

Why the Big Three can't get together

By Tabitha Petran

THE news last week was that France at last had a government but Churchill was "fatigued"—so the top-level French-British-U.S. talks at Bermuda had again to be postponed, although humbler representatives of the three countries would meet in Washington in July.

Whether Churchill's "fatigue" was



Canard Enchaîné, Paris

"Is this big 2½ conference still on?"

diplomatic or real, the news highlighted the growing Western Alliance rifts. London and Paris still saw three-power talks as only a prelude to talks with Moscow; new French Premier Joseph Laniel lost no time in asserting France's desire for a four-power meeting. This was clearly the real reason why the Big Three could not get together.

For Washington has no policy for negotiation. Its answer to the socialist-world peace initiative has been to try and start a civil war in E. Germany

(see p. 4), and to let Syngman Rhee sabotage or at least delay a Korean truce. (That Peking justly charged U.S. "connivance" with Rhee was indicated by Gen. Clark's refusal to guarantee S. Korean observance of the truce and the coddling of Rhee by the President's special representative.)

All this happened to the tune of a propaganda offensive that "the break-up of the Soviet Empire" is imminent.

FACTS OF LIFE: Washington's provocations and propaganda, desperate as they have become, can neither alter nor hide the economic facts of life which lie behind them. While economic crisis develops in the capitalist, stability grows in the socialist world. Awareness grows that—as was underscored at the Intl. Chamber of Commerce's May meeting in Vienna—the socialist world is on the verge of profoundly altering the whole world-trade picture.

In U.S. propaganda, current socialist peace diplomacy stems from weakness; actually it is an expression of strengthening socialist economy as the resources of 11 nations and 800 million people are rationally integrated and developed. While the change to new property relations in E. Europe—as anywhere—inevitably spells hardships in transition, and is hampered (as Moscow's *New Times*, 5/6, concedes) by holdovers from the past and shortages of personnel and materials,

... the main thing is that the People's Democracies are developing in the right direction—toward socialism.

TRANSFORMATION: That E. Europe has "planned successfully" is documented by UN's Economic Survey of Europe Since the War (1953), which

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How many more GIs killed this week?

Our ally, President Syngman Rhee of South Korea

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE WRITES FROM PARIS

The Animals sick with rabies — a European looks at America

The following article was published in the Paris daily Liberation on June 20. Jean-Paul Sartre, who wrote it, is the most important author and playwright to emerge in France since World War II; he was the idol of Western "anti-communist liberal intellectuals" until last year when he attended the Vienna peace conference.

By Jean-Paul Sartre

THE Rosenbergs are dead and life goes on. That is what you wanted, isn't it? Only yesterday we were their comrades and you have killed them as fast as you could so that we should only be their survivors. You count on time to make us every day a little more forgetful, a little guiltier toward them to make you seem a little less cruel. Of course it will cost a little: there will be broken window panes in your embassies. But you will put in new ones and, with a little luck, the cops will shoot on the European crowds and we'll have brand new corpses all our own to turn our thoughts away from your two.

You already played that trick on us with Sacco and Vanzetti and you won. This time you won't.

ON one point you will win: we want to harm no one; the horror and contempt you awake in us we refuse to turn into hate. But you will never make us swallow that the execution of the Rosenbergs was nothing but a "regrettable incident," or even a judicial error. It was a legal lynching which smears a whole nation with blood and which once and for all lays bare the bankruptcy of the Atlantic Pact and your inability to lead the Western world.

Let me tell you what your mistake was: you believed that the murder of the Rosenbergs was a private settling of accounts. A hundred thousand voices cried out: "They are innocent." And stupidly you answered: "We

are punishing two of our citizens according to our laws. It's none of your business."

Well, now, that's just it—the Rosenberg case is our business: innocents who are sent to their death are the business of the whole world. The spokesman of the Vatican himself was saying only last Thursday: "Civilization has before it a choice on which depends its acquittal or its condemnation." Everywhere people cried out to you: "Watch out! You judge yourselves in judging them; we shall have to decide whether you are men or beasts."

DO you understand now why we begged you for a new trial? When we asked for justice for the Rosenbergs we meant also: "Make sure that your cause is just." When we begged you to spare their lives, it meant also: "Spare your own." Now that we have been made your allies, the fate of the Rosenbergs could be a preview of our own future. You, who claim to be masters of the world, had the opportunity to prove that you were first of all masters of yourselves. But if you gave in to your criminal folly, this very folly might tomorrow throw us headlong into a war of extermination. No one in Europe was duped: whether you gave life or death to the Rosenbergs was the measure of whether you were preparing for peace or world war.

There had been the sinister clowning of MacArthur, the bombings on the Yalu, McCarran's cops: each time you doublecrossed Europe and stood alone. And yet, your friends kept a small hope: if our governments were not able to get across their points of view it was because they disagreed among themselves, it was because France had not stood by England, it was because they were not backed by the people. But yesterday, it was the whole of Europe that moved as one—its masses, its priests, its cabinet ministers, its heads of state—to ask your Presi-

(Continued on Page 2)

QUATRE FONCTIONNAIRES
TIENNENT LES CLEFS DE
LA CRISE... ET DE LA CAISSE

CARREFOUR

(Voir page 3)

EUX. EN TOUT CAS, SONT INNOCENTS...



ROBERT ET MICHEL ROSENBERG

LE DOSSIER COMPLET DE L'AFFAIRE ROSENBERG

By Jean-Paul Sartre

THE ROSENBERGS ARE DEAD AND LIFE GOES ON. THAT IS WHAT YOU WANTED, ISN'T IT? ONLY YESTERDAY WE WERE THEIR COMRADES AND YOU HAVE KILLED THEM AS FAST AS YOU COULD SO THAT WE SHOULD ONLY BE THEIR SURVIVORS. YOU COUNT ON TIME TO MAKE US EVERY DAY A LITTLE MORE FORGETFUL, A LITTLE GUILTIER TOWARD THEM TO MAKE YOU SEEM A LITTLE LESS CRUEL. OF COURSE IT WILL COST A LITTLE: THERE WILL BE BROKEN WINDOW PANES IN YOUR EMBASSIES. BUT YOU WILL PUT IN NEW ONES AND, WITH A LITTLE LUCK, THE COPS WILL SHOOT ON THE EUROPEAN CROWDS AND WE'LL HAVE BRAND NEW CORPSES ALL OUR OWN TO TURN OUR THOUGHTS AWAY FROM YOUR TWO.

Don Camillo
ses ouailles

LE RETOUR DE DON CAMILLO

THEY ORDER THESE THINGS DIFFERENTLY ABROAD
A recent page one of the Gaullist (rightwing) Paris newspaper "Carrefour," with photo of Michael and Robbie Rosenberg, and complete factual account of the Rosenberg Case. The headline says: "These at least are innocent."

Let's tell the world!



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The job ahead

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
 There had been the hope of something dramatic—a Greenglass confession or breakdown. Now I firmly believe that the same forces that killed the Rosenbergs will see to it that he never sees the outside world.

There had been the hope that outside intervention would dissuade them from their course. Now I know that the world's pleas, the certainty that this was a major political mistake in U.S.-world relationships, did not count as compared to the absolute need to use the Rosenbergs to prepare a climate of fear, corruption and thought control within the U.S.

The Supreme Court has legalized murder by the government. And a good part of our population—I saw and heard them in Washington and saw them gleefully discussing the deaths in Philadelphia—have been brutalized.

There is always the other side of the coin, however.

What of the clergymen who participated in the campaign, the scientists like Einstein and Urey? Perhaps many participated solely for humanitarian reasons. But now, surely, they are in a state of profound shock and indignation. It is these people who must be kept together so that immediate reaction and action can be had in an organized manner on cases like the Rosenberg Case. E. A.

One memorial

MILWAUKEE, WIS.
 A fitting memorial to the Rosenbergs would be at least 1,000 additional pledges to the GUARDIAN. Herewith is mine. M. V. Baxter

For the children

ALGONAC, MICH.
 Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are dead, put to death by American reaction.

This savagery is the act of frightened and desperate men. Let us show our contempt for such a shameful state of affairs by keeping alive a shining memory of Ethel and Julius—by doing what they de-

How crazy can you get dept.

The [Chinese] Reds' land reform . . . has been a bloody business because the peasants had to be made class conscious. You do this by making them kill the landlords, which they did. But they ran out of landlords and began killing the next classification, rich peasants. Then the land was re-divided. How the Reds got bumper crops during this convulsion is remarkable.

—Sunday Journal-Star, Peoria, Ill., June 28.

On-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Emily Weitz, Peoria.

sired above all else, enfolded their children in our love and care and seeing to it that their material needs are adequately provided for.

A Sorrowing Citizen

Okay, St. Peter

NEW YORK, N. Y.
 Because of what your newspaper did in bringing the Rosenberg Case to light, I feel more strongly about Belfrage's persecution than about any other. Not a single U.S. newspaper has displayed so many of the combined virtues of courage, high principles and good sense as the one you have kept alive for the past five years. If you ever need a character witness before Sen. McCarthy or St. Peter, don't hesitate to call on me.

David Alman, Exec. Sec., Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.

Open anti-Semitism

PALOS VERDES, CALIF.
 The American Jewish community should, I think, take cognizance of the anti-Semitic philosophy of the small group of counter-pickets who profaned the Rosenberg sympathizers marching in front of the L. A. Federal Bldg. with such "Western-Christian" remarks as: "Today is Friday. We're going to have fried Rosenberg for Friday." Israel Cohen

In anger

FULTON, KY.
 Never before has my sense of justice been so outraged. Never have I been so angry. As tribute to the memory of Julius and Ethel, I pledge a buck a month to the Sustaining Fund of the little paper which fought so long and valiantly to save their lives. Truth shall yet prevail!

William W. Walker

Was that the cause?

LONDON, ENGLAND
 It shames everyone that there could have been such torture applied for so long to the extraordinary, indomitable Ethel Rosenberg, who with the thought of all that still lay before her—the life and love of the children—would not give in, even though there was nothing to "give in" on.

The Rosenberg office here is a tiny room up a dark flight; four people fill it; yet the whole country knew about the case and the story shared the front pages with the coronation. One, two, three more days and no one could have withstood the world pressure, could they? Was that the cause of the haste? Ella Winter

Michael and Robbie

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
 Dear Michael and Robbie:
 You are getting much mail, but I also must express my feelings to you before I can rest. The names of your parents are among the most honored and beloved in the history of mankind.

To both of you (and to my child, who I hope will have reason to feel a small part of the pride in his parents which you feel for yours) I want to say in love and friendship: Take heart, do not despair. You will yet enjoy the happiness, the brotherhood and peace for which your dear parents gave their lives. This we promise: Not for a moment will we forget, not a day will pass in idleness, until this comes to be.

Judith Duboff
 Gregory Duboff



Free Morton Sobell

NEW YORK, N. Y.
 All GUARDIAN readers know the Rosenberg Case is not closed, and I suspect that those who sent the couple to their deaths know this also.

I believe we can prove the innocence of the Rosenbergs through a successful fight to free Morton Sobell. Anna Rochester

Iceboxes and ethics

VENICE, CALIF.
 Perhaps the murder of the Rosenbergs will be the shock that will move those of us "progressives" who sit at home, feel how terrible things are getting, criticize the methods of those who are fighting and only take a stand if our standard of living is threatened, and even then timidly and anonymously. Our refrigerators are more important than our ethics.

I can't help feeling that those of us with convictions, but with leaden feet and sealed lips, have a heavy responsibility. We cried our eyes out when the deed was done and we could take no further role, but where were we until that zero hour?

A million thanks to Emanuel Bloch for his undying courage and devotion, and to the GUARDIAN for its coverage and championing of the case. Pearl Crosse

A heroic mother

NEW YORK, N. Y.
 While you are passing out bouquets to those who fought long and well for the Rosenbergs, may I add your names to the long list—not forgetting dear Mrs. Rosenberg who was likewise heroic in this struggle.

Florence Van Swaerengen

Responsibility rejected

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
 Eisenhower conveniently rejected his executive position—a serious change in our system of checks and balances. Thus he marks himself as one who reacts to factless conclusions—conclusions prematurely determined. History will not forget!

A reader

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Animals sick with rabies

(Continued from Page 1)

dent to make the simplest gesture of humanity.

We were not asking for your dollars, nor for your armaments, nor for your soldiers; only for two lives, two innocent lives.

HAVE you even understood the scope of this extraordinary truce? Class conflicts, the oldest bitternesses—all were set aside: the Rosenbergs had produced European unity. One word from you, and you too would have reaped the benefits of this unification. The whole of Europe would have honored you. You answered: "To hell with Europe." Very well. But don't come to us any more with talk of an alliance. Allies consult one another, talk matters over, make mutual concessions. If you answer "No" when all we ask you is not to dishonor yourselves to no purpose, how can we believe that you will allow us to speak out when our larger interests are at stake?

Us, your allies? Cut it out! Our governments today are your domestic servants. Tomorrow our people will be your victims. It's as simple as that. Of course you will come out with shameful excuses: your President couldn't grant clemency to the Rosenbergs, he had to lighten ballast in order to impose his will in Korea. In Korea? Whom are you kidding? He is being mocked every day there by his own generals and by old Syngman Rhee.

And what sort of country is this, whose statesmen are obliged to commit ritual murders so that they should be forgiven for stopping a war?

WE know now what kind of weight we amount to in your scales. On one side you put the world—on the other, McCarthy. When the Rosenbergs sat on the electric chair, the scales were down on the side of McCarthy.

Do you believe we are going to die for McCarthy? Bleed from every artery to give him a European Army? Do you believe we are going to defend the culture of McCarthy? The justice of McCarthy? That we shall let Europe be turned into a battlefield so that this blood-stained imbecile can burn books? Please understand this right now: Never shall we hand the leadership of the western world to the murderers of the Rosenbergs.

You say that McCarthy will pass and that you are secretly planning his downfall? So what then? Your McCarthy has millions of heads. Chop one off and a hundred will sprout.

Look—I have before me on my table a photo taken last Thursday in Washington: well-fed and well-dressed men, elegant young women, are marching by asking for the execution of the Rosenbergs. In the foreground a young and pretty girl carries a sign: "Fry them and send the bodies to Moscow."

You saw these people walk in your streets at the very moment when a man and his wife were living their last hours in prison, when two desperate children were asking in vain that their parents should be returned to them. You saw them laugh, shout, wave their signs and banners—and there wasn't one among you to go and bash their heads in. Decidedly there is something rotten in America.

DON'T tell us these are only a few excitable persons, irresponsible elements. These are the very masters of the country, for it is to them that your government has given in. Do you remember Nuremberg and your theories on collective responsibility? Well, today it applies to you. You are collectively responsible for the death of the Rosenbergs, some for having sponsored this murder, the rest for having suffered it. You have allowed America to become the cradle of a new fascism. It will be useless to explain to us that this single murder is not comparable to Hitler's mass exterminations. Fascism is not defined by the number of its victims but by the manner in which they are killed.

And why this rage unleashed against a man and a woman about to die? Why this hatred which has dumbfounded the world?

Why—because you had got the notion they wanted to take your bomb! You will not rest until you are the only ones capable of blowing up the earth. President Eisenhower counted in tens of millions the innocent victims of the Rosenbergs: each one of you feels already that he is one of the dead in the war to come. Dead people it is who asked for death, last Thursday, for the thieves of the atomic secret.

UNFORTUNATELY, when we look at you from Europe we see you neither as innocents nor as corpses. We see but two innocent corpses—your victims. As for the atomic secret, it is the fruit of your sick imaginations: science develops everywhere at the same rhythm, and the manufacture of bombs is a mere matter of industrial capacities.

By killing the Rosenbergs you have quite simply tried to halt the progress of science by human sacrifice. Magic, witch-hunts, auto-da-fes, sacrifices—we are here getting to the point: your country is sick with fear. You are afraid of everything: of the Soviets, of the Chinese, of the Europeans. You are afraid of one another, you are afraid of the shadow of your own bomb. Some allies we have!

And you want to lead the way for us! You are dragging us into war through terror—a war you would promptly lose through panic at the first bombardment. I know there are brave people in your country: the lawyer for the Rosenbergs, for instance, this very man who was saying yesterday: "I am ashamed of being an American." Justice Douglas, whom you are no doubt going to persecute. The people of the Rosenberg Committee, hundreds of thousands of others. But what can they do but head towards martyrdom?

AND then there are the masses—still basically healthy, although befuddled by you. There are the Negroes whom you oppress. And above all, there is that small voice which was stilled yesterday, yet which can be heard better than your ranting—the voice speaking these wonderful words: "We are young, and we do not want to die, but we cannot pay this price for our lives."

After all, the Rosenbergs are Americans—and if we can still have some hope, it is because your country gave birth to this man and this woman whom you have killed.

Some day, perhaps, all these people of goodwill will cure you of your fears. We hope so, for we have loved you.

Meanwhile do not be astonished if we cry out from one end of Europe to the other: Watch out! America has the rabies! Cut all the ties which bind us to her, otherwise we will in turn be bitten and run mad!



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Why the Big Three can't get together

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pointed to "this picture of achievement...":

... A revolutionary transformation of the industrial structure has been carried out; broad perspectives for expansion have been opened... The immediate programs... upon which the further expansion of production during the next decade largely depends are indeed likely to be implemented in less than the scheduled period.

The advance in socialist industrial production, steady since the war, ranged in 1952 from 11% in the U.S.S.R. to 24% in Hungary and 26% in China. The U.S.S.R. figure was down from 1951; London's *Economist* (2/14), pointing to its "impressive achievements repeated year in and year out," said the "slackening of pace" could be explained by the fact that 1952 was

... a year of preparation for further jumps ahead... the rewards for long years of investment in mechanization and the training of cadres are still to be reaped.

THE MAGNET: Output in the socialist world is already two, in some cases three, times pre-war. Volume of trade has doubled or more. Soviet machinery exports to E. Europe, for example, in-

creased ten times 1948-52. For the bulk of the people living standards are moving upward—with different classes of workers faring differently in the transition period, but "all have benefited from social insurance schemes and the provision of communal amenities" (UN Survey).

The attraction of this stable, expanding market for capitalist nations already in the first stages of recession has been seen in the UN East-West trade talks in Geneva in April, and the many resulting bilateral trade talks now going on all over Europe. The socialist world is offering to sell road-building, transportation and electrical equipment, machine tools, machinery—all items it was trying to buy four years ago; to buy textiles, cargo vessels, tankers, a variety of consumer goods—for which Britain and W. Europe desperately need a market.

The shifting world balance of forces becomes clearer in the bare 2% rate of increase in capitalist-world production in 1952. In Britain and W. Europe (except W. Germany) production stagnated or declined. Capitalist world trade slumped: W. Europe's exports dropped 12% in 1952; the U.S.'s, 7% (excluding military shipments). The decline continues in 1953.

U. S. 'disintegration' policies threaten West with crisis

The same storm signals which heralded the 1929 world depression—falling

U.S. farm prices, contracting trade, stagnation in Europe—have been flying for some time now. And at the ICC meeting in May Dr. Michael Heilperin, adviser to ICC's U.S. Council, warned of "a major economic crisis" within the next two years, adding:

"A major crisis in international payments is by no means out of the question. If it should occur, it would deal a severe body blow to surviving capitalism."

DISASTROUS POLICIES: *Business Week* (5/30) acknowledged that European businessmen think such a crisis inevitable if there is even a minor dip in U.S. business (because U.S. purchases abroad would then drop); some think the crisis will come anyway. The reason is that the policies which produced "the continued disintegration of the world payments system" since the war (UN Survey) remain in force. They are:

1. U.S. dumping of export surpluses throughout the capitalist world. (U.S. exports, 1946-52, totaled \$123 billion.)
2. Inability of other countries to compete in the U.S. home market. (U.S. imports, 1946-52, totaled \$78 billion—only 1/3 of exports.)
3. U.S.-enforced embargo on capitalist-world trade with the socialist world, which cuts off its allies from traditional markets.

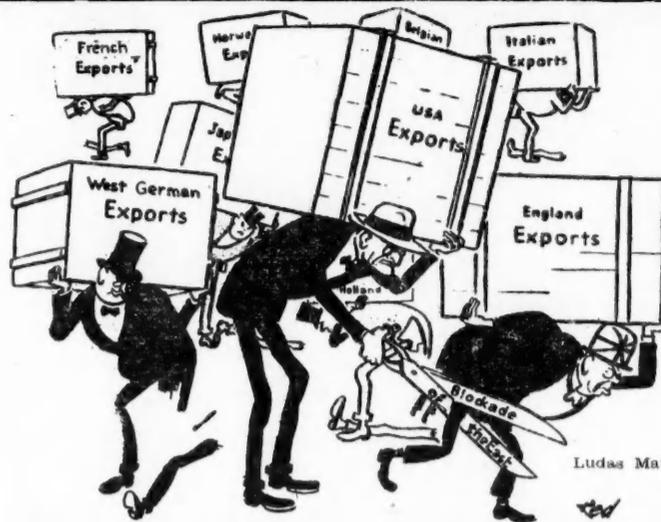
DISTORTED ECONOMIES: For W. Europe this has meant giving up trade with E. Europe—1/3 of its total pre-war trade; being forced to buy \$30 billion worth of U.S. goods, while it could sell the U.S. only \$8 billion of its own goods. The result: distorted economies and chronic trade deficits, leading countries like Britain and France to the edge of bankruptcy.

Within the framework of U.S. policies a deepening crisis cannot be avoided—as is shown by Britain, which in 1947, 1949, 1951-52 tried to overcome balance-of-payments crises by cutting imports, intensifying the export drive. But the U.S. by deliberate acts of policy—raising the prices of goods bought by Britain under the U.S. loan and Marshall Plan, compelling devaluation of the pound, etc.—constantly forced British import prices up, while export prices fell. As a result the quantity of imports bought by a given quantity of exports steadily declined; the balance achieved always proved illusory.

If prices had not moved against Britain in this way, it would have had a trade surplus of 125 million pounds in 1946-52 instead of a total trade deficit of 2 billion pounds. This was part of the price of the Anglo-U.S. alliance, which Britain sought as a means of maintaining its empire.

WASHINGTON'S PRICE: Churchill's government—dedicated to intensified colonial exploitation, now yielding 750 million pounds a year to corporations at a staggering military cost to taxpayers—proposes to "solve" its trade difficulties by making the pound "sell more"; that is, by making it convertible (exchangeable with other currencies) and hence cheaper.

A huge dollar fund would be required to back the pound's convertibility. Washington's minimum price would be British subservience to U.S. policy



Ludas Matyl, Budapest

(politically difficult for Churchill to deliver) and opening of sterling area markets to the U.S., W. Germany and Japan. But Congress is opposed; the Administration, cool. Even if convertibility were backed by a \$35 billion fund (as proposed by the London *Economist*, in contrast to the \$2 billion talked about in Washington), it would lead to an even greater decline in the quantity of imports bought by a given quantity of exports, hence deeper crisis.

Pressure still grows for big E-W trade

Meanwhile, Britain—barred from the socialist-world market by its subservience to Washington, from the U.S. market by U.S. protectionism—wages a losing battle with W. Germany, Japan and the U.S. in its traditional sterling markets. Japan, for example, sold one-third of its exports to the sterling area in 1950; more than half in 1952.

In May, Britain's trade gap widened for the fourth straight month. The Labour Party policy statement (6/16) said only "drastic socialist measures" could "prevent a catastrophe." The measures it proposed were hardly drastic: it did call for expansion of trade with the socialist world—but still within the limits of the embargo.

SCREAMING IN VAIN: Yet the pressure for big trade with the socialist world is strong and growing. An unofficial British mission is in Peking trying to negotiate a \$140 million trade exchange. This would be a big increase,



Drawing by Gabriel, London

"National Guardian, huh? I'm the National Guardian of America!"

A MINISTER ON THE BELFRAGE FIGHT

Guardian attacked for 'proclaiming liberty'

By the Rev. William Howard Melish
Pastor of Holy Trinity Episcopal Church, Brooklyn

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN might very appropriately carry at its masthead the verse cast on our Liberty Bell: "Proclaim Liberty throughout the land and to all the inhabitants thereof." To the founders of America, these words from the Book of Leviticus caught up and bound together in a single stirring phrase the patriots' whole program of establishing a free and democratic commonwealth. The **GUARDIAN** in this day is as fearlessly committed to preserving the constitutional and social principles upon which the commonwealth rests. No newspaper could have a higher objective.

Powerful groups among us have put

to work every available propaganda agency to destroy the American people's confidence in their free institutions. Because the **GUARDIAN** is "Not for Sale," these groups are determined to force it out of business. The first move is their attempt to deport its editor, Cedric Belfrage.

You and I dare not let this plan succeed. I strongly second the appeal of Emanuel Bloch, chief counsel for the Rosenbergs, to give generously to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund. I urge you to send in your contribution. I also urge you to order copies of Cedric Belfrage's "NOT FOR SALE." You will find this little leaflet most helpful for informing your friends and neighbors about the mounting threat to their freedom and happiness. Equally important with our dollars, are our efforts to spread this information.

JOHN T. McMANUS, Treasurer
Belfrage Fight-Back Fund
17 Murray Street, New York 7

Dear John McManus: Count me in on the Belfrage **FIGHT-BACK FUND**. Enclosed is my fighting contribution for \$.....

Send me copies of Cedric Belfrage's **NOT FOR SALE** (Fight-Back Fund Pamphlet No. 1). Price 10 copies, 50c; (stamps OK); 25 copies, \$1.

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Vie Nuove, Rome

"Grandma, what sharp teeth you have!" "That's nothing but communist propaganda, dear Red Ridinghood."

since British exports to China in 1952 were barely \$13 million. As Sylvia Porter reported to the N.Y. *Post* from the Vienna Conference:

Trade between the Western world and the Soviet bloc will be revived on a major scale—no matter what the U.S. State Dept. says or how loudly Sen. McCarthy screams... And if we in America do not enter the trade ourselves, our economy will be definitely weakened.

In light of the long-term underlying economic forces in both socialist and capitalist worlds, the Administration's foreign "aid" and trade proposals seem frivolous. Washington's big-business government fears the economic facts of life which—among other things—are splitting its anti-socialist alliance apart. Its military and diplomatic planners try one desperate maneuver after another to stave them off. Each maneuver leads to greater bankruptcy.

No group in the U.S. has as yet even tried to frame a program to meet these inescapable facts of life.

BEHIND THE GERMAN 'REVOLT'

Bonn is playing for high stakes

By Ursula Wassermann
GUARDIAN special correspondent

HAMBURG

"THE first world war cost six million men," said Pastor Niemöller in Berlin almost a year ago (10/7/52), "the second, 60 million. The third would bring us the peace of the grave. [The Bonn treaties] must lead to civil war and could end only in suicide."

Berlin witnessed an attempt to start the civil war June 17. Fortunately, the suicide to which it would have led has been averted. Yet people here ask: Why such desperate measures?

The answer is not simple. The Bonn regime must feel threatened, although the threat to its existence was not as

France and Italy. The delay will most certainly favor the opposition in the September elections, the campaign for which is just beginning.

In W. Germany itself, Bonn's previous claim that only the Communists opposed the Bonn treaties is being shown up as a complete bluff. Opposition comes from many quarters—the extreme right, the churches, Dr. Wirth's new party, which will fight for a united Germany, neutral and demilitarized.

HAUNTED MEN: Most significant is the Social Democrats' growing opposition to any type of military alliance. The Social Democratic Prime Minister of Hesse, Georg Zinn—who recently exposed the U.S.-financed terror outfit, Bund Deutscher Jugend, on whose lists he figured as an early candidate for liquidation—early in June asked that "... a future German government throw the treaties with the West into the wastebasket and proclaim the independence of the Federal Republic."

The spectre of such a radical change in policy haunts the men of Bonn and those who back them: it menaces their political and expansionist aims and their retrieved and newly-amassed fortunes—their own, and those of their American allies.

NAZIS' NEW TOYS: Plans for the new Luftwaffe (first detailed in Royal Air Force Flying Review, 4/53) call "for the time being" for 20 wings—about 1,400 planes and 83,000 officers and men, all commanded by former Nazi flying aces with the rank of colonel. All training aircraft and other equipment will be purchased in the U.S.

Bonn is also to be presented with the doubtful gift of atomic artillery, first units of which are to be stationed near Frankfurt and Stuttgart before the end of this year. France, Italy, Belgium, and Holland had all previously refused to permit installation of these mass-destruction weapons. News of the atomic installations coincided with the announcement that Eugene Black, pres. of the Intl. Bank of Reconstruction & Development, had arrived in Duesseldorf to begin negotiations for the dollar loan demanded by Adenauer to help Germany "rearm and expand," as the German press put it.

DREAM OF CONQUEST: Expansion is the order of the day. Minister for Trade



WHAT WEST GERMANY IS READING
Hitler, Himmler, Mussolini's love life, and so on

Erhard recently announced a giant "export offensive" which he expected to lead to a "murderous fight" with Britain. Bundestag pres. Ehlers at the recent Christian Democratic Party convention repeated the old Nazi slogan: "The conquest of the East and the Southeast remains a must for all Germans."

In the Atlas mountains of N. Africa a new "European" industry is being established which, like so many "European" organizations, was set up under U.S. auspices with German personnel. In the middle East, German concerns are similarly active. In five years W. German big business has invested \$1.5 billion abroad.

But the Bonn government has met none of its obligations; can find no money for housing, schools or social

welfare; consistently asks for international aid to absorb its so-called refugees; and always receives dollars—if not necessarily for relief purposes—whenever it raises the bogey of communism and the "danger from the East." Once that bogey ceases to work, Bonn too will cease to exist.

COUP THAT FAILED: When a genuine lessening of international tension seemed in the offing, the men of Bonn took fright, acted to kill any chance of real negotiation.

But their attempt to start a civil war, with its inherent dangers of a world war, failed. The N. Y. Times' M. S. Handler reported from Bonn (6/28) that within 24 hours of the "uprising," the Soviet authorities had "recaptured the initiative" and retained it with a policy of "flexibility and mobility."

Spontaneous demonstrators BERLIN

I watched a demonstration of alleged "East Berlin workers" and was interested, but not surprised, to see that one of the "workers" was Mr. Tom Reedy, Chief Correspondent of the American Associated Press in W. Berlin. Rowdies... were often led by young men wearing black-dyed U.S. or British battle-dress... issued to the semi-military German formations attached to the Western armies in W. Berlin.

—Eye-witness report by John Peet, British editor of Democratic German Report (6/19), on Berlin demonstrations.

KOREA

Though reports in the press give the impression that the people of S. Korea are against a cease-fire, nothing could be further from the truth. Last year, the usual price paid to a demonstrator was said to be 3,000 won (21c).

What success will Rhee have in arousing [S. Koreans] against a cease-fire? On the basis of my experience I should say very little; the people are too sick of war, and hate Rhee too much.

—J. S. Jenkins, formerly with UN Korean Reconstruction Agency, in the London New Statesman, 6/20.

immediate as that to Syngman Rhee's. But the stakes for which Bonn is playing are much higher.

BLUFF EXPOSED: Opposition to the EDC (European Defense Community) treaties has been growing steadily. Moreover, Chancellor Adenauer's government knows that, quite apart from internal opposition, there can be no hope of the EDC system coming into force this summer, thanks to the now greatly strengthened opposition in

Peace crusaders lobby in capital

THE American Peace Crusade is planning a "non-partisan, factual, community-by-community survey on the war costs and peace needs of the American people," results of which will be given to President Eisenhower, Congress and UN delegations. APC co-director Thomas Richardson so announced to the Lobby for Peace in Washington June 25, third anniversary of the Korean War.

Led by Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes of Philadelphia to Capitol Hill, the peace lobbyists representing groups in 13 states kept appointments already made with some Congressmen, waylaid others in corridors. At the day's end, in Odd Fellows Auditorium, they reported:

• "Many Congressmen," though desiring a Korean truce and realizing Great Power talks to be essential for world peace, will only take action upon pressure from "home folks";

• Individual Senators—George and Russell (Ga.), Hendrickson (N.J.), Lehman (N.Y.), Cooper (Ky.)—and Reps. Kean (N.J.), Seely-Brown (Conn.), Lanham (Ga.), Shelley

(Calif.) and Hoffman (Mich.) were "deeply disturbed" by Syngman Rhee's anti-truce behavior;

• Sen. Russell felt that since the new government of China represented the Chinese people, it would have to be present at any Great Power negotiations;

• Rep. Lanham said the U.S. should insist on Great Power talks "without waiting for further deeds

from the Soviet Union."

The session at which reports were made was opened by a Korean war vet. just two months home. A Michigan businessman whose son is a POW took a carload of "home folks" with him to the lobby. Rank-and-file members of unions in auto, steel, textiles, fur, pulp, sulphite and paper mills were among the lobbyists.

British govt. waits in Belfrage case

THE British government last week decided, for the time being at least, to take no action in behalf of Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN's British-born editor now under deportation proceedings—with accompanying restrictions—for declining to answer questions before both the Velde and McCarthy committees. The government had been called upon to state its position by both Conservative M.P. Peter Baker and Labour M.P. Tom Driberg.

This exchange took place in Commons on Tues., June 23:

Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd: Normal deportation proceedings have

been instituted by the U.S. Immigration authorities against Mr. Belfrage. A report on the case has been obtained from Her Majesty's Embassy at Washington, but no other action is at present contemplated. Mr. Belfrage is represented by an American lawyer.

Mr. Driberg: Although Mr. Belfrage has been released [on bail], is the Right Honorable and learned Gentleman aware that he is still subject to certain disabilities, such as having to report to Ellis Island? Is there any reason why a British subject should be treated like this when he has broken no law of the U.S.? Is not this merely part of Sen. McCarthy's campaign of persecution against all liberal opinion? Cannot the Right Honorable and learned Gentleman protest more vigorously?

Mr. Lloyd: At the moment deportation proceedings are taking place, and they are based on certain Acts of the U.S. government, passed by their appropriate machinery. Mr. Belfrage is to be represented at these proceedings. We must wait for the result of the proceedings before making comment.

No date for a hearing for Belfrage has yet been set.

Mail this GUARDIAN to a friend—a 2c stamp and open-end wrapper does it.



Cummings in Daily Express, London
If Syngman Rhee "goes on alone."

Libs jilt GOP, pick Halley; ALP says peace is keynote

By Elmer Bendiner

THE 1953 municipal campaign began last Sunday on the grass at Randall's Island, where American Labor Party picnickers spread their lunch baskets. Inside the stadium kids flocked about a magician or ran relays around the track under a blazing sun. Chorus-singers, folk-dancers, guitarists waited their turn.

The picnic was a quiet prelude to a rough campaign. After the magician came ALP



VITO MARCANTONIO
Who speaks for peace?

chairman Vito Marcantonio. When he spoke there were some 4,000 in the baking bleachers. He told them that three weeks earlier he had predicted a settlement in Korea; the picnic-festival was to celebrate the coming of peace as well as a send-off for the campaign.

NO CELEBRATION: Instead, Marcantonio said, the "end is being postponed every day." The rally had to demand peace instead of celebrating it.

"The crooked tyrant, Syngman Rhee, wants to fight. All right. Let's take our boys out of Korea and let him try to fight."

He recalled that the ALP was the only national political party to oppose the war when it began; the only one still fighting for peace. Discussing the 1953 questions of peace, civic welfare and an end to Jim Crow, he leveled his fire equally at Gov. Dewey, Mayor Impellitteri and Council Pres. Halley.

LESSER EVILS: Dewey (or the candidate he might name) and Impellitteri were obvious opponents. Marcantonio saw Halley as a possible "lesser evil" trap and reminded his audience that Adlai Stevenson, 1952's "lesser evil," was "embracing Chiang Kai-shek and every dictator in South-East Asia." He said that any progressive who "lends support to slick and slippery Halley is double-crossing the people of the City of New York."

He charged Halley with favoring the Transit Authority in its early stages though he knew it would lead to a fare rise (which he later opposed); endorsing the licensing and fingerprinting of dock workers; failing to buck the city's real estate interests; honoring Schools Supt. William Jansen who has a long witch-hunting record.

The ALP is to pick its slate later this month.

The campaign was in a formative stage. Labor had not yet

focused on a candidate. The polls showed a trend away from the two old parties with Halley reaping the major benefits. That trend stirred progressives and offered a problem to king-makers and deal-makers in Republican, Liberal and Democratic camps. On Tuesday the situation gelled.

Liberals say 'Halley or nothing'

Throughout the afternoon the deal-makers of the Republican and Liberal parties and the Citizens' Non-Partisan Committee met at the Bar Assn. Bldg., 42 W. 44th St., Manhattan. The jockeying had taken a new turn. The Liberals earlier had indicated a willingness to dump Halley and join the GOP behind Cong. Jacob K. Javits (R). GOP bosses were cool. Then the straw polls showed Halley's vote-getting ability and the GOP took its turn at wooing the Liberals. GOP leaders offered Javits as a coalition candidate but the Liberals in the meantime had turned frosty and insisted on Halley or nothing.

It was clear there would be no merger when David Dubinsky of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, Halley's champion, stalked out of the afternoon meeting after the first hour.

COOL ON JAVITS: On Tuesday evening the Liberal Party held an extraordinary city-wide convention at the Statler Hotel. The leaders went through motions of submitting the GOP Javits proposition, but all recorded themselves in opposition to it; all endorsed Halley.

Even chairman A. A. Berle, who had been most enthusiastic about a coalition behind Javits, said that the Congressman had refused to cut himself loose from GOP ties (a possibility never suggested by Berle previously) and had thus dashed Liberal hopes for a "non-partisan" administration.

HALLEY REPERCUSSIONS: The convention unanimously endorsed Halley as the Liberal candidate. The action has no legal standing, but it makes Halley's nomination virtually certain. It was certain Halley would get no other major party designation.

Though he is an enrolled Democrat and might enter that party's primaries, Halley is too unpopular with the party's machine to stand any chance. In the past Liberals have combined with Democrats as well as Republicans, but with Halley they would have to go it alone.

The Liberal Party action had repercussions in all other parties. Javits, who on Tuesday seemed likeliest to get the GOP nod, had lost one of his major qualifications (Liberal backing); GOP bosses were reconsidering the field.

DEALS, ETC.: There was talk of a deal by which the GOP, instead of joining a coalition to defeat the Democrats, might join the Democrats behind Dist. Atty Frank Hogan to defeat the Liberals. It seemed more likely that each party would go its own way. Among the Democrats, Halley's entry into the race boosted the stock of "liberal" candidates Frank-

lin D. Roosevelt Jr. (still cordially declining to run) and Averell Harriman as likeliest to beat Halley. (Straw polls were kind to FDR Jr. as well as Halley.)

Other Democratic possibilities are Mayor Impellitteri (who threatens to run as an independent if he doesn't get the party label), Manhattan Borough Pres. Robert F. Wagner, and Brooklyn Judge Samuel Liebowitz, already running as a City Fusion candidate.

None of the parties except ALP has yet paid any attention to program or platform. The discussion was all on vote-getting, patronage-dividing strategy. On that front the lines were so fluid that Brooklyn's Abe Stark, former City Commerce Commissioner, had himself picked at a meeting of "The Friends of Abe Stark Committee" as a candidate for any office by any party.



FREE LABOR—WITH A LICENSE TAG
The waterfront is Dewey-ized. Only those okayed by the Governor can work.

Dewey ties N. Y. dock workers in straitjacket worse than T-H

A TWO-DAY, hit-and-run special session of the Legislature last week strait-jacketed New York's waterfront workers into a labor code requiring licensing of every man on the docks, and outright political control of all hiring. Though the measures had grim implications for all U.S. labor, neither AFL nor CIO, leaders acted to block the legislation. AFL pres. Meany and CIO pres. Reuther had both sailed for Europe, apparently untroubled; local labor officials made no effort to lobby against it.

Months ago CIO state officials had promised to map a strategy well in advance of the session. If they met, they made no formal statement of opposition. The Democratic minority in the Legislature felt pressure only from the American Labor Party which sought unsuccessfully to be heard up to the last minute. (Opposition from the AFL Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. leaders, with their own axes to grind, was discounted.)

NOTHING WAS HEARD: There was not one dissenting vote in House or Senate. No city official, no mayoralty candidate now in the running, no major political party except the ALP, spoke out against the measures, which shackle waterfront labor far more tightly and more openly than Taft-Hartley or any other existing legislation. This is what the new law does:

- Establishes a commissioner, to be appointed by the Governor. Working closely with a similar commissioner appointed by the Governor of New Jersey, he would register and license longshoremen, stevedores, pier watchmen. Though ostensibly on the watch against criminal elements, he could deny licenses to any worker he felt might "constitute a danger to public peace or safety." The commissioner is also empowered to bar from work anyone connected with a group that "advocates the desirability of overthrowing or destroying

the government of the U.S. by force and violence."

- Abolishes the shape-up system of hiring, but substitutes for it a state-operated hiring hall that may supplant corrupt union bosses with politicians.

- Outlaws public loaders, stevedoring arrangements for transferring cargo from the piers to trucks.

- Forbids any waterfront local to collect dues as long as it maintains an officer or agent who has committed a felony



THOMAS DEWEY
Tag, you're it.

and has not been pardoned or awarded a good-conduct certificate. (While this provision may disrupt some racketeering combines, it enables the authorities to choose the ex-convicts they want to retain and in any case rules out control of the union by its members.)

FRAIL MISGIVINGS: The only opposition from the Democrats came in the form of an amendment expanding the commission to five each from N. Y. and N. J., putting off the effective date by 90 days to allow the AFL a chance to clean house in the ILA.

Senate minority leader F. J. Mahoney (Manhattan) expressed misgivings that the law might set a pattern to hog-tie other sections of labor, but in the end he cast his vote for it. Sen. John F. Furey (D-

B'klyn.), who has a waterfront constituency, feared a strike by Dec. 1 when the state is to take over hiring procedures; but he too, voted with the GOP.

AN ALTERNATIVE: In opposing the legislation the ALP offered its own waterfront program: no licensing, fingerprinting or screening; abolish the shape-up; no bi-state commission "which would impose company unionism, interfere with the basic rights of labor to regulate its own affairs"; leave creation of a new hiring system to union-employer collective bargaining; end waterfront discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans; set up a special grand jury and prosecutor to probe tie-ups between underworld and big business on the docks.

In their two days of work the legislators also rushed through legislation to facilitate transfer of N. Y. City's transit system to an Authority committed to a fare increase; strengthen the Governor's authority over municipal officials; regulate granting of immunity to witnesses who plead the Fifth Amendment; establish an office of "Commissioner of Investigations," to be appointed by the Governor and empowered to investigate whatever or whom-ever the Governor designates.

JUST FOR RECORD: There were scattered votes from both major parties in opposition.

Shortly after the session opened, the Democrats proposed additional items on the agenda to "wipe out the \$200,000,000 in rent increases" and "block plans" to raise the fare. The proposals were designed for the record; once offered and rejected, the Democrats dropped all resistance.

Earlier the ALP, Teachers Union and housing committees offered a series of emergency items to be enacted during the special session including aid to education and rent control. But the Governor wrote his own ticket.

How some people live in our fair city



HARDY PERENNIAL

Even on a rotting stairway some kids bloom.

The Travelers Hotel, 366 W. 23d St., Manhattan, has long since ceased business as a hotel, though it still keeps its battered shingle. The travelers who stop there are not tourists. Its ancient stairways creak; its floors are pock-marked with holes where rats nestle; the plaster peels off its walls. It is "home" for 100 or more New Yorkers.

They live in "furnished" rooms—generally one family to a room. The place is owned by John Stames, who runs the American Bar and Grill on the ground floor.

A stench hits the visitor when he pushes open the door; it comes from toilets out of repair. Each toilet is shared by five families; most plumbing maintenance is up to the tenants.

EIGHT BY FIFTEEN: On the top floor rear there is a room with an open door. It is almost always open because there is no room in which to swing it shut. The room is 15 feet by 8 feet. A bed occupies half of



THIS IS HOME

Mrs. Rosa Viruet and six of her children live in this one room, fight to keep together. Mother and daughter sleep on the floor. The kitchen is a hot plate and the door is always open because there is no room to swing it shut.

it. A table with an electric hot plate on it serves as a kitchen. There is a chest of drawers, a folding cot and nothing more. One window looks out on the courtyard.

The room is the home of Mrs. Rosa Viruet and six of her children. Five share the bed and the cot. Mrs. Viruet and her eldest daughter sleep on a mattress on the floor. For three months recently they went without electricity and lit their room with a vigil lamp. Their rent is \$15 a week, more than \$60 a month.

Two other daughters are being cared for by a Catholic institution, though Mrs. Viruet has repeatedly demanded their return. One son is sheltered elsewhere with Mr. Viruet who, with a badly injured arm, is completely incapacitated.

NINETEEN COPS: The Travelers Hotel is the Viruets' most recent stop in a long journey from Puerto Rico. What seemed like disaster caught up with the Viruets Oct. 24, 1952, when Mr. Viruet's bad arm left his family without funds and the rent bills piling up. On that day 19 policemen came to evict the Viruets from their apartment at 307 East 48th St., Manhattan. Mrs. Viruet, having no other place to go, refused to move. They carried her, with-

out shoes and her clothes half off, to the police station, charged the frail but fiercely battling mother with assault against the 19 cops.

On the precinct station floor she gathered the littlest children about her, told them to ignore the police and calmly played with them. Then she began a long, patient, fierce battle to keep her family together and win their right to shelter. The red tape around public welfare relief is long.

ALP STEPS IN: She fought on emphatically but alone until the American Labor Party took up the fight, unraveled or cut through the tape, took the case to the Mayor, won a measure of relief. That dole plus what friends can do (the Spanish-language monthly *Vida Hispana* stirred support for the Viruets from its readers) has barely kept them going.

The Viruet neighbors have not shared her battles with police and welfare officials. They work regularly, earn little, can find no better shelter in the city. On the same floor with the Viruets, Celina Rodriguez and her five-year-old daughters share a dimly-lighted room measuring 10 feet by six. (Rent: \$6 a week.) Down

the hall Francisco Roldan del Valle, his wife and eight children share another room at \$15 a week. The water comes through the ceiling when it rains.

HOME SWEET CELLAR: Residents of the Travelers Hotel were not at the bottom of the housing ladder. Last week the Board of Health held a public hearing on the problem of the 15,000 "unlawful cellar occupancies." The N. Y. Times (6/23) reported:

"Speaker after speaker at the hearing at the Dept. of Health opposed the idea that anybody should go on living in cellars here, but acknowledged that in view of the housing shortage, a cellar might be better than no home at all."

The department proposed to allow the cellars to be occupied at least until July 1, 1955.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

THE UPRISING IN EASTERN GERMANY. Speaker: George Clarke, Marxist writer and lecturer. Wed., July 8, 8 p.m., Adelphi Hall, 75 Fifth Av., corner 14th St. Questions and discussion. Aisp: Socialist Workers Party. Contribution: 35c.

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The cartel, by its acts, expresses the belief that the profit of the earth is for the stockholders and for its own system of power. Cartels, penetrate and out cross the lives of men, women and children, on every level, in every home, and in every profession, avocation and recreation. The way things are going they would be charging us next for the air we breathe. The cartels haven't managed that yet, but they do charge us for some of the air we have breathed. We must root out the cartels "lock, stock and barrel; hair, skin and bones." Detroit Auto Worker



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"The press is a mill that grinds all that is put into its hopper. Fill the hopper with poisoned grain and it will grind it to meal, but there is death in the bread."—WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT.

"THIS COUNTRY IS KILLING ME"

The Negro people and the Rosenbergs

By Eugene Gordon

AS the hour for the Rosenbergs' execution approached on June 19, the narrow gorge of E. 17th St. re-echoed applause at the declaration of Rev. Harold Williamson, pastor of the Church of the Rugged Cross, that he would be "less than a minister, less than a man" if he did not fight for the progressive Jewish couple in Sing Sing.

Mrs. Bessie Mitchell implied that she and Rev. Williamson would be less than Negroes, too, if they had not seen in the Rosenbergs' ordeal a reflection of the Negro people's. Mrs. Mitchell's brother, Collis English, died in jail last January after his long ordeal as one of the Trenton Six. At the fatal hour of 8 p.m. her agonized cry rose up from the 17th St. mass meeting: "This country is killing me!"

MINISTERS STOOD UP: The minister's words told both his and his followers' thoughts. A white churchman who wrote to thousands of ministers on the Rosenbergs' behalf reports that cooperative responses from Negro ministers formed a high percentage of the total response. The Negro masses have traditionally looked to their ministers for leadership; and, since this ministry depends more directly upon its followers for its livelihood than is true of any other Negro leadership, it more faithfully reflects the people's will. If thousands of Negro ministers saw the true meaning of the Rosenberg persecution and Rosenberg martyrdom, millions in their congregations must have understood.

Negro Methodist bishops such as W. J. Walls and Frederick Jordan, with mandates from their congregations to keep contact with Methodist missionaries in S. Africa, know from experience with the neo-fascist Malan government the deeper meaning of their own government's action in the Rosenberg case. These Negro leaders are considered "subversive" in S. Africa, and in certain circles at home, because they not only understand but fight against the causes of oppression.

"ANOTHER BARRIER LOST": The Pittsburgh Courier, conservative Negro weekly, whose editorial policy in the Rosenberg case paralleled the Hearst



and Scripps-Howard chains, admitted June 13 that "thousands of Negroes have joined the cries for clemency... [Negro] Baptist ministers of Washington, Chicago, Camden, San Francisco, along with Mary Church Terrell, have joined in the pleas."

These leaders reflected the understanding of countless ordinary Negro Americans that, while "this country is killing" them—and has been for more than 300 years—its execution of the Rosenbergs signifies an extension of the killings to the Negroes' friends. They see this as a threat of terrible danger.

A Negro, Rev. Dr. Daniel Rideout, was among the clergymen's delegation to Eisenhower three days before the execution. Hundreds of neighborhood Negro men and women stood in 17th St. on that last Friday; thousands passed the biers Saturday and Sunday for a last tribute. It was a Negro woman delegate to last November's Natl. Negro Labor Council Convention who said:

"If they are killed, we Negro workers will have lost another barrier between ourselves and

the growing fascist menace."

LABOR'S SILENCE: Some of the earliest, best-organized and most effective leadership in the fight came from Negro trade unionists like William R. Hood of Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers; Coleman A. Young, Natl. Negro Labor Council; Asbury Howard, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and Mrs. Vicki Garvin, formerly of Dist. 65, New York. But these are labor leaders who have been under fire as "subversive"; Negro leaders in the CIO and AFL like Willard Townsend and A. Philip Randolph were as hostile or as silent as the white leadership to which they owe allegiance.

Christian ministers, rather than union leaders, expressed the Negro majority's feeling mainly because more working men and women are organized in Negro churches than in trade unions. Race hatred, which has kept them out of most unions until recently, once kept them out of the church—so they organized their own.

"NO ANGLE": The reason for the almost total lack of sympathy and understanding in the Rosenberg case by the Negro press—on the whole, a wealthy press—was implied by G. James Fleming of the N. Y. Amsterdam News. His paper had "not found any angle" linking the case to the Negro question. He told the GUARDIAN:

"Editorial writers don't usually take up matters with which they are not directly concerned, especially when they don't have to."

Did not he and other Negro editors realize that the Rosenberg killing represented a stage in our society's development approaching Germany's under Hitler? On that he had nothing to say; most of his readers, however, not only realize it but are ready to do something about it. To white progressives they say this:

"If you had fought harder to stop the official murders of Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, Raleigh Speller and Clyde Brown, the government would have found it harder to murder Julius and Ethel Rosenberg."

Movie Suggestions

Special

CLUB CINEMA—(closed July 3-5); Quartet, July 10-12, 9:15 p.m. Open for socializing from 8 p.m.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Films of Ernst Lubitsch series. Gypsy Blood (Carmen, 1918) & Passion (Mme. Du Barry, 1919), both with Pola Negri, June 29-July 5.

The Marriage Circle (Lubitsch, 1924) "Introduction of sophisticated moral values into American film." July 6-12.

THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL, 95th & B'way, AC 2-3370.

The Miracle & God Needs Men (Fr.), Sat., July 4.

Rashomon & Leonardo Da Vinci, Sun. & Mon., July 5-6.

Gigi & Sacha Guitry's Nine Bachelors (both Fr.), Tues., July 7.

Kretzner Sonata (Tolstoy's story. Beethoven's music & Tragic Hunt (It.), Wed., July 8.

Eisenstein's Alexander Nevsky & Chapayev (both Russ.), Thurs., July 9.

Magnani in Open City & Paisan (both It., Rossellini, dir.), Fri., July 10.

Midtown

SADKO—(Russ.) based on Rimsky-Korsakoff opera, in color. Stanley, 7th Av. & 42d St.

TONIGHT AT 8:30—(Br.) composite of 3 Noel Coward plays. Baronet, 3d Av. at 59th St.

FANEAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philippe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

BELLISSIMA—with Anna Magnani, the Italian movie industry satirizes itself. Trans-Lux, 60th St. & Madison Av.

JULIUS CAESAR—Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Manhattan

APOLLO, 223 W. 42 St. Marie Dupont & Symphonie Pastorale (both Fr.), thru July 8.

ART, 26 E. 8th St. Vivian Romance in Carmen (Fr.) & My Sister Ellen (reissue), July 3-9.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. Miss Robin Hood (Br. with Margaret Rutherford). Cont.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. at 50th. Brave Bulls & Dead of Night, thru July

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse Gentlemen's Agreement & Snake Pit, thru July 6; Justice Is Done & Visit to Picasso, July 7-13.

DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. Promoter & Island Rescue, July 5-7.

CREST, 1145 Ogden Av. Moulin Rouge, July 10-14.

Events for Children

JULY 6-12

Films

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. PYGMIES OF AFRICA & MATUSSI, Wed., July 8, 3:30 p.m. Free.

BROADWAY THEATER, B'way & 49th St. PLUTO'S PARTY; HIGH SCHOOL HYJINKS; WATER RODEO. Wed. thru Fri., July 8-10.

TRAVEL FILMS: The Brooklyn Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Mondays & Wednesdays, 2 p.m. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. ROUND SO. AMERICA BY AIR, a film in color. Wed., July 8, 11 a.m. & 2 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Short documentary films, beginning July 11. Mon. thru. Fri., 11 a.m., 2 & 4 p.m.

Miscellaneous

MARIONETTE PERFORMANCES: Dept. of Parks. Free.

RICHMOND WESTERLEIGH PK., Maine & Neal Dow Avs., Westerleigh, Mon., July 6, 2:30 p.m.

SAND LANE PLAYGROUND, Sand Lane & Major Av., So. Beach, Tues., July 7, 11 a.m., P.S. 14 PLAYGROUND, Stapleton, Tues., July 7, 2:30 p.m.

CONFERENCE HOUSE, 7455 Hylan Blvd., Tottenville, Wed., July 8, 11 a.m.

MT. LORETTO, Pleasant Plains, Wed., July 8, 2 p.m.

CLOVE LAKES PARK, Clove Rd. & Victory Blvd., Thurs., July 9, 11 a.m.

TAPPEN PARK, Canal & Wright Sts., Stapleton, Thurs., July 9, 2:30 p.m.

MARKHAM HOUSES PLAYGROUND, Richmond Terr. & B'way, W. Brighton, Fri., July 10, 11 a.m.

TODT HILL HOUSES PLAYGROUND, LaGuardia Av. & Manor Rd., Castleton Corners.

BIKE TRIPS: American Youth Hostel leadership.

Sat., July 11: Fire Island, approx. 60 mile round trip. Meet 8:30 a.m. at Sunrise Hwy. & Woodhaven Blvd. \$1.25.

Sat., July 11: Rye Beach, swimming. Meet 8:45 a.m. at Columbus Circle or 9:45 a.m. at Moshulu Pkwy. & Grand Conc. Sun., July 12: Glen Island. Meet 9 a.m. at Columbus Circle, or 10 a.m. at 149th St. & Bruckner Blvd.

Sun., July 12: Staten Island. Meet 9:30 a.m. at Park Circle, B'klyn, or 10:30 a.m. Boro Hall.

HIKE: American Youth Hostel, leadership. Moderate hike to Harriman State Park and swimming. Sun., July 13. Meet 8:25 a.m., Chambers St. Erie Ferry, \$1.90.

STORY HOUR: FAIRY STORIES will be told by Janet Pinney on Thurs., July 9, 2 p.m. Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. **LIVE ANIMAL SHOW**, Tues., July 6, 1:15 p.m. **CULTURAL HISTORY DEMONST.**, Thurs., July 9, 1:15.

WE SUGGEST: Clip and save your Events for Children for a week. Most events are listed two weeks in advance to permit parents and children to plan their time together.

WNYC offers 10-day course in French

Beginning July 5, Station WNYC will offer a ten-day home course in French using the Armed Forces conversational method of instruction. Programs, presented with the aid of the N. Y. Public Library, are at 2 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

Where to Go

BURLAP SUMMER THEATER—2 one-acters, Soul Gone Home, by Langston Hughes, and The Other Foot, by Julian Mayfield, and variety artists Isabel Sandford and Richard Ward; produced by Maxwell Glanville. Club Baron, 437 Lenox Av. Reserv. UN 4-4002. Admission: voluntary cont. Opens Thurs., July 9. Perfs. Thurs. thru Sun. eves.

THEATRE DE LYS—Eves. except Mon. 8:30 p.m. Sun. mat. WA 4-8782. The Little Clay Cart, translation of a Hindu fantasy, with Sono Osato, to July 5. 121 Christopher St.

NEW YORKERS LIVE HERE—amateur photo exhibit of N. Y. housing. Museum of City of New York, 5th Av. at 103d St. Free. Thru July 8.

VOLPONE—1st N. Y. perf. of opera by George Antheil based on Ben Jonson satire. Punch Opera, Cherry Lane Theater, 38 Commerce St. Eves. Wed. thru Sun. Opens Tues., July 7.

STADIUM CONCERTS—Music under the stars at Lewisohn Stadium, Amsterdam Av. bet. 136-138 Sts. \$1.20 for chairs, others seats from 30c. 8:30 p.m. Tickets AD 4-5800, CI 7-5534.

Sat., July 4: Roberta Peters, Kostelanetz conducting, light popular music.

For the future

NEW YORK, N. Y. I knew them only through your paper. To keep the fight going so that there will not be such another travesty upon Justice, I enclose \$5.

Mark of Cain

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. The pack, calculating with the brains of jackals, probably thought that after undergoing the ordeal of living through her husband's murder, and then knowing that that electric chair was being readied for her, being a woman, Ethel was the more likely of the two to become hysterical and break. They no doubt figured in those brains, frenzied by greed and anti-Semitism, that she might, in the shadow of the electric chair, accept their terms of life or die. Well, they both chose death! Since "The truth does not change" they gave no out to the jackals who will forever live now with the mark of Cain upon them. Jane Seymour

Mon., July 6: All-Tchaikowsky program, Monteux conducting, French pianist Monique de la Bruchollerie.

Tues., July 7: All-orchestral, Monteux conducting.

Wed., July 8: Monteux conducting, piano soloist Henri Deering.

Thurs., July 9: All-Beethoven, Monteux conducting, Mischa Elman, violin soloist.

Sat., July 11: Kostelanetz conducting, Alec Templeton, piano.

CLOSED JULY 3-5.
JULY 10-12: QUARTET
Somerset Maugham introduces four of his typically urbane and ironic short stories. Mal Zetterling, Basil Radford and Cecil Parker are featured. AIR COOLED.

FR., SAT., SUN. CONTINUOUS SHOWS FROM 8:30
FOOD FUN FILM
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MUSIC BY RIMSKY-KORSKOFF
A NEW MAGICOLOR MASTERPIECE
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Like this week's GUARDIAN? Mail it to a friend. Use 2c stamp and an unsealed envelope.

How they cooled off the book-burners in San Antonio--no 'H' in McCarty

MRS. JAMES H. HANCE, who organized the San Antonio Minute Women, explored her city's library recently and marked 600 volumes to be purged.

These included: Albert Einstein's *Theory of Relativity*, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, (illustrated by Rockwell Kent), Louis Untermeyer's *Treasury of American and British Poetry*, Dorothy Field Fisher's *Fables For Parents*, Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain* and *Joseph In Egypt*, Allan Lomax's *Collection of American Folk Songs*, Norbert Wiener's *Cybernetics*. Also proscribed were works by Dorothy Parker, Norman Corwin, Harlow Shapley and Louis Adamic.

Mayor Jack White (whose wife is a Minute Woman) and acting City Manager Wylie Johnson looked over the list and at first proposed making a public bonfire of them. Johnson explained: "I'm against anything destructive or demoralizing."

UN-MINUTE ACTIVITIES: Mrs. Hance charged that most—though not all—of the books on her list were subversive, by subversive writers or illustrated by subversive artists. The *N. Y. Times* (6/8) commented editorially:

... perhaps the authors of the condemned books "are just charged with not being Minute Women. . . . Among the enemies of democracy are not only those who plot against it; there are also those who make it ridiculous.

The bonfire proposal shocked San Antonio. As protest grew Mayor White suggested the condemned books be branded "Communist" instead of burned so readers' fingers would be scorched as they picked them up.

The city seemed unwilling to accept the brand. Some 75 people gathered at the Jefferson Methodist Church, agreed on the slogan:

"Stand up for freedom. Stop the book burners and branders."

SMOKE OR MENACE? Former Congressman Maury Maverick said:

"San Antonio faces an extremely serious situation. We can't tell whether what's happened in the past few days has been a great tragedy or a great comedy. If you will look into the history of the Nazis, you will find



CATHERINE McCARTY
Youth led the way

they started by burning books. . . . When you burn a book, it shows you are a coward. That shows you are afraid to get educated."

Catherine McCarty, Jefferson High School senior (Mrs. Hance was last reported going through the H. S. library) helping spark the "anti-book-burners' committee," told the meeting:

"The whole thing is ridiculous. We students regard the adults as very warped in this. We all hate communism. We should not get hysterical. We should not burn books."

CHLOROPHYLLIZED: City Hall reported it was swamped by mail pro and anti-bonfire. The San Antonio sections of the League of Women Voters and Natl. Council of Jewish Women filed their protests.

Bill Reddell, columnist for the San

Last Will & Testament of Julius Rosenberg

(Identical Will and Testament of Ethel Rosenberg)

JULIUS ROSENBERG being of sound mind hereby attests this is my final will and testament.

That all my worldly possessions be left to my children Michael Allen Rosenberg and Robert Harry Rosenberg, and that any and all monies due or that may come due or that may accrue to my estate shall become part and parcel of this bequest.

That Emanuel H. Bloch of 401 Broadway, New York City, shall be appointed the sole administrator of my entire estate and to act as such without bond. It is my specific will and request that Emanuel H. Bloch of 401 Broadway, New York City, be appointed as sole guardian of my two sons Michael and Robert, and be appointed without bond.

Signed this 19th day of June in 1953,
Julius Rosenberg.

Why courage is contagious

COURAGE IS CONTAGIOUS (*The Bill of Rights vs. The Un-American Activities Committee*). Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms (Rev. A. A. Heist, chairman), 6340 Stafford Av., Huntington Park, Los Angeles, Calif. 15c; in orders of 100 or more 10c.

THIS 32-page booklet, recording how a group of Americans in Los Angeles "acted in the tradition of our Founding Fathers to preserve our liberties" during the invasion of L. A. in 1952 by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, packs more dynamite than anything yet published in this civil war between the American people and the repression arm of Congress.

Lawyers, doctors, film folk, housewives and others literally hustled the Committee out of town after two days of a scheduled two week stay. This pamphlet tells how they did it, and why—and most importantly, sets forth the tactics used for the guidance of other communities and groups who may have the opportunity to confront

the Committee.

Especially urgent reading is the chapter entitled "For the Innocent," pp. 13-18, which sets forth with the greatest clarity possible the importance and correctness of the use of the Fifth



Amendment for its true Constitutional purpose of protecting innocent persons from inquisitors.

Every community should have a supply of "Courage is Contagious," if only to pass around among people who are encouraged by press and government to mistrust those using the Fifth Amendment for self-protection.—J. T. M.

Antonio Express, wrote (5/19):

It's a timorous columnist you're reading after this morning, what with "The Stamp" and "The Fire" being flaunted about by the leaders of the town. Very diligently I have combed my possessions, I have thrown away my Red pencil, my Red flannels, even my youngster's little Red wagon. Currently I'm concentrating on a way to make my eyes turn green when they are bloodshot. There ain't a red corpuscle left in my body. I've soaked 'em in chlorophyll.

A NEW TWIST: The City Council

must soon decide whether to staff its library board with book burners. The present board, up for reappointment, are anti-burners.

A declaration of the anti-burners pledges them to defend:

... freedom of religion, thought, press and publication, assembly, individual liberty, dissemination of information and promotion of the American sense of humor.

They call their organization: "The American Activities Committee."

Barrows Dunham helps Mrs. Isaiah Nixon answer some questions

By Cedric Belfrage

BARROWS DUNHAM is the popular Temple University philosophy professor who in his first book, *Man Against Myth*, overthrew modern American mythology by the force of his argument; and who in a recent Velde Un-American Activities Committee hearing set a new record for total number of witch-hunters' questions answered—three. The barren Dunham inquisition had a heartening aftermath when his students refused to accept any substitute following his suspension.

His new and more positive book, *Giant in Chains*, is the result of a four-year labor to show the moderately well-read American that "all the main problems of philosophy are involved in the simplest acts of personal and social life"—and that philosophers should do something to help Mrs. Isaiah Nixon of Georgia or shut up Mrs. Nixon, Negro mother of six, saw her husband murdered in cold blood in 1948 because he exercised his legal privilege of voting. She then posed the 364 philosophy question:

"I wish I could explain just why and know just why we have such a hard time in this part of the country."

FOSSILS—& WHY: "This part

of the country," says Dunham, "is anywhere in the world that times and lives are hard." And Mrs. Nixon will care little about the philosophers' explanations



BARROWS DUNHAM
Was Bill Klem right?

unless they start from these assumptions: That change is real (if it isn't, there's no hope for her), and that men can control the change by identifying true from false and right from wrong.

Setting out on a philosoph-

ical Cook's Tour to see what he can find to answer Mrs. Nixon and her six orphans, Dunham surveys the "persistent fossils" that make endless rationalization of injustice possible. The chief one, of course, is supernaturalism which in various degrees infects nearly all philosophers because they need it for social and economic status and ruling classes need it to continue ruling.

A WORD FROM KLEM: Then there are all the variants of the Bishop Berkeley notion that nothing is true or exists unless you can perceive it, leading to the "What can one know?" so familiar today in connection with the socialist world or atrocities in Korea—and causing Dunham to comment:

This is why the life of the intellect is too serious a thing to be left to the intellectuals.

In rebuttal of doctrines of "relative" truth, Dunham goes to baseball and submits with umpire Bill Klem ("I don't call them as I see them; I call them as they are") that a pitch definitely and positively is either a ball or a strike. So effectively does Dunham explode the relativists, subjectivists and know-nothings, in a mild professorial tone whose wit conceals an atomicartil-

lery-piece, that Velde's invitation to him would not be hard to explain to a Mrs. Nixon. But in formulating a philosophy that shall be "a theory of human deliverance" he insists it is not merely a submerged class that it must deliver, but also "their masters, the few," who

... are to be freed from the guilty unease and degraded illusion to which their status condemns them. . . . It saves everybody or it saves none.

WHEN DO WE EAT? Of the present status of Thinking in America, Dunham points out that widespread acceptance of impersonal ("patriotic", etc.) standards of truth is drowning truth under mystical authoritarianism, the cult of the stool-pigeon and submission to the reigning propaganda, which skirts all around Mrs. Nixon and never touches her. Yet Mrs. Nixon's cold and hungry children do exist, and her husband has been murdered for casting a vote, no matter how urbanely our philosophers may assure her she "might be imagining all this trouble—how can one know?" and that the fact Mr. Nixon could vote at all proves she lives in a democracy. And when they urge her to be less materialistic, to "come into the inner world

where feeling radiates" because "after all, you needn't eat much," she perforce replies:

"Sir do you know what I think? I think you mean that for people like you eating is a certainty, and for people like me eating is just a possibility."

THE CURTAIN FALLS: Twenty-seven years ago a man named Durant wrote a 530-page book which in 1952 was reported to have sold 1 1/4 million copies. *The Story of Philosophy* featured among recent philosophers Kant, Schopenhauer, Spencer, Nietzsche, Bertrand Russell, Santayana, William James and Dewey, and mentioned the name of Marx in passing on just six pages.

If *Giant in Chains* did nothing else except bring philosophy back to the blood-stained, destitute doorstep of Mrs. Nixon, it would deserve to replace Durant (which I'll wager 9/10 of the owners never read through) on every American bookshelf. But not an advertisement, and hardly a review, has appeared of this guide to our world and what we can do with it by the philosopher who answers Mrs. Nixon's, not Rep. Velde's questions.

GIANT IN CHAINS, by Barrows Dunham. Little, Brown & Co. (Boston), 262 pp., \$3.75

24,000 strike on Hawaii docks to protest Smith Act conviction of 7



THE SMITH ACT DEFENDANTS IN HONOLULU

Seated at table, 3 of defense attorneys. Standing (l to r): ILWU's Jack Hall, Jack Kimoto, Eileen Fujimoto, Koji Ariyoshi, Dwight Freeman, Charles Fujimoto.

TWENTY-FOUR thousand members of the Intl. Longshore & Warehouse Union in Hawaii struck June 20 to protest the conviction of Jack Hall, their regional director, and six others, of conspiring to violate the Smith Act. Army and Navy personnel were forced to load Korea-bound ships.

The convictions—each carrying a penalty of five years' imprisonment and a \$10,000 fine—came almost simultaneously with the Supreme Court's ruling out a perjury conviction of Harry Bridges, the union's president. The court held that action against Bridges was filed too late (GUARDIAN 4/6).

5th GROUP CONVICTED: The defendants, in addition to Hall, were Charles K. Fujimoto, formerly a soil chemist and present chairman of the Hawaiian Communist Party; his wife Eileen, union stenographer; Dwight J. Freeman, construction worker; Koji Ariyoshi, editor of the weekly Honolulu Record; Jack D. Kimoto, Record em-

ployee; John E. Reinecke, formerly a teacher. They are the fifth group of Americans convicted for allegedly conspiring to overthrow the government by force and violence.

Judge Jon Wiig postponed sentencing Hall and companions until he saw a probation report. He released each on \$7,500 bail.

WRECKING PROGRAM: The strike ended June 23 as a two-day meeting of the internationals' exec. board began. Among several actions, the board passed a resolution supporting Hall, declaring it had

... positive proof in the barring of evidence by the judge and the government that the case ... had its inception in an employer and politician program to split and wreck the union in Hawaii and to separate it from its mainland affiliation. ...

Special correspondence to the N. Y. Times (6/24) said the "business community" was worried about "possible developments" from the meeting.

Dr. Urey meets the press

DR. HAROLD C. UREY, who personally intervened for clemency for the Rosenbergs, attended the June 8 hearing at which Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman denied a new trial based on newly-discovered evidence. During a recess after four hours of argument in which Kaufman constantly heckled and interrupted defense lawyers, a New York Times reporter asked Urey to comment. The Nobel Prize atomic physicist said:

"Before I came here today, I merely had grave doubts about the conduct of the trial. Now that I've seen what goes on in Judge Kaufman's courtroom, I believe the Rosenbergs are innocent.

"When I look into that courtroom I see no Kaufman but McCarthy. I'm angry and alarmed at the terrible fear and hysteria that's sweeping all over America.

"What appals me most is the role the press is playing. The judge's bias is so obvious. I keep looking over at you newspapermen and

there's not a flicker of indignation or concern. When are you going to stop acting like a bunch of scared sheep?"

The Times asked what Urey would think "if we tried to tell you how to run your business?" Said Urey:

Sometimes we scientists make mistakes. So do judges and newspapermen. I've made stupid errors at times and when I do you have a perfect right to criticize them. ... Why, what I saw in that courtroom today was worse than anything I've ever read about what the Russian courts are supposed to be like."

Next morning the Times reported at length Judge Kaufman's denial of all motions, gave not a single detail of the new evidence, added that "among those present at the hearing [was] Dr. Harold C. Urey, noted atomic scientist."

The day before the Rosenbergs' execution, Urey was questioned by Sen. McCarthy.

NAACP launches 10-year crusade

A 10-year "freedom crusade" to wipe out U. S. jimcrow by 1963 was voted by the 44th annual Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People convention last week in St. Louis. The organization pledged an attack on jimcrow in every field of life, with employment, organized labor, education, housing, and civil rights given priority.

Seventy of the 741 delegates to the five-day meeting were from trade unions—organized labor's greatest participation in the history of NAACP conventions; 12 represented regular NAACP branches, the others being sent by their locals. Patrick E. Gorman, secy.-treas., Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL, a main speaker, referred to some unions' barring Negroes from membership as "one of the skeletons in labor's closet."

JOB, COPS, BOOKS, PEACE: The convention also:

- Resolved to strengthen Labor and

Industry committees in the NAACP as means of getting jobs for Negroes;

- Heard Robert L. Carter, NAACP legal dept., urge community campaigns against police brutality to go hand in hand with the legal fight;

- Took a stand against McCarthyism and "book-burning";

- Applauded a message from Gold Coast (W. Africa) Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah: "We believe in peace and cooperation between all nations and abhor man's inhumanity to man."

"Police State Terror"

An excellent 48-page pamphlet with this title has just been published by Abner Green, exec. secy. of the American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born (23 W. 26th St., N. Y. C. 10; 25c, 100 for \$18). It explains simply and fully the spider's web of the Walter-McCarran Act into which millions may be or already are caught. Help defeat this terror by getting the pamphlet into the hands of every foreign-born person in America.

FREEDOM STAGE presents a new play by Robert Ellis, "Going Down the Road," dramatic story of Calif. migratory workers. Opens Fri. nite, July 10, for 6 weeks. Tickets: 80c & \$1.30. Danish Auditorium, 1359 W. 24th St. HO 9-2131 for reserv.

ARNOLD MESCHES COMPREHENSIVE EXHIBITION of paintings and drawings at Pasadena Art Institute. (Contemporary Galleries), currently thru July 26. 46 N. Los Robles, Pasadena.

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San Francisco
AUTHENTIC SPANISH DINNER with Rev. Stephen Fritchman and Alvah Bessie, honoring 17th anniversary Spanish War, Fri., July 17, 7 p.m. Hotel de Espana, 785 Broadway. Reservations \$2.75 at Spanish Refugee Appeal office, KL 2-3703.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

FAREWELL TRIBUTE TO FRANK & JESSIE PELLEGRINO. Sat. evening, July 18, People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av. Concert, buffet dinner. Donation: \$1.25. Auspices: Friends of Pellegrino.

Los Angeles

LEST WE FORGET—Vets Abraham Lincoln Brigade invite you to commemorate 17th anniversary. No U. S. aid to Franco, Fight Justice Dept. attack on Vets. No War Bases in Spain. Hear Rube Borrough and others. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th St. Fri., July 17, 8:30 p.m.

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'A great hope has been born': The Budapest Peace Congress

By George Wheeler
Guardian staff correspondent

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY
When we arrived in Hungary to attend the Fourth Session of the World Council of Peace, we were met at the border with hot coffee and ham sandwiches—at 5:30 a.m.! The railway workers, farmers in the fields—everyone—had a smile for us. Not for us personally, but for peace. The roses, luscious plates of huge strawberries, best hotel rooms, fine foods and wines—all were for peace. Nothing was too good for peace.

To this important session serious-minded and influential delegates came from all parts of the world, representing many shades of opinion: ardent Communists, ordinary businessmen, religious leaders—a broader group than ever before.

While they were relaxing and enjoying the boat trip up the lovely Danube, while they commented on the extraordinary number of tanned and healthy workers swimming and rowing on the river, while they enjoyed the magnificent and moving Aszafev ballet based on Pushkin's poem of the Bakhchiserai Fountain, their conversation constantly came back to the subject of peace and war.

OFF THE TIGER: At the session itself Wanda Wasilewska (Poland) proposed great cultural exchanges among nations. Ilya Ehrenburg (U. S. S. R.) called for wider negotiations after armistice, peace after the truce in Korea. Emilio Sereni (Italy) said: "We must help some peoples find a way to dismount the tiger they have been riding." Prof. Ikuo Oyama (Japan) reported that demand for normal, peaceful life and for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Japan has gained momentum with the prospect of peace in Korea; if the Americans continue military occupation of Japan, they will have to "go it alone."

Greeted with warm applause, German Evangelical Church president Dr. Martin Niemöller said:

"He who wants peace must want an understanding with his enemy. This is the commonplace that every genuine peace endeavor begins with. . . . How can peace be achieved if the opponent is excluded? . . . Here we have the problem of co-existence . . . [which] must not only be discussed [but] must be tried, must be risked."

FOR AMERICA: Thousands cheered Mary Freeman's (U. S. A.) reference to Paul Robeson as world peace leader and warmly greeted her personally as the representative of the common people of America. Speaking of the difficulties

and the courage of the peace movement in the U. S., June Morgan (U.S.A.) concluded:

"The more the peoples of the world press for negotiations the stronger becomes the pressure in the U. S. . . . Our fight and that of all of the peoples of the world is one."

There was profound grief when Catholic lawyer Jean Batiste Da Sesse (Belgium) read the news of the Rosenberg execution. Ehrenburg later said:



"We lived minutes which none of us will forget." Maj. Gen. Sokhey (India) declared that the best memorial would be an even more determined fight for peace and freedom for which the Rosenbergs died.

TIME FOR A CHANGE: The Political Commission unanimously adopted a resolution which said in part:

Every people has the right to free choice of its own way of life and the duty to respect the freely preferred choice of other peoples. . . . Co-existence implies settling all disputes

by negotiation. Negotiation will fundamentally change the main stream of events. The UN, keeping to the Charter spirit, can become the instrument of this change. It must admit countries that have applied to enter. China must be represented by the government of her choice.

It is on these grounds that the World Council of Peace has decided to launch a world-wide campaign for negotiation.

For the first time in four years all the resolutions were adopted unanimously, without abstentions, despite the broadest representation yet.

A GREAT HOPE: Hungarian Young pioneers brought flowers and read with radiant force a poem-for peace to bring the session to an end. The Final Appeal of the Council stated:

A great hope has been born. Everybody now sees that agreement is possible. The slaughter can be ended. The cold war can be stopped. In this hour we solemnly call upon the peoples to demand of their governments that they negotiate and agree.

It is for all of us to support every move from whatsoever government it may come to solve disputes by peaceful means, to frustrate the efforts of those who prevent or delay agreement.

Peace is within our reach. It is for us to win it.

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As you complete your plans for your child's stay at camp, or a week or two in the country—stop for a moment and think about these young victims of the cold war. Your contribution, whatever the amount, will insure some pleasure to a child who has little these days.

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