

East and West cry to U.S.: 'Peace!'

By Kumar Goshal

FROM the skies over Korea, a suddenly silent land after three years, fell nothing but raindrops and Secy. Dulles who arrived to consult with Washington protegee Syngman Rhee. With Rhee insisting the U.S. had promised to take "automatic, immediate" military action should the post-truce political conference prove unproductive in 90 days, and Dulles insisting the U.S. had merely decided to walk out in that event, peace perspectives as seen from Washington were dark.

In any event, nobody wanted to help Dulles carry the hot Korean potato Washington policies had cooked. The four war-minded Senators—Knowland, Smith, Johnson, Russell—who were to have flown to Korea with Dulles prudently declined on the ground Congress would not adjourn in time. (It adjourned next day; on Tuesday, 24 hours later, Knowland—most devoted booster in Congress of Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek—was elected Senate majority leader replacing Sen. Taft.)

U.S. "FORCED LABOR": Before leaving, Dulles created a Congressional uproar by announcing, with enthusiastic support from President Eisenhower, that U.S. troops would be put to work building Korean roads, schools and hospitals. Peking called this "another obvious device to keep troops in S. Korea . . . tantamount to making the political conference a forlorn one"; next day the plan was branded "outrageous" by Sen. Saltonstall (R-Mass.), "alien . . . forced labor" by Kefauver (D-Tenn.) The White House hurriedly denied it ever envisaged using troops for anything but "technical assistance."

Dulles was also scheduled to visit Japan where (Reston from Tokyo, N. Y. Times, 8/4) he was

. . . not likely to like what he finds. . . . The Japanese are in the middle of a false economic boom . . . spending about \$800,000,000 a year more than they earn. They have avoided the consequences of this only because the U.S. Government

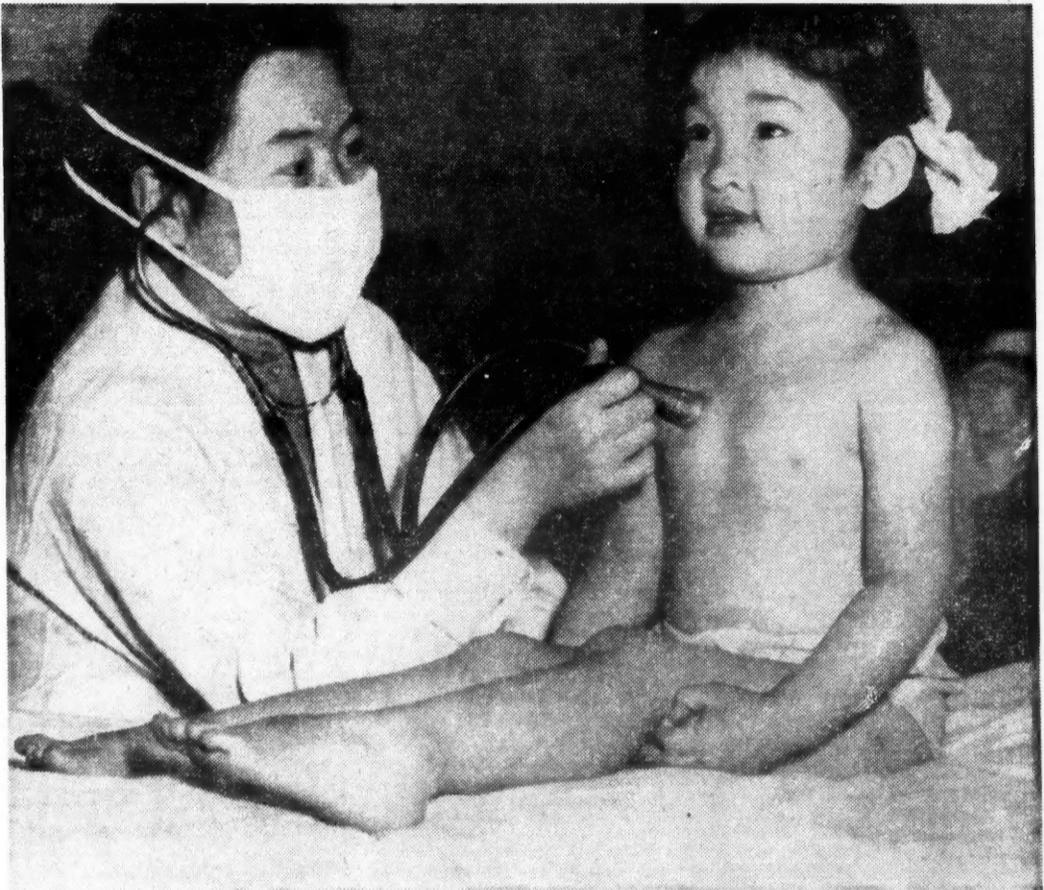


Ami, go home

These workers on the Hokuriku Railway in Japan are demonstrating against the Yoshida government's order which has turned the village of Uchinada into a practicing ground for the U.S. Army. There are 600 U.S. bases and 34 practicing grounds in Japan.

"What We Saw in China"

This is one of the dozens of absorbing and illustrative pictures from the GUARDIAN's fast-selling book by 15 Americans on "What We Saw in China." The writers, American businessmen, technicians, artists, teachers, social workers and a noted foreign correspondent, all help lift the curtain of censorship which has barred news and pictures of progress in China from reaching the American people. More than 6,000 copies are already in circulation. \$1 will bring you yours—plus a free copy for a friend. Order blank on page 2.



and the American Army are spending about \$2,000,000 a day here.

Japan's alarmed parliament unanimously approved a resolution calling for more trade with China.

ROUND TABLE PREFERRED: Meanwhile world demand increased for settlement of international issues by negotiation, not war. Peoples everywhere anxiously looked forward to the Aug. 17 UN Assembly session on Korea, hoping it would set the stage for a high-level October conference that would act effectively to remove tension in the Far East.

UN Assembly pres. Lester Pearson of Canada suggested a "peace-making committee" of UN members, China and N. and S. Korea, that would meet in a "round-table" conference instead of the usual "across-the-table" set-up with the belligerents on either side. Britain favored the idea, as did India's Nehru, who also suggested participation of China and N. Korea in the UN debate on the conference arrangements.

DULLES' "NO DEAL": Washington's response to such demands was bellicose. The Wall St. Journal (7/28) said the U.S. would use tough talk, threaten continued embargo and UN exclusion of China, and make a "no deal" offer at the Korean conference. Dulles indicated the U.S. would veto UN recognition of China, although the previous U.S. delegation at UN had held this was not subject to veto.

Yet Dulles would have a tough task ridding many U.S. allies of the conviction that China and the U.S.S.R. have shown genuine desire for peaceful negotiations. India's Prime Minister Nehru had "no doubt . . . that the policy pursued by the Soviet Union in the last two months has been definitely a policy for a search for peace and a lessening of tension" (NYT, 7/31). Foreign diplomats in Moscow (Harrison

(Continued on Page 4)

Vol. 5, No. 42

NEW YORK, N. Y., AUGUST 10, 1953

W. E. B. DuBOIS WRITES

An epitaph for Senator Taft

By W. E. B. DuBois

SENATOR TAFT is one of more than 200,000 Americans who die of cancer this year. Why? Because we spent ten billion dollars for army, navy and air force, five hundred million for atomic bombs—and passed the hat for cancer research. If we had spent one billion for cancer cure, Taft might still be living.

In the present Administration, he was almost the only man of brains and courage. He did not always use them. He agreed to spend money for useless war. He helped profits by opposing FEPC. But at times Taft spoke, and when he did the world listened because he had something to say. He was thus a shining exception in a government where the current level in administration is the lowest in this century when it comes to knowledge, ability and ideals.

Dulles cannot talk English and Wilson cannot talk. Humphrey says nothing and Stassen has nothing to say. The woman in the case knows far more of Texas oil than of health or education. The President contradicts himself, shows no background of learning or world vision; in his comment on the Truce he reached a new low of meaningless platitude. Not a single real state paper has emerged since the last election, with the possible exception of Taft's last speech.

TAFT was a rich man. He could afford the best medical advice of the nation and doubtless did. He was not among the mass of poor Americans whom the American Medical

Assn. is spending millions to deprive of cheap medical care. If this cancer had been discovered five years ago, it might have been cured. It was not discovered, either through ignorance or neglect. If we are too ignorant to diagnose cancer in its curable stage, this is because we spend so much money on war, red-baiting and bomb-building as to have no funds

Mrs. Oveta Hobby, Eisenhower's Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare, was pleading for her already small medical-research budget to be cut by \$10 million (\$6 million of which was for cancer research) even while Taft lay dying. She complained July 11 to Budget Bureau director Dodge that if Congress gave more it "might tend to discourage participation by private funds." Mindful that three other Senators—Wherry, Vandenberg and McMahon—had recently died of cancer, Congress turned her down. (Drew Pearson, 8/4.)

left for cancer research. If we are neglecting medical care, it is because American genius is going to money-making and devising weapons of murder.

How many unsuspecting Senators, with this foul disease ravaging their bellies and the breasts of their wives, are today complacently voting millions for wars and McCarthys and nothing for education and disease?

Render Taft the empty honor of a state funeral; then engrave on his tomb: "Billions for War and Pennies for Cancer."

The first-hand FACTS about New China!

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Please send along my free extra copy, too.

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If your address-label on page one is dated 8/53 or earlier, your renewal is due now. Enclose \$3 for 52 weeks.

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From truce to peace

RANSOMVILLE, N. C.
At long last, the Korean truce is a reality. Our people did not want this war in the first place, and the truce is the result of much work and sacrifice on the part of many peace-lovers throughout the world. Some, Christlike, endangered themselves and died for love of others in the cause of peace.

Capitalism and communism both have serious faults. Humanity suffers under any kind of an enforced system, and, next to love and peace, man needs freedom more than anything else. The good system is always the one that leaves the individual free and attracts men to it, never the system that threatens, enforces, and enslaves.

But a far greater enemy of man than either capitalism or communism is war. Man can thrive better and hope longer under either of the world's two leading systems than he can thrive and hope in war.

Hate is death and love is life. And man not only dreams; his dreams come true. Vernon Ward

Stephanie's analysis

PHILADELPHIA, PA.
Sunday, July 26, my mother, father, brother, aunt, uncle and myself went together in my father's car to New York. It had been a wonderful day. Everyone, except my father (who was driving), and I were asleep as we drove home. So that he wouldn't doze off, my father turned on the radio.

"And now an over-all broadcast of the signing of the Korean truce at Panmunjom," the announcer said.

My mother opened her eyes. My aunt and uncle awakened and leaned forward to hear more clearly. I leaned forward too. We all listened. Only six-year-old Stuart slept. The reporter in Panmunjom put as bad a light on the Communist representatives as he could.

We heard President Eisenhower give his speech, and then John Foster Dulles spoke.

"Now the news," another announcer said briskly. It was an hour later. "The country doesn't seem as jubilant about the truce as they were at the end of the second World War," the commentator said. I wondered why. I was about to ask my father when I realized why myself.

