C. Gallagher, and the L. I. Radio-TV Council which called the report a "disgrace."



KATHARINE VAN ORDEN  
"We will rise together..."

# Socialist millions pay Stalin tribute

JOSEPH STALIN died at 9:50 Thursday, March 5. During his last days Moscow "had seemed to go about on tiptoe . . . so deeply subdued . . . [as if] the city's residents felt an unnecessary noise might disturb Stalin's sick room in the Kremlin" (N. Y. Times, 3/7). Great crowds formed at newsstands; men, women and children wept in the streets (UP, 3/5).

In Friday's early dawn, a silent throng slowly filled Red Square. Outside the Hall of Columns, where Soviet leaders traditionally lie in state, queues

were already blocks long

. . . many hours before a formal announcement was made as to when the hall would open for this last funeral ceremony. . . . [The people were] somber and serious . . . persons who had suffered a heavy and severe blow. . . . The overwhelming impression . . . was the quiet with which the Russian people had received the words of Stalin's death (NYT, 3/7).

Just before 3 p.m. a simple cortege, accompanied by Stalin's closest comrades, moved out of the Kremlin, circling the city to draw up before the Hall of Columns. Inside the hall, draped with red for the revolution, crepe for its dead leader, Stalin—in the gray uniform of a Soviet marshal, with the single Hero of Socialist Labor decoration—lay on a catafalque banked with flowers, "in death as in life . . . a monumental dignity about him" (AP, 3/7). The new Soviet leaders, joined by China's Premier Chou En-lai, Hungary's Rakosi and many others, made up the changing guard of honor.

**MILES OF MOURNERS:** The people came—of all ages, from all walks of life—to pay Stalin the greatest tribute any man save perhaps Lenin ever received. The lines waiting 10-15 hours in a piercing wind to honor their dead leader—"made up not only of Muscovites . . . [but of] Russians from all ends of the country" (NYT, 3/7), stretched

(Continued on Page 8)

**Heir to Stalin  
May Need War  
To Hold Power**

N. Y. World Telegram, March 5, Page 7

**Kremlin's New Rulers Need  
Peace to Solve Problems**

N. Y. World Telegram, March 5, Page 8

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

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Vol. 5, No. 21

NEW YORK, N. Y., MARCH 16, 1953



"FRIENDS IN FACT, IN SPIRIT, IN PURPOSE"

That was what the Big Three—Franklin D. Roosevelt and Joseph Stalin (above) and Winston Churchill—said of their and their countries' relations after the 1943 Teheran conference where they sealed Hitler's doom, pledged enduring peace and amity. "Then suddenly," wrote former Under-Secy. of State Sumner Welles, "the direction of American policy passed to other hands. . . ."

## THE TORTURE CAMPAIGN GOES ON

# Did Ike offer Rosenbergs 'barbarous deal'?

WHILE attorney Emanuel Bloch worked in New York on his appeal to the Supreme Court (which must be in by Mar. 30) to review the conviction and death sentence on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for "atom-spying," pressure mounted on the couple to "talk." Rumors spread about Washington that they had been officially offered their lives "if they would discuss Soviet espionage activities in full" (they have insisted from the outset they know nothing about them.) Questioned on the rumors at his press conference Mar. 5, President Eisenhower said (N. Y. World-Telegram, 3/5)

. . . that if a different situation arises that looked as if it involved a decision of state, the case could always be brought back to him for reconsideration.

**IKE NAMED IN "DEAL":** That same day, a startling story was broken by columnist Robert S. Allen, headlined in the N. Y. Post: **IKE OFFERS A-SPIES LAST CHANCE.** Allen said the chance to save themselves by "talking"—now "proposed for the second time"—had been "officially offered" the Rosenbergs

by the Solicitor General's office . . . with the approval of President Eisenhower. The move was proposed by Atty. Gen. Brownell.

The story added that the FBI "has information" that the Rosenberg defense drive "is being financed from large Kremlin deposits in Tangier banks." (The drive has been financed by dimes, quarters and dollars sent by thousands of Americans to the Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, which was initiated from GUARDIAN readers' \$5,000 response to a small coupon in this paper in Oct., 1951.)

**"NO SUCH INCIDENT":** Later that same day, all major N. Y. newspapers and national wire services sent representatives to an emergency press conference called by Bloch, who told them:

- The Allen story was the first that he—the lawyer for the Rosenbergs—had heard of any such "official offer" to his clients;

- Sing Sing warden Denno had told him on the phone that no such representation had to his knowledge been made to the Rosenbergs, "recently or at any time";

- Acting Solicitor Gen. Robert S. Stern had told him by phone that he

" . . . knew of no such incident, had nothing to do with such an approach and would have nothing to do with it—and apparently thought it as unethical as I do."

- He had four times tried vainly to get through to Atty. Gen. Brownell, left word for him to call back but Brownell had not done so.

**"MEDIEVAL BARBARISM":** Bloch told the press:

"It is incredible to me that either the President, Atty. Gen. Brownell or any responsible official would lend himself to this kind of thing which smacks of medieval barbarism. The rack and thumbscrews are mild instruments of torture compared to telling people who declare their innocence that they will be put to death unless they confess. If such a 'deal' has been offered, it could not be too severely condemned. But if you gentlemen succeed where I have failed in contacting Mr. Brownell, you will probably find he never did any such thing as this story suggests. Mr. Allen's story is utterly irresponsible in its callousness toward human life in a case which should demand a sober, factual approach. As for the Rosenbergs confessing, there is no possibility of it since they have nothing to confess."

The N. Y. Post published part of Bloch's statement; elsewhere it was suppressed. No further information on the purported "deal" was forthcoming.

**SILVERMAN BARRED:** British MP Sydney Silverman, whom the Post recently misquoted on the Rosenberg Case in a story he called "shamefully dishonest reporting," was refused a U. S. visa to visit New York as main speaker at a \$25-a-plate Rosenberg dinner Mar. 18. The dinner at the Hotel Capitol, with Northwestern U. law prof. Stephen S. Love as chairman, is being sponsored by the Rosenberg Clemency Committee, of which Chicago

U. Divinity School Dean Dr. Bernard Loomer is chairman. The visa was refused under the McCarran Act which, said Silverman,

" . . . refers to anarchists, atheists, Communists, totalitarians and a variety of other people, none of whom could apply to me."

He told the N. Y. Times he was a member of the World Jewish Congress and that the American Jewish Congress "was much perturbed at the U. S. action"; the AJC filed a protest with the State Dept.

Dr. Loomer was to be main speaker at the largest Rosenberg defense meeting yet held in New York, sponsored by the Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions at Carnegie Hall Mar. 29. NCASP and the Clemency Committee were urging New Yorkers to demonstrate their feelings about the attempted black-out by attending the meeting and dinner in record numbers. The latter group suggested that co-workers and neighbors pool their resources to send representatives to the historic dinner, which is sponsored and will be attended by persons of many varying faiths and political beliefs.



**SYDNEY SILVERMAN**  
American Jewish Congress protests



"LET US SAVE THE INNOCENT ROSENBERGS FROM THE CHAIR"  
Signs like this are appearing all over Italy

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# THE MAIL BAG

**Egypt, U. S. and SS**  
**SANTA FE SPRINGS, CALIF.**  
 On Feb. 14 the U.S. announced a huge loan to Egypt.  
 On Feb. 11 Gen. Naguib proclaimed himself ABSOLUTE ruler of Egypt.  
 Ex-SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Hans Eichmann, who boasted he was responsible for the destruction of 5 million Jews, heads a score of ex-Nazis (on U.S.-sponsored West German passports) serving as military advisors to Gen. Naguib. (Against Israel?)  
 Egypt, you will remember, is a member of the family of FREE nations.  
 Just how free can one get?  
 Daniel Rosellson

**The thin man**  
**BROOKLYN, N. Y.**  
 A reactionary once, it is said, heard that progressives advocate bread.  
 He took the position of firm opposition.  
 And fasted until he was dead.  
 E. Pluribus Unum

**Washington segregation**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**  
 In your issue of Feb. 5, you refer to President Eisenhower's campaign promise, as yet unfulfilled, "to use whatever authority exists in the office of the President to end segregation in the District of Columbia." You interpolate: "He has no real authority; it is up to Congress."  
 Your interpolation is inaccurate, and tends to injure the efforts of the Progressive Party and many others to mobilize the public behind a demand that the President keep his promise.  
 The President has ample power to end many of the racist discriminations which now disgrace the capital of our nation. He can appoint one or more Negroes to the Board of Commissioners, which is the direct governing authority of the District of Columbia, and to the District Court for the District. Because the President ap-

**How crazy can you get dept.**  
 Lautner identified her as the director of a huge, geometrically designed underground that spread five layers deep among New York teachers. It was composed of triangular units, organized on geometrical progression, he said. Lautner could not furnish her real name but said she was known in party circles as Tima.  
 —UP story in Haverhill (Mass.) Gazette, Mar. 2.  
 One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: Mina Lewis, Haverhill, Mass.

points, and can remove, the District Commissioners, he can effectively require the Commissioners to take the following steps, among others: eliminate the flagrant discrimination against employment of Negroes in the District government; integrate the Negro and white fire companies; condition the licenses of restaurants, hotels, theatres, and other places of public accommodation, on their serving all without discrimination.  
 The President can also eliminate segregation in the District's penal institutions, cause government representatives on planning and housing boards to insist on non-segregation in housing projects, and call upon the Public Utilities Commission to direct the transit company to cease its notorious employment discrimination.  
 I think you should urge all your readers, in and out of Washington, to call upon him to make good his promise. He has plenty of authority, if he has the will.  
 Joseph Forer

**Our obligation**  
**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
 There is an obligation on every one of us who knows the awful implications implicit in the disaster that envelops the Rosenbergs, to speak out according to his lights. Fear of individuals to protest made their hounding possible. Craven fear and myopic self-interest have brought the witch-hunt to its horrible fruition.  
 On the first hearing by the Court of Appeals, Judge Augustus Hand was quoted as saying: "If the defendants had moved for a new trial it should have been granted."

On the next hearing by the same Court. Judge Learned Hand averred: "People don't dispose of lives just because an attorney did not make a point." That is a step forward. Persons in high places do react to the stimuli of reason and emotion unabashedly expressed.  
 The GUARDIAN is so aptly named "The Guardian"—of us all!  
 M. M. B.

**Cost of killing**  
**SACRAMENTO, CALIF.**  
 When you have the space, will you please print the relative cost of killing a man in the Army, from time of the Czar until now?  
 Ellen V. Wallace  
 We'll try to get the information. For now, we can say the ultimate costs remains the same: one human life. Ed.

**Limelight in New Orleans**  
**NEW ORLEANS, LA.**  
 Reaction was very surprisingly set back in New Orleans when citizens' protest reopened Chaplin's "Limelight," banned by American Legion commanders who didn't even consult their own members.  
 My husband, an AFL construction worker and Chaplin fan, bought the first tickets at the first showing at the Orpheum Feb. 4. Legion fire opened next day, but theatre manager Ross McCausland held on through Feb. 7 to packed houses rocking with laughter—plus applause, a rare thing here.  
 Floods of letters, signed in full poured over newspaper desks when the film closed. One reader wrote: "I and millions like me would go to see Chaplin perform if the picture was made in Moscow with Stalin as cameraman." Another, comparing the banishment of Chaplin to Germany's loss of Ein-



Drawing by Dyad, London  
 "Now we're strong again, wot abaht a talk wiv Malenkov?"

stein, praised Chaplin's message to the nation as expressed by Calvero: "There's nothing wrong with you but the fear you've invented. Quit dwelling on sickness and death, despising yourself—get up and fight for life!"

