

# Blind policy on Germany and Korea isolates U.S.

By Tabitha Petran

"The present stage in the development of international relations is particularly important and crucial. It would be a crime against mankind if the partial relaxation which has appeared in the international atmosphere should be replaced by another increase in tension."

Soviet Premier Malenkov to the Supreme Soviet, Aug. 8.

THE U.S.S.R.'s developing initiative to create a world at peace—blue-printed in Malenkov's report to the Soviet parliament—was applied last week chiefly to Germany and the moves in the UN toward a Korean settlement. The application dramatized what Walter Lippmann (8/18) called the

U.S.'s "isolation among the leading powers of Asia and Europe."

**TO REVISE OR NOT:** The shift in the balance of world forces has been registered in the Korean truce and the successes of socialist-world diplomacy. The shifts have faced Washington with what military analyst Hanson Baldwin (N.Y. Times, 8/2) called "necessary fundamental global revisions [of its] politico-military policies of the past five years."

But Washington betrayed no recognition of this need; instead it worsened its predicament by hardening its bankrupt policies and with actions which could only increase tension. These were Washington's major efforts and accomplishments in the last fortnight:

- In the UN its maneuvers to prevent a Korean settlement were so blatant that "respect for the U.S. delegation plummeted to the lowest point in UN history" (N.Y. Post, 8/23).

- In W. Germany it exerted intense pressure for rearmament and an election victory (Sept. 7) for Chancellor Adenauer's coalition committed to "liberation" of eastern territories. It scorned Soviet proposals for an early German peace treaty conference and for unification of Germany by direct East-West Zone negotiations for a provisional government to carry out all-German elections.

- In Iran it inspired a military coup which ousted Premier Mossadegh, sought to smash the growing strength of the popular front Tudeh Party and block development of Soviet-Iranian trade and friendship.



Liberation, Paris

"Thirty-eighth and last month!"

(Continued on Page 3)

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"He never asked ME, Pandora . . ."

Over-protected GUARDIAN readers, lulled into a sense of insecurity by getting the facts each week, probably thought that the big news last week was UN debate on peace in Korea and the strikes in France. But most readers of the U.S. press, like Kossy and Pandora in the Philadelphia Zoo (above), knew otherwise. How could they help it, with every political pundit and sports writer turning sociologist-for-a-day? No offense to Dr. Kinsey, who no doubt meant the whole thing seriously.

## Joe McCarthy and the shame of the Senate

The following is an excerpted editorial which appeared in the August issue of Southern Farm and Home published in Montgomery, Ala. Without agreeing with all its reasoning, we reprint it as an important expression by one of the South's most widely-read farm publications.

FOR SIX MONTHS the people of the U.S. have been witnessing one of the sorriest spectacles that a free people could look upon. They have been watching their highest lawmaking body, the U.S. Senate, crawl and cringe in fear before one man! The man is Joe McCarthy, Republican Senator from Wisconsin.

The Senate's cowardly conduct in knuckling under to this man . . . places in jeopardy the rights and freedom of every man, woman and child in the nation.

For the information of those who may feel that



De Groene, Amsterdam

these statements are too strong, we reprint here the questions a Subcommittee of the U.S. Senate asked McCarthy, and which he refused to answer (the following questions are taken verbatim from the Subcommittee's report to the whole Senate):

1. Whether Under The Circumstances It Was Proper For Sen. McCarthy To Receive \$10,000 From The Lustron Corporation?
2. Whether Funds Supplied To Sen. McCarthy To Fight Communism Or Other Specified Purposes Were Diverted To His Own Use?
3. Whether Sen. McCarthy Used Close Associates And Members Of His Family To Secrete Receipts, Income, Commodity And Stock Speculation And Other Financial Transactions For Ulterior Motives?
4. Whether Sen. McCarthy's Activities On Behalf Of Certain Special Interest Groups, Such As Hous-

ing, Sugar, And China, Were Motivated By Self-Interest?

5. Whether Loan Or Other Transactions Sen. McCarthy Had With Appleton State Bank Or Others Involved Violations Of Tax And Banking Laws?

6. Whether Sen. McCarthy Violated Federal And State Corruption Practice Acts In Connection With His Dealings With Ray Kiermas?

When asked to come before the Subcommittee, the report informed the whole Senate, "he refused, denying the Subcommittee's jurisdiction." The Subcommittee then "invited him to raise the question on the Senate floor. He refused to do that." The report goes on to say:

So the Subcommittee placed McCarthy's challenge before the Senate. By a unanimous vote 60-0 the Senate upheld the Subcommittee. Yet McCarthy still refused to testify.

The Subcommittee concluded:

Such action on the part of Sen. McCarthy might appear to reflect a disdain and contempt for the rules and the wishes of the entire Senate body. . . .

What all of this means is that McCarthy stands under a cloud of just about every crime that a public official could be charged with and he refuses to

answer. The shame of the Senate is that they do not meet this disdain of and contempt for the Senate by requiring this man to answer. Boiled down, the clouds McCarthy is under:

1. Taking \$10,000 from a corporation which was seeking money from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.
2. Having his secretary withdraw \$10,000 of the money contributed to fight communism and using it for his private purposes.
3. Having income in conjunction with a man by name of Ray Kiermas during the period from Jan. 1, 1948, to Nov. 12, 1952, of \$144,501.84, which he refuses to account for.
4. Having borrowed \$20,000 from a Washington, D. C., representative of a big soft drink company. The Senate Subcommittee pointed out in its report that this loan was made "at the very time McCarthy was attacking the government for its manner of handling sugar control." And the report goes on to say, ". . . makes it difficult to determine whether Sen. McCarthy was working for the best interests of the government, as he saw it, or for Pepsi-Cola."

And so the sordid story goes. Yet the Senate sits



there and allows this man to charge that great and revered character, Gen. George Marshall, with being guilty of treason, to slander the great religious leaders and almost daily to assassinate the character of some citizen whose religion or politics he dislikes.

A few days ago, Sen. Lehman (D-N.Y.) said McCarthy did not have the "guts" to answer the above charges. We think it is the other 95 members of the U.S. Senate who do not have the "guts" to make McCarthy answer these and other equally serious charges.

### IN THIS ISSUE

Articles on the two trials that give the key to U. S. policy:  
 The Rosenberg Case—the Hiss Case

- Emanuel Bloch—lawyer and man  
 By Lawrence Emery

- The Strange Case of Alger Hiss  
 Reviewed by William A. Reuben

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### H-bomb scare

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
Two innocent Americans were murdered by the U. S. government for the alleged crime of giving the secret of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union. Who will be the innocent victims of the next frame-up now that the Soviet Union has the H-bomb?  
M. W. Katz

### The indestructibles

**BERKELEY, CALIF.**  
The letters of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg show them to have been great and courageous people who believed in a better world for everyone—a world without wars. Here were two plain ordinary middle class people who proved, without a doubt, to the whole world the "indestructibility of human character." Their magnificent dignity and selflessness will long be remembered after the villains who murdered them are forgotten—because they were two of the greatest in history, giving their lives to the greatest cause, the liberation of all mankind.  
D. Putnam

### Simon and Perl

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
The great scientist William Perl was indicted and found guilty of perjury for denying before the Un-American Activities Committee he knew the Rosenbergs. If the Un-American Activities Committee were in existence when Jesus was called before the High Priests, St. Peter (or Simon as he was then called) would have been found guilty of perjury for thrice denying he knew Jesus.  
Joseph H. Berger

### Violence in Chicago

**CHICAGO, ILL.**  
Copy of a letter sent to Sen. McCarthy:  
There's force and violence in progress on Racine Av. between 67th and 68th Sts. in Chicago. It's real too. I saw it. I make several trips every night on Racine Av. The reason for this subversive activity is that a Negro family moved to an address two doors from a church on Racine. This is a clear and present danger to our country. I hesitate to sign my name for fear of violence to myself.  
Chicago Transportation Employee

### The deadly parallel

**BETHEL, VT.**  
Here is \$5 a friend gave me for Cedric Belfrage. My friend escaped from Hitler Germany many years ago and is very disturbed by the fascist attacks on progressive people here.  
Mary Southard

### Deutschland ueber Alles

**PHOENIX, ARIZ.**  
Our government gave a gift of two billion dollars to the West German government so that they could pay speculators in Hitler bonds their investment with interest. But it can't afford to pay more than \$25 a month as social security benefit to millions of our own old citizens.  
H. Gale

### Love across the border

**TORONTO, ONT.**  
Enclosed please find \$5. We received this bill as a wedding gift recently and are sending it back to its own land in the finest way we know. Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Hynchek