Everyone in our government who had spoken said we must keep up our guard, we must not trust the Communists. They would not let us be happy. Perhaps they were right. Perhaps we should keep up our guard, but not as much against the Communists as against them!
Stephanie Ares Glass (age 12)

The fight goes on

THE HAGUE, NETHERLANDS
Mr. President: By way of our committee only, about 60,000 pleas for clemency or a new trial for the Rosenbergs had reached the U.S. Embassy here in the last few weeks. Millions of Netherlanders had expected you to prevent this inhuman execution. Most Dutch newspapers had raised their voices. All these facts are reason for our committee to leave nothing undone to throw further light on the case, to assist the Rosenberg chil-

How crazy can you get dept.

This year's tribute of the radio listeners to the nation's disc jockeys will take place the week of July 27 to August 1. The theme of the annual Natl. Disc Jockey Week is that of thankfulness for the "freedom of the turntable" which exists in America, Tony Bennett, chairman of Natl. Disc Jockey Week, announced today.

—Press release of Natl. Disc Jockey Week, issued July 15, 1953.

One-year free sub to winner of each item printed under this heading.

Children and contribute to the victory of truth and justice. We will continue and expand our activities with all energy.

P. J. Enderburg
Netherlands Comm. for Defense of the Rosenbergs

The hangover

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
The mental pander—Victor Reisel—moans loudly in the Los Angeles Daily News (July 21) that the U.S. has suffered a big propaganda defeat because of the Rosenberg execution. Drunk with power, the corporations of this country were unable to conceive a setback. W. P. C.

Dear Sen. Langer

NEW YORK, N. Y.
I hope readers who agree with the proposal in this letter I have written to Sen. Langer, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, will make their wishes known to him:

"In his dissent in the Rosenberg Case Justice Black wrote: 'I have long thought that the practice of many of the states to require an automatic review by the highest court of the state in cases which involve the death penalty was a good practice.' Mr. Black has pointed to a grave weakness in the 'due process' of our Federal Judiciary. Had such an automatic Supreme Court review been required, the situation that arose in the Rosenberg Case would not have been possible—that except for Justice Douglas (and that only in the last few days) not a single Supreme Court justice had even read the trial record, and had not even been required to read it before voting to refuse to review the case.

"I therefore request that you as Senate Judiciary Comm. chairman introduce the necessary legislation that would hereafter require Supreme Court review of all federal cases involving the death penalty."
Morris U. Schappes

From "Terrible Island"

TERMINAL ISLAND, CALIF.
Congratulations on Belfrage's release from Ellis Island concentration camp for political prisoners. There is time to be made up, tasks which at this juncture require redoubled efforts to turn the tide that has been running strongly in the direction of fascism.

I am once again held on "Terrible Island" as the natives hereabouts term it, but my spirits are high, tremendously encouraged by the new events unfolding daily. May the GUARDIAN prosper.
Harry Carlisle

In the libraries

WILLIAMSPORT, PA.
If the country's libraries aren't covered, there's an idea for GUARDIAN readers—a gift subscription to every town and city library in the country. Supplying one's hometown library with the GUARDIAN

is one way of acquainting our fellow townspeople with the best weekly newspaper in the country and will undoubtedly result in additional subscriptions. And while we're on the subject of libraries: aren't there any college alumni among GUARDIAN readers who would like to send a gift subscription to the library of their alma mater?

I'm sure Lincoln Steffens would be proud of you all on the GUARDIAN staff. Mae K. Millstone
Splendid idea. But first get the permission if it's a public one. Ed.

We're pleased too

BALTIMORE, MD.
I want to spend \$10 per week for campaigning, liberal and progressive work. I don't drink, chew, smoke, gamble or play the numbers so if I want to spend \$10 to fight fascism to make America better, that's my business. And as long as I can believe God is pleased with me, I don't have to worry about others.

I read every word of every letter in the Mailbag and do they stir me to greater efforts! I'm proud to be associated with such grand people, even though I've never seen them.
H. G. Bolander

For all of them

HILLSIDE, N. J.
I am enclosing \$10 so that you will continue to bring the message of truth to the people, and I am hoping that you will defeat the Jenner, Velde and McCarthy witch-hunters.

The money is from a group of friends who are working hard and raising money to help out all progressives who are being hounded by the un-American invasion.
Bertha Rabinowitz



The Indianapolis News
SAM'S DILEMMA

Babies, or not?

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.
I'd like to make a few remarks on birth control. I think it's a highly desirable practice, and I can only believe that anyone who advocates a high birth-rate is either unthinking, congenitally stupid, or criminal. With depression, war, and a great variety of tragedies and suffering in the next 10 or 20 years for most of us I think any couple who proceed enthusiastically to the rearing of a large family is nuts—or worse, sadistic.

Personally, I like a lot of room around me.
Al Amery

To the Neo-Malthusians

LA CRESCENTA, CALIF.
Their propaganda failing, Their power ebbing fast, As people after people Cast off their chain at last.

The evil men of money Are crying in despair: "Your multiplying children Will eat the planet bare."
O evil men of money, If what you say is true, Cheer up! Our children's children Will die long after you.
Hugh Hardyman

"The decline of socialism"

LONDON, ENGLAND
Until recently Bulgaria had little industry, no heavy industry—yet last year she was exporting electrical equipment to China. On June 17 India concluded a trade agreement to exchange Indian agricultural products for Bulgarian "threshing machines, pneumatic hammers, universal milling machines, planing machines and concrete mixers."

Note that several of the above are listed as "strategic" items which the U.S. won't let Britain and other client-states export to countries like Bulgaria, ostensibly



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"And ye shall be betrayed both by parents, and brethren, and kinsfolks, and friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to death. And ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls."
LUKE 21: 16-19.

REPORT TO READERS

Discover Page 8

MOST people waste much time and effort—and eventually overpay—shopping for the home and for gifts. Believing that we could offer a real service to our readers by selling them top quality merchandise at a saving through a fast, efficient mail order operation, three months ago we completed preliminary arrangements for supply and shipping and reorganized Guardian Buying Service. Since then we have saved GUARDIAN readers and their friends thousands of dollars through our shop-at-home service.

For those who have looked with curiosity at our display on page 8 each week, but have not yet used the Buying Service, we call special attention to page 8 this week and next, when our most popular items are being reviewed.

- This is how Guardian Buying Service works:
- Selections are based on recommendations of independent consumer research organizations. This spares the buyer the ordeal of comparative shopping.
 - All items are priced 20%-40% below dept. store prices.
 - All items carry manufacturers' guarantees.
 - All items are shipped quickly and efficiently from our own supply warehouse.

ORDERING takes little time. This is all you have to do: After selecting the items you want, fill in the coupon on page 8 (where choice of size and/or color is offered be sure to indicate your choice). Figure your postage from the chart (except on items marked "shipped express"). Mail the coupon with your check or money order and wait for the postman to deliver your package.

As soon as orders reach our office triplicate order forms and mailing labels are written. The original coupon and one order form are filed. The other order forms and labels are sent to the warehouse the same day. At the warehouse—the items are packaged and shipped (one order form is enclosed in the package for your records) one to three days after receipt of the order. If there are delays for any reason, the buyer is informed immediately.

We have many more items than can be displayed on one page. If you need anything in housewares, appliances, cameras, children's items, linen, watches, etc., let us know. A postal card will bring you a prompt response with our price and delivery time.

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P.S.: A good way to get your friends to subscribe to the GUARDIAN is to show them how they too can save money through Guardian Buying Service.
—THE EDITORS

to prevent increase of "war potential" by heavy-industry development. Yet Bulgaria is now prepared to supply "strategic" items to the West, with which India must be counted because of her Commonwealth connections.

Note further that the items quoted are ones India should receive—but is not getting—from Britain in payment of Britain's sterling debt to India. The curious anomaly: Britain cannot fulfill such obligations towards India because so much of her engineering industry is producing armaments—some of which are being exported to Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey to fortify them against "Bulgarian aggression."

Edgar P. Young
Comdr. RN ret.

Why?

CINCINNATI, O.
Now that McCarthyism is being exposed, the next step, I believe, is to expose those behind McCarthy, the pro-fascists in our government.

If the government goes after communists and not fascists, why? The logical answer is that it itself is "pro"-fascist.

After all, the fascists did try to overthrow our government by force and violence and are committed to do it again. The people should be told why there is fascism and why the fascists are, and why governments all too often condone fascists while persecuting democracy in the name of communism.

Reader

WHAT EVERY DECENT AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW

About the FBI

By Eugene Gordon

JUST a few years after the Bill of Rights came in force, a few small publications against overwhelming odds sounded an alarm: the people's new-won liberties were direly threatened by Federalist marshals who, with "informers, spies, delators, and all that odious tribe that breeds in the sunshine of despotic power" (Edward Livingston in the U.S. Congress), persecuted Americans under the Alien & Sedition Acts.

Today the Federal Bureau of Investigation is a comparable spearhead of the threat to our liberties; their preservation is impossible without knowledge of what the FBI really is, and of our rights with respect to it. Yet such has been the success of the deluge of misinformation about it that there is no subject on which even many progressives are more densely and dangerously ignorant.

WHAT IS IT? For John J. Floherty in his *Our FBI*, the agency is "well-mannered, well-tailored young college men" who present credentials and lift their hats when introducing themselves to ladies. For others, the FBI is your own neighbor, fellow-employee, janitor, employer, landlord—or a recorder on your tapped telephone.

Progressives—who are its main target, though it has an "enormous variety" (see *N. Y. Times*, 11/25/50) of other fields of investigation—cannot afford to underestimate its power in the highest places in Washington: it is accepted as virtually above criticism by anyone who wants to succeed today in politics. One of its former agents, Velde, heads the Un-American Activities Committee; another, Frank Carr, former FBI head in New York, has been appointed staff director for McCarthy. But J. Edgar Hoover, too, has his troubles: the agency is neither as monolithically potent nor as superhumanly all-knowing as the propaganda seeks to suggest.

RUMBLINGS FROM BELOW: A lawyer who specializes in the subject described the FBI for the *GUARDIAN* as . . . a sort of principality, its subjects being responsible only to princeling-director J. Edgar Hoover, a bachelor friend of bankers and men of big business. Some department heads, having held their jobs for decades as has Hoover, initiate investigations and create stoolpigeons and renegades in a long-term plan for

ideological war against the people. The FBI has the inherent weaknesses of any despotism. The fact that there is a good deal of dissatisfaction among lesser employes occasionally peeps out, as recently in the *Washington Post* to which "FBI Agent" wrote (7/14) complaining of "the bureau's policy of 'compulsory [unpaid] overtime,' in field offices where . . . morale is very low, families undergo greater hardship than some military service families suffer under



Drawing by Walter Ree

the most adverse conditions, and personnel turnover is fantastic.

THE 3 ROOMS: Hoover's "principality" is "divided into 52 zones," explains Floherty—each run by a Special Agent in Charge and an assistant. The head office occupies the fifth floor of the Justice Dept. building in Washington. N. Y. City's field office, selected by *Our FBI* as a model, is "several floors in the U. S. Court House," Foley Sq. It employs "about 1,000 men and women." Three rooms, "identical in size and equipment [are] complaint offices," two "for the use of persons who had a complaint or information to give the FBI in secrecy." The third receives "complaints or information" by phone.