The New Orleans item had run a favorable review Feb. 5. It followed with an editorial Feb. 9 regretting the ban. When letters suddenly ceased in all papers, my husband called the item. He was told they'd "received too many letters," admittedly three-to-one for "Limelight."

Then came the surprise. We phoned a Dr. Harold Lief, unknown to us, writer of the last pro-"Limelight" letter printed which had sounded a call for action. A theatre had been found willing to reopen "Limelight."  
 Thus, as a result of the people's letters, plus a little theatre-and-newspaper courage, and the firm follow-up begun by a leading citizen, "Limelight" had a new two-week run. We went again; the place was packed and on a rainy night with Harlem Globetrotters in competition.  
 Mrs. Walter Rogers

**Anti-Zionism, anti-Semitism**  
**BALTIMORE, MD.**  
 We all know the words the reactionary press gives us to read, and the need for progressives to put them together. Therefore, the GUARDIAN, being our newspaper, must help us toward the truth and answer a question thinking Jewish people are asking today: "Is anti-Zionism a front for anti-Semitism?"  
 The Russian Jews and the Western Jews must not be divided to fight each other. The silence of the Russian papers on this subject is dangerous. Already many Jews of good will feel perhaps "silence gives consent."  
 Irene Shargel  
 The GUARDIAN has printed the facts on the charges of anti-Semitism in E. Europe and will continue to. We agree that the peoples of East and West must not be divided, and see in the charges just such an attempt. The Soviet press has not been silent but has made clear distinctions between Zionism,

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## REPORT TO READERS

### On pledges et al.

**EVEN THOUGH THIS** is written as of Friday the Thirteenth of March, we have good luck to report. Of about 1,000 pledgers who received reminders for their March pledges to the GUARDIAN's 1953 Sustaining Fund, nearly 700 have responded. This, you must agree, is a startlingly satisfying statistic—and the other 300 will come in, rain or shine, by month's end; it's almost a sure bet!

Frankly, though, the total number of pledgers to date is not enough to piece out our income from ads and subs, etc. That was, and remains, our "must" goal.

So, please consider the pledge form at the bottom of this page, and start your "Buck of the Month" now, with March if possible. As to ways and means—we re-offer our suggestion that you perch a Penny Poke and Nickel Nurser by your bedside, and put your end-of-each-day pennies and nickels into it nightly when you hit the hay. The results will astound you and—if you're as responsive as the 700 pledgers mentioned above—the GUARDIAN can benefit along with a number of other worthy causes you've been meaning to do something about.

**YOUR GUARDIAN** was delayed this week because we have changed our printing day to Friday, for the purpose of hitting the week-end newsstands with our new New York Edition and utilizing the week-end days for mail travel of non-New York subscriptions.

Once we get through the aches and pains of seeing the New York Edition properly launched, we intend to turn our manpower to speeding deliveries everywhere.  
 To do this, we intend to set up our addressing stencils by postal zone or community wherever possible. So if you live in a zoned area, please clip out your address label on Page One and mail it to us with your correct zone number.  
 Might check whether your address is in red, while you're at it, because if so, you owe us your renewal and you might as well send it along with your correct address (mightn't you?). Also, if you're considering a "Buck of the Month" pledge, you can save on postage by enclosing that, too.  
 Anyway, keep in touch.  
 —THE EDITORS

which it opposes, and anti-Semitism which is outlawed by decree and is actively fought against. The U.S. press has deliberately made it appear that defendants of Jewish origin are thus characterized in the Soviet press and in the indictments reveals no such characterization. Ed.

**Up to the mothers**  
**JOPLIN, MONT.**  
 This under-handed war thing will get worse all the time till the women folks put a stop to it. If they get together and don't let their boys go, we will get an end to this some time, but not until.  
 Berger Johnson Sr.

**That bigger type**  
**SYKESVILLE, PA.**  
 Of course I am glad to see print a little larger; it is hard for me to see. Was thinking I would have to use a magnifying glass. I don't read any fine print in the daily papers, but I do want to read all of the GUARDIAN. Mrs. W. Stahl

**Smack**  
**BALLINGER, TEX.**  
 "OPERATION SMACK." In the glorious days of Rome, if one of the wealthy class wanted to see a show of two gladiators fighting, the wealthy man paid the show master to put on the show. In the great days of the U.S.A. the big man can order a show for the amusement of himself and his friends and we all help pay the bill. And hundreds of American mothers pay with the lives of their sons. PRIDE GOETH BEFORE A FALL. H. E. Cothran

**In memoriam**  
**FORT CALIF.**  
 In memory of a dead Buddy; may his ideas live. F. F. C.

**Wake up, boss!**  
**STOCKTON, CALIF.**  
 We are the people. We are the court of last appeal. Mostly, we're good guys ambling through routine days that begin with \$2.50 alarm clocks shrilling their tin throats to silence, and end with us winding that same phoenix-alarm, and flopping into a rutted mattress. Sometimes we let ourselves be pushed around a little, just a little, so long as the shovers know we're playing with them, like Dad playing horse with the kids.  
 Then, when some wise guy forgets we're only killing time, and tries to ride us with saddle and check-rein, he gets thrown. . . . But we don't hate him. We just laugh at his surprise, and chortle.  
 "It's about time you found out who's really boss around here."  
 Alice C. Brightley

**There he sinned not**  
**MT. VERNON, TEX.**  
 It would be a delight to send \$1 or more each month to help keep you in business. I am 68 years of age, not employed. My only income is a very generous O.A.A. check of \$38 per month upon which my wife and I, with occasional extras, are to subsist. A wonderful system, isn't it?  
 I have, with the only weapon at my command (the ballot), fought the system ever since I cast my first vote. My first vote for President was for Eugene V. Debs. I've not been a saint and am not yet an angel, but one sin I will never have to answer for is that of voting Democrat or Republican.  
 G. T. Conner

**Have YOU pledged?**

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THE "WORTHY PUPIL" OF LENIN

# Stalin's place in the history of our times

By Tabitha Petran

TO the America of the seventh year of the cold war, Stalin in death was a "drunken cobbler's son," "bandit," "petty revolutionist," "bloody Oriental tyrant," "yellow-eyed monkey." Yet the very vulgarity, confusion and profusion of public comment made him stand forth the more boldly as the greatest figure of our times.

A saner America remembering its own lofty revolutionary tradition would have seen him as one of history's most enlightened leaders. In an earlier day, the N. Y. Times' Moscow correspondent Walter Duranty could write that Lenin—whom the U. S. press had described in almost identical terms—was "perhaps the greatest man, not excepting Christ or Mohammed, whom this world has known."

Stalin's life speaks for itself. Most Americans know nothing about it. The difficulty in relating his part in the construction of the first socialist society is, as his friend Sergei Kirov said 20 years ago, that "it is not easy to grasp the figure of Stalin in all its gigantic proportions."

## Revolution

"I joined the revolutionary movement at the age of 15," Stalin wrote, "when I established connections with certain underground groups of Russian Marxists then living in Transcaucasia." At 19 he received his "first revolutionary baptism" as teacher-organizer of Tiflis railroad workers; at 25, his second—in leadership of the great Baku oil strike which won Russia's first collective bargaining contract, thundered the approach of the 1905 revolution.

In 1905 and its dark reaction the Stalin-led workers' organizations of the Caucasus were the "most militant" (Lenin) in all Russia. Often imprisoned and exiled, Stalin wrote many articles to give workers a "socialist consciousness," the party, a guide to revolution. He began then to develop the Bolshevik theory on the national question, key problem in that "prison-house of nations," basis after the great revolution for drawing backward peoples and tribes into the socialist commonwealth on principles of equality and consent.

**THE DEAD LEGEND:** The October Revolution, Stalin wrote later, dealt the legend

... that the world had been divided from time immemorial into inferior and superior races ... a mortal blow, having demonstrated in practice that liberated non-European nations, drawn into Soviet development, are



LENIN and STALIN

not a bit less capable of promoting a really progressive culture and a really progressive civilization than are the European nations.

The eastern Soviet republics, once tsarist colonies—now with industrial output 22 times that of 1928, agriculture more advanced than W. Europe, 100% literate, native cultures flourishing—are monuments to Stalin's lifelong theoretical and practical work on the national problem.

Lenin made the 1917 revolution. Stalin fought for Lenin's policies. In three years of civil war and intervention, when the Bolsheviks fought ten nations on 14 fronts, Stalin became the regime's trouble-shooter: on every front where the revolution faltered he rallied and organized the people, party, army, to win a succession of victories and to become a military leader of a new kind, master of a military science embracing economic, political, morale factors. Tsaritsyn, which he saved, became Stalingrad.

## Construction of socialism

Lenin in his last public speech said:

"Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future ... this is the task of our epoch. ... We shall all of us together, fulfill it. ... NEP [transition-stage] Russia will be transformed into Socialist Russia."

When Lenin died at 54 (Jan. 21, 1924), war-torn Russia produced less than in 1913; the transformation was barely started. When Stalin died, Soviet industrial output, despite World War II's devastation, was 66 times that of 1924, the "great constructions of communism" already transforming the face of the nation. "Great energy," said Stalin, "is generated only for great aims." In the Five-Year Plans he set the people great aims, clear and distinct prospects to achieve them, releasing human energies in history's greatest organized activity to achieve unprecedented advance. He said:

"It would be foolish to think that the production plan is a mere enumeration of figures and assignments ... [it] is the embodiment of the living and practical activity of millions of people. What makes our production plan real is the millions of working people who are creating a new life ... it is you and I, our will to work, our readiness to work in the new way, our determination to carry out the plan."

## For peace

In 1927 Stalin saw a capitalist war against the new socialist state as inevitable; he defined the goal of foreign policy as postponing this assault until the capitalist powers fought among themselves or revolutions matured in the colonies or Europe. He outlined what have remained Soviet foreign policy's basic principles: to fight preparations for new imperialist wars; maintain peaceful relations with capitalist countries; expand trade with the outside world; establish closer ties with victims of imperial exploitation.

Based on a scientific understanding of the laws of history, Soviet policy was brilliantly successful in splitting the capitalist encirclement. Stalin rallied the world against Hitler; when Western governments prepared a new Munich, he signed the non-aggression pact with Hitler which divided the capitalist world, gave the U. S. S. R. necessary time. Later—as the N. Y. Daily News (3/4/53) recalled in a sane account of Stalin's life apparently in type since five years ago—he said:

"No peaceful nation could refuse a peace accord with a neighboring power, even if such monsters and cannibals as Hitler and Ribbentrop were found at its head."

**THE TIDE TURNED:** Even capitalist historians call Stalin "the master military strategist" of Soviet victory in World War II, which Gen. MacArthur described as "the greatest military achievement in all history." Stalin devised strategy, planned its execution, sifted campaign details, visited the fronts, concerned himself with weapons, designs, even the foot-soldier's rations and comfort.