### How crazy can you get dept.

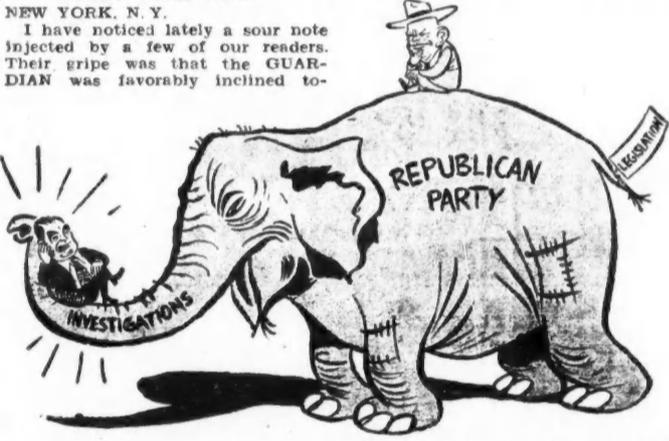
**POULSON DEMAND BOLD SOLUTION NOW**  
... Elimination of reference to race on traffic tickets was suggested by Mayor Norris Poulson. . . . From now on, no entry will be made under race on traffic tickets, and when new ones are printed, the word "descent" will replace it.  
—L. A. Daily News, July 30.  
One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Howard Feldman, Los Angeles.

### 6 American bucks

**ALBANY, N. Y.**  
Enclosed you will find a check for \$6 which I have endorsed over to you. This check was sent to me by the House of Representatives in payment of my services as an "un-cooperative" witness before the Un-American Committee at the hearings in Albany last month. I can't help wondering what my services would have been worth had I been a "co-operative" witness.  
Please continue your fight against McCarthyism.  
Evelyn Goldstein

### That "sour note"

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
I have noticed lately a sour note injected by a few of our readers. Their gripe was that the GUARDIAN was favorably inclined to-



Vicky in the London News Chronicle  
When people call this beast to mind, they marvel more and more, At such a little tall behind, so large a truck before.  
—Hilaire Belloc.

ward the U. S. S. R., unduly critical of the U. S.

I wish to take issue with these statements; they do not state the facts. You have been critical only of the policies pursued by certain departments in our government and justly so. As patriotic Americans you feel your duty is first to our own country and to the people of this country. Just because the U. S. S. R. has been a consistent champion for peace and peaceful relations, including trade agreements, does not make them our enemy.

All decent people everywhere applaud your policy of peace and democracy. Let the scoffers try to distinguish between the agents of big business and what is the best interest of the American people. The glorious GUARDIAN speaks for the best interests of the American people.  
Herman Katzen

### The native's return?

**BELLEROSE, N. Y.**  
I have a friend who fled from China when the Reds took over Shanghai. He had been working for the Nationalist government. He spoke very ill of the new govern-

ment and claimed they were after his life.

But he receives regularly from his family letters that they are all well and urging his return. He is not happy remaining in the "Free Land" and lives meagerly.

I would appreciate your sending me an additional copy of WHAT WE SAW IN CHINA for him and I hope this copy will decide his return home to his beloved family.  
Benjamin Finkin

### Ireland today

**DUBLIN, IRELAND**  
I'm writing to let you know how much I appreciate the job which your paper is doing. Your coverage of the Rosenberg Case was magnificent.

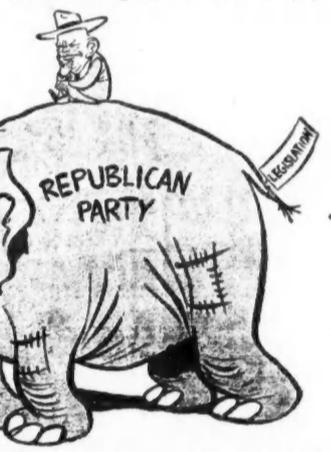
Progressives in Ireland have an uphill fight against the reaction and obscurantism which dominates our country, but we have a long tradition of democratic struggle against imperialism and oppression, a tradition which is by no means dead—and which is beginning to awaken again to defend the Republic of Ireland against the pressure which is being exerted to draw us into NATO. One thing is certain: no matter how bemused the Irish people have become by the reactionary propaganda which has been dinned into them, they will never allow themselves to be tied to the imperialist war-chariot.

In Dublin the Trades Council and the Dublin Labour Party both called for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Some of us held a poster parade through town, which caused a big stir, and also distributed over 3,000 leaflets. It's a long time since Dublin saw anyone taking the streets on an issue like the Rosenbergs. I can definitely say that the execution caused a widespread revolution against the U. S. among all sections of the people.  
Paddy Carmody

### Poling's prophets

**YARMOUTH, ME.**  
A news story reports that Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Baptist preacher, advocates that pastors of all faiths be investigated by the Un-American Committee. He says: "There are false prophets among us." That means anyone who doesn't think as he does is subversive, unpatriotic. In the Christian Herald, as in his recent statement, he backs the cold war campaign.

The cold war, in which big money has gone fascist, is a psy-



Vicky in the London News Chronicle  
When people call this beast to mind, they marvel more and more, At such a little tall behind, so large a truck before.  
—Hilaire Belloc.

chological campaign and succeeded in Germany; it is based upon Hitler's Big Lie. The fruits of the "foreign policy" are seen in Korea — mass murder of civilians and mass cremation alive of women and children.

No pastor ordained to preach the WORD can endorse such a Godless and anti-Christian policy either directly or indirectly.  
Chester E. Thompson

### Save a little space

**RENTON, WASH.**  
I wish to compliment you on the article re "Notes on the Foreign Situation" by Ernest Weir. I agree with H. V. Smith in the Mail Bag that more opinions by big business, etc., would be appreciated in your excellent newspaper.

There must be millions of Americans desirous of peace who do not share your political views; save them a little space now and then if your primary concern is peace prior to anything else.  
Bernard H. McMahon

### On Bishop Oxnham

**LOS ANGELES, CALIF.**  
Here is copy of a card sent to World Methodist Council, 160 5th



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AUGUST 31, 1953

"The great thing in the world is not so much where we stand, as in what direction we are moving."  
—OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES

### REPORT TO READERS

## Where Guardian stands in the New York election

"'Tis as much as a man's life is worth these days," said Mr. Dooley, "to have a vote."

"Look here," he continued, diving under the bar and producing a roll of paper.

"Here's the pitchers in the candydotes I pulled down from the window, and just knowing they're here makes me that nervous for the contents in the cash drawer I'm afraid to turn me back for a minute."

From Mr. Dooley's dissertation "On the Hero in Politics," by Finley Peter Dunne, written in 1898.

**THE GUARDIAN AGREES** with Mr. Dooley's healthy concern for his own assets, especially as it applies to the New York City municipal election campaign of 1953, and generally as it applies to the Progressive Party throughout the country.

In New York, the "pitchers" of some of the "candydotes" contending under the political emblems of the Star, the Eagle and the Liberty Bell are coming uncomfortably close to the Progressive cash drawer—and we counsel a sharp eye on them.

The chief assets of the Progressive Party and its branches, such as the American Labor Party in New York, are

- The best political program in 1953 for the needs of the American people.
- A rank and file which believes in that program and will go out and campaign for it.

**ON SUCH ASSETS** we cannot afford to turn our backs, even for a minute. Yet as we write these lines, New York necks are craning at the parade of lesser-evil candidates of the non-progressive parties in an apparent effort to point out which of them is the least evil. The big danger is that when we again turn back to our own business after the old party primaries are over, we may find we have lost something mighty valuable from our cash drawer: such as the principles which make the Progressive program the best in the city and nation—or some of the voters to whom we may have too persuasively pointed out the least of the evils contending for their votes.

In the New York elections, the Liberal candidate is advanced by a machine run by a politico whom Vito Marcantonio has unerringly termed "the Syngman Rhee of American politics."

The Republican candidate has made a career of opposing every civic advance ever proposed in the last 20 years.

The Democrats are split, with the De Sapio-Tammamy machine in Manhattan waging a primary fight against the powerful Brooklyn machine built by John H. McCooey and Frank V. Kelly and now led by the late McCooey's Coney Island strong-arm, Kenny Sutherland—and backed by Coca-Cola's Jim Farley. Which may be the lesser evil among these camps is a question akin to whether you prefer Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee or the Shah of Iran.

**THE MAIN PROBLEM**, as Dr. DuBois has put it most succinctly, is how to win the people to support of the BEST candidate and the BEST platform.