Why are these three rooms mentioned first in *Our FBI*, and with detailed description of their furnishings and explanations of their functions? An expert told the *GUARDIAN* that "the highly-touted efficiency" of FBI machinery "would be almost totally stalled without its undercover informants."

SUAVELY INEFFICIENT: Most of the 5,800 college- and law-degreed G-men (women are used for the most part only as undercover spies and stoolpigeons)

busy themselves, said a lawyer,

" . . . in various communities, usually two working together — one soft-tongued and suave, the other courteous but a bit blustering — screening the town, looking for renegades; because the operation of a political police is logically to use a part of the citizenry as informers against the other part, seeking to build dossiers against individuals whose sole offense is political dissent."

This procedure goes back to the Palmer raids after World War I, before the agency prefixed "Federal" to its name (in 1935)—when "undercover informants were the mainstay of the careful advance preparation" for the raids. Reminding us of this in his *Federal Bureau of Investigation*, a book

of dynamite published in 1950 but now out of print apparently owing to pressure, Max Lowenthal comments at length on the FBI's inefficiency in the fields where it is supposed to be eminent: criminal-catching, crime-detecting, counter-espionage.

WORK TO DO: Lowenthal quotes from *The Price of Power* (1947) by N. Y. Times military writer Hanson Baldwin to show that the FBI

" . . . still has much to learn about counter-espionage. Its wartime capture of the saboteurs landed on our coasts inflated its reputation as a security organization without good cause, for in nearly every case the FBI was first informed of the presence, actual or impending, of the saboteurs by a citizen or by other intelligence agencies."

While most of the FBI's information is dug up by spies, stoolpigeons, provocative agents and "other intelligence agencies"—including the Treasury's, the Post Office's and Joe McCarthy's gumshoemen, and, in the wartime saboteurs case, intelligence agents of other governments—there is work of another kind for "higher rating" personnel to do. There may be such an assignment

as taking Curtis Hopkins, Negro working youth, from Ohio back to Mississippi and a trial for "rape"; or interviewing a member of Harry Bridges' Longshore union, aiming to recruit a spy. (Such an interview, unknown to the G-men, was recently tape-recorded throughout by the union as an exhibit of methods used to smash unions.)

430,000 "REDS": In constantly asking Congress for higher appropriations, Hoover's ace card is always his agency's concentration on "reds." Last year Asst. Atty. Gen. McInerney told a House subcommittee "Mr. Hoover's agents" were ready "to arrest 14,000 of the most dangerous reds on a moment's notice if war came." Hoover told the subcommittee there were

" . . . ten communist sympathizers for every party member, thus making a group of more than 430,000 people who are either out-and-out communists or who are sympathetic toward the communist cause."

Hoover said his undercover agents were still planted in the party's inner circles although it was getting harder to penetrate. The CP is "more fanatical, and has better direction, than any Nazi group," he said.

"VERY DIFFICULT" CASES: Whether or not he mentioned the less "fanatical" Nazis to explain his ignoring them, the records show that no fascists, as no lynchers of Negroes, need fear the FBI. Though top-flight G-men were said to have investigated the Christmas bomb-murder of NAACP leader Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore, Albert E. Kahn writes in *The Game of Death*:

In January, 1952, when the author . . . visited Mims, Fla., following the assassination . . . no FBI agents were to be found in the community. Later, I was informed that two agents had briefly appeared . . . although nobody seemed to know exactly what they were doing, and a number of individuals who wanted to offer information . . . were not questioned. This was at a time when literally dozens of FBI agents were . . . trailing the wives and children of Communist Party leaders.

Answering complaints that his men bypassed lynchers of Negroes, Hoover said, shortly before the Moore killing:

" . . . Such investigations are very difficult. . . . Most of these cases arise in the South. There has to be a gradual re-education in order to meet the problem. You cannot go in and arbitrarily demand this or that. . . ."

COURTESY: Floherty tells us that the FBI's attitude toward persons with whom it deals is "based on courtesy, friendliness and a high regard for personal feelings and civil rights." But in a story last year about a Negro political refugee's family the *Afro-American* reported:

" . . . If the older girl is sent to the store, an FBI agent goes, too. . . . If she [Mrs. James Jackson] takes the kiddies to the movies . . . the FBI sits a few rows behind them. . . . When the children go to school they are followed by the FBI. When they come home the FBI is right behind.

In an introduction to *Our FBI* Hoover expresses his devotion to "our youth . . . as good and clean and God-fearing" as it has ever been in our history." But this is the statement of Mrs. Sidney Stein in Kahn's book:

" . . . I was walking home with Richard (aged 14) from a movie

(Continued on Page 4)

How to behave with G-men

PROGRESSIVES suddenly and unexpectedly confronted with FBI agents often make mistakes which they bitterly regret later. Here are three recent cases reported to the *GUARDIAN* on which we asked an experienced lawyer to comment:

1. "Two men introduced themselves as from the FBI as I hurried to work one morning. They kept abreast of me when I tried to outwalk them. One said they'd be glad to drive me to my job, and told me where I worked. I yelled, 'Get away from me!' and they left, saying, 'Get in touch with me if you change your mind.'"

2. Mr. A.'s landlord told him: "The FBI was asking for you. Wanted to know what meetings you go to nights." Mr. A., feeling he could outsmart the agents, said: "Next time tell them to come see me."

3. Mrs. D. invited two FBI agents in when one flashed his card and said they were "perfectly harmless and only want to speak with you." She found them "charming"; they just asked what she knew about a certain man; she said, "Nothing." They discussed books, movies and their children. She told the *GUARDIAN*: "I'm sure I learned more about them than they did about me."

Here are the lawyer's comments:

1. "Anybody finding herself or himself in a similar position has a right to say absolutely nothing. She did right to reject their offer, though she could have done it by keeping silent and walking on."

2. "Like many a decent person, Mr. A. is not afraid—but he can't outsmart these trained agents and should not try to. The landlord might himself be an undercover agent. Remember your right to say nothing."

3. "Suppose Mrs. D. did learn more about them than

they did about her—but I doubt it: so what? We know what they will do with their information, as thought-control policemen building up dossiers on people in order to destroy them. What will she do with hers? She can bet her life they'll return."

Know your rights

Lawyers who know all the pitfalls advise you to arm yourself in advance with knowledge of your rights in order to protect yourself and others:

- No matter what official identification he presents, you need not let any stranger into your home; unless he has a warrant, he has no right to enter.

- Whether at your door or elsewhere, you need not answer FBI questions—and there is no need to yell. If you like, tell the agents you will make an appointment to meet them at your attorney's office.

- Your right of refusal being what it is, there is nothing to get flustered about. The agents are looking for a sign that you are intimidated; they are trained in techniques of heightening the intimidation.

- You need not be drawn into a conversation about whether you "want to co-operate with the authorities," designed to make you fear that you will "look suspicious" if you refuse. Your co-operation may be wanted for only one purpose—to destroy either yourself, or other progressives, or both.

- Keep calm and confident in the knowledge that it is you, not they, who are defending good Americanism.

Above all—when in any doubt as to what you should do, talk it over with a good lawyer FIRST—not after you do or say something you might regret.

War and Peace

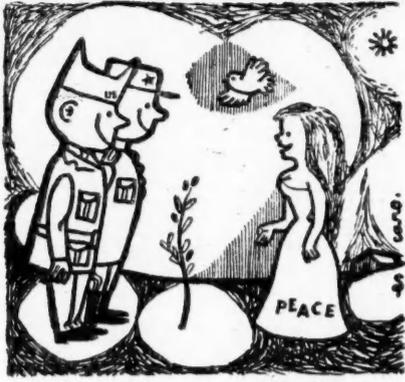
(Continued from Page 1)

Salisbury, NYT, 7/29) were convinced the U. S. S. R. would actively participate in the UN Korea discussions and propose all-Korean elections. This proposal would accord with UN's resolution on a unified Korea of Oct. 7, 1950; but Rhee—who would certainly lose such elections—is demanding only N. Korean elections for a minority of seats in the Rhee-dominated Assembly at Seoul, and the U. S. is pledged to unify Korea under Rhee (Walter Lippmann, 7/28).

CO-EXISTENCE? From Moscow, on the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Communist Party, came "a concise statement of principles and policies . . . expected to guide the present Soviet leadership" (Salisbury, NYT, 7/27), restating the perspective for steadily better living in the socialist world and "the possibility of lasting co-existence of two systems, socialism and capitalism." Emphasizing "untiring concern for maximum satisfaction of the Soviet people's constantly rising demands," it also called for more "collective leadership" and "criticism from below" as against "the cult of the individual."

But the U. S. press, on the day the new Moscow statement appeared, headlined Washington's repeated assurances that the Korea truce did not mean peace; and reported Eisenhower's letter to W. German Chancellor Adenauer which forecast "disintegration of the Communist Empire" and proclaimed U. S. determination to bring a united rearmend Germany into the Western alliance. Three days later Moscow charged that a U. S. bomber had violated Soviet frontiers near Vladivostok, fired on Soviet planes which fired back. (One of the crew of 17, picked up by a U. S. vessel after the bomber crashed at sea, was reported saying that Soviet planes attacked the bomber 40 miles off the Siberian coast. It was thought that other crew members might have been rescued by Soviet vessels.)

Two days later U. S. fighter planes shot down a Soviet passenger plane flying from Port Arthur, killing 15 and a crew of six. Moscow said the plane was 60



Liberation, Paris
"Take some of the seed"

miles from the Yalu River inside China; Washington said it was 10 miles south of the Yalu in N. Korea.

FREE FOOD POPULAR: Running page-one themes of the week were accounts of E. German riots and upheavals which some U. S. reporters admitted were based largely on rumors (NBC Berlin correspondent, 8/3; Walter Sullivan, NYT, 8/4). Washington propaganda hit bottom with the triumphant "demonstration" that E. Germans were starving because they flocked to get food given away free in W. Berlin.

Moscow accepts bid to talks on Germany

To "attach any special importance" to the "fascist adventure" of the disturbances in Berlin was in Moscow's view "to indulge in illusions and distract attention from facts that are really important" for the problem of easing tensions. With this and other points putting Germany in its world cold-war context, Moscow conveyed its acceptance of the invitation to a four-power Foreign Ministers' conference on Germany which came out of last month's Anglo-French-U. S. talks in Washington. The acceptance note clearly startled the State Dept., which said it must "study it cautiously before commenting"; the invitation had been so cluttered with limitations and pre-conditions that Moscow was in fact asked

. . . to consent to abandoning the eastern zone to a unified Germany which would be free to enter the Atlantic coalition [which Moscow finds] completely unacceptable. . . . In brief, if one had wanted to ensure in advance a Soviet refusal, one would not have proceeded differently (Le Monde, 7/17).

FIRM BUT HOPEFUL: In agreeing to the meeting, the U. S. S. R. could hardly have gone further to show its determination to let no possible opportunity for easing tensions pass. But Moscow's note:

• Chided the Western Big Three for their note's "preliminary examination" of questions to be discussed, "contrary to . . . existing agreements regarding

generally so instinctive—and especially so among the Negro people, with their healthy tradition born of slave-time experience—that the FBI's 1950 recruiting posters had to quote the President of the U. S. as declaring stooling to be a patriotic duty.