On Nov. 7, 1941, with the Germans 10 miles from Moscow, Stalin stood bareheaded in bitter cold on Lenin's tomb to tell the people quietly and confidently how victory could be won. His strategy of active defense and counter-offensive, used at Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, required iron decision and confidence. Told by Churchill in July, 1942, that there would be no second front, he ordered the Stalingrad garrison: "Not a step back." While Stalingraders fought house-to-house for four months under a storm of bombs and artillery, their backs to the Volga, Stalin assembled three Soviet armies on the opposite bank, calmly held them until the right moment for the counter-offensive.

**FAITH IN THE PEACE:** All the while he guided his nation's crucial relations with allies not wholly committed to the common cause. The wartime agreements were triumphs for a coalition peace policy—soon scrapped by Washington.

In face of the encircling chain of U. S. bases, U. S. rearmament of a new anti-Soviet coalition, growing U. S. threats of atomic war, Stalin and Russia remained calm, rallying the world's people against war, promoting trade and seeking peaceful relations with all nations. Stalin's last public statements showed again his readiness to negotiate, his belief in the possibility of peace.

## End of an epoch

Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were the great founders of socialism. With Stalin's death, an historical era ends. The founding period is over, socialism securely established. Born in feudal Russia, taking command in the infancy of socialism, Stalin lived to chart the road to communism. His *Economic Problems of Socialism*, published last October—the most important theoretical work since Lenin's *Imperialism* (1916)—lights the new period ahead.

Stalin died working to prevent war but knowing that should it come—even atomic war—the socialist world would survive. In 1925, predicting the eventual victory of the Chinese Revolution, he said: "The laws of history are more potent than the laws of artillery."

**FAITH IN PEOPLE:** Stalin's work was based on recognition that the real makers of history are the people. During his lifetime almost a billion people straightened their backs, became real human beings, entered into public life, culture, science, created their own socialist states. No power on earth could force them to yield their new stature.

Stalin who, after Lenin, guided this historic advance, was an unpretentious person "with a scholar's mind, a workman's face, and the dress of a plain soldier" (Henri Barbusse). He wrote no less profoundly but more simply than Marx, Engels or Lenin, with a directness almost anyone could understand. Westerners were impressed with his knowledge, humor and quiet dignity. "As for myself," he told the German writer, Emil Ludwig, "I am merely a pupil of Lenin and my life's aim is to be a worthy pupil of his."

His life's aim was achieved.

## An American prophet speaks

WHEN news came of the death of Stalin, the GUARDIAN sent a request for an appreciation of the Soviet leader to the Florida home of Col. Raymond Robins—perhaps the only living American who knew both Lenin and Stalin.



The text of Robins' historic talk with Stalin in 1933 on U. S.-Soviet relations, which shortly preceded recognition of the U. S. S. R. by President Roosevelt, was published last year by the GUARDIAN in a 10c pamphlet, *An American Prophet Speaks*. Stalin spoke to Robins of the shortcomings and perspectives of Soviet industrialization and land collectivization, and of his country's hope of extending trade and friendly relations with the U. S. Robins told Stalin:

"I am not a Communist and do not understand much of communism, but I would like America to have the opportunity of associating itself with this new development ... so [that] the great, daring venture in your country may reach a successful completion. ... I consider

there is nothing higher and more magnificent than to participate in the building of a new world ... a fact of the greatest significance not only now, but for thousands of years to come."

Robins saw greatness in Stalin as he had done in Lenin, and was deeply impressed by Stalin's vision, firmness and simplicity of living and speaking. Although crippled in an accident shortly after his return from the U. S. S. R., Robins has continued ever since, from his wheel-chair in Florida, to do all in his power to beat back American hysteria about the Soviet state and its leaders and build better relations for mutual benefit.

A telegram from his home, where he has been seriously ailing for months, informed the GUARDIAN that the American who knew Lenin and Stalin—a friend of the GUARDIAN since its inception—was too ill to make any statement.

## KEEP YOUR FRIENDS



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NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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# Dr. DuBois on Stalin: 'He knew the common man . . . followed his fate'

By W. E. B. DuBois

**J**OSEPH STALIN was a great man; few other men of the 20th century approach his stature. He was simple, calm and courageous. He seldom lost his poise; pondered his problems slowly, made his decisions clearly and firmly; never yielded to ostentation nor coyly refrained from holding his rightful place with dignity. He was the son of a serf, but stood calmly before the great without hesitation or nerves. But also—and this was the highest proof of his greatness—he knew the common man, felt his problems, followed his fate.

Stalin was not a man of conventional learning; he was much more than that: he was a man who thought deeply, read understandingly and listened to wisdom, no matter whence it came. He was attacked and slandered as few men of power have been; yet he seldom lost his courtesy and balance; nor did he let attack drive him from his convictions nor induce him to surrender positions which he knew were correct. As one of the despised minorities of man, he first set Russia on the road to conquer race prejudice and make one nation out of its 140 groups without destroying their individuality.

His judgment of men was profound. He early saw through the flamboyance and exhibitionism of Trotsky, who fooled the world, and especially America. The whole ill-bred and insulting attitude of Liberals in the U.S. today began with our naive acceptance of Trotsky's magnificent lying propaganda, which he carried around the world. Against it, Stalin stood like a rock and moved neither right nor left, as he continued to advance toward a real socialism instead of the sham Trotsky offered.



Kukryniky: Stalingrad, 1943

**T**HREE great decisions faced Stalin in power and he met them magnificently: first, the problem of the peasants, then the West European attack, and last the Second World War. The poor Russian peasant was the lowest victim of tsarism, capitalism and the Orthodox Church. He surrendered the Little White Father easily; he turned less readily but perceptibly from his ikons; but his kulaks clung tenaciously to capitalism and were near wrecking the revolution when Stalin risked a second revolution and drove out the rural bloodsuckers.

Then came intervention, the continuing threat of attack by all nations, halted by the Depression, only to be re-opened by Hitler-

ism. It was Stalin who steered the Soviet Union between Scylla and Charybdis: Western Europe and the U.S. were willing to betray her to fascism, and then had to beg her aid in the Second World War. A lesser man than Stalin would have demanded vengeance for Munich, but he had the wisdom to ask only justice for his fatherland. This Roosevelt granted but Churchill held back. The British Empire proposed first to save itself in Africa and southern Europe, while Hitler smashed the Soviets.

The Second Front dawdled, but Stalin pressed unflinchingly ahead. He risked the utter ruin of socialism in order to smash the dictatorship of Hitler and Mussolini. After Stalingrad the Western World did not know whether to weep or applaud. The cost of victory to the Soviet Union was frightful. To this day the outside world has no dream of the hurt, the loss and the sacrifices. For his calm, stern leadership here, if nowhere else, arises the deep worship of Stalin by the people of all the Russias.

**T**HEN came the problem of Peace. Hard as this was to Europe and America, it was far harder to Stalin and the Soviets. The conventional rulers of the world hated and feared them and would have been only too willing to see the utter failure of this attempt at socialism. At the same time the fear of Japan and Asia was also real. Diplomacy therefore took hold and Stalin was picked as the victim. He was called in conference with British Imperialism represented by its trained and well-fed aristocracy; and with the vast wealth and potential power of America represented by its most liberal leader in half a century.

Here Stalin showed his real greatness. He neither cringed nor strutted.

He never presumed, he never surrendered. He gained the friendship of Roosevelt and the respect of Churchill. He asked neither adulation nor vengeance. He was reasonable and conciliatory. But on what he deemed essential, he was inflexible. He was willing to resurrect the League of Nations, which had insulted the Soviets. He was willing to fight Japan, even though Japan was then no menace to the Soviet Union, and might be death to the British Empire and to American trade. But on two points Stalin was adamant: Clemenceau's "Cordon



Canard Enchaîne, Paris

Sanitaire" must be returned to the Soviets, whence it had been stolen as a threat. The Balkans were not to be left helpless before Western exploitation for the benefit of land monopoly. The workers and peasants there must have their say.

**S**UCH was the man who lies dead, still the butt of noisy jackals and of the ill-bred men of some parts of the distempered West. In life he suffered under continuous and studied insult; he was forced to make bitter decisions on his own lone responsibility. His reward comes as the common man stands in solemn acclaim.

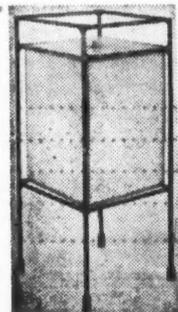
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**FREEDOMS**

**N.C. sets execution for Daniels', 2 others**

A "FESTIVAL of murder" was the way the Negro monthly *Freedom* described what was set to take place this month in Raleigh, N. C., where four Negroes are doomed to die in the gas chamber. They are:

Lloyd Ray and Bennie Daniels, 22 and 21, condemned for allegedly murdering a white taxi-driver near Greenville, N. C.;

Raleigh Speller, 51, condemned for "rape" of a white woman in 1947;

Clyde Brown, 22, condemned for "rape" of a white woman in 1950.

The Daniels cousins are said to have signed confessions, the vocabulary of which could not possibly have been theirs even if they had not been illiterate. Speller has been tried three



**LLOYD RAY DANIELS**  
The time is short

times; N.C.'s Supreme Court reversed each of the first two convictions. Brown was never identified by the woman he allegedly raped, and an older white woman, first on the scene of the "crime," swore the "victim" at that time did not complain of rape.

**"NOTHING PREJUDICIAL":** The U.S. Supreme Court on Feb. 10—with Justices Black, Frankfurter and Douglas dissenting—ruled there was "nothing prejudicial" in excluding Negroes from juries in the Speller and Brown cases. But, wrote N. Carolinian Nat Bond in *Freedom*:

... The nation has not been aroused. The conscience of the world has not been stirred. As a Negro young man who might, but for the grace of God, be in the place of any one of these four sacrificial victims on the altar of insane race prejudice, I cry out to you and to millions of others: Act now!

We have not given up in N. Caro-

**"What's good for GM is good for the U.S."**

In 1952 General Motors Corp. transacted sales of \$7½ billion including "defense products," chairman Alfred P. Sloan Jr. told stockholders last week. Common stock earners \$6.25 a share, compared with \$5.63 in 1951, for this largest sales year in GMC's 4-year history.

Civilian lives abruptly ended in Korea by U.S. "defense products" over the year ran into the hundreds of thousands but could not be estimated for GM stockholders. Americans killed while using the products 7,000 miles from home totaled 23,134.

With former GM pres. Charles Wilson as Defense Secy. in charge of all "defense product" purchases with taxpayers' money, the corporation's prospects for 1953 were sunny.

**WHAT'S IN A WORD?**

**Communism? Well, it's mebbe...**

ON JULY 4, 1951, the Madison (Wis.) *Capital Times* assigned reporter John Hunter to walk about the state capital and ask people to sign a petition. Of 112 asked, 111 refused. Typical answers were: "That's commie stuff" or "I'm trying to get loyalty clearance for a government job." The petition contained the Preamble to the Constitution.

Last month reporter Hunter went on another assignment: to get from 100 people on the street the answer to the question, "What, in your opinion is a Communist?" In all 241 persons were interviewed before Hunter could fill his quota; many refused outright to discuss the subject; 97 said they could not define the term, refused to be quoted. A sampling of the 100 answers (printed in the Feb. 26 *Capital Times*) follows:

"I don't know what a Communist

is. I am an American citizen. I never saw one."

"... a person who never had anything and doesn't want anyone else to have anything."

"I really don't know what a Communist is. I think they should throw them out of the White House."

"Well, they are always sneaking around... I don't know too much about them."

"... a student of Marxism who believes in equal distribution of wealth."

"A lot of people think a Communist is any liberal thinker. I don't know myself."

"I'm not exactly sure... the definition seems to be changing..."

"One who believes in equality for the masses. It's all relative."

"The term is so loosely applied. I don't think the question is valid."

lina. Legal steps are being taken for further Supreme Court appeals. But we must depend on you!

Urgent pleas for defense contributions and letters to Gov. Wm. B. Umstead, Raleigh, N. C., to stay execution pending the appeals came from the Daniels Defense Comm. (P. O. Box 1601, Durham, N. C.) and the People's Defense Comm. (Clyde Brown case; P. O. Box 2008, Winston-Salem, N. C.).

**Frame-up shown in Hawaii trial — ILWU**

HAWAII'S Smith Act case against Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union regional director Jack W. Hall and six co-defendants ended for the prosecution last week. The defense moved for acquittal and striking out of testimony.

Chief prosecution witness in the 17-week-old trial of the seven for "conspiracy to teach and advocate" forcible overthrow of the government was Jack H. Kawano, one-time pres. of ILWU's Hawaii local. The union said he had been "rewarded" for his desertion by "a number of unsecured 'loans' and a liquor dealer's license," and that these points had been brought out in cross-examination of Kawano:

- FBI agents' initial efforts to "get" Hall through ILWU educational director David Thompson, tape-recorded by Thompson, proved the frame-up nature of the case;

- The government "never intended to bring the indictment to trial," believing "the mere indictment would scare Hall into playing ball";

- Real purpose of the trial was to smash the union local, an important unit in the powerful international



Herblock in Washington Post  
The new broom

body headed by Harry Bridges, who—the U.S. Supreme Court decided Mar. 9—is entitled after all to a High Court hearing of his charge of frame-up.

Judge Delbert Metzger, who received the Natl. Lawyers Guild's annual Roosevelt award Feb. 22 for "the most distinguished contribution in furtherance of the ideals of Franklin D. Roosevelt," was removed from the case when he reduced each defendant's bail from \$75,000 to \$5,000. He was threatened with loss of his position and replaced by Judge Jon Wiig.

**NELSON IS RE-TRIED:** Trials under the Smith Act are set in Seattle for April and in St. Louis for Sept.; Detroit's has no date yet. Steve Nelson,

"... a pig without a mud puddle."  
"... a person who believes in the socialist form of government. ... I'm not sure I know what I'm talking about."

"A person who believes what he thinks is right."

"... a crook, I suppose."  
"It's a name McCarthy uses to smear his enemies."

"I don't know what they are but they are no good to us..."

"... a person who wants war."  
"... one who believes that the state should govern."

"I've been trying to find out myself, but I've never been able to get a definition."

"That question is like asking when is a man intoxicated."

"... a socialist in a hell of a hurry."

"I think it is someone who doesn't believe in another country's Lord."

"You would have to be a member of the party to define it accurately. If you were to ask me to define Republicanism or the principles of the Democratic Party, I would have the same difficulty."

chief defendant in the Pittsburgh trial, who was greeted by 4,000 at a New York rally March 8, returned to Pittsburgh March 10 for a second trial on the same charge.

The six Baltimore victims are serving prison terms; the 13 in New York are on bail awaiting appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

**Last week on the witch-hunt front**

**REP. F. D. ROOSEVELT Jr. (D-N. Y.)** asked the House to oust Rep. Harold H. Velde (R-Ill.) as Un-American Activities Comm. chairman after Velde's "admittedly false and reckless charges" concerning Mrs. Agnes Meyer, who attacked the Un-AAC's schools probe (*GUARDIAN*, 2/26), and after other Un-AAC members repudiated Velde's proposal for a witch-hunt of clergymen.

Former Communist Party natl. committee member Bella V. Dodd, lauding the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, charged the CP with highest-level "infiltration" of N. Y. educational bodies and "reaching the minds of perhaps 1,000 N. Y. teachers."

Former Calif. Atty. Gen. Robert W. Kenny and three other prominent Calif. attorneys, in behalf of 23 Hollywood workers blacklisted for their politics, filed suit for \$51,750,000 damages against the Un-AAC, 16 movie concerns, 20 of their executives, the Motion Picture Assn. of America and Society of Independent Motion Picture Producers. One of the plaintiffs was top prize-winning scenarist Michael Wilson, author of the independent film *Salt of the Earth* (*GUARDIAN*, 3/5), which was reported completed last week in N. Mex.

**Do have another Knedlik**

By George Wheeler

PRAGUE, CSR  
**R**ECENTLY we received an invitation to the wedding of a friend, a man of working class family whose bride is a seamstress. The wedding itself was at the carpeted old Town Hall and the reception at one of Prague's best restaurants. I got to the reception a little late and found the guests singing lively folk songs. They were resting after the third course, and I felt a little relieved that there were only four more to go. But nothing like that was permitted—everyone had to eat all courses, and besides I was several toasts behind.

The opening cold roast pork in aspic was delicious—but enormous. After the ham course I tried to ease up on the hare, but the groom leaned over, confided that he also was a small eater, told me I had to go on.

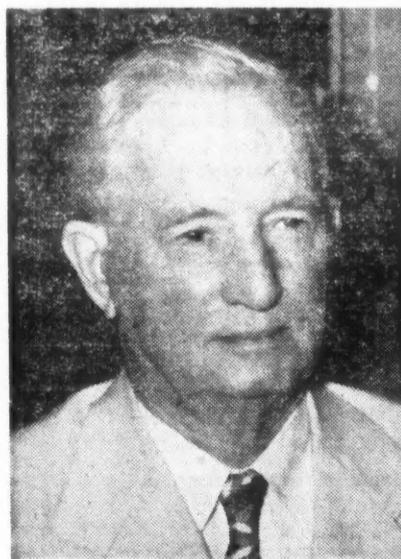
I was wondering what to do with the three extra "knedliky" dumplings when one of the guests pulled up a

chair and remarked: "I heard last night over the BBC that the Czech people were starving. Well, it's nice to have such food while we are doing it!" Fortunately there was a pause for singing, stories and visiting.

Then we turned our attention to the favorite Czech food, roast pork with sauerkraut and more dumplings. Then, after the traditional wedding cake, a big one with whipped cream half an inch thick, I gave up and put the chocolate rolled cake in paper to take home to the children. While I was reviving with strong black coffee the groom said:

"Perhaps you wonder how I can afford all of this? Well, newly married couples can now have their wedding feast at one-fourth cost! Do you know that this whole thing, and all of the drinks will cost me only 3,000 crowns? And if I need it the government will also loan me 30,000 crowns."

Despite the protest I left after only five hours, just as another round of tokay wine was coming up.



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—PM, March 31, 1948

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MONTHLY REVIEW



## The socialist world in tribute to Stalin

(Continued from Page 1)

16 abreast 10 miles into the suburbs. UP reported from Moscow (3/9):

Some five million persons had passed by his bier when the doors of the hall were closed, and the line stretched serpentine miles through the crowded streets.

After four days Stalin was placed beside Lenin in the red and black marble tomb from whose tribune he had so often addressed the people. Buildings along the funeral route were banked with flowers; the entry to Red Square,



GEORGI MALENKOV  
The slogan was "Peace"

where the people's elected representatives began gathering at dawn, was almost blocked with flowers.

**LAST TRIBUTES:** Soviet Premier Georgi Maximilianovich Malenkov with other leaders carried the crimson-draped coffin down the Hall of Columns stairs to the gun carriage, before which delegations of workers, soldiers and farmers marched, bearing huge floral wreaths, making the procession look like "a moving field of spring's first blossoms" (AP, 3/9). In their wake went a column of officers led by the famous cavalryman Marshal Budenny, Stalin's comrade in arms since civil war days, carrying cushions with Stalin's medals. Behind the coffin walked Malenkov arm-in-arm with Chou En-lai and Soviet Interior Minister Lavrenti Beria; behind them, party and government leaders, mourners from many lands, men "heavy with grief, their faces sad and set" (AP, 3/9).

The procession halted before Lenin's tomb—now the mausoleum of Lenin and Stalin;

... gently, ever so gently, Stalin's companions lift his coffin off the gun carriage, they handle it so tenderly, very, very slowly they set it down (AP, 3/9).

Malenkov, Beria, and Foreign Minister Molotov—almost the last of the old guard who fought with Lenin through two revolutions—were the only speakers. They honored Stalin as "the great thinker of our epoch" (Malenkov); "a man who stood closest to us... beloved of all Soviet people, of millions of workers of the world" (Beria); "our own infinitely dear man, who will live in our hearts forever" (Molotov). The orations showed quiet confidence in the unity and strength of the socialist world, the breadth of the goals, the determination to achieve them.

**A HEMISPHERE HUSHED:** Malenkov, emphasizing Soviet peace policy which "forms a shattering barrier to the unleashing of a new war and is in conformity with the vital interests of all people," said: "There are no forces in the world which can stop the forward movement of Soviet society towards communism." Beria, warning that the U. S. S. R. "will know how to meet any aggressor in the appropriate way," said

"the loss is unbelievably heavy but the Communist Party's steel will not bend under this burden." Molotov spoke of the significance of Stalin's contribution to the national question in this time of growing national liberation movements in the colonial world.

At noon the coffin was carried through the tomb's metal doors; the guns thundered, echoed by similar salutes in the U. S. S. R.'s 24 great cities. From Pacific to Baltic, Arctic to Black Sea, throughout the Soviet Union, China, Eastern Europe, all traffic and work stopped for five silent minutes; factory and boat whistles broke the silence with a last three-minute salute.

**"GREATEST FRIENDSHIP":** Mao Tse-tung, leader of China's revolution which gave new life to one-fifth of humanity, said the task now was "to transform sorrow into strength." In an article titled "The Greatest Friendship," which stressed that Sino-Soviet ties would grow and strengthen, he wrote that Stalin's death brought grief "beyond description of words" but in China and elsewhere a rededication. He called the Soviet Communist Party

... the most advanced in the world, the most experienced and with the best theoretical heritage.

While Churchill and Eisenhower withheld even official courtesies, France's Defense Ministry ordered a day of mourning; aging ex-Premier Herriot eulogized Stalin and "the heroic Red Army" in the Assembly. Italy's parliament suspended sittings for an hour. Finland's Premier attended the funeral. India's Nehru praised Stalin as a peace leader. Pakistan's leaders all paid tribute.

### Transition to new government is smooth

Within 24 hours of Stalin's death, the CP Central Committee, Council of Ministers, and Supreme Soviet presidium announced a reorganization of the government: 51-year-old Malenkov became Premier, and named as four first deputy-chairmen of the Council of Ministers Molotov (Foreign Minister), Beria (Interior and Security), Bulganin War), and Kaganovich.

Former Foreign Minister Vishinsky became Permanent Soviet UN delegate (a "demotion" to the U. S. press; more probably an indication of the importance Moscow attaches to UN). Stalin's old friend Marshal Voroshilov replaced Nikolai Shvernik (recommended to resume leadership of Soviet trade unions) as president of the Supreme Soviet.

The 25-member CP Central Committee presidium was reduced to 10, the 10-member party secretariat to three—moves returning the structure to much what it was before the 19th party congress in October, and aimed probably at centralization of control now that Stalin's overall direction was gone. The transition was smooth; the "steel unity and monolithic solidarity," called for by the new leaders, achieved (NYT, 3/9).

**THE NEW PREMIER:** Malenkov, a mere boy in the Revolution, became chief political commissar of Soviet armies in Southeast Russia by 1922; served as Stalin's secretary; showed administrative ability as director of Soviet military production in World War II; flew with Molotov to help Lenin-grad in that city's historic siege.

His report to the 19th party congress was in essence the application in terms of practical policy of the economic laws developed by Stalin in his last major work. In that report he stressed the importance of the world peace movement and made the flat prediction:

"There is every reason to believe that a third world war will cause the collapse of the world capitalist system."

**PEACE THROUGH TRADE:** As an alternative to war, Malenkov dealt with the possibilities of reopened trade between socialist and capitalist worlds:

"Bellicose circles in the U. S. and Britain are constantly reiterating that the arms race alone can keep the industries in capitalist countries running. Actually there is another

prospect—of developing and expanding commercial relations between all countries, irrespective of the difference in social systems. This can keep the industries in the industrially developed countries running for many years to come... can help to raise the economy of the underdeveloped countries, and thereby bring about

lasting economic cooperation." He specifically listed "expansion of trade between countries for restoration of the single international market" among main points in the Soviet peace program, which included banning of atomic and germ weapons, steady arms reduction, a great-power peace pact.

## U.S. sees 'golden opportunity' for more cloaks and daggers

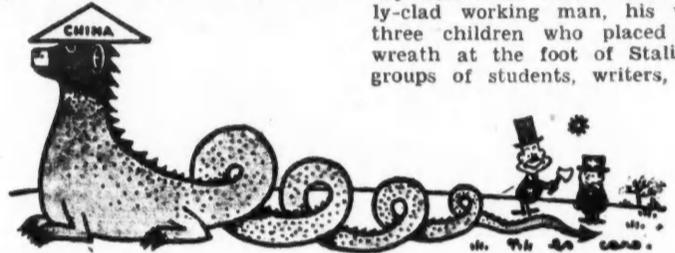
**PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S** first moves after Stalin's death—"a golden opportunity to break up Russia's satellite empire" (N. Y. Post, 3/6)—were to summon cloak-and-dagger chief Allen Dulles, call a Natl. Security Council meeting attended by Dulles and top cold-war strategist C. D. Jackson. The Council decided to launch a "top-secret psychological warfare offensive... to capitalize on Stalin's death" (N. Y. World-Telegram, 3/6). The N. Y. Times (3/6) defined this warfare as

... comprehending sabotage, the training, arming and disposition of spies, saboteurs and guerrillas and the carrying out of projects within and without the Iron Curtain that are costly in terms of personnel, materials and money.

The "aggressive effort to exploit the Soviet's situation"—spreading rumors, sparking "popular" uprisings, supplying arms—concededly "requires calculated

wild speculations most of which canceled each other out. Eisenhower's message to the Russian people prayed for their "liberation;" UN's Political Committee was abruptly adjourned to cut short tributes to Stalin. Headlines and radio commentators called for the West to force "Russia out of Europe," to seize Albania where "disturbances" were said to have broken out. Emphasis on Russia's "definite weakening as a world power" sought in standard fashion to stir an American war fever with hopes of quick, easy victory.

In New York, a few hundred persons braved the still and movie cameramen who stood outside the Soviet UN delegation headquarters, photographing those calling to pay last respects to Stalin. Meanwhile in Mexico City a GUARDIAN correspondent reported 2,000 visited the Soviet Embassy the day after Stalin died, headed by a poorly-clad working man, his wife and three children who placed a small wreath at the foot of Stalin's bust; groups of students, writers, painters,



"Aw, come on! Just a little tippety-tip!"

Liberation, Paris

risks" including that of setting off a war (Wall St. Journal, 3/5). As Tito suddenly left a week ahead of schedule on a state visit to Britain, efforts to duplicate the Tito coup perhaps by methods including assassination were in the wind. Yet the U. S., remarked William Shannon (N. Y. Post, 3/7), could not exploit

... dissension and chaos until there is some chaos to exploit. So far there is none.

**"TRIBAL WARNINGS":** The "psychological warfare offensive," insofar as it made any psychological sense, seemed directed rather at the American than the Russian and allied peoples. Contrary to practice, Voice of America broadcasts were released to U. S. newspapers. They called the man the socialist world deeply mourned a "ruthless murderer of millions," forecast "wholesale death purges, fateful knocks on the door... slave camps... firing squads," pictured the "slave empire" crumbling, described a titanic battle for power raging in Moscow even as AP (3/7) admitted that the "speed and orderliness" of the Soviet government's reorganization

... raised, at the least, some doubts whether the group which put [Malenkov] in power was in fact divided in any important way.

Eisenhower's omission of customary courtesies shocked Western Europe. The "resort to tribal warnings" against the "deathbed backdrop" was likely to "make a lot of Russians damned mad," the N. Y. Post was told by a "rabidly anti-Communist London editor." London's Economist urged the President to "keep his psychological warriors on the leash." From London, Paris, Berlin, the WSJ (3/5) reported

... no inclination at all to get tough with Russia. The theme is caution. [The British fear] new spurts of American vigor.

**MANNERS IN 2 CAPITALS:** But official Washington matched in boorishness the U. S. press with its pages of

and union delegates alternated in a constantly changing guard of honor around the bust; grief and sympathy were expressed in a message by President Ruiz Cortines to the Soviet government and people.

**KOREA UPROAR:** On the Far East war front, there was much talk—but obviously no policy—about "Titoizing" Mao Tse-tung. WSJ (3/7) reported

... an influential group in the State Dept. and Pentagon is urging that now... is the time for the U. S. to "take some strong action" in Korea—fast. And to couple that move with strong steps in Indo-China and Formosa.

The Administration seemed to be moving toward a China blockade as Washington went into an uproar over Korea strategy. Returned Gen. Van Fleet urged extension of the draft, more U. S. troops in Korea, tougher mobilization at home—"probably the last thing that the Congressmen, already nervous about the impact of the draft and of defense taxation on their constituents, wanted to hear" (Walter Millis, N. Y. Herald Tribune, 3/9). Pentagon leaders flatly denied his charges that U. S. forces in Korea are short of ammunition.

**BRITAIN BOWS:** Broadening of the Congressional "munitions shortage" inquiry into an overall probe of the Korean War—including truce talks and handling of war prisoners—was briefly suggested. Sen Taft proposed it, backed down in the face of bipartisan opposition.

While Congress haggled, the British announced tightening of the embargo on China after talks in Washington between the new Administration and Foreign Secy. Eden and Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler. British support for U. S. Far East moves apparently had been bought by a still-undisclosed deal for a huge dollar fund to back convertibility of the pound. NYT (3/7) reported from London that another British mission in April "will survey the blockade question again."

**SHELLEY MYERS AND THE P. S. 19 STORY**

**Father refuses to let child go to classes in pre-Civil War school — and wins fight in court**

THREE years before the outbreak of the Civil War, New York City opened a brand new school at 344 East 14th St., Manhattan. Now as P.S. 19 the same building houses 1,069 pupils.

Two years ago, according to one parent's report, the school flag still carried 45 stars. That little matter was corrected, but many of the children still must descend four flights of stairs to use toilets in the yard.

**SHELLEY STAYED HOME:** When lawyer Allen Murray Myers moved into 451 E. 14th St. (part of Stuyvesant Town) last year, he called the building a "death trap" and flatly refused to send his 9-year-old daughter Shelley into it. Shelley stayed home; the Board of Education charged Myers with a misdemeanor.

Early this month Domestic Relations Court Justice Justine Wise Polier acquitted Myers, ruled that Mrs. Myers—who holds a state teacher's certificate—could go on tutoring the child; but she dodged any judgment on the "physical and mental hazard" posed by P.S. 19 to the other pupils. Myers said he had withheld till the last moment the fact that his wife is a qualified teacher because he wanted a ruling on whether the Board could force a "parent to send his child to a slum school."

Not content with his victory, Myers prepared to ask the Su-



**THERE CAN BE SUNLIGHT AND LEARNING TOO**  
A teacher in St. Louis tells about the world

preme Court for a writ of mandamus ordering the Board to eliminate violations of health and fire ordinances or else close the school down.

**NO SOLUTION:** If P.S. 19 is closed Shelley Myers would then be transferred with some 300 others north of 14th St. to modern P.S. 40 at 320 E. 20th St., which would have to run double sessions. Myers would settle for that.

But Mrs. Bessie Haberman, president of the P.S. 19 Parents Assn., saw a grimmer prospect south of 14th St. which divides the school's area. There, she said, live some 700 other P.S. 19 pupils—400 of them Puerto Rican—who would be sent not to P.S. 40 but to other schools only 5-10 years younger than P.S. 19, where the same courtyard toilets, overcrowding and other violations exist.

Though happy at Shelley's escape, she said the court's decision offered no solution: Myers' campaign to shut the school down without promise of a new building would be a solution only for Stuyvesant Town children and others north of 14th St.

**GOOD FOR ITS AGE:** The PA has campaigned to clear up all possible violations pending a successful fight to win a new school in the area. They would agree to closing down P.S. 19 only if the site were to be used for a new school. Meanwhile the PA has forced school authorities to install movable

furniture instead of the old desks nailed down to the floor which, in the tiny classrooms, constituted a panic hazard; repair broken plaster, resurface blackboards that for decades had taxed children's eyes.

School inspectors, summoned by the PA, reported the building was not in bad shape for its age, balked at any extensive remodeling; for instance, taking the toilets out of the courtyard. Stairways are "fire-retarded."

Only hope the Board offers is that Junior High School 60, on 12th St. between Av. A and 1st Av., may be made available for grade school children. JHS 60 stands next to a large public garage owned by the Archdiocese of New York, used by the N.Y.C. Omnibus Corp. whose buses would constitute a hazard to small children. PA stand is that children won't go there unless the garage is shut.

**WANTED — \$600,000,000:** But P.S. 19 is not the city's oldest or worst school. There are five over 100 years old, 270 in the 50-100 year class; 107 classified officially as "non-fireproof."

The City Planning Commission listed 251 necessary school building projects not scheduled in this year's budget or projected in the city's 5-year capital expenditure plans. Pending in Albany is the Mahoney-Bannigan Bill which would put before the electorate next Nov. a \$200,000,000 state bond issue for school building.

Parents' organizations and the American Labor Party would support the bill, but favor a minimum of \$600,000,000. A lesser sum would be quickly consumed by the backlog of repairs which now would take \$75,000,000.

**Sanity corner**

**WATERTOWN, MASS.**

I feel sure that the only way we will ever achieve world peace is by getting to know our "opponents." As it is now, the majority of men who make our laws dealing with Russians have never seen one, and don't believe that a Russian citizen is a human being who hates war as much as we do. The same is true of Russian legislators. An international friendship on high administrative levels would ensure world security.

Dick Bonier

—Letter in Boston Traveler, Mar. 3

**Best N. Y. movies**

Continuing showings, Manh. **CONCERT OF STARS** (Russian made)—Stanley, 7th Av. & 42d. **THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST** (British made)—Baronet, 3d Av. & 59th. **JUSTICE IS DONE** (French made)—"A Visit to Picasso," Trans-Lux, Madison & 60th. **LIMELIGHT**—Now on local runs, check local theaters. **THE LITTLE WORLD OF DON CAMILLO** (Italian made)—Bijou, 45th, W. of B'way. **TWO CENTS WORTH OF HOPE** (Italian made)—World, 49th, E. of B'way.

**Mar. 14 week-end**

**SATURDAY NIGHT FILM CLUB**—"Shout Heard Around the World," peace cartoon premiere, "Philip Evergood" documentary, selected shorts; ASP Film Center, Hotel Woodrow, 37 W. 64th, Sat., Mar. 14, 8:30 p.m. **POTEMKIN**—Club Cinema, 430 6th Av., Fri.-Sun., Mar. 13-15, from 8:30 p.m.

**Mar. 21 week-end**

**KUHLE WAMPE**—Anti-fascist German film (1932) by Bert Brecht, Hanns Eisler; Club Cinema, 430 6th Av., Mar. 20-22, from 8:30. **PIGALION**—Leslie Howard, Wendy Hiller. ALP Manhattan Community Center, 220 W. 80th St., Sun., Mar. 22, 8:30 p.m. **STORY OF A REAL MAN**—ASP Film Center, 37 W. 64th St., Sat., Mar. 21, from 8:30 p.m.

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**Rent, fare and tax rise in prospect**

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

Albany; rent fight strategists prepared positions to which they could retire and fight on if the Dewey rent-raise bill passes. Two objectives can still be won: force Dewey to call an executive hearing before signing the bill; put the rent raise on the agenda of the special session Dewey plans later in the spring.

The rent-fare-tax program had been jockeyed for months in the contest to see which should take the blame; Dewey and the GOP, or Impellitteri and the city Democrats. City officials devised a plan which would draw funds from welfare budgets and from fancy book-keeping. They dutifully traveled to Albany several times. These Democratic legislators put up a fight which never troubled the confident GOP majority. The N. Y. City Council last week hurriedly passed a resolution 19-1 against lifting rent controls. To many it seemed done for the record.

**HUNGER AHEAD:** The final apportionment of blame seemed to be: Gov. Dewey would take responsibility for the rent boost; tax rises would be in the form of enabling legislation so that city politicians would have to share the guilt (though possibly not until after Nov.); blame for the fare rise would be disguised in proposals for a transit authority.

In the midst of the political power plays at the State Senate debates came this warning from Williamsburg, Brooklyn. Democratic Sen. Harry Gippelson said solemnly:

"If the people in my district whose average earnings are \$50 per week per family have to pay a \$30 annual subway fare increase on top of a 15% rent increase, they will have no food to eat."

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## Children's Week-end Checklist

For boys and girls 5 to 15

### MARCH 14-15

#### Films

**FILM FESTIVAL:** for children, Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St., Sat., 3 p.m., 10c.  
**LOUIS PASTEUR:** revival of Hollywood film with Paul Muni, American Museum of Natural History, Central Pk. W. & 79th St., Sat., 2 p.m., Free.  
**THE MALE ANIMAL:** Hollywood film revival with sub-theme academic freedom, N.Y. Historical Society, Central Pk. W. (nr. 76 St.), For older children, Sat., 2 p.m., Free.

#### Plays

**TOM TWO ARROWS:** program of folklore of the Iroquois Indians, B'klyn Acad. of Music, 30 Lafayette Av., Sat., 2 p.m., \$1.  
**THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES:** children's story by Junior Theatre, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. (nr. 7 Av.), Sat., 2:15 p.m., \$1.80-\$2.40.  
**HANSEL & GRETEL:** Hans Mann's Children's Theater, at Barbizon Plaza Theatre, 101 W. 58 St. (nr. 6 Av.), Sat., 3 p.m., \$1.20-\$2.  
**JACK AND THE BEANSTALK:** marionettes at Matinee for Moppets (under 10) at Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74 St. (bet. 1 & 2 Aves.), Sat., 2:30 p.m., 72c.  
**ALICE IN WONDERLAND:** by Playmart Children's Theatre, at Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57 St. (nr. 7 Av.), Sat., 1 p.m. & 2:45 p.m.; Sun., 2:45 p.m., 75c & \$1.20.  
**THE SHOEMAKER AND THE ELVES & RUMPELSTILTSKIN:** two plays by Children's Own Theatre, 430 6 Av. (nr. 9 St.), Sat. & Sun., 3 p.m., \$1.20-\$1.80.  
**MACY'S LITTLE THEATRE:** short movies, skits, and singing and dancing for young children in toy dept., 7 Av. & 34 St. Movies at 2:30 p.m. daily; Stage shows at 4 p.m. daily, and at 2 & 4 p.m. Sat. Free.  
**B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM,** B'klyn Av. & Park Pl., Sat. Free. Black Bear & Mailman, films, 11 a.m.  
 Story Hour 11:30 a.m.  
 Live Animal Show 1:15 p.m.  
 Gray Squirrel & Flat Boatmen of the Ohio 2 p.m.  
 Science Demonstration on Electricity 2:30 p.m.  
 Cultural History Demonstration on Life in Colonial Times 3:30 p.m.  
 Autumn on the Farm & Nothing But Air 4 p.m.

### MARCH 22-23

#### Films

**COMICS AND TRAVEL FILMS:** for children, at B'klyn Museum, Eastern P'kway, Sat., 10:30 a.m. Free.  
**REBECCA OF SUNNYBROOK FARM:** Hollywood film revival of N.Y. Historical Society, 170 Central Pk. W. (nr. 76 St.), Fun for all ages, Sat., 2 p.m., Free.  
**Plays**  
**RAGGEDY ANN AND ANDY:** children's play by Junior Theatre, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57 St. (nr. 7 Av.), Sat., 2:15 p.m., \$1.20-\$2.40.  
**THE BROKEN MIRROR:** children's play at Henry St. Playhouse, 466

Grand St., Sat., 3 p.m., 10c.  
**PETER PAN:** play by Clare Tree Major Children's Theatre, B'klyn Acad. of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. (opera house), Sat., 3 p.m. \$1.50.  
**THREE LITTLE PIGS:** marionette show at Matinee for Moppets, (under 10), at Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74 St. (bet. 1 & 2 Aves.), Sat., 2:30 p.m., 72c.  
**CINDERELLA, & THE PRINCESS AND THE GOBLINS:** by Children's Drama Guild at N.Y. Turn Hall, Lexington Av. & 85 St., Sat., 2:30 p.m., \$1.  
**ALICE IN WONDERLAND** (see March 14-15 schedule).  
**A PERETZ TRIO:** by the Jewish Theatre for Children, at Joan of Arc Playhouse, 154 W. 93 St. Short plays in English: **THE WIND ON TRIAL, THE MAGICIAN, and Wonder Tales Told by Heidy,** Sun., 2:30 p.m., \$1.20-4.80.  
**MACY'S LITTLE THEATRE** (see March 14-15).  
**MARIONETTE CIRCUS:** by Dept. of Parks Marionette Theatre, in Richmond schools. It is sometimes possible for pre-school children to attend showings in schools. RE 4-1000 for schedule.

#### Miscellaneous

**HIKE,** supervised by AYH, explore Staten Island. Older children meet at 10 a.m. on N.Y. side of Staten Island Ferry, 60c.  
**NATIONAL ANTIQUES -SHOW:** Madison Sq. Garden, 8 Av. & 50 St. Antique toys, cricous collections, etc. Sat., 1 p.m. to 11 p.m. Sun., 1 p.m. to 7 p.m. \$1.50.  
**VENUS, WORLD OF MYSTERY:** closeup projection at Hayden Planetarium, Central Pk. W. & 81 St. Sat., 11 a.m., 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8:30 p.m.; Sun. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 8:30 p.m. Adults 95c, 65c, 65c; children 40c.  
**THE CIRCLE IN WHICH WE ARE TRAPPED:** children's demonstration "of a biological problem," by Dr. Paul Brandwein, Great Hall of CCNY, Convent Av. & 139 St., 10 a.m., \$1.25.  
**CHILDREN'S CONCERT:** by N.Y. Philharmonic Symphony Orch. at Carnegie Hall, 7 Av. & 57 St. The orchestra plays "hide and seek" with musical themes. Sat., 11 a.m., 75c to \$3.  
**POLARIZED LIGHT (WITH SURPRISES):** children's science demonstration and lecture by Dr. Alexander Efron, Great Hall of CCNY, Convent Av. & 139 St., Sat., 10 a.m., \$1.25.  
**B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM:** B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., Free. Care of Pets & Planters of Colonial Virginia, films, 11 a.m. Story hour, 11:30 a.m. Live Animal Show, 1:15 p.m. Insect Zoo & New England Fishermen, films, 2 p.m. Science Demonstration on Metal and Their Ores, 2:30 p.m. Cultural History Demonstration on Houses, 3:30 p.m. Simple Machines & People of Chade, films, 4 p.m.  
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ULANOVA  
Dances in Stanley film

### WHERE TO GO

**ACA GALLERY** — 4-man show. Robert Gwathmey, Herman Rose, Joseph Solomon, Moses Sdwyer; 63 E. 57th St., Mar. 16-28.  
**ASP GRAPHIC WORKSHOP** — Photography exhibit "Around New York"; Teachers Union, 206 W. 15th St., Through Mar. 21.  
**DO IT YOURSELF SHOW** — Exhibits of tools, labor saving devices, techniques; Armory, Park Av. & 34th St., Mar. 16-22.

### Landlord is thoughtful to 4-legged parent

**KLEIN'S** Department Store in Newark, celebrating its 3rd anniversary, exhibited in its window a 32-foot Noah's Ark filled with 16 kinds of animals. Veterinarian Dr. Cameron W. Argue looked closely and predicted one of the ewes would shortly bear twins. Hundreds of city folk came to watch. Modestly the store draped a sheet over the ark's entrance, announced the public would see the baby lambs only when they were decently born and ready to take their first steps.

## OFF-BROADWAY SHOWS

### Reviews in Brief

**MONDAY'S HEROES** — First play by entertainer Les Pine, about a man who wanted to buy affection and a young writer's decision not to be bought. Well executed by a white and Negro cast. Pine's good ear for petty family squabbles keeps the audience laughing at itself. It drags in places and motivations and theme could be clearer, but the author has a real gift for entertainment and the audience loved it. (Greenwich Mews Theatre, 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri. Reservations: TR 3-4810.)

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 7th AVE. bet. 42 & 41 STS.  
 AMERICAN PREMIERE

**THEATRE REVIEWS**

**The witches' brew**

By James Aronson

**T**HIS UGLY TIME is the crucible for all of us. Hypocrisy sits in the judgment seat in the courts and the committees of Congress and a green-backed theocracy sits astride the White House. The homburg brigade rides to church in sanctimonious black Cadillacs to seek divine guidance—not to find the goodness of God, but to seek out the evil of the "Devil." The name of the Lord has become a shroud for decency's gibbet.



**WALTER HAMPDEN**  
*The Devil, in Salem*

Whatever helps to tear away the shroud helps to destroy the gallows. Such a revelation is Arthur Miller's latest play, "The Crucible," the story of the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692, in which 19 persons were condemned for consorting with Satan and hanged on the great rock overlooking Salem Bay. It is Miller's most mature work, written with a burning intellectual integrity, with the insight of a heart agonized by the malevolence of the accusers and the suffering of the accused.

It is not a "parallel" play in the accepted sense. It does not put in the mouths of the Puritans of 260 years ago the words of 1953 Americans. It is the history of the time taken from the record. The words are the words of the people who spoke them. But if it does not put into the hearts and minds of the audience the parable for our time, then the audience is stone.

That our time should so closely parallel a piece of our early history should be a most sobering thought. But it is a thought that most of the critics who sat in aisle seats on opening night tried to banish—as they would a thought from the "Devil."

It could not be, said the N.Y. Times' Brooks Atkinson: "There never were any witches. But there have been spies and traitors in recent days."

Incontestably true—there were no witches. But there were the witches' accusers who confessed their miserable delusions five years later. And there are the witches' accusers today: will they too confess five years after the "spies and traitors" have been hanged? "It's God's work we do," says Miller's judge. "There are them that swear to anything lest they hang," says Miller's victim.

**THE PURITAN LIFE:** In a time when honest theatre has been shunted into side-street meeting halls, "The Crucible" lights Broadway like a beacon. The writing is clean and sharp and spare; the acting is superb. As the Deputy-Governor Walter Hampden, with impressive brows, brings exactly the right note of unfeeling justice cloaked in piety; Arthur Kennedy and Beatrice Straight, as Elizabeth and John Proctor, accused, play with admirable restraint roles which would have gone lost in heroics. Over-all, in the lines, the acting, the direction and the sets, there is produced the atmosphere of a philosophy—Puritanism—enveloping a people. This is a notable achievement in play-writing.

There has been criticism that Miller did not clearly enough show that the trials were staged to paralyze a public that was becoming restive in the brutality of a tottering theocracy. There is room for argument there; but this observer for one felt that the conflict was strikingly developed in the course of the play, and without the jarring note of preachment.

"The Crucible" will continue at the Martin Beck as long as it is supported by serious people who love good theater and good ideas. You must see it if you can.

**THE CRUCIBLE**, a play in prologue and two acts by Arthur Miller. Presented by Kermit Bloomgarden, produced and staged by Jed Harris, scenery by Boris Aronson. At the Martin Beck Theatre, 302 W. 45th St.

**A** PLAY that does etch in sharp relief the use of the Devil for political expediency is being presented Saturday evenings through March at the Barbizon Plaza Theatre by a splendid group of actors under the banner of the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble. It is "The Devil in Boston," by Lion Feuchtwanger, and it concerns exactly the same time and the same problem as "The Crucible." It is being presented in Yiddish—but the program contains a good synopsis in English.

The emphasis of the Feuchtwanger work is the conflict between the angry-God autocracy of Cotton Mather, the most eminent Puritan clergyman of the day, and the scientific reason of his brother-in-law Thomas Colman, physician and botanist. Raging about this conflict is the storm created by the witchcraft accusations in Salem.

The play is especially refreshing if you've been appalled by the burlesque atmosphere of some of the Yiddish musical productions downtown. This is an expression of Jewish culture at its best. For those who understand Yiddish it will be a moving experience; for those who do not it will be a most rewarding adventure in bridging the language gap—which is easier than you think when the mood is sympathetic.

**THE DEVIL IN BOSTON**, a play by Lion Feuchtwanger, Yiddish by N. Buchwald. Presented by the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble. Directed by Morris Carnovsky, sets by Jerry Borgos. At the Barbizon Plaza Theatre, 56th St. and 6th Av., Sat. evs only at 8:40 through March. Tickets at Yiddish Theatre Ensemble, 189 Second Av. GRamercy 7-2312.

*And the rain was upon  
the Earth forty days  
and forty nights...*

**A**ND Eisenhower had reigned upon the land as president 40 days when the great newspapers and commentators took the occasion to mark a chapter in the new history that was being recorded.

Some were critical, some were kind; some apologetic, some apologetic. To all but a few, however, he remained the savior they expected to lead them out of the wilderness of high taxes, corruption and communism onto fertile plains where profits could soar to new highs, where the crudity of mink coats and deep freezers buying petty million dollar favors would give way to refineries capable of looting the country of billions. As to communism, the concentration camps were built, now let McCarthy, Jenner & Co. silence all who might dare lift a voice to question whether what was good for big business would necessarily be good for the people.

Stalin was still alive and the seers had idle time to formulate profundities on the state of the nation under the general and to speculate, cautiously, on the transition of power. Some wondered if perhaps things might not have been pushed a bit faster: was it necessary to wait until July for the promised tax cut? The Formosa move was universally approved, but where was the invasion of the mainland?

Dulles had hurried off to Europe to wave dollar bills under the noses of France, England, Italy and the other satellite countries, warning that new

dispensations would not be forthcoming without greater speed in the readiness for war. A fool's errand, some muttered. Cut them off, if their peoples were not half communists they were socialists, equally bad. Who needed them? Besides they were unworthy of trust, and only interested in robbing us of our wealth.

But there were actions deserving of unqualified praise, actions which indicated clearly the new president could be relied on to make the right judgments.

There had been no trifling with the Rosenbergs. Despite a bit of fumbling, Wilson was safely in the cabinet. And the cabinet as a whole, bless 'em, belonged to the right crowd. Housing, public that is, was about to be turned over to the acknowledged spokesmen for the real estate interests.

Forty days and almost 40 times 40 more ahead.

Good days in the hands of a man who could be counted on.

When Stalin died, the president-general never faltered: he officially informed the Russian officials that the official government of the U. S. had officially taken note of the fact,

Now where was that paper requiring signature to remove the last of the price ceilings?

Noah was a lucky man.

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## Children's Week-end Checklist

For boys and girls 5 to 15

### MARCH 14-15

#### Films

**FILM FESTIVAL:** for children, Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St.; Sat., 3 p.m., 10c.  
**LOUIS PASTEUR:** revival of Hollywood film with Paul Muni, American Museum of Natural History, Central Pk. W. & 79th St.; Sat., 2 p.m., Free.  
**THE MALE ANIMAL:** Hollywood film revival with sub-theme academic freedom, N.Y. Historical Society, Central Pk. W. (nr. 76 St.); For older children, Sat., 2 p.m., Free.

#### Plays

**TOM TWO ARROWS:** program of folklore of the Iroquois Indians, B'klyn Acad. of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. Sat., 2 p.m., \$1.  
**THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES:** children's story by Junior Theatre, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. (nr. 7 Av.); Sat., 2:15 p.m., \$1.80-\$2.40.  
**HANSEL & GRETEL:** Hans Mann's Children's Theater, at Barbizon Plaza Theatre, 101 W. 58 St. (nr. 6 Av.); Sat., 3 p.m., \$1.20-\$2.  
**JACK AND THE BEANSTALK:** marionettes at Matinee for Moppets (under 10) at Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74 St. (bet. 1 & 2 Aves.); Sat., 2:30 p.m., 72c.  
**ALICE IN WONDERLAND:** by Playmart Children's Theatre, at Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57 St. (nr. 7 Av.); Sat., 1 p.m. & 2:45 p.m.; Sun., 2:45 p.m., 75c & \$1.20.  
**THE SHOEMAKER AND THE ELVES & RUMPELTILTSKIN:** two plays by Children's Own Theatre, 430 6 Av. (nr. 9 St.); Sat. & Sun., 3 p.m., \$1.20-\$1.80.  
**MACY'S LITTLE THEATRE:** short movies, skits, and singing and dancing for young children in toy dept., 7 Av. & 34 St. Movies at 2:30 p.m. daily; Stage shows at 4 p.m. daily, and at 2 & 4 p.m. Sat. Free.  
**B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM,** B'klyn Av. & Park Pl., Sat. Free. Black Bear & Mailman, films, 11 a.m.  
 Story Hour 11:30 a.m.  
 Live Animal Show 1:15 p.m.  
 Gray Squirrel & Flat Boatmen of the Ohio 2 p.m.  
 Science Demonstration on Electricity 2:30 p.m.  
 Cultural History Demonstration on Life in Colonial Times 3:30 p.m.  
 Autumn on the Farm & Nothing But Air 4 p.m.

### MARCH 22-23

#### Films

**COMICS AND TRAVEL FILMS:** for children, at B'klyn Museum, Eastern Pkway, Sat., 10:30 a.m. Free.  
**REBECCA OF SUNNYBROOK FARM:** Hollywood film revival of N.Y. Historical Society, 170 Central Pk. W. (nr. 76 St.); Fun for all ages, Sat., 2 p.m., Free.  
**Plays**  
**RAGGEDY ANN AND ANDY:** children's play by Junior Theatre, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57 St. (nr. 7 Av.); Sat., 2:15 p.m., \$1.20-\$2.40.  
**THE BROKEN MIRROR:** children's play at Henry St. Playhouse, 466

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ULANOVA

Dances in Stanley film

### WHERE TO GO

**ACA GALLERY**—4-man show, Robert Gwathmey, Herman Rose, Joseph Solomon, Moses Sawyer; 63 E. 57th St., Mar. 16-28.  
**ASP GRAPHIC WORKSHOP**—Photography exhibit "Around New York"; Teachers Union, 206 W. 15th St. Through Mar. 21.  
**DO IT YOURSELF SHOW**—Exhibits of tools, labor saving devices, techniques; Armory, Park Av. & 34th St., Mar. 16-22.

### Landlord is thoughtful to 4-legged parent

**KLEIN'S** Department Store in Newark, celebrating its 3rd anniversary, exhibited in its window a 32-foot Noah's Ark filled with 16 kinds of animals. Veterinarian Dr. Cameron W. Argue looked closely and predicted one of the ewes would shortly bear twins. Hundreds of city folk came to watch. Modestly the store draped a sheet over the ark's entrance, announced the public would see the baby lambs only when they were decently born and ready to take their first steps.

## OFF-BROADWAY SHOWS

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*The Devil, in Salem*

Whatever helps to tear away the shroud helps to destroy the gallows. Such a revelation is Arthur Miller's latest play, "The Crucible," the story of the Salem witchcraft trials of 1692, in which 19 persons were condemned for consorting with Satan and hanged on the great rock overlooking Salem Bay. It is Miller's most mature work, written with a burning intellectual integrity, with the insight of a heart agonized by the malevolence of the accusers and the suffering of the accused.

It is not a "parallel" play in the accepted sense. It does not put in the mouths of the Puritans of 260 years ago the words of 1953 Americans. It is the history of the time taken from the record. The

words are the words of the people who spoke them. But if it does not put into the hearts and minds of the audience the parable for our time, then the audience is stone.

That our time should so closely parallel a piece of our early history should be a most sobering thought. But it is a thought that most of the critics who sat in aisle seats on opening night tried to banish—as they would a thought from the "Devil."

It could not be, said the N. Y. Times' Brooks Atkinson: "There never were any witches. But there have been spies and traitors in recent days."

Incontestably true—there were no witches. But there were the witches' accusers who confessed their miserable delusions five years later. And there are the witches' accusers today: will they too confess five years after the "spies and traitors" have been hanged? "It's God's work we do," says Miller's judge. "There are them that swear to anything lest they hang," says Miller's victim.

**THE PURITAN LIFE:** In a time when honest theatre has been shunted into side-street meeting halls, "The Crucible" lights Broadway like a beacon. The writing is clean and sharp and spare; the acting is superb. As the Deputy-Governor Walter Hampden, with impressive brows, brings exactly the right note of unfeeling justice cloaked in piety; Arthur Kennedy and Beatrice Straight, as Elizabeth and John Proctor, accused, play with admirable restraint roles which would have gone lost in heroics. Over-all, in the lines, the acting, the direction and the sets, there is produced the atmosphere of a philosophy—Puritanism—enveloping a people. This is a notable achievement in play-writing.

There has been criticism that Miller did not clearly enough show that the trials were staged to paralyze a public that was becoming restive in the brutality of a tottering theocracy. There is room for argument there; but this observer for one feels that the conflict was strikingly developed in the course of the play, and without the jarring note of preachment.

"The Crucible" will continue at the Martin Beck as long as it is supported by serious people who love good theater and good ideas. You must see it if you can.

**THE CRUCIBLE**, a play in prologue and two acts by Arthur Miller. Presented by Kermit Bloomgarden, produced and staged by Jed Harris, scenery by Boris Aronson. At the Martin Beck Theatre, 302 W. 45th St.

**A PLAY** that does etch in sharp relief the use of the Devil for political expediency is being presented Saturday evenings through March at the Barbizon Plaza Theatre by a splendid group of actors under the banner of the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble. It is "The Devil in Boston," by Lion Feuchtwanger, and it concerns exactly the same time and the same problem as "The Crucible." It is being presented in Yiddish—but the program contains a good synopsis in English.

The emphasis of the Feuchtwanger work is the conflict between the angry-God autocracy of Cotton Mather, the most eminent Puritan clergyman of the day, and the scientific reason of his brother-in-law Thomas Colman, physician and botanist. Raging about this conflict is the storm created by the witchcraft accusations in Salem.

The play is especially refreshing if you've been appalled by the burlesque atmosphere of some of the Yiddish musical productions downtown. This is an expression of Jewish culture at its best. For those who understand Yiddish it will be a moving experience; for those who do not it will be a most rewarding adventure in bridging the language gap—which is easier than you think when the mood is sympathetic.

**THE DEVIL IN BOSTON**, a play by Lion Feuchtwanger. Yiddish by N. Buchwald. Presented by the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble. Directed by Morris Carnovsky, sets by Jerry Borgos. At the Barbizon Plaza Theatre, 58th St. and 6th Av., Sat. eves only at 8:40 through March. Tickets at Yiddish Theatre Ensemble, 189 Second Av. GRamery 7-2312.

## And the rain was upon the Earth forty days and forty nights...

**AND** Eisenhower had reigned upon the land as president 40 days when the great newspapers and commentators took the occasion to mark a chapter in the new history that was being recorded.

Some were critical, some were kind; some apologetic, some apologetic. To all but a few, however, he remained the savior they expected to lead them out of the wilderness of high taxes, corruption and communism onto fertile plains where profits could soar to new highs, where the crudity of mink coats and deep freezers buying petty million dollar favors would give way to refineries capable of looting the country of billions. As to communism, the concentration camps were built, now let McCarthy, Jenner & Co. silence all who might dare lift a voice to question whether what was good for big business would necessarily be good for the people.

Stalin was still alive and the seers had idle time to formulate profundities on the state of the nation under the general and to speculate, cautiously, on the transition of power. Some wondered if perhaps things might not have been pushed a bit faster: was it necessary to wait until July for the promised tax cut? The Formosa move was universally approved, but where was the invasion of the mainland?

Dulles had hurried off to Europe to wave dollar bills under the noses of France, England, Italy and the other satellite countries, warning that new

dispensations would not be forthcoming without greater speed in the readiness for war. A fool's errand, some muttered. Cut them off, if their peoples were not half communists they were socialists, equally bad. Who needed them? Besides they were unworthy of trust, and only interested in robbing us of our wealth.

But there were actions deserving of unqualified praise, actions which indicated clearly the new president could be relied on to make the right judgments.

There had been no trifling with the Rosenbergs. Despite a bit of fumbling, Wilson was safely in the cabinet. And the cabinet as a whole, bless 'em, belonged to the right crowd. Housing, public that is, was about to be turned over to the acknowledged spokesmen for the real estate interests.

Forty days and almost 40 times 40 more ahead.

Good days in the hands of a man who could be counted on.

When Stalin died, the president-general never faltered: he officially informed the Russian officials that the official government of the U. S. had officially taken note of the fact,

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EMILE ZOLA IS BANNED IN BROOKLYN

The censor comes to the stationery store

**B**EN Chodosh has been running his stationery store at 2010 Av. M, Brooklyn, for 17 years. Early last month some of his regular customers stared angrily at him through the window, walked past him in the street without a word, took their business across the street. His business slumped.

The trouble began when Walter F. Loehfelm, 1043 E. 28th St., Brooklyn, chairman of the Decent Literature Committee of Our Lady Help of Christians Roman Catholic Church, walked in with a "certificate of cooperation" and a list of books he suggested Chodosh take off his shelves.

Talking about it last week, Chodosh agreed there were "a lot of books that shouldn't be printed but this isn't the proper way to handle it." He said:

"It should be done legally. Suppose the Protestants and Jews put out lists, too. I wouldn't have room in my

store for all the certificates." "NOT A BOYCOTT": Chodosh declined the certificate. The 15 other stores in the parish knuckled under. The committee and the church asked everybody to patronize stores that "cooperated." The 15 other stores and the store across the street from Chodosh's, which is outside the parish and therefore has not been approached by the committee, took some of Chodosh's business away.

Father Benack of Our Lady Help of Christians denied it was a boycott; Chodosh's store was not mentioned in church or committee statements; the campaign was routine, other churches in Ft. Hamilton and Bay Ridge had been carrying it on for years. It was designed to eliminate "obscene, filthy, suggestive works tending to corrupt morals."

The list is issued monthly by the Chicago Archdiocese Council, published by Our Sunday

Visitor Press, Huntington, Ind. Chodosh offered to drop the more objectionable comics; it failed to satisfy the committee.

**PUBLISHER PROTESTS:** The campaign affects mainly reprint books. Of all publishers concerned, Bantam Books alone spoke out openly. In full-page ads Bantam said:

A committee of visitors, taking the law into its own hands, has requested these neighborhood stores to remove "objectionable" books from sale. These self-appointed censors carry certificates to be displayed by those who conform. Store owners, faced with a loss of patronage, feel it necessary to comply.

Very few Bantam titles are included in the long list of books considered "objectionable" by the committee, but among those are major novels by Emile Zola, Budd Schulberg and John O'Hara. We note that among other publishers' books similarly attacked there is one by a recent Nobel Prize winner [William Faulkner] and another that was judged the best American novel of 1950 [The Man With The Golden Arm, by Nelson Algren. Other authors proscribed: Richard Wright, McKinlay Kantor, Willard Motley, Irwin Shaw.]

It would take years for the few stores involved to sell enough of our 25c and 35c books to repay us for the cost of this ad. You might say we could have passed this incident by. But we think the actions of self-appointed censors anywhere are a serious threat to a free press and a free country. The issue . . . is our right to publish and your right to select the books you want to read . . . in fact, everybody's right to freedom itself.



Reynolds News, London  
"The first two coming on parade, sir, they read Gangster Comics, the one in the middle reads Spaceman Comics and the other one reads either Mickey Mouse or Donald Duck — comics are driving me nuts, sir!"

The ad brought letters pro and con to Bantam. Some denounced Bantam as anti-Catholic; many said they were Catholic, agreed with the listing as a guide to Catholics but resented any move to impose the ban on others. Typical of many was the brief letter saying "Amen" and enclosing \$1 to help pay for the ad.

**HE STANDS FIRM:** At Chodosh's stationery store, too, the mood changed for a while. Many customers told Chodosh he did the right thing. Strangers came to the store, said

they went out of their way to buy papers there and show their support. For a week Chodosh sold out all the newspapers he carried.

Last week, though, the news flurry over, supporting customers no longer went out of their way to buy at Chodosh's. The glares of parishioners continue. It isn't a disastrous slump he feels it. He still refuses to hang up the certificate, thinks it's censorship and sadly feels that if he did surrender, his old-time customers who now cut him would never come back.

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**NEW YORK  
CALENDAR**

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New York

**HEAR THE PEACE MESSAGE** of the DEAN of CANTERBURY recorded especially for this occasion at THE GREAT FREEDOM RALLY celebration on Sun., March 15, 2:30 p.m., Yugoslav Hall, 408 W. 41st St. Guest Speaker: Howard Fast. All star program: Martha Schlamme, Tanya Gould, Eva Dattler. Auspices: 1948 Commemorating Committee.

**JOHN HOWARD LAWSON** in a series of lectures on "Our National Culture."

March 20—Frederick Douglass  
March 27—Walt Whitman  
April 10—Eugene Debs  
April 17—Theodore Dreiser

All Fridays, 8:30 p.m. ASP, 35 W. 84 St. Subs: series \$5, single \$1.50.

**ALP COMMUNITY CENTER**, 220 W. 80th St., presents: Sat., March 21, HOOT AT NANNY, hit the mike—don't be a Granny—despite Ike. An evening of song and dance for everybody, with People's Song artists leading the merriment, Puppets. Admission: \$1.

**SUN., MARCH 22:** G. B. S. masterpiece, "PYGMALION," with Leslie Howard, Wendy Hiller, from 7:30 continuous. Admission: 75c.

**THE PHILOCALIERS** invite humorous, sardonic and political versifiers, raconteurs and friends to an appraisal soiree and conversation, Sat., March 14, 10 p.m., at 28 W. 9th St. Contribution: 50c.

**BAZAAR FOR POLISH LABOR PRESS.** Attractive merchandises at big bargains. Program of entertainment, Sat. and Sun., March 14, 15, Polonia Club, 219 2nd Av. Doors open 2 p.m.

**FORUM, TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 8 p.m.** "Anti-Semitism in Eastern Europe and Soviet Union" Hear 3 points of view. DeLuxe Palace, 558 Howard Av., B'klyn (bet. Pitkin & Eastern P'way). Adm: 25c. Ausp.: Brownsville-East New York-Crown Heights Compass Clubs.

"THE DEVIL IN BOSTON," by Lion Feuchtwanger, presented by the Yiddish Theatre Ensemble, directed by Morris Carnovsky. Critics say: "One of the rare experiences on stage"—Show Business. "A Yiddish 'Crucible'"—Chapman, Daily News. Last 2 performances: Sat. evenings, March 14 & 26 at Barblion Plaza Theatre, 58th St. & 6th Av. For theatre parties, tickets, information call GRamercy 7-2312.

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