If our effort is less than this, we are heedlessly taking our eye off the contents of our own cash drawer; and with the likes of all these non-progressive candidates eyeing it up, this is not the minute to turn our backs.

**In New York, vote for McAvoy, Schutzer and Stewart and the candidates running with them on the American Labor Party ticket. Out-of-towners; urge your New York friends to vote ALP—the only honest ticket in the N. Y. field.**  
—THE EDITORS

Av., New York City: "I am unhappy about Bishop Oxnham and ashamed too. He informed and he crawled. He invited a holocaust against other church people. He opened an inferno. How could he?"  
Miss Graves

**Judge Weinfeld's opinion**  
CHICAGO, ILL.

Please send me 50 copies of

Judge Weinfeld's order freeing Cedric Belfrage on bail which you advertise as now available. It is just the thing I have been waiting for to give to some of my honest but misinformed friends. Here's hoping that many other GUARDIAN readers will help give this fine opinion the wide distribution it deserves.  
Kingsland MacKenzie

BEHIND THE OVERTHROW OF MOSSADEGH

# Did Washington provoke the revolt in Iran?

WHEN the Iranian Army's "strong man," Gen. Fazlollah Zahedi—imprisoned by the British during World War II for pro-Nazi activity—overthrew Premier Mossadegh's government ten days ago, the U.S. press exulted. Typical was U.S. News (8/28):

ONE TIME AMERICAN AID PAID OFF... U.S. backed the army and police, helped train and equip them, counted on them to stop Communism. It turned out to be a U.S. aid program that worked.

The timetable shows that Washington not only "counted on" the army but prepared and directed every stage of the coup:

DEC., 1952: U.S. press reported Natl. Security Council decision to hold Iran against "Reds" at any cost. Pentagon demanded settlement of oil dispute with British so "Iran may have a place in the proposed Middle East defense organization" (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 12/11/52).

DEC., 1952-SPRING, 1953: State Dept. efforts to force Iran to yield in oil dispute failed. U.S. suddenly increased arms deliveries to Iranian Army

"... on a gamble by U.S. policy-makers that, in a pinch, Iran's armed forces would not let the Communists take the country from the inside" (U.S. News, 8/28).

Since 1947 when the U.S. concluded a military pact with Iran, a U.S. military mission, expanding in size over the years, has trained, equipped and reorganized Iran's armed forces. Some 300 Iranian army officers have trained in the U.S. The Iranian police force was similarly trained and reorganized by U.S. Brig. Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, 1942-48.

In the last year Mossadegh was continuously involved in a struggle with the Shah and top army brass for control of the army. The Tudeh Party repeatedly demanded a purge of the army, expulsion of the U.S. military mission and U.S. Point Four organizations, which it called "spy

... nests."

JUNE 1: Ambassador Loy Henderson left Teheran carrying request for economic aid from Mossadegh to President Eisenhower.

JULY 9: Mr. Eisenhower told Mossadegh Iran would get no more U.S. aid until it settled oil dispute with Britain. This reversed a pledge of neutrality which Pres.-elect Eisenhower made to Mossadegh Jan. 10, but which was not made known till July 11.

MID-JULY: Following this U.S. snub, Mossadegh opposition in Parliament



THE SHAH OF IRAN  
Hot dogs are not filling

organized, to oust him. Mossadegh answered with demand for Parliament's dissolution — overwhelmingly ratified in popular referendum early August.

JULY 21: Tudeh Party, a broad left-liberal front of businessmen, workers, farmers, held huge rally of 100,000 in Teheran, served notice

... that as the nation's strongest

and best disciplined political force, it could no longer be ignored (N.Y. Times, 7/22).

JULY 25: Shah's twin sister, Princess Ashraf, banned from Iran by Mossadegh, unexpectedly arrived in Teheran. She was ordered out again but

... probably not before she had been in contact with her many friends in the court and in the army (Newsweek, 8/24).

AUG. 1: Gen. Schwarzkopf arrived in Teheran to visit Shah. To Moscow's charges that Schwarzkopf had brought orders for the coup, State Dept. said (8/19) his visits to Lebanon, Syria and Pakistan had been official, but his trip to Iran was on his own initiative "to meet old friends." Schwarzkopf's old friends included revolt leader Zahedi, "a former chief in Schwarzkopf's American-trained police" (U.S. News, 8/28).

AUG. 4: Mr. Eisenhower at Seattle denounced Mossadegh's association with the Tudeh Party as danger to the U.S. Business Week (8/8) said: "Washington is pinning its hopes on an army revolt against Mossadegh."

The week of the coup the N.Y. Times reported Central Intelligence Chief Allen Dulles in Italy, where the Shah fled after the abortive revolt apparently failed. Dulles' presence in this part of the world caused considerable speculation.

AUG. 8: Premier Malenkov declared that Soviet-Iranian negotiations would open Aug. 10. The talks aimed at settling border disputes and Soviet debt to Iran, and implementing recently concluded trade agreement.

AUG. 16: Forewarned of revolt, Mossadegh ordered loyal officers to summon picked troops to Teheran. When Shah attempted to dismiss Mossadegh, these troops protected him, arrested some army officers acting for Shah, Shah fled. Newsweek (8/24), which went to press at this point in the coup, began its story on Iran: "Someone, somewhere, some-



MOHAMMED MOSSADEGH  
There was blood in the streets

how had bungled."

AUG. 17: The U.S. withdrew recognition from Mossadegh's government. This was reported in UP dispatch from Teheran (8/21) but published in New York only in Daily News. UP reported:

U.S. Ambassador Loy Henderson notified Mossadegh that the U.S. no longer recognized his premiership since the Shah had dismissed him by constitutional right. The move threw Mossadegh's followers into a panic... Army leaders... rebelled against Mossadegh when they felt America no longer recognized him.

AUG. 18: Tudeh demonstrations against Shah broken up on Mossadegh's orders by Teheran police (NYT, 8/25).

AUG. 19: Zahedi's forces, in American trucks and tanks, carrying American arms, moved into Teheran. After nine hours fighting, in which 300 were killed and hundreds more injured, Zahedi was in control. Almost his first act was to organize a drive to crush Tudeh. The State Dept. promptly let it be known that the U.S. would reconsider Iran's request for aid.

## War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

### United Nations: The battle over India at the parley

The bitter conflict over India's participation in the Korean political conference found the U.S. for the first time backing the UN majority, and hard put to obtain even the necessary 20 votes (one third) to exclude India. The conflict made two things clear:

1. The fraud of the UN banner in the Korean War and Washington's determination to maintain a free hand in the Far East—with or without that banner.

U.S. delegate Lodge's insistence on a "two-sides" political conference (a repetition of Panmunjom) rather than a round-table of equals, was coupled with threats from Capitol Hill that the U.S. would withdraw from the UN if China is admitted. Taken with Wash-

ington's commitments to South Korea's Syngman Rhee (achievable only by complete military victory over China, as Lippmann has pointed out); the President's Seattle speech which in effect put the U.S. in Indo-China; U.S. pressure on France to implement the Navarre plan "to win" that war; Secy. of State Dulles' demand for speedy Japanese rearmament—these moves roused fears at the UN that

... American Far East policy now reflects the views of Adm. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, that no settlement is possible in the Far East with a Communist China, even a Titoist one" (N.Y. Post, 8/16).

2. The growing obstacles to realization of Washington's aims.

The N.Y. Times (8/23) conceded: One reason for the strength of the movement to invite India is the desire to put the Americans in their place... there is a definite tendency to throw off the leading strings in the UN and elsewhere. American power has not declined but American influence has.

U.S. arm-twisting might succeed in blocking India's participation but the victory would be pyrrhic. The Times of London voiced the views of U.S. allies by declaring that the U.S. is beginning "to look more and more like the satellite of South Korea."

### French strikes dig grave of the Atlantic Alliance

The breakup of the U.S.'s automatic voting majority in the UN reflected the widening fissures in the Atlantic alliance. The great strikes which began in France Aug. 6, and at their height involved over 4,000,000 workers, foreshadowed its collapse.