It is from such "patriots" that the names of White House pickets and petition-signers for the Rosenbergs and for peace—all of which, says a N. Y. Times writer (3/29), "are in the indices"—reach the FBI. It has been said that FBI means "Fidelity, Bravery, Integrity"; its record shows it rather to mean Finger-men, Blackmailers, Informers. Clearly the FBI as an instrument of political terror is as strong, and only as strong, as the body of Americans whom it can induce—either through deception, or from motives of fear, or for cash—to co-operate with it.

The political FBI flourishes in an atmosphere of repression and terror; its menace will be reduced to the extent that the people intensify their fight against McCarthyism.

conferences of Foreign Ministers";

• Pointed out the "favorable conditions" created by the Korea truce for a conference on easing world-wide tensions, in which China should take part since it is one of the five powers given responsibility for maintaining world peace by the UN Charter; said that matters a Foreign Ministers' conference should discuss included arms reduction and banning of foreign military bases on foreign soil;

• Nevertheless expressed "hope" that the conference on Germany would be more than "lengthy discussions."

"DANGER SIGNAL": Mounting European exasperation with Washington policies was reflected in a N. Y. Herald Tribune page of reports from Western capitals (7/26), headlined "DANGER SIGNAL: U. S. INFLUENCE ON THE DOWNGRADE IN EUROPE." CBS Paris correspondent David Schoenbrun (7/26) reported a growing feeling throughout Europe that

. . . coexistence and compromise is the only way possible in Germany, in Indo-China and in every area. . . . [The Korea truce could be a major turning point if it meant] a willingness on the part of the American people to compromise, to distinguish between diplomacy and appeasement.

PEOPLE TALK UP: Wherever the people had a voice, they were warning their governments of trouble if Washington was allowed to block peace. In a pre-election campaign statement, the anti-Communist six-million-strong W. German Trade Union Fedn. said (NYT, 7/31):

"He who wants peace and progress, freedom and unity . . . does not want a return to the rule of force and war, terror and air raids, must . . . vote to exclude from the Bundestag those forces that want to plunge our people into another disaster."

In Italy the Washington-propped De Gasperi cabinet fell on a vote of confidence in parliament. Both Communist leader Togliatti and right-wing Socialist leader Saragat warned that no stable cabinet could exist without Left representation.



Vie Nucve, Rome
"Arrest him! He's slandering the government."

Britain's Tory government, while still bowing to U. S. pressure with a pledge to keep China "for the time being" out of UN, "served notice that she is moving back into the lush Chinese market" (AP, 7/29).

VESTED INTERESTS: Looking at recent Chinese, Soviet and U. S. actions, London's New Statesman (7/25) said:

Peking has shown an astonishing moderation in the face of Syngman Rhee's provocation, and Moscow has continued its liberalizing policies in E. Europe, despite the efforts or American psychological warfare to exploit them for the purpose of disruption. . . .

. . . The whole Western world has been organized on this one assumption [of Soviet intransigence] and . . . vast vested interests have been established in . . . E. D. C. and NATO and in the American foreign aid which provides their financial foundations. The French economy now depends on dollar subsidies . . . conditional on the continuance of the war in Indo-China. The Federal German Republic also relies on a stream of dollars which would dry up if Germany were to be reunited and disarmed. Neither Chiang Kai-shek nor Syngman Rhee could survive if America and China were to make

West Works Out Secret Plan To Help Feed East Germans

The Washington Post

William J. Pennock

ON July 31 the first of seven defendants in the Seattle Smith Act trial took the stand: William J. Pennock, 38, pres. of the Washington Pension Union and former State Rep. from the 35th Seattle District. While he testified, prosecutor Tracy Griffin fought to bar as "immaterial and irrelevant" documentary evidence of the defendants' activities and beliefs before and during the period of the indictment; defense attorneys said this was an attempt to force them "into court utterly naked."

On Aug. 4 Pennock was to return to the stand, on which he had followed Dr. Herbert J. Phillips, former U. of Washington professor who went from court to jail for refusing to act as a stoolpigeon. On Sunday night, Aug. 2, Pennock was found dead by his wife. His physician said he had prescribed a sedative for Pennock who was suffering from great nervous strain, and that death was not due to natural causes.

PLOT AGAINST STARVATION: Pennock's death was mourned by thousands of Washingtonians, especially the elderly for whom he had devoted many years to the fight for adequate pensions. Among documents the prosecution sought to bar from the trial were the story of the Pension Union's fight for a \$40 floor on pensions, and Pennock's answer to the Taxpayers' Assn. charge—repeated by the prosecutor—that the pension plan was a "red plot" to wreck the state's finances.

Pennock was one of the nation's DIAN boosters. When the Washington Guardian Committee sponsored a banquet in Seattle on this paper's fourth birthday last fall, he wrote to the GUARDIAN:

The fearless and crusading reporting in such cases as the Trenton Six, and most notable of all the Rosenberg Case, has more than established the GUARDIAN in the hearts and minds of hundreds of thousands of peace-loving Americans as an invaluable champion. Long may the GUARDIAN wave!

Hundreds of thousands will not forget his life lived for others, and the persecution that led to his death.

Pennock was a national committeeman of the Progressive Party, whose secretary, C. B. Baldwin, said:

"His death is a major tragedy to our country, to our senior citizens and to the Progressive Party. He is a victim of the madness and bigotry of a small minority. Our task will be more difficult without him, but we will redouble our efforts to make his dreams come true."

peace. Finally, the American economy would also be imperiled if peace broke out.

. . . Politicians . . . find it easier . . . to respond to each Russian peace overture with yet another "Not on your sweet life."

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Drawing by Dyad, London
"Alfie, wet's another word for 'Free Unconditional Talks on Rearming Nazi Germany'?"

Your FBI

(Continued from Page 3)

and an FBI man was following right on our heels. He was following so close, in fact, that when we stopped, he almost stumbled over us. Then this agent said threateningly to Richard: 'Junior, you start something and well finish it.'

STOOLIES OR BUST: Actually the Moore case could probably have been cracked easily by recruiting, say, a Negro servant as undercover agent in some local Ku Kluxer's home. But Hoover, while he is not above using Negro agents, has used them only against Negro interests, as when he sent Negro spies into Detroit's black ghetto in 1950 as aids to the city police in destroying a Negro family—a father defending the civil rights of his son who had killed a cop. In New York's 1953 May Day celebration, a few Negro spies postured about the platform.

Leathring of spies and stoolpigeons in

THE ELECTION SWEEPSTAKES

Pal of fascists on Liberal slate; Dem split wider

By John T. McManus

NEW YORKERS this week got a healthy look behind the false-faces of at least two self-styled "anti-machine" tickets in the 1953 municipal elections, as the Aug. 11 deadline neared for filing nominating petitions.

• Tammany's unconvincing masquerade as a "New Deal" faction—backing Borough Pres. Robert F. Wagner in a primary fight for the Democratic mayoral nomination against incumbent Vincent Impellitteri—suffered a double come-down.

• The Liberal Party campaign for Democrat Rudolph Halley as the "anti-machine" alternative seemed to be losing its main press support—the N. Y. Post—after Walter Winchell revealed that one of its candidates, Justice Juvenal Marchisio for Comptroller, had been connected in the past with Joseph Kamp and others producing a pro-fascist, anti-Semitic publication called *The Awakener*.

UNHEEDED WARNING: Tammany's most-publicized come-down came when a dozen Manhattan leaders backed out of the Wagner camp and declared themselves for Impellitteri.

More ominous, in terms of primary votes, was the failure of the Tammany-Wagner ticket to heed the warnings of its



Negro leaders and match the Republican and later the Impellitteri faction's nomination of Negro candidates for Borough President of Manhattan.

Manhattan's Negro community provides upwards of 20% of the normal Democratic vote in N. Y. County. The Republicans, acknowledging strong pressure from the newly-formed Harlem Affairs Committee and other groups demanding the election of a Negro to the city Board of Estimate, nominated Elmer Anderson Carter, Negro educator, for Manhattan Borough President. The Impellitteri forces followed suit immediately, nominating Col. Chauncey M. Hooper, assistant deputy City Comptroller. The American Labor Party had already nominated Negro union leader Andronicus Jacobs for the post.

HOLD MY SEAT: The Tammany-Wagner forces were caught flat-footed by this turn of events. Tammany leader Carmine De Sapio had forced the nomination of Assemblyman Herman Katz for Borough

President, to hold the post for Wagner if he should lose the mayoral primary Sept. 15.

The maneuver by which Katz (if he won his primary contest) could step aside for Wagner (if he lost his) would be the nomination of Katz for the higher office of Supreme Court Justice at the Judicial Convention Sept. 23-26. This would create a vacancy which Wagner could then fill.

By sticking with (or being stuck with) this strategy, the Tammany-Wagner ticket found itself in the position of seeking Harlem's Democratic votes in the Sept. 15 primary for a white candidate against a Negro. As the *GUARDIAN* went to press this week, Tammany was considering withdrawing the Katz candidacy for a Negro candidate, with most discussion centering around Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, now on a Congressional trip to Europe, and City Councilman Earl Brown.

MARCHISIO CASE: Which-ever way things went, a certain winner seemed to be the long-fought-for principle of Negro representation in the Board of Estimate, launched by the American Labor Party in 1949 when the first independent ALP municipal ticket offered trade union leader Ewart Guinier for the Manhattan Borough Presidency.

The Halley-Liberal ticket also was running without a Negro candidate for Manhattan Borough President, but this lack may be remedied by substitution any time up to Aug. 18.

More damaging to the Halley ticket was its Marchisio candidacy for Comptroller. First disclosed by Winchell in his vendetta against the N. Y. Post, Halley's main backer in the N. Y. press, the charges brought forth last week-end a full two-column attack on Liberal Party slate-making by Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the *Post*.

She wrote that "five minutes before they nominated him," Halley and Liberal Party secretary Alex Rose had informed her of their choice, to fill the ticket's need for "a strong" (Continued on Page N. Y. 2)



LABOR RELATIONS IN THE TAFT-HARTLEY ERA
The police at Arma saved their special nastiness for Negroes

19 ARRESTED, 2 RUN DOWN, SCORES INJURED

Cops and bosses fail to smash Arma strike

ON June 9 negotiations for a renewal of contract between the CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers and the Arma Corp. broke down. When the company subsequently announced the lay-off of some 200 workers without regard to seniority, and wage cuts for some 200 others, two locals of IUE went out on strike on July 24; 5,000 workers were affected. The company makes gyro compasses for the armed forces and precision control instruments for the Atomic Energy Commission.

On Monday morning, July 27, 2,000 pickets were on the line at the company's main plant at Carle Place, Nassau Co., L.I. The Republican-dominated county put its police force on "emergency status," assigned nearly 200 patrolmen, 12 sergeants and four lieutenants to the strike.

HIT AND RUN: That Monday was a rough day. Cops tackled the pickets to let non-strikers into the plant. When Richard C. Smyth, company vice-president in charge of labor relations, drove up to the plant he didn't hesitate: he rammed his car into the picket line, ran down two strikers. He was later arrested on a charge of felonious assault and released on \$1,000 bail. Before the day was

headed by J. Russell Sprague, county GOP boss and a Republican Natl. Committeeman, then sent a wire to Gov. Dewey asking protection for its non-striking employees and its property. But by then other workers were backing up the strikers; on July 30 some 400 shop stewards from the Sperry Gyroscope Co. plant at Lake Success staged a solidarity demonstration for the pickets, hinted that the entire Sperry working force would turn out if necessary.

With the situation shaping up potentially as the roughest labor battle locally in years, a federal mediator stepped in and got both sides to agree to a truce for the duration of the strike.

THE SCORE: On Aug. 1 a mass meeting of strikers in New York's Manhattan Center unanimously ratified an agreement pledging no coercion on both sides; the company promised not to hire scabs or to attempt production, the strikers promised no interference with non-union workers. But no date was set for resumption of negotiations.

Meantime, 19 strikers were under arrest, two were seriously injured, scores were nursing cuts and bruises. On Aug. 3 the Trade Union Council of the Liberal Party called on Nassau County officials "to take measures at once to prevent the Arma Corp. from making a shambles of . . . law enforcement and justice." Clifford T. McAvoy, ALP candidate for Mayor of New York, demanded the removal of the Nassau police chief.

over, 14 strikers had been arrested, most of them for "disorderly conduct," and placed on \$500 bail each for trial on Aug. 13.

Next day CIO district and city leaders met in New York, pledged \$100,000 aid to the strikers. But the violence continued; cops removed pickets bodily from the line, paid particular attention to Negro strikers (see photo above). On July 29 the company's asst. manufacturing supervisor plowed his car into the picket line. He struck a cop, a male picket, and two women. The women went to the hospital; one suffered a possible broken hip and internal injuries, the other had both legs broken. The official was released on \$1,000 bail.

SPERRY IN SOLID: To defend its violent officers, the company engaged a law firm.



Report on the Impies

Although rush hours still seemed 100% hectic, the first five work days of New York's 15c fare brought on a 10.4% falling-off in total fares paid on city transit lines compared with the comparable week of 1952. Subway and elevated rides were down 7.6%; bus, trolley and trolley-coach rides down 19%. Manhattan's slow-poke bus lines lost 21.2%.

Nevertheless, the 15c "Impies" (fare tokens) took an additional \$1,048,422 from riders over the comparable week's take last year at the 10c fare.

Nobody knew what happened to the non-riding 10%. No wave of absenteeism has been reported, no reason to believe 10% of New Yorkers are walking or hitch-hiking to work.

One guess was that bargain hunters were saving round-trip fares by shopping, movie-going, etc., in their own neighborhoods rather than in mid-town stores and places of entertainment.

Politics

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

Italian Catholic for the second spot on our ticket."

SCRATCH THE SURFACE: She did some independent checking and was told: "He's anything but a liberal!" When the Winchell jibe appeared, she put some reporters to work, turning up Marchisio's connections not only with Joe Kamp and Co. but with an Italian-language weekly called *Il Crociato* (The Crusade) which is pro-MacArthur, anti-UN, anti-FDR, pro-Velde and blames Protestantism for the growth of liberalism, socialism, communism and bolshevism. Justice Marchisio's name appears on *Il Crociato* as managing editor. He told the Post that he associated himself with the paper at the request of Archbishop Molloy of Brooklyn, that it was written and edited by priests, not by him. Marchisio is a Papal Knight.

"Most of this information was not known to the Liberal Party," publisher Schiff says they told her, "when they nominated Marchisio." She wrote:

"Amazing, isn't it, with a demon investigator at the head of their ticket?"

The Post recommended a vote against Marchisio, but offered voters no help on choosing an "anti-machine" alternative.

THIRD AV. "EL": Meanwhile, Arthur Schutzer, ALP candidate for Comptroller, was the



NEWS ITEM: Toy money, slugs and foreign coins turning up galore in the city's new 15-cent subway turnstiles.

only candidate of any party to protest the first big "economy" proposal of the new city Transit Authority—to tear down what is left of the Third Av. "El" from Brooklyn Bridge as far north as Gun Hill Road, Bronx. He demanded public hearings and commented:

"On the heels of the 15-cent fare, the Transit Authority is now unwrapping the other items in the infamous Dewey-Impellitteri transit package. Those items include scrapping essential transportation services, attacks on the wage standards and working conditions of

transit workers, and a host of so-called 'economies' at the expense of the subway rider.

"Mr. Halley, who has urged 'economies' of \$25,000,000 in transit operating costs, may be happy with this threatened shutting down of the Third Av. 'El.' But, thousands of New Yorkers who need this transportation daily will recognize it as another arbitrary sacrifice of their urgent interests to the dictates of the bankers and the big real estate lobby.

"The American Labor Party opposes the discontinuance of the Third Avenue 'El.'"

and other officers of Local 327-1 were suspended and three administrators were named to run the local. Tony promptly announced that any administrator who came near his office would be thrown into the street.

It took four days for Patrick J. Connolly, exec. v.-p. of the ILA and chief administrator, to venture into Brooklyn and take up his new duties. On that first trip the nearest he got to Anastasia's office was a half mile; the two men had lunch together ten blocks from the union hall. Anastasia announced that if the administrators moved in he would pull all of Brooklyn out of the ILA and go independent:

"The choice is up to them. If they wish us to stay with them and they leave us alone, we will be very happy to stay. If they wish us to go independent and interfere with justice in our local, we will get out. All we are looking for is justice."

THE GENTLEMEN: Two days later Connolly went back and this time got to Anastasia's office; a big crowd collected to see the fireworks. But Tony sent out word to Connolly and a friend with him: "Come in like gentlemen and you'll be treated like gentlemen." The men shook hands for news photographers and Tony made a little speech:

"In the last few weeks we have become public figures and we believe the public has a right to hear our conversation. If you want to talk to us in public, go ahead. If you ask us to talk privately, the answer is no. That's all I got to say."

He refused to give up his local's books to Connolly, who finally went away. When asked why he hadn't thrown Connolly out as he had threatened,

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

MEET AND GREET Reporter-Photographer Bill Price, back from abroad with a full picture-story of How-Goes-It in Italy, France, London, Dublin. John T. McManus, M. C. Thurs., Aug. 13, 8:30 p.m., Apt. 1, 210 E. 27th St., NYC. Donation: \$1. Proceeds United Summer Appeal for Children.

LLOYD GOUGH will entertain at ASP Film Division party Sat. eve., Aug. 8, at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Refreshments, dancing. Contribution: \$1.

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Tony said: "If they take the books, I throw them out on the street. But they only ask—and the answer is no."

That's as far as the ILA has cleaned up Local 327-1. Meanwhile Anastasia has an official bodyguard at public expense. Four detectives, two from the waterfront squad and two from the District Attorney's office, work in shifts to protect him from the time he leaves his home in the morning until he returns at night.

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THE WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

AFL showdown on Ryan set for convention next month

By Lawrence Emery

The Port of New York (which includes part of New Jersey) is described in a recent Senate report as the "toughest and foulest" in the country. The N. Y. State Crime Commission has reported that 30% of the officers of the AFL's Intl. Longshoremens Assn. have criminal records. A week ago a federal grand jury indicted three members of ILA's Local 824—the "pistol local"—for income tax evasion.

Main blame for the crime and corruption on New York docks has been placed by government agencies directly on ILA's life-time president Joe Ryan, who has headed the union since 1927. He himself is under indictment for stealing union funds.

Since federal and state agencies turned the heat on, the AFL's top brass has ordered the dock union to clean house or face expulsion. But a week ago the N. Y. State Federation of Labor concluded its convention by electing Joe Ryan unanimously as one of its vice-presidents; no criticism of the dock union was uttered during the sessions.

THREE CHOICES: Showdown on the national AFL's command to clean up will come on Sept. 21 when the organization's convention opens in St. Louis. The convention will have its choice of three alternatives: (1) expel the ILA; (2) remove Ryan as president; (3) accept at face value a recent 15-page ILA report on its plans to clean its own house. The first course would involve formation of a

new dock union which inevitably would lead to a shooting war on the waterfront. Replacement of Ryan by an administrator could also stir up violence. Acceptance of the ILA's plan for reform would be little better than a whitewash. The AFL executive council will have to cope with this problem when it meets in Chicago on Aug. 10 to decide on its recommendations to the convention.

AFL leaders are reported lukewarm on the ILA's latest report; an earlier one was rejected as inadequate. The newest one pledges to eliminate the shape-up method of hiring (which is soon to be outlawed by the state in any case); to establish "democratic standards" in the locals; and to set up an elaborate "trial procedure" for crooks, gangsters, and racketeers in its membership. No top AFL leader has any doubt of the outcome of Joe Ryan judging Joe Ryan.

"ONLY WANT JUSTICE": ILA's one effort to show how it can clean its own house is now the joke of the waterfront. But it's a poor joke and may yet lead to shooting. When Tony Anastasia (with a fine criminal record of his own, not to speak of his brother's notoriety as a head man of Murder, Inc.) thought that Ryan might be slipping, he moved into Brooklyn Local 327-1 and got himself "elected" top official. Then he announced he planned to merge all 11 Brooklyn locals and take over.

Ryan at first approved the move, but wiser heads took a second look. On July 24 Tony

RENT UP HOUSE RUN DOWN?

Know your tenant's rights — and organize to get them

By Ione Kramer

BULLETIN: Six of eight apartments at 143 St. Nicholas Av. have been repainted and two have new doorbells. Last week a plumber and a carpenter sent by the landlord started making the round of the building. They were eagerly greeted by the residents.

FIXING plumbing leaks, falling plaster and holes in the roof may not seem to be the most exciting story in New York this summer, but it can be for a million-odd tenants this year if they work at it.

The residents of 143 St. Nicholas Av., who like millions of others are finding their family budgets (hit by the highest cost of living in history) additionally eaten into by the 15c fare, are determined



not to pay N. Y. States 15% rent increase (which went into effect May 1) for the same old run-down apartments.

They are taking the N. Y. State Rent Commission (Administrator, Joseph D. McGoldrick) at its word to obtain their "full legal rights" under the new law, and have filed applications for a "decrease in rent based on decrease in essential services."

WHAT IT MEANS: The new rent law provides that a landlord may charge a tenant 15% above the rent which was registered for his apartment on Mar. 1, 1943 (when rents were first frozen by the federal government). In most cases the 1943 rent rate included periodic painting, adequate stove and refrigeration, adequate repair and replacement services.

Since then, many landlords have ceased to provide many of the services; they said that while rents were frozen they could not afford them. The new 15% increase is fixed on the basis of these services, and tenants are entitled to them.

WHAT HAPPENS: A tenant can get a form at any of the local offices of the Rent Commission (Lower Manhattan, 2 Lafayette St.; Upper Manhattan, 541 W. 145 St.; Bronx, 1910 Arthur Av.; Bklyn., 304-306 Fulton St.; Staten Is., Targee St. Court House, 58 Gordon St., Stapleton; Queens, 89-09 Sutphin Blvd.) or at any Tenants' Council branch. This blank (form 34-2), providing 31 reasons for which rents may be reduced, should be filled out in duplicate, and a notarized copy filed with the local Rent Commission office. After the Commission investigates, two things can happen: (1) the landlord makes the needed repairs or restores the services; (2) if the

landlord refuses, the tenant gets his rent reduced.

THE LIST: The 31 essential services on the blank include:

KITCHEN: defective refrigerators and stoves; **WINDOWS:** sticking, broken cords or glass, crumbling putty, worn shades; **PLUMBING:** lack of hot water or pressure, leaking faucets or pipes, leaking or defective toilets, broken tubs, water backing up into sinks; **HEATING:** lack of steam, defective radiators; faulty or exposed wiring; inadequate garbage disposal; leaking roofs, defective plastering; **HALLWAYS:** broken mailboxes or no mailboxes, front doors left unlocked, defective locks, broken hinges, defective elevators or lack of elevator service, dirty halls or stairs, doorbells not functioning; lack of extermination; broken floors, worn or defective carpeting.

Another form may be filed requesting painting. Before the war many landlords painted every two or three years. The AFL Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers has been distributing leaflets urging tenants to "demand their rights."

THE DECREASE: 2,562 apartments received new paint jobs during May and June, according to McGoldrick's office, and 2,044 tenants received rent reductions averaging \$5.17 for May and \$6.31 for June when landlords would not paint.

With a series of press stories about sensational rent decreases (50-75% in one house in Brooklyn, 44-62% in one in Queens, and a cut of 75%, from \$40 to \$10 a month, in a house at 19 Stuyvesant Av.), McGoldrick said he is "cracking down on those landlords of slum properties who have 'milked' their tenements for years and who refuse even now, under the spur of practically guaranteed profits . . . to put their houses into proper shape."

THE CHOICE: He urged landlords to clean up "instead of accepting rent reductions" and warned them that on the basis of rent reductions granted in May, they faced a "combined rate of annual rental loss" of \$150,000 for not repairing and \$86,460 for not painting. Eleven out of 12 landlords choose to repair and collect the 15%. In June the Commission granted 4,475 decreases to tenants and 18,727 increases to landlords.

Tenants know that they will stand a better chance of getting reductions or services if they are organized. 143 St. Nicholas, with a strong tenants' organization, knew about the forms, filed early, has already had results and hopes for more. Houses which filed later got caught in the 22,588 backlog of applications at the Rent Commission, despite their addition of 140 new employees.

Tenants who this month are paying the increased rate for the fourth time on the same old apartments are getting impatient. Delegations from many houses which filed earlier are

(Continued on page N. Y. 4)



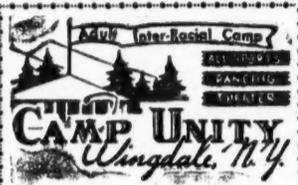
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Movie Suggestions

Better First Runs

THE LONG MEMORY (Br.) How a wrongly imprisoned man seeks justice. Beekman, 3d Av. bet. 65-66.
COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW—John Barrymore in reissue of Elmer Rice classic. Trans-Lux 72d St., 345 E. 72d.
THE SEA AROUND US—Documentary. Trans-Lux 60th, Madison & 60th St.
STALAG 17—Astor, B'way & 45th.
FANEAG THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philippe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St. Thru Aug. 10.
SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paria, 4 W. 58th St.
JULIUS CAESAR—Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. Volga Boatman (Russ. operetta) & Montana Belle. Aug. 13-14.
ART, 36 E. 8th St. Pygmalion & Major Barbara. Aug. 7-13.
APOLLO, 223 W. 42d St. Gorky's Lower Depths & Border Street (Russ.). Aug. 8-11; Between Eleven and Midnight (Fr. mystery) & A Run for Your Money (Br., Guinness), Aug. 12-18.
BARONET, 3d Av. at 59th St. Mite. Desiree' (Fr. with J. L. Barrault and Sacha Guitry as Napoleon). Aug. 10-24.
BRYANT, 42d St. W. of 6th Av. Devil in the Flesh & Two Cents Worth of Hope (both It.), from Aug. 8.
COLONY, 1519 2d Av. Rose of Washington Square & Drums Along the Mohawk (reissues), thru Aug. 11; Two Cents Worth of Hope (It.) & Castle in the Air. Aug. 12-13.
55th ST. TRANS-LUX, 85th & Madison. Shane, thru Aug. 9; Titanic, Aug. 12-16.
5th ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. The Juggler (set in Israel), Aug. 9-11.
5th AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. Importance of Being Earnest & The Promoter (both

Br.), Aug. 7-13.
55th ST. PLAYHOUSE, see "Special."
52d ST. TRANS-LUX, Lexington & 52d. L.H. cont.
GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington. Titanic, thru Aug. 8.
GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. Justice Is Done (Fr.), thru Aug. 8; Caravan & Hungry HUH (both Br.), Aug. 9-11; Two Cents Worth of Hope & Castle in the Air, Aug. 12-15.
GUILD, 33 W. 50th. A Queen Is Crowned (docum., Olivier narrating), cont.
HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. Kon-Tiki & Rashomon, Aug. 6-9; Mr. Smith Goes to Washington & Mr. Deeds Goes to Town (reissues), Aug. 10-12.
MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. Strange Deception (It.) & Young Wives Tale, thru Aug. 11; High Time (It. on Communist-Catholic conflict) & Wherever She Goes (Australian), from Aug. 12.
PLAZA, 58th & Madison. The Juggler, Aug. 7-11.
68th ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. Shane, thru Aug. 14.
STANLEY, 7th Av. nr. 42d St. Eisenstein's Alexander Nevsky & The Grand Concert, from Aug. 8.
STUYVESANT, 189 2d Av. Lime-light, Aug. 13-14.
SYMPHONY, B'way & 95th. Tonite at 8:30 & Penny Princess (both Br.), thru Aug. 11; Caravan & Hungry HUH (both Br.), Aug. 12-14.
WAVERLY, 6th Av. at 3d St. Body and Soul (reissue with John Garfield, Canada Lee) & Great White Hunter, thru Aug. 8; The Juggler & Anna Lucasta, Aug. 11-12.
WORLD, 153 W. 49th. Rome Eleven O'Clock (It.), cont.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Conc. Strange Deception (It.) & Young Wives Tale, Aug. 7-13.
CREST, 1145 Ogdan Av. Shane & Lady Wants Mink, Aug. 13-17.
DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. Naughty Martine & Sextette (both Fr.), Aug. 9-11.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. Trip to the British Isles, documentaries on ballet, music, travel. Aug. 7-9, 9:15 p.m.
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m. Films of Ernst Lubitsch series.
The Love Parade (1929), stage operetta conventions in new sound medium, M. Chevalier, Jeanette MacDonald, Aug. 10-16.
THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370.
Verdi's La Forza Del Destino (Gobbi. Coradi) & Man of Music (Glinka biog.), Fri. & Sat., Aug. 7-8.
Puccini's La Boheme (Klepura-Eggerth) & Verdi's Il Trovatore (Mascherini-Sinkabergh), Sun., Aug. 9.
Mozart's Marriage of Figaro & The Mozart Story (biog.), Mon., Aug. 10.
Psychology in Films: 6 documentaries, Tues., Aug. 11.
Art in Films: 7 documentaries including Van Gogh, Matisse, Maillo, Rodin, Picasso's "Guernica," Degas, Lautrec, Wed., Aug. 12.
The Emperor's Nightingale (Czech puppet version of Andersen fairy tale) & four Charlie Chaplin

shorts, Thurs. & Fri., Aug. 13-14.
55th ST. PLAYHOUSE, 56th nr. 7th Av. English Film Repertory. JU 6-4590.

Man in the White Suit (Guinness) & **The Browning Version** (M. Redgrave), Aug. 6-8.
A Run for Your Money (Guinness) & **Noel Coward's The Astonished Heart**, Aug. 9-10.
D. H. Lawrence's The Rocking Horse Winner & Ivory Hunter, Aug. 11-12.

Where to Go

INTL. POSTER EXHIBIT, on humanitarian and peace themes, including 4 Rosenberg posters, Ben Shahn posters of the '40's, Picasso, Mendez, works from Mexico City's Taller Grafica. Arts, Sciences & Professions Clubrooms, 37 W. 64th St. 11 a.m.-5 p.m., weekdays thru the summer.
TRIBAL WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA, documentary photographs by Constance Stuart. Amer. Museum of Natural History, Central Pk. W. & 79th St. Daily 10 a.m.-5 p.m., Sun., 1-5 p.m., thru Sept. 7.

Events for Children

AUGUST 10-15

Films

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Week-days Free.
Mon., Aug. 10—On Two Wheels & Animal All Stars, 11 a.m.; Adventures of Junior Raindrop & Live Teddy Bears, 2 p.m.; Every Dog A Gentleman & Sand and Flame, 4 p.m.
Tues., Aug. 11—8 Tons of Champions & What Makes Us Tick, 11 a.m.; Animals Unlimited & Tommy the Lion, 2 p.m.; Timber and Totem Poles & A Tree For Christmas, 4 p.m.
Wed., Aug. 12—Treasure Islands, 11 a.m.; San Diego Zoo & Princess and the Dragon, 2 p.m.; Let's See Chicago, 4 p.m.
Thurs., Aug. 13—Rumplestiltskin & Rikki, the Baby Monkey, 11 a.m.; Soap Box Derby, 2 p.m.; International Airport, 4 p.m.
Fri., Aug. 14—Homes Unlimited, 11 a.m.; Uncle Jim's Dairy Farm & How to Catch a Cold, 2 p.m.; Rainbow on the Desert, 4 p.m.
AMER. MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. & 79th

St. Free. Wandler House & Grouse of the Grassland, Wed., Aug. 12, 3:30 p.m.

Miscellaneous

MARIONETTE CIRCUS, Dept. of Parks. Free.
Mon., Aug. 10, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m.—Devoe Park, University Av. & 188th St.
Tues., Aug. 11, 2:30 p.m.—Pelham Parkway Houses Playground, Wmsbridge R. & Mace Av.
Wed., Aug. 12, 2:30 p.m.—Playground at Waterbury, Edison & LaSalle Avs.
Thurs., Aug. 13, 2:30 p.m.—Crotona Park Playground No. 9, Crotona Park So. & Clinton Av.
Fri., Aug. 14, 2:30 p.m.—St. James Park, Jerome Av. & 191st St.
STORY HOURS: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. 11 a.m. Mon., Aug. 10—Curious George; Tues., Aug. 11—Curious George Rides a Bike; Wed., Aug. 12—Curious George Takes a Job; Thurs., Aug. 13—The Story of Ping; Fri., Aug. 14—Who's Upside Down.
CULTURAL HISTORY DEMONST.: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Thurs., Aug. 13, 1:15 p.m.—New Lands & New Music.
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Rent rights

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

visiting local rent offices—some weekly—demanding action.

THE BEST FIGHT: While McGoldrick claims the N. Y. law is the "best in the country" and "not a landlord's law," tenants know that results in their favor depend on local rent offices' interpretations of rent regulations; and whoever fights harder, landlord or tenant, will win.

Tenants Council offices (Manhattan, 2 E. 125 St., SA 2-3414; Bronx, 910 Southern Blvd., DA 9-0537; Bklyn., 7 New York Av., ST 9-6260; Queens P. O. Box 147, Flushing, OL 8-0868) can often advise tenants of decisions in similar cases in the area. There is better chance of success, particularly for complaints like halls, stairs and garbage, when the complaint is filed by a group in a house rather than an individual.

Most tenants prefer repairs to decreases at this time, because if the buildings are allowed to deteriorate they may be condemned and the tenants left without a place to live. Families who have had to spend about \$10 a month for heating when the landlord stopped providing it may save money.

LANDLORD RUSE: Recently some landlords, to avoid repairs, have tried to get the buildings condemned or temporarily closed down and "withdrawn from the rental market." Shortly after the tenants are evicted in these cases,



the houses are usually reopened at higher rates no longer subject to the new law. The landlord doesn't lose, but tenants are without homes unless they can fight these practices.

In the course of filing an investigation, tenants have discovered additional cases of exorbitant overcharges. Take the case of Miguel Orta, who was charged \$120 a month for an "overcrowded and rat-infested" 4-room apartment registered with the commission at \$29.57 per month. Also flagrant are illegal rooming house accommodations not registered with the commission. One rooming house landlord made 100% profit by renting a 9-room apartment for \$122.75 monthly and subletting its rooms without a rooming-house permit for \$360 a month.

ONLY 3 PERCENT: "Our biggest job is to make people aware that they can demand their rights under the rent law," Tenants' Council's Jesse Gray told the GUARDIAN. The estimated 25-30 thousand applications which have been filed since the program began May 1 means that only 3% of the estimated million tenants whose apartments are covered by the law have used their opportunity for decreases and repairs (landlords have filed about 50,000 requests for increases).

Harlem and upper Manhattan have the best record, with 10,000 complaints filed. Many churches and community groups are cooperating in telling people about their rights.

THIS IS NORTH KOREA TODAY

No city stands, but a nation looks ahead

By Israel Epstein
Guardian Special Correspondent

KAESONG, KOREA (July 30) **H**ERE in North Korea two things stand out in high relief: (1) no one talks of or speculates on resumption of war; the atmosphere is one of active will and constructive planning for peace; (2) the ordeal of war, which left no city standing, no person unbereaved, has forged a new kind of men and women in Korea—men and women who look only forward, and are as strong and spirited in approaching the tasks of rebuilding as they were in the armed struggle.

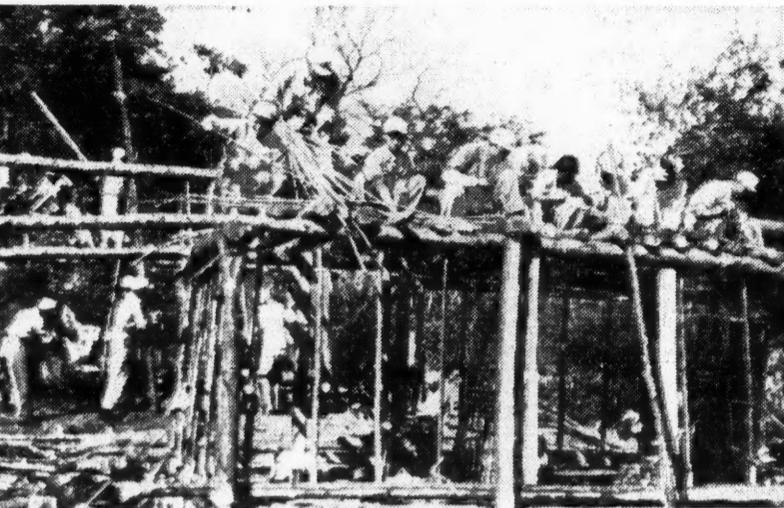
In the days following the armistice I saw tens of thousands of people gathering with banners to hear the broadcast by Kim Il Sung. Kim referred appreciatively to the sympathy and help the Koreans had received from friendly countries and said: "The precious experience we have gained in this war is our most valuable treasure." He congratulated his people on having

"...extinguished the flames of war hysteria and checked the drive toward a third World War."

VICTORY FOR ALL: This feeling of having won far more than a national victory illuminates the thoughts of all. Yesterday I visited one of the bloodiest sectors of the western front which Chinese volunteers captured with great sacrifice. Now, in the midst of the debris, shattered war material, unexploded mines and human bones they were demolishing bunkers and filling trenches.

Our press group asked a decorated combat veteran, a 23-year-old farm laborer from Szechuan province who until 4 years ago had been a virtual slave to a landlord:

"How do you feel about pulling



"CHINA AND KOREA ALWAYS WILL BE NEIGHBORS"
Chinese volunteers help North Koreans rebuild a bombed house

out after you risked your life to take and hold this hill?" He said:

"I didn't take it alone but with other comrades, Korean and Chinese, with Mao Tse-tung and Kim Il Sung, with all the people everywhere who want peace. We won an armistice, are happy about it, support it and will be vigilant in making sure it leads to the peace for which we fought."

AMI, GO HOME: Other Chinese and Koreans told us of fraternizing with American and South Korean troops since the cease-fire. One said a South Korean officer, forbidden to celebrate on his own side, had come over for a visit to the other side and said to him:

"China and Korea always have

been and always will be neighbors. The Americans came from thousands of miles across the sea and brought this war. We want them to get out and we won't fight again."

The same note was sounded to me by AP press correspondent Sam Summerlin who asked me at Panmunjom:

"When do you think the boys can go home? That's what they all want to know now."

Everyone realizes, of course, that such questions will not be answered soon and that this is not the purpose for which Secy. Dulles is coming to see Syngman Rhee. Nonetheless, it is a fact that the first result of the armistice is a demonstration that the troops and peoples of both sides have similar objectives—and therefore have

no quarrel in any way comparable to the gulf that separates their outlook from that of the Dulleses. This factor will take on greater meaning with the impetus of the truce.

WOMEN'S WORK: Here is an idea of the surroundings in which the Korean people heard Kim's declaration: Their cities are non-existent, but even during war they built more roads and bridges than ever stood here before. Instead of abandoning factories they took them underground. Hardly a village house stands, but every inch of soil is cultivated and growing good tall crops—the result of the efforts mainly of Korean women.

It is hard to see where people live, but they are in good physical condition, their clothes are not only whole but almost always look newly-laundered. Except where napalm scars have made it impossible, they wear confident smiles. Korea is greener than England or Ireland, a land of hills, streams and lush fields. The people are endlessly proud of this beauty.

THE ULTIMATE ANSWER: Every man, woman and child has heard Kim's call to develop industries, rebuild all universities and other schools, raise agricultural production. He expressed certainty that the task will be helped by friendly countries. This certainty was reinforced by Soviet Premier Malenkov's declaration and the many things the Soviet Union and the Eastern European democracies have already done to help this country in the fields of economy, medicine, care of children, etc. Kim referred to the endless schemes of the Rhee clique to stay in power and declared:

"The Korean nation is one nation and Korea belongs to the Korean people. All parties and organizations in South Korea, regardless of their political or religious viewpoints, regardless of their past activities, should join hands for the unification and independence of the country."

Will the people listen to Kim or to Rhee? No one who has been here can doubt what the final answer will be.

COST OF LIVING

How the U.S. looked as rent controls died on July 31

WHEN remaining federal rent controls died at midnight July 31, the nation's economy drew "closer to so-called normal" than at any time since 1942, according to Federal Administrator Glenwood J. Sherrard. But the 5 million families in 1,400 decontrolled communities around the nation were not enchanted with the return to "normalcy."

Controls ended in all but five states (N. Y., Conn., Mass., N. J., Kans.) which have their own state laws, and in 120 areas previously designated as "critical," where the housing shortage is most severe. Locally-administered controls remained, and some decontrolled areas, such as Baltimore and Philadelphia, passed their own laws. But rent-

avoid frightening the people into demanding local controls. But this is only the first step in a series of gradual similar increases. That was the pattern in cities decontrolled earlier. For example: Milwaukee, 48% rise since 1949 decontrol; Birmingham, 48% since 1950, according to BLS. Proposed increases after Aug. 1, up to 200% in some cases, demonstrated some landlords were taking it—but not easy.

This was the situation around the country:

LOUISVILLE: Area rent control director George F. Shaw has predicted an all-over increase of 40% within six months.

NEW JERSEY: State law leaves decision to retain control and means of enforcement to option of county authorities. A \$10,000-a-year state director will make rules to assure "uniformity" of practice.

MASSACHUSETTS: Overflow town meetings are being held throughout the state to demand local controls under a "local option" state law.

ST. LOUIS: A Post-Dispatch survey reveals some landlords are doubling and tripling rents, in many instances to force tenants out to make room for "relatives." Many are faced with paying or having no place to go. St. Louis has 17,125 families and couples without places of their own, and a vacancy rate of only 1/2 of 1%, Rep. Sullivan (D-Mo.) said. A city-sponsored Fair Rent Committee has been set up to investigate tenants' complaints. It has no authority to enforce decisions.

PITTSBURGH: With their "critical" status ended July 31 instead of May, 1954, as originally announced, Pitts-

burgh tenants have only two courses, according to David R. Levin, attorney for the U.S. Area Rent Stabilization Office: (1) fight for reclassification which the government rejects; (2) get the legislature to pass a bill now frozen in committee which will permit local communities to continue control.

CHICAGO: Landlords expect a "gold rush" (CIO News) which will net them an estimated \$100 million more annually in rents. Last year a state law



permitted increases up to 10% within the federal law, but even then increases ranged between 15 and 45%. A recent study of a slum area "back of the yards" disclosed 20% increases generally, and "many families... forced to double up." 1,000 evictions daily were forecast.

The Chicago CIO Council has begun a program of information and legal aid, including a widely-circulated fact sheet on decontrol. Unions called for a special session of the Illinois Legislature to enact controls. In the absence of state or local laws, tenants' only recourse is to state eviction laws, which require 30 days notice of rent increase, and 9-months' stay of eviction in hardship cases.

A delegation of United Electrical and Mine-Mill workers urged Circuit Judge McGarry (in charge of rent cases) automatically to declare any increase over 10% a hardship case.

SAN FRANCISCO: Rent supervisor Dewey Mead reported "landlords going completely crazy" with 200% increases. Acting Mayor Halley has named 11 members (including AFL-CIO represen-

tatives) to a fair rent committee, which has power to investigate complaints and ask the landlord to lower his rent, or find a new home for the tenant if the landlord won't co-operate. If they don't "co-operate," landlords were warned, "it will be necessary to put teeth into the committee." Mead told building owners that if they didn't "use judgment" they would get "the stiffest piece of legislation" they ever saw.

THE TOKEN: The still-critical shortage of low-rent housing in most areas is permitting landlords to get away with big increases. Congress' decision to grant money for only 20,000 public housing units for the fiscal year ending June, 1954, gave tenants hope for little relief.

(The Progressive Party called for 2.5 million public housing units a year. The existing 1949 housing law provides for 135,000 a year. The Truman budget called for 75,000. Eisenhower asked for 35,000. The House earlier voted against any public housing started this year, and compromised on the "token" 20,000.)

Last year landlords got a better rate of profit (31% after taxes) than big manufacturing corporations (12%), according to a Commerce Dept. study. Out of every rent dollar, 24c was clear profit, far above the estimated 6-7% clear profit remaining from the industry sales dollar.



payers were learning that only through pressure would they get local controls with "teeth." Hardest hit were St. Louis, Chicago, Kansas City and Louisville, according to the CIO, which had asked that federal laws be extended.

BUT TAKE IT: The real estate lobby has warned landlords to "take it easy," limit increases to 10 to 15% now to

The Passion of Sacco & Vanzetti

HOWARD FAST has been called "the biographer of man's struggle for dignity and freedom." We know of no better definition of his work. It is today 20 years since the publication of Howard Fast's first novel by the Dial Press. During the space of those 20 years, he has become the most widely read of all living novelists—his books translated into every written language on earth. At the same time, his name has become a symbol of the people's resistance to tyranny in America.

Two years ago, Howard Fast began a novel on the case of Sacco and Vanzetti. When he began to write, the Rosenbergs still lived; Harry Truman was President of the land; and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois faced trial as "an agent of peace."

The manuscript of this new novel proceeded slowly. Draft after draft was discarded. As Fast puts it:

"The difficulty in writing seemed to increase in relationship to the closeness of the theme. Here was a theme torn out of the very heart of America's agony. Again and again, I failed in what I imagined should be done and in what I felt must be done. The final result can only be called an attempt to interpret a part of a struggle I have been very close to for a long time."

Nevertheless, the final result, a book called **THE PASSION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI**, is considered by many to be the most important of Howard Fast's books. It is the tale of the last 18 hours in the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti; it is also a study in the continuing pattern of judicial frame-up and murder here in America—and an investigation into the sources of strength in people who are the victims of these monstrous incidents.

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"JESUS HIMSELF WOULD HAVE TO BE SUMMONED . . ."

McMichael challenges the witch-hunters

By Cedric Belfrage

WITH support from reactionary fundamentalist groups, and many church leaders still on the fence, witch-hunters got their campaign rolling July 31-Aug. 1 to suppress freedom of thought, association and action among Protestant clergymen. Target of the two-day House Un-American Activities Committee inquisition was Rev. Jack McMichael, Methodist pastor of Upper Lake, Calif., who had been named in a voluntary appearance by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam as possibly "tied up with the Communists." The session was one of the stormiest in Un-AAC's stormy

career. McMichael, formerly secy. of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action and chairman of the American Youth Congress, expressed pride in his progressive record and called two men who had sworn he was a Communist Party member "liars and perjurers who should be prosecuted."

Rep. Doyle (R-Calif.) asked her: "But you did establish that he could always be trusted to be for peace?" She said yes. McMichael said that as a minister of the Prince of Peace he was proud of that record and asked the committee why its "subversive" files were so bulging with peace groups and never mentioned any war groups. Chairman Velde said: "Let it be a matter of record that every member of this committee is in favor of peace."

flagrant perjury" in the Harry Bridges case (*The Law & Harry Bridges*, San Francisco, 1952), had sworn McMichael was a top figure in the Young Communist League in New York at a time when the minister was a freshman in Emory College, Georgia. Challenged to put Johnson on the stand for five minutes of cross-examination "if they were interested in facts," the committee declined.

It did put on the stand a Mrs. John Edmiston who admitted that, as an FBI agent planted in the CP to gather evidence, she had tried but failed to establish that McMichael was a party member.

When he answered one question by reading the First Amendment, Rep. Clardy (R-Mich.) broke in that this was "extraneous and irrelevant." Said McMichael:

"How can men sworn to uphold the Constitution hold that it is irrelevant?"

When the committee continually quoted itself or the Atty. General to show the minister's associations were "red," he said: "God is my judge, not this committee or the Atty. General." When accused of blasphemy, he said: "Blasphemy has to do with God. You don't look like God to me."

"FAITH IN FOLKS": At a lunch meeting on Aug. 3 McMichael told a group of New York churchmen that the support given him by the people of his farm pastorate, including many Republican voters, made his "faith in folks" greater than ever. The farmers had had a poor crop year and were "broke," but the annual church auction and barbecue just before he flew to Washington had drawn more than twice as many people as ever before. He had also had many wires and letters of support from his conservative home town in Georgia, where he was known as a fervent advocate of race equality; the local paper had supported him in a page one article. His bishop in California had said:

"Mr. McMichael is extremely liberal. I would not agree with all the stands he has taken—but the gospel is extremely liberal too."

CHALLENGE TO BATTLE: McMichael told the New York group that the witch-hunters would make desperate efforts to prove "this very weak case"—for if they failed, then the bottom would fall out of the statement by J. B. Matthews, which the Un-AAC caught from the McCarthy committee, that Protestant clergy form "the largest single group supporting the Communist apparatus."

Lawyer Frank Donner, who had been retained for the case by the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action, warned the group that there was "real danger" the committee would make good its threat to cite McMichael for perjury (for saying under oath he did not know any of his accusers). He urged that although it would be "a grim, terrible battle—everybody connected with it will be attacked," all liberal churchmen should join to show up the case as "completely fabricated" and show the threat to free religion. As he left on the return journey to his pastorate in California—still under committee subpoena—McMichael calmly commented:

"If we continue to operate on the principles of Jesus, we can set this committee back and restore some of the liberties of Thomas Jefferson."



Velde points to a photo of J. B. Matthews

ALWAYS FOR PEACE: One of them, professional fingerman Manning Johnson who "provided a startling example of

career. McMichael, formerly secy. of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action and chairman of the American Youth Congress, expressed pride in his progressive record and called two men who had sworn he was a Communist Party member "liars and perjurers who should be prosecuted."

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"Let it be a matter of record that every member of this committee is in favor of peace."

PUBLICANS & SINNERS: As the hearing progressed, chairman Velde's gavel beat a furious tattoo to cut off McMichael's allusions to the gospel to justify his activities and associations, which the committee called "near-blasphemy"; his obstinate refusal to "answer yes or no," and insistence on answering the loaded questions in his own way. Repeatedly his answers were ordered stricken from the record. He said the questions were all in effect accusations and demanded that they, too, be stricken:

"All your questions are based on 'guilt by association,' never on the content

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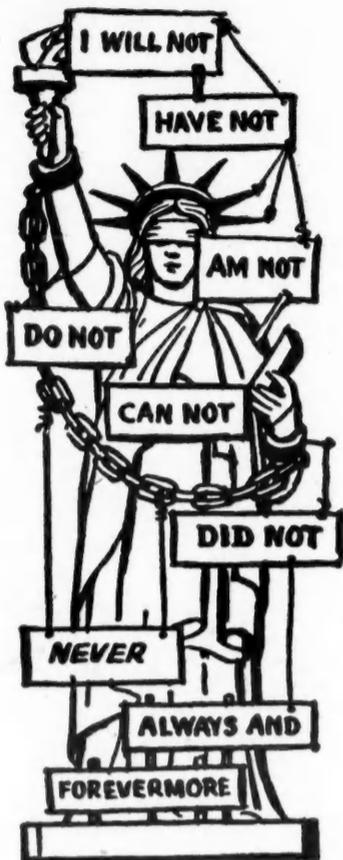
Labour MP's again raise Belfrage case

QUESTIONS about the harassment of Cedric Belfrage, British-born GUARDIAN editor who after a McCarthy inquisition and four weeks on Ellis Island is now on \$5,000 bond awaiting a deportation hearing, were again asked in the House of Commons July 27. To Labour MP Tom Driberg's request for British government intervention for "this man who has committed no crime," Minister of State Selwyn Lloyd said he understood the "disabilities" to which Belfrage is subject under terms of the bond were "not unusual under the circumstances" in the U.S. (Belfrage is iron-curtained within parts of N. J. and N. Y. states.) Labourite Jennie Lee asked:

"Would it not be more in keeping with the dignity of British citizens if Her Majesty's Government tried to get reciprocity . . . on both sides of the ocean? Are not the Government aware that before British citizens go to America they are subjected to the indignity of having their fingerprints taken and all kinds of other measures? We do not do that with Americans who come into this country, and I think we are putting up with a little too much."

When Labourite Emanuel Shinwell suggested that "other countries can do what they please with British subjects since the Tory government came into power," Lloyd said: "Each country is rather proud of having its own judicial processes not tampered with overseas." Driberg commented:

"Does the Minister consider there is anything to be proud of in judicial processes which victimize a man for his political opinions?"



ILWU Dispatcher, San Francisco

CP calls for peace; more 'violence' arrests

IN a statement reported by the N. Y. Times (7/28) as "what can probably be considered the Communists' program for the future," the U. S. Communist Party on July 27 called for the following:

- A 5-power pact to ensure peace;
- UN seating of China, admission of all states that have applied;
- Slashing U. S. military budget; world arms reduction, outlawing A-bomb; liquidation of NATO;
- Return of U. S. soldiers from Korea and 46 other countries; dismantling of airbases abroad;
- No more arms to Rhee's South Korea;
- Lifting the East-West trade embargo;
- Unification of a democratic Germany and Korea; U. S. "hands off" in Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya; no U. S. interference in African, Latin American liberation movements;
- Independence for Puerto Rico.

At home, the CP urged a unified labor movement to counter the "growing danger of economic crisis," a 30-hour week, low-bracket tax cuts, overhauling of Social Security, a broad federal works program and extension of trade with eastern countries.

"CONSPIRING TO TEACH": The same week that the statement was issued, eight more persons charged with being CP leaders, and as such "conspiring to teach and advocate overthrow of the U. S. government by force and violence," were indicted under the Smith

Act, bringing the national total to 94. The eight, all Philadelphians, were held in Moyamensing Prison in default of bail, set by Judge Grim at \$225,000. They were Sherman Labovitz, Benjamin Weiss, Thomas Nabried, David Davis, Irvin Cats, Sam Gobenloff, Walter Lowenfels (Pennsylvania Daily Worker representative), and Joseph Kuzma (named as "ringleader").

Rosenberg 'trial' planned in Europe

A COMMITTEE of top-flight Belgian lawyers was going ahead last month with plans for a *contre-proces* of the Rosenberg Case—a "counter-trial" similar to the one held in London after the 1933 Reichstag fire, which instead of the persons convicted in Berlin found Hermann Goering guilty of the crime. The initiating committee, according to the Paris *Observateur* (7/2), included two barristers' assn. presidents, Botsen of Brussels and Tschoffen of Liege (the latter a former Catholic Party minister), and former Minister of Justice Marcel Gregoire.

The committee was making the condition that members "have no governmental activity and do not participate in any way in Communist ideology." The place of the trial was not yet fixed but might be London, *Observateur* said. It is proposed to repeat the whole trial with prosecution, testimony, defense and verdict, which will be reached according to American law. The Belgian initiators point out in their invitations to proposed participants that "no country is immune to the possibility of judicial error."

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

PIERRE VAN PASSEN will speak on "Report from Europe" at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. on Thurs. Aug. 13, at 8 p.m. Admission: \$1.

UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE presents Fritz Sternberg, contributor to Nation, on "The Change in the Nature of War," at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St. Wed., Aug. 19, at 8 p.m. Admission: 50c.

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