Launched to protest the Laniel government's attempts to put over, during the general vacation period, emergency economy decrees aimed at civil workers, the strikes "spread like a prairie fire" (NYT, 8/9), quickly took on "that amorphous, comprehensive and unpredictable appearance that has so often foreshadowed a coming revolution" (New Statesman & Nation, London, 8/15). For French labor the strikes made the greatest accomplishments since the 1936 Popular Front:

- Communist, Socialist and Catholic workers marched out and stayed out together, despite efforts of the government and Socialist and Catholic union leaders to split them. Top Socialist and Catholic union leaders who called the first strikes (the Communists entered later) soon joined the government's attempts to end them. But the non-Communist strikers defied their leaders; hundreds of thousands remained idle three days after their leaders had agreed to settle (UP, 8/24). CBS's Ned Calmer reported from Paris (8/24):

Many [non-Communist] union locals... feel their federation leaders made a very bad bargain... Non-Communist top leadership is in danger of losing its power.

- The workers gave expression to what Business Week (8/22) called "a mass rebellion against the status quo... a culmination of years of discontent." Not only intolerable economic burdens but the policy which created these burdens—the hated Indo-China War, rearmament, German militarism—were the targets. Said CBS's Howard K. Smith (8/23):

"Foreign policy was considered the primary cause of what apparently were purely domestic strikes."

A NEW STRENGTH: Communist-So-



Carrefour, Paris

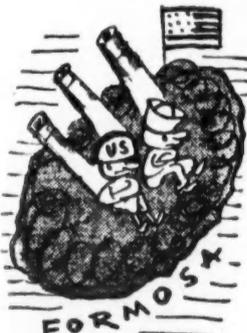
"... Bye, now, I've got to write my piece on the tragic situation of tourists in France!"

cialist demands for a recall of the French General Assembly—likely to mean the fall of Premier Laniel and the succession of "a left-of-center, neutralist government" (Business Week, 8/22)—were defeated, temporarily at least, by the Assembly's Steering Committee which voted 10 to 8 against recall.

As the GUARDIAN went to press, U.S. correspondents reported that the strikes were largely over. (The GUARDIAN's dispatches from its French sources were held up by the strike.) The Communist-led General Confederation of Labor had reportedly ordered its workers back on the job. But France's crisis remained and could not be solved by a government subservient to U.S. policy. France's "revolutionary mood," as Business Week acknowledged, "won't be appeased easily or subside overnight."

But there are 40,000 U.S. troops stationed in U.S. bases throughout France. U.S. influence in the French armed

(Continued on Page 6)



Drawing by Dyad, London

"And not did America get out of the Korean War?"

ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG CALLED HIM "DEVOTED BROTHER"

# Emanuel Bloch: the lawyer — and the man

By Lawrence Emery

IN THE LAST HOURS of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, one solemn decision remained to be made, one solemn act performed: the passing on of responsibility for their young sons Michael and Robbie, "the apple of our eyes, our pride and most precious fortune." In his final letter, Julius made this request of one whom he called "my dearest friend and devoted brother":

Love them with all your heart and always protect them in order that they grow up to be normal, healthy people. That you will do this I am sure.

The man to whom he thus wrote had been a stranger to the Rosenbergs up to just three years before, when Julius came to him for legal advice. In those three years, lawyer Emanuel H. Bloch had become such a true friend and brother that he was the one person to whom the doomed parents could entrust their precious fortune with utter confidence.

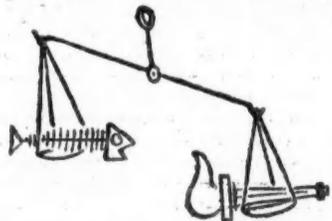
**BREADLINE QUESTIONS:** Who and what was Bloch? Born and raised in New York City in the same year (1901) when his father began the practice of law there, he had passed through many stages of outlook upon the world in the turbulent half-century of wars and revolutions, climaxed with the construction of the atom-bomb. It was as a top Columbia Law School scholar, following the public school years and his B. A. at the City College of N. Y., that he entered his father's office in 1924.

The successful father-and-son practice, which did a lot of trial work but also represented various business clients, took heavy punishment in the depression when many of the latter were ruined. Seeking answers to the breadlines, apple-sellers and Hoovervilles, Manny turned to books on history, economics, politics, sociology — and fell deeply under the influence of the New Deal.

**MILESTONES:** He became more and more aware of the contradiction between his legal representation of business interests and his developing social and economic views. And more and more he accepted civil liberties cases — most of them short on fees but long on human results.

Some milestones he recalls from those years were his work as a special trial examiner for the Natl. Labor Relations Board (two of his recommendations in 1937 gave a big lift to the Newspaper Guild organizing drives) and, in 1940, his defense of 12 Architects, Engineers, Chemists & Technicians Fedn. leaders. The 12 had been expelled from a United Auto Workers local on charges of instigating wildcat strikes out of "allegiance to the Soviet Union," at the time of the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Bloch eventually won reinstatement and exoneration for all those charged; the man who brought the charges has long since been totally discredited in the labor movement.

**NEW DEAL DAYS:** Thereafter Bloch gave up his practice with his father; in place of representing business interests, he concentrated on labor and civil rights cases. He represented many



persons called before Congressional and other investigating groups and grand juries.

At 41 he entered the Army as a buck private, went through the rugged maneuvers in Louisiana and Arizona before he was discharged, for being well over-age by infantry standards.



MANNY BLOCH and MICHAEL and ROBBIE ROSENBERG  
"Love them with all your heart and always protect them . . ."

In 1943, after a spell with the Office of Price Administration, he became special counsel for the federal Fair Employment Practices Commission set up by President Roosevelt. He tried cases in several parts of the country against employers who discriminated against Negroes and other minorities in hiring. But in 1946, when FDR's New Deal had given way to Truman's cold war, he resigned from federal service.

**ASSIGNMENT IN DIXIE:** Back in New York in private practice, civil rights cases preoccupied him. In N. Carolina a Negro was under death sentence on a charge of rape; Bloch entered the case, won a reversal on appeal and saved a life. In Mississippi, he undertook for the Civil Rights Congress a dangerous and difficult assignment.

Sen. Theodore Bilbo was campaigning in 1946 for re-election; reports were that Negroes were being kept away from the polls by terror. Bloch went into the state to collect evidence of intimidation. To get it in Bilbo country, he had to hide during the day, move about at night. Bilbo was re-elected, but when Bloch's evidence was offered he was refused his seat in the Senate. To confirm the evidence, a Senate Elections & Privileges subcommittee held a hearing in Jackson, Miss., for first-hand reports. Whites in the state were convinced that no Negro would risk his life by daring to appear in public against Bilbo. But hundreds came from all over to testify. Bilbo never sat in the Senate again.

Bloch was one of the first attorneys to advise invoking the 5th Amendment in Congressional committee grillings. In two early cases where persons who did so were convicted of contempt — one in Texas and one in New York —

Bloch won reversals on appeal. He became known to other lawyers as an expert on the question. In 1950 he was one of the defense attorneys who won a reversal of the death sentences in the famed Trenton Six case.

## The lonely battle for the Rosenbergs

On a night in the middle of June, 1950, Julius Rosenberg called on Manny Bloch. That day his brother-in-law, David Greenglass, had been arraigned as an atom-bomb spy, and Julius had been questioned by the FBI. The questioning had been confined almost entirely to Rosenberg's alleged Communist background; when one or two questions suggested that Greenglass had implicated him in espionage, Rosenberg demanded that he be confronted with his brother-in-law. The FBI refused.

Talking it over, both Rosenberg and Bloch assumed that the FBI's interest in Rosenberg was the start of another witch-hunt; in fact, Rosenberg had been referred to Bloch by another lawyer because it looked like a case calling for the protection of the 5th Amendment. A month later Rosenberg was indicted for "atomic espionage." The press, inspired by government sources, began its lurid sensationalizing of the charges. Although the outcome could not then be seen by any man, Bloch knew he was entering the harshest and meanest battle of his career.

**THE ORDEAL:** The Rosenbergs were all but penniless, and stood isolated with none to come to their aid. For Manny, too, it was soon to mean isolation. He was maligned and abused for taking the case; gradually he found himself shunned both by acquaintances and by other lawyers. But his

talks with Ethel and Julius, and dawning comprehension of the trial's political purposes, totally convinced him of his clients' innocence.

Few men are called upon to suffer the ordeal that was to come. Against the battery of prosecution lawyers with the government's unlimited resources behind them, Bloch stood up with his elderly father as co-counsel but with no other resources except his own strength.

**"NO FRIENDLY FACE":** There were endless sleepless nights, for the day-to-day work of the trial that should have been done by a large staff was performed single-handed. There were no funds; the Rosenbergs had to file a pauper's oath so the government would provide a daily copy of the trial record. Eventually a colleague, who worked anonymously, came to help with research and the preparation of motions and papers, but the task was still overwhelming.

"There was never a friendly face in the courtroom," says Bloch, "nothing but an air of hostility so thick it was all but smothering." Bound by his profession's Canons of Ethics, he could make no public appeals, use no channels of public information.

**THE DIAGRAM:** How alone he stood, he was to learn when the government presented the keystone of its "evidence": the diagram, purportedly drawn from memory after several years by Greenglass, of the triggering mechanism of the A-bomb. Only a top atomic scientist could contest the validity of such a diagram. Bloch used all his resources to seek such a witness, but there was "not a single scientist who would even talk to me." He himself knew nothing of nuclear physics — and the prosecution listed the nation's top atomic scientists as witnesses it would call to confirm the diagram's validity. (In any event, none ever took the stand.)

This problem had to be met and solved in court. Greenglass had been removed from the federal House of Detention and sequestered on the 11th floor — "squealers' row" — of the city prison; the opportunity had been present for him to be carefully coached in his drawing lessons. Greenglass might have been so well coached that no scientist would swear the resultant drawing would not provide a "clue," as the government contended, to other scientists.

Lacking an expert witness, Bloch moved to impound the diagram and the written notes accompanying it. The prosecution was taken wholly by surprise, opposed the move; then it found itself in the position of arguing to make public the "secret" on which its case hinged. The impounding was ordered.

## "I vowed to do all in my power"

When the verdict was in and the sentences passed, the work load on Bloch increased instead of diminishing. To exhaust every possible legal effort to save his clients could take years — and did.

It meant abandonment of his routine



practice for an indeterminate time. There were no funds; another pauper's oath had to be made so the trial record could be filed in typewritten form instead of printed; even so, members of the Rosenberg family had to strain every resource to pay for typing the record. To Bloch the continued fight meant a tremendous financial loss. A lesser man could have quit after a formal appeal with no blot on his professional reputation. But Bloch says:

"I vowed to do all in my power to right this miscarriage of justice."

**THE ENDLESS SEARCH:** It meant months of laborious plodding through law libraries for the exhaustive research necessary for the appeal briefs; it meant night after night without sleep.

(Continued on Page 5)

BRITAIN'S FORMER ATTORNEY GENERAL ANALYZES

'The strange case of Alger Hiss'

By William A. Reuben

If Hiss proves to be a liar and a spy, the reactionaries in America will have a field day, and no liberal will be free from the suspicion of having a dark Communist past.

—Max Lerner, N. Y. "Star"

THE proof never came, although Hiss was convicted; but the second part of columnist Lerner's prophesy, made three days after Hiss was indicted for perjury, came true with startling speed. A week after Hiss' second trial ended, McCarthy catapulted himself into scare headlines with his later-exploded "proof" that the State Dept. contained more than 160 "communist spies." Within six months the Smith Act was upheld, the Rosenbergs were arrested, the Korean "police action" began, the McCarran Act was passed; and a Dr. DuBois could be indicted for failing to register as a foreign agent as the head of an American peace organization.

At every step along this detour from America's democratic heritage, Hiss' conviction was mentioned by government and press as the prime rationalization. And today a Richard M. Nixon can occupy the office "one heartbeat from the Presidency" because of his contribution to sending Hiss to jail.

**THE KEY ISSUES:** Now, with Hiss approaching the half-way mark in his five-year jail term, comes from Britain an extraordinary book\* on the case, written by England's former Atty. General and Lord Chancellor Earl Jowitt: a



EARL JOWITT  
There were many odd things

detailed argument which for any objective person suggests strongly—and for the politically mature, proves conclusively—that the whole affair is a fraud.

Not that Jowitt himself makes any such formulation. But every issue in the trial is met head-on by this outstanding lawyer who writes of it as dispassionately as if it were a chess match. Masterfully isolating the key issues, he probes every angle of the relationship between Hiss and Chambers, the typed and hand-written documents, all the witnesses of both sides, and the logic underlying the prosecution's and the defense's theory of the case.

**"I THINK IT ODD":** As for Chambers, Jowitt finds him a man not to be trusted, who cannot tell "when he is leaving the straight and narrow path of truth." Study of Chambers' book *Witness* as well as his testimony leads to the conclusion:

I think it unlikely that a jury would think it safe to place reliance on any statement made by Chambers unless it was corroborated.

Unfortunately Jowitt does not deal with the startling material brought out in the defense's new-trial motion (GUARDIAN, 3/12, 19, 6/12/52)—the evidence that forgery by typewriter is possible, that the Woodstock typewriter in evidence at the trials was a fake, that the "dumb-waiter documents" were forgeries, and that Chambers' story about his "spy couriering" was at least partly imaginary. But in connection with the handwritten notes Hiss was said to have given Chambers, he finds it likely that Hiss wrote them in the course of his State Dept. duties and they were stolen after he discarded them. Jowitt calls it "most extraordinary" that

... a man engaging in such in-

famous conduct as that attributed to Hiss should have been such a fool as to hand over documents in his own handwriting. I confess I think it odd. . . .

An indication of the importance attached to Earl Jowitt's analysis is a "review" of his book in the N.Y. Times by Clarke S. Ryan, a young asst. government prosecutor in the case. In some 2,000 words "reviewer" Ryan manages not to discuss a single issue raised by one of the Anglo-Saxon world's most brilliant legal minds. Instead, Ryan derides the former British Lord Chancellor as a "politician"—a "holder of the record" across the board, "interfering in what is none of his business. The prolonged and "sponsored" sneer "review"—considering its authorship and that one must suppose it was checked and cleared with the Justice Dept.—so completely avoids the arguments that it is in itself a powerful indication of Hiss' innocence.

"THE ATOM SPY MYTH"

Action Books (Room 2800, 165 Broadway, N. Y. C. 6) has announced for fall publication *The Atom Spy Myth—From Hiroshima to the Rosenbergs*, by William A. Reuben. This is the book on which Reuben, who wrote the original GUARDIAN articles on the Rosenberg Case in 1951, has been working for two years. Thesis of the book, which examines all the "A-spy cases" from the Canadian trials to the Rosenbergs in light of parallel Washington cold-war moves on the domestic and world stages, is that the A-bomb spy hunt is "the greatest hoax in history." Advance orders are being taken at \$3 for a special edition photographed by the author.

**"MYSTERY" REMAINS:** That Jowitt falls short of fully understanding the case is apparent in his concluding sentence:

If the reader can supply confident answers to these and similar questions which I have found so baffling, he will—at least to his own satisfaction—have solved the mystery which underlies *The Strange Case of Alger Hiss*.

Jowitt's failure to consider the Hiss defense's new evidence since the conviction, and his challenge of Chambers' dubious story of being a "spy courier" only so far as it applies to Hiss, contribute to the "mystery" Jowitt sees in the case. But the chief reason for the "mystery" is that Jowitt seems to be analyzing the whole story—from the Un-American Activities Committee proceedings to the conviction—as if it had happened on Mars, instead of against the political background of cold-war America.

**A JOB TO FINISH:** Jowitt lives in another world from the America in which a Parnell Thomas, a McCarran, an Andrew May and a McCarthy can flourish. The case of Alger Hiss inevitably remains "strange" to one who does

The record convinced him of the Rosenbergs' innocence and he associated himself with the defense. In Chicago Dr. Malcolm Sharp, prominent professor of law, had long thought the death sentences too harsh; after reading the record and studying new evidence pointing to perjury by Greenglass, he too was convinced that the couple were innocent. He gave valuable assistance to Bloch, who says:

"My feelings for these associates are very, very warm."

**FOR THE PLAIN PEOPLE:** To Bloch himself, his role in the Rosenberg case was simply a part of the pattern he set when he turned from representing business interests to representing people. With all the personal suffering and tragedy it involved, the case has reinforced his determination that the U. S. bar must live up to its highest responsibilities to see that no victim of a harsh law or a harsh government goes undefended, no matter how scorned or how reviled in a time of hysteria.



ALGER HISS  
The cold war needed a victim

not walk amid this corruption in high places, and who therefore cannot conceive that government officials are capable—for personal gain and/or political purposes—of conspiring to frame an innocent citizen; or that government itself may engage in frameup as a means of intimidating opposition to a change-over from peace-making to war and imperialism.

What the English Lord has begun, American progressives must finish. His book's tremendous value lies in its dispassionate adherence to a logical examination of the evidence. He has done progressive America the service of clearing the road, of paving the way for what government and press hope Americans will never do; discuss the case, search out the answers in the host of implausibilities, and seek its real meaning.

**THE STRANGE CASE OF ALGER HISS**  
by the Earl Jowitt. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, New York. \$3.95.

Voice of Freedom

A letter from Lord Russell to The Nation, Aug. 15, 1953:

I am astonished that there is not more objection in America to the inquisition by your new Holy Office into the lives and opinions of American citizens and eminent aliens. The law which permits this inquisition is a bad one, and in my opinion everyone, whatever his opinion, ought to refuse to obey this law in order to promote its repeal. It is somewhat ironic that in America, which was once regarded as the land of liberty, the most resounding voice in favor of freedom should come from a German. I sincerely hope that Einstein's splendid lead will be widely followed.

BERTRAND RUSSELL  
Richmond, England

Scorned and reviled himself through most of the long case, his dogged persistence won tributes from judges in all federal courts to which he had carried the appeal. On that last incredible day when the Supreme Court in a precedent-breaking special session decreed that death must be done, Justice Robert Jackson, in an unusual gesture, leaned over the bench to say to Bloch:

"These people were fortunate to have a counsel of your courage and persistence. I'm all for you."

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, who came to think of him as a brother, were Emanuel Bloch's greatest inspiration. He says:

"They symbolize the integrity of the little man, of the plain, ordinary people. They were an average middle-class couple with a deep love for each other, with a rich family life, a fondness for books and music. Millions responded to them through a sense of identification: looking at them, they could say, 'It could have happened to me.'"



WHITTAKER CHAMBERS  
There was straying from the path

Emanuel Bloch

(Continued from Page 4)

working around the clock to meet court deadlines. No avenue of the law was unexplored. The "legal handle" used in the last days of the case by Justice Douglas to grant a stay—the contention that the Rosenbergs should have been tried under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946, which bars a death penalty unless ordered by a jury—was originally presented by Bloch in his first appeal to the Circuit Court in the fall of 1951. It was raised subsequently in variant form and in different contexts; adverse determination of the matter in lower courts convinced Bloch that the major points upon which he based his appeal to the Supreme Court had more merit and could be pressed with more vigor.

In addition to this endless work, Bloch had long since undertaken the burden of responsibility for the Rosenbergs' children. Most of the expenses were

paid out of his own pocket.

**ENTER THE GUARDIAN:** Then came the first break in the isolation in which Bloch had lived and worked so long. On Aug. 15, 1951, the GUARDIAN began publication of a series of articles on the case by William A. Reuben, asking: "Is This the Dreyfus Case of Cold War America?"

To hundreds, later thousands, eventually millions, it was. The Reuben articles led to formation of the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, which in turn led to the phenomenal world-wide campaign to save the couple. Lawyers here and abroad who became familiar with the case began to pay tribute to Bloch as man and attorney.

Legal assistance, so long withheld, now was forthcoming. John S. Finerty, prominent and wealthy attorney long associated with the American Civil Liberties Union, decided to read the record for himself when that organization declined to intervene in the case.

# War & Peace

(Continued from Page 3)

forces is great. The U.S. boasted that NATO's 4,000-mile W. European communications system "functioned at peak efficiency and without interruption" during the strikes (NYT, 8/22). These facts emphasized that one of NATO's original purposes was to prevent social change in W. Europe. A radical change in French policy would not be easily achieved; but the working class unity forged in the strikes was an important step in that direction.

## Why Malenkov stressed the W. German elections

A main factor that could push France towards a new orientation was Washington's increasing emphasis on German rearmament. At the three-power Washington conference it threatened to rearm Germany inside or outside the European Army (Newsweek,



Carrefour, Paris

"I don't know how we Koreans can accept a peace that leads to an Anglo-American tiff . . ."

7/27), and it pledged to supply W. Germany all necessary equipment.

The W. German press has reported that the German army goal was now 40 to 50 divisions, with a corresponding airforce. Some 30 or more military bases and a network of military communications are being built in W. Germany. All this has been occurring in an atmosphere characterized by "the alarming revival of nazism in W. Germany" (N. Y. World-Telegram, 8/21) and by Chancellor Adenauer's coalition election campaign promise to get back "eastern territories," taken from Germany by allied agreement after World War II.

**A COMMON INTEREST:** The critical importance of the W. German elections for peace or war was underlined by Malenkov's "carefully reasoned appeal . . . that Germans unite to avoid the path to war" (NYT, 8/24), made during the Moscow visit of E. German government leaders. His declaration, following the lines of his Aug. 8 report, emphasized the common interest of the U. S. S. R., Germany's neighbors—especially France—and the German people in eliminating militarism and uniting a peaceful country.

Malenkov repeated the warning of the Aug. 17 Soviet note to the Western Big 3 that W. Germany's participation in the European Army and NATO would "render impossible" the unification of Germany. He said Germany's fate—as Europe's strongest factor for peace or principal base for war—lies in the hands of its own people. He supported his position with an economic program to assist E. Germany and the cause of unification and a promise to return all war prisoners, except those convicted of grave war crimes.

**HARD TO ERASE:** Bonn and Wash-



Tribune des Nations, Paris  
Conference on a high level

ington wrote off these Soviet declarations as "mere gestures." But the German Social Democrats, serious contenders for power in the elections, underscored in their electioneering the Soviet warning on German unity. A number of Moscow diplomats "believed Malenkov's words would not be without effect in W. Germany" (NYT, 8/24).

Washington's "military policies" for Europe are "doomed," Hanson Baldwin acknowledged (NYT 8/2). But whether Washington will go all out for alliance with a rearmed, renazified W. Germany, or be forced to yield to mounting pressure for a four-power solution leading to a unified neutral Germany, depended in large measure on the outcome of the Sept. 7 elections.

## Attention peace groups

A "peace calendar" with background material for peace groups will be published, beginning in October, by a group closely associated with the American Friends (Quakers). Subscribers will receive a monthly packet of selected information, reading lists and suggestions for discussion and concrete community action on some aspect of world peace. Tentatively scheduled:

**Oct., The United Nations—Accomplishments, limitations, U.S. interests.** **Nov., What Will It Take to Achieve Disarmament?**—Security, welfare and prosperity, supervision. **Dec., Meeting the World's Distress**—Poverty and population pressures, international co-operation. **Jan., Immigration Policies & World Peace**—U.S. law, desirable changes. **Feb., Brotherhood, Human & Civil Rights**—Civil liberties and militarization, psychological warfare.

The calendar editorial committee comprises George C. Hardin (chairman), Earle Edwards, Wm. Merton Scott, and E. Raymond Wilson. Yearly subscription: \$4, from 1520 Race St., Phila. 2, Pa.

In Europe economic pressure has till recently proved sufficient to give Washington its way. That it is prepared to go far beyond this kind of pressure to prolong the cold war was demonstrated by the Berlin riots in June and more recently by the military coup in Iran (see p. 3).

Renews and new readers are the lifeblood of our paper. Have you renewed? Have you got a new reader this week?

DEAR FRIEND:

On September 16th, we will gather at Randall's Island Stadium to reaffirm our determination to make the truth in the Rosenberg-Sobell case known to America. This is our sacred obligation to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, to their children, Michael and Robbie, and to Morton Sobell.

The primary purpose of the Dedication Rally will be to pledge our efforts to win a new trial for Sobell and to spread the facts that have convinced millions of Americans that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell are innocent. Will you join us in the following pledge?

We reaffirm our deepest belief in the innocence of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and join in tribute to their magnificent struggle for justice and life. It is our sacred obligation to make known the truth in the Rosenberg case. America's tradition for justice and human dignity demands it. We fought that they should live. We pledge our efforts for their vindication and for the freedom of Morton Sobell.

By joining Americans throughout the country in this pledge and contributing \$5 for inclusion of your name in the Rosenberg Dedication Book, now being prepared, you will help establish the full truth in the case and support the Sobell defense. Get your friends to do likewise.

The illustrated Rosenberg book will be distributed throughout the world. It's first copies will be available at the Randall's Island meeting on September 16th.

With your assistance, the truth in the Rosenberg-Sobell case will be brought to light.

**EMILY ALMAN,**  
Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case.

— Fill out and mail the coupon below —

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## CALENDAR

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### Books & Publications

**ADULTS AND CHILDREN—EVERYBODY**—enjoys these beautiful new silk screened FOLK SCENES FROM TODAY'S CHINA. Most popular folk-art in China! Lovely to have—ideal gift! 10 assorted, in color, with printed history and suggestions for use. Postpaid, inc. tax, \$1.50. No Calif. Peace Council, 985 Market St., San Francisco 3. Supply limited: ORDER NOW!

**HOWARD EAST SAYS:** "George Marion's STOP THE PRESS! is a MUST book for our time." Cloth, \$3; soft cover, \$1.50. Fairplay Publishers, 165 Broadway, N. Y. C. 6.

**ANNA LOUISE STRONG** monthly news letter. Free sample and supplements Korea, China, Stalin, etc. Box 161, Montrose, Calif. Also her 275 page book THE CHINESE CONQUER CHINA, \$1.

**SALT OF THE EARTH**—Most exciting reading of the year! Complete screenplay, photos and articles. 75c per copy—sub. \$2.50 yearly. CALIFORNIA QUARTERLY, 7070 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles 28, Calif.

**"AMERICAN VOICES"** The People Speak for Peace, by Walter Lowenfels. (Shortly after publication of this poem the author was arrested under the Smith Act. A number of copies of "American Voices" are being sold at \$10 each, entire proceeds to be used for author's defense.) 10c a copy, \$5 per 100. Whittier Press, Box 5409, Kensington, Sta., Philadelphia, Pa.

# Trouble in Cuba --- and storm warnings for Batista

"... You must give a people either bread and opportunity or bullets. Absentee American monopoly of Cuban resources made bread and opportunity mostly impossible to give; bullets had to be substituted."

Carleton Beals in America South

**T**HE bullets which Pres. Fulgencio Batista gave out in recent weeks in Cuba constituted the last resort of a dictatorship face to face with a crisis. Cuba's big problem is this: The island which once had a rich and varied production has been turned over largely to sugar; the poverty of its people has reduced the home market; the foreign market to which it is bound (mainly U. S. and England) can no longer absorb Cuba's crops.

**THE DUMP:** Ever since 1926 the U. S., by tariff and arbitrary juggling of quotas, has tried to banish the spectre of abundance looming in Cuba. The crisis sharpened in Cuba in 1940, but World War II boosted a demand for Cuba's products—not only its sugar but what remained of its fruits, vegetables, hemp, minerals. The fever subsided but the disease grew worse.

By 1948 post-war Cuba was in a dangerously bad slump. Shops and factories were closing; unemployment was rising. Not only had exports fallen off but the home market was being stolen by dumping of goods from U. S., Japan, England. Textile, wood, paper factories ran two days a week or one week a month or shut down altogether. There were mass firings and heavy wage cuts.

The crisis was disguised because sugar (35-40% of the national income) held its own. In 1950 there was a sugar surplus of 1,000,000 tons; the fever rose only to be cooled somewhat by the Korean war. The patient grew worse.

**THE BLIGHT OF 1952:** In the first half of 1952 Cuba had the biggest sugar crop of its history (7,011,393 tons). The latter half of the year plunged the island into a "dead season." Amid rumors of impending crop curtailment (later verified) fields were left un-

planted; the big sugar planters put the squeeze on the small farmers and bank credit became expensive. The crisis hit the government's revenue hard and the deficit rose to 40 million pesos. The administration of Pres. Prio Socarras went heavily into debt, fired many government workers and cut the wages of those left.

**THE ALTERNATIVE:** There were answers: (1) trade with the socialist world where there is a rising demand for Cuba's wares—not only sugar, but tobacco, shoes, rope, leather; (2) land reform that could raise the standard of living throughout the country and stimulate a home market.

Prio, close to the U. S., hesitated too



Hoy, Havana

### YANKEE BOMBARDMENT

long without granting bread and opportunity. Batista came with bullets.

On March 10, 1952, Batista, a former president (from 1940-1944) seized power through a military coup, forced Prio to flee the country. He set about immediately to put down any opposition by mass arrests and suppression of civil liberties. The American press presented his handsome, arrogant face and his platitudinous comments on his regime ("mild, suave and sweet," he told the N. Y. Times, 3/11); but it covered up his brass knuckles.

**THE "REVOLT":** On July 26, 1953, about 200 brash young members of the Orthodox Party (conservative) at-

tacked the army barracks at Santiago in an attempt to overthrow Batista; they failed dismally, fled to the mountains, leaving behind 36 civilians and 18 soldiers dead. This abortive revolt gave Batista the pretext he was looking for. He accused the Popular Socialist Party (Communist) of instigating the revolt (six of its top leaders were 200 miles away at the time), had many of its leaders beaten and jailed. His trigger-happy police have been hunting others, including Juan Marinello, world-famous poet, Blas Roca and Anibal Escalante.

This is what Batista left in the wake of the "revolt": 100 persons dead, scores brutally beaten and jailed; PSP headquarters destroyed and its daily newspaper Hoy suppressed; strict censorship of all newspapers, radio and television programs, movies, telephone and telegraph systems and the mails; the right of habeas corpus suspended for 90 days, making it "legal" to hold prisoners without charge, search homes without warrant (U. S. News, 8/14).

**THE BIG STICK:** The N. Y. Times (8/7) reported that sentences up to three years have been decreed for those guilty of

... spreading false reports and malicious propaganda by publications, radio, television, motion pictures and word of mouth.

Batista has banned strikes, in some instances lowered wages by 50%, jailed Lazaro Pena, vice-pres. of the Latin American Labor Confedn., and Gonzalo Collado, leader of the Natl. Tobacco Workers.

Cuban progressives assert that Washington helped bring back "strong man" Batista and keeps him propped up to crush the Cuban progressive movement. U. S. investments in Cuba (sugar, minerals, power, insurance firms, banking, transportation, communications) total nearly \$700 millions. American investors and diplomats have increasingly called on Washington to take strong action to protect their profits. They fear that

Cuba will go the way of Guatemala, which has been introducing reforms, developing its own resources for the benefit of its people. They have come to think, said Business Week (4/18), that the

... Administration should use the Big Stick—economic, even military sanctions—to persuade a country like Guatemala to root out communism. The State Dept.'s silence on the Batista terror seems to indicate that Washington has heard and heeded.

Not all of the U. S. press and big business circles applauded the budding fascism which could clearly step on some U. S. toes (some planters dislike the crop curtailment). The N. Y. Times (8/25) denounced the Batista decrees "as tyrannical as any legislation in Latin America" which make "freedom of speech, press and radio a mockery." The Times, urging new elections, warned Batista that "if he continues his repression of a people as tough and turbulent and individualistic as the Cubans, he is going to stir up worse trouble."

**HELP IS NEEDED:** From Cuba last week came calls—smuggled out through friends in other Latin countries—to U. S. progressives to demand the restoration of civil liberties and the release of political prisoners. (Cuban workers—sugar, railroad and maritime—showed their solidarity recently with U. S. workers by refusing to ship sugar during the 13-week strike of the CIO Packinghouse Workers against the American Sugar & Refining Co. Packinghouse won the strike.)

In response to the calls Civil Rights Congress leader William Patterson and novelist Howard Fast led a delegation of 30 to the Cuban Embassy in Washington, and a protest demonstration was held before UN headquarters in New York.

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# The glory that was the 3d Av. El

By Elmer Bendiner

**N**ORTH of 133rd St. in the Bronx the Third Av. el roared within two feet of a blackened brick tenement wall. On a window ledge stood a row of bright orange geraniums and behind them a woman could be seen reading a newspaper. The walls must have shaken around her.

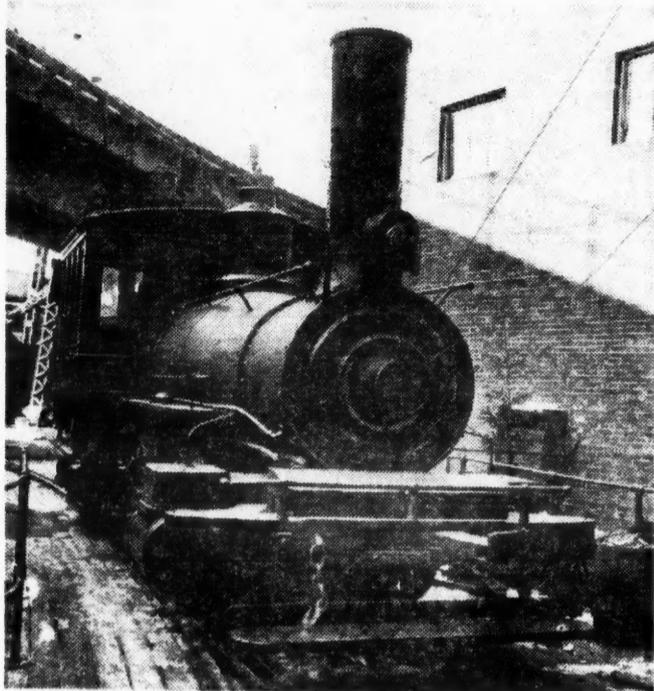
"A lot of people on Sixth Av. still miss the noise," remarked the conductor, referring to that street's vanished el. Strangers ordinarily chat more freely on the Third Av. el than on any other means of transportation in the city. There is also a prevalent mood of self defense, for the el is threatened, south of 149th St.

**THE GREENHORN:** No date has been set for the demolition of the old el but its fate was sealed when the new Transit Authority came into power pledged not only to up the fare but to trim the service, by way of "economy."

The conductor said he was a "greenhorn" on the line; he had been working on it for 16 years. Many of the others, he said, had been on the line for 35 years or more. None wanted to see the old el go, he added. There were many reasons. Under Transit Authority rules the men would be spread around in jobs underground; their seniority, often more than a quarter of a century, would vanish. He said: "I'd start out as a new man behind the last one that's come out of civil service. The union doesn't seem to be saying very much about our seniority."

He said many of the men believed it would never happen. But he gestured westward to the other side of town, as if it were another country that had fallen victim: "We seen it happen over there."

**SHE'S SEEN WORSE:** A woman near the window in one of the cozy foursome seat arrangements that invite el conversation, chimed in: "The Third Av. el's not the worst thing in the world." She had been riding it for 12 years. She added: "I could take the 8th Av. subway. It's faster, but I'd have to change and anyway I like the el." The train was passing from the Bronx into Manhattan over the Harlem



AS THE NINETEENTH CENTURY TURNED  
Steam engines pulled the Victorian El

conductor had several other theories to explain it: television, he said, was keeping people home at nights. They used to ride the el and keep cool.

**SUNDAY RIDE:** He recalled the old days of joyriding when the trains would fill up every Sunday with whole families traveling from South Ferry to the Botanical Gardens in the Bronx Park. (The spurs from Chatham Sq. to So. Ferry and from 200th St. to the Botanical Gardens were both lopped off in recent years in economy drives.)

But taking even the present traffic, the more than 361,000 riders a week would present a problem for the TA. Officials there had these answers: increase the length of Pelham trains from seven to eight cars at peak periods; run the White Plains Rd. express train from Gunhill Rd.; add two 10-car trains to the Lexington Av. line at rush hours. (As it is, trains on that line run at two minutes headway during rushes, crawl in what would pass for bumper-to-bumper traffic on a highway.)

**SECOND AV. TALK:** The Second Av. subway is still in the talking stage, filed for future consideration by the Board of Estimate. No TA official could say when the Board would act nor how many years later work might begin.

In any case the conductor was scornful of such solutions: "There will be a real bottleneck at 149th St. when everybody who comes down from 204th St. and beyond tries to get into that subway. And who wants to get kicked around down there anyway?"

The woman at the window seat nodded her head in agreement. She looked about and said the cars were old but "nice." The conductor said proudly that the motors and the chassis were better than the new cars found occasionally underground. "They don't make steel like that any more." (The newest cars on the el were built in 1910, the oldest in 1902.)

**THE STAINED GLASS:** The el structure and most of the stations date back to the opening

of the line from South Ferry to Grand Central in 1878. That ornate age is preserved in the stained glass windows with leaf patterns in blue, yellow, red and silver; the peaked and gabled roofs scalloped elaborately at the edges; the iron tracery; the pot-bellied stoves which still glow warmly in winter; the complicated bridges and galleries slung over and under the tracks. The charm is overlaid with grime and riders are only dimly aware of the antique setting. Every once in a while, one will be surprised by the sunlight filtering through a bright red patch of glass though he has passed it every day for years.

**STEAM ENGINES:** The el reached up to 177th St. in 1896 with little steam engines, a wonder of modern ingenuity, pulling the cars. It was still modern in 1902 when the steam engines were sent to museums or junked, and electric power took over.

The el has not only had its spurs cropped off, its expresses limited to a few hours a day but now most of the line closes down for the night at 6:45, opens up at 7 a.m. It used to run 24 hours a day and was stopped only once in recent years by the blizzard in 1947.

From inside the cool but dark interiors of the cars the riders see the city roll past; the flop houses of the Bowery with old men interminably reading newspapers; storehouses of abandoned knickknacks such as improbable lamps of blue and gold glass with tassels drooping (for the el gives a second-story view of the city; an insight into homes and warehouses the pedestrian never sees.)

**ORIGINALS BY JOE:** That second story view includes a fast look into the flats of New York's poor, into lofts where long lines of women work at sewing machines; also a glimpse into an occasional new palace in the 60's where the noise and the dirt are filtered through air conditioners. The el goes past Chinese movies; several "Original Joe's"; the "best beer in Yorkville"; a score



River, filled with barges and tugs, looking blue and cleaner than it really is.

The el commands a sentimental loyalty from some, but to others it is almost a necessity. In the first week of August, 361,739 fares were paid. It was a drop of 59,749 from the same week's take in 1952, but it was plainly serving a good part of the city's straphangers.

Transit Authority officials denied the fare boost had much to do with the drop, said it proved only that less people needed the el. The con-

## THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS

# Wagner's man Gerosa links Impy to Marc in 'August fantasy'

**L**AURENCE E. GEROSA, the Wagner Democrats' candidate for Controller, last week tried to link Mayor Impellitteri with ALP Chairman Vito Marcantonio. The charge was bitterly and loudly resented in both quarters.

Gerosa's statement came as a surprise because the Mayor's reactionary record and backing were generally thought to have rendered him immune to red-baiting, and Marcantonio's consistent blasting at the Mayor left little room for a charge of Impellitterism. Gerosa tried the double-play in explaining his withdrawal from the Controller race in 1945:

"Vito Marcantonio, head of the Communist-dominated American Labor Party, called Mr. O'Dwyer and told him that he had a personal friend whom he wanted on the joint Democrat-ALP ticket, that this personal friend was of the same racial background as myself and that therefore I would have to be asked to decline. This personal friend was Vincent Impellitteri."

**AUGUST FANTASY:** Marcantonio answered: "Mr. Gerosa's statement is pure political fantasy. His rejection in 1945 was due solely to one simple fact—that is, that everyone whose backing he solicited agreed that he was not qualified and not fit to hold public office. Even Mr. O'Dwyer couldn't stomach the idea of Mr. Ger-

osa as dog catcher. That was so in 1945. It is increasingly evident in 1953."

The Mayor called Gerosa's charge "an old potato," cleared Marcantonio from any complicity in his 1945 designation, said he owed it to Tammany leader Ed Loughlin.

Paul O'Dwyer, the ex-Mayor's brother, who took a leading hand in the 1945 campaign, commented: "There isn't a word of truth to Mr. Gerosa's statement. If Mr. Gerosa is in any doubt as to why the Democratic leaders removed him as a candidate, I would suggest that he examine his labor record as far back as 1919."

**GRAVEL AND MUCK:** The Gerosa statement overshadowed a grave charge filed by insurgent Tammany leader Robert B. Blaikie, also a candidate for Mayor, who accused the Mayor of conspiring with building supply companies to prolong the strike of 150,000 teamsters so the Mayor could intervene for a settlement on the eve of primary day.

ALP mayoralty candidate Clifford T. McAvoy, campaigning from above the muck, pointed a way for New York to climb out of its financial mess. In a statement last week he said:

"Messrs. Impellitteri, Wagner, Riegelman, Halley—the Democratic, Republic and Liberal Party—are all ducking the central question concerning how to get the money our city needs. Mr. Impellitteri is the Transit Authority-higher fare candidate, Mr. Wagner offers a payroll tax. Mr. Riegelman calls for cutting city services by \$70 million. And Mr. Halley goes him one better by calling for cuts to the extent of \$75 million—a so-called alternative which is just as bad, if not worse, than the fare hike, and which would curtail already inadequate hospital, health and other services.

**THE REAL WAY:** "Not a single one of these candidates faces up to the incontrovertible fact that the city can and should start getting huge amounts of additional revenues by assessing big commercial and industrial real estate on 1953, instead of 1932, levels. Our city can and should end the scandalous under-assessment of large department stores, office skyscrapers and similar commercial property, thus leading toward the realization of approximately \$150 million more in taxes from the real estate interests.

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osa's candidacy—which gives some picture of Mr. Gerosa.

"Now the rejected candidate of 1945 is trying to dream up his own version of the event in order to bolster his hollow record. His August political fantasy may make a headline—but it surely won't make him any more suitable an aspirant for any public office in 1953 than he was in 1945. Neither Impellitteri nor Gerosa could qualify for election

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TERRY WEIGHT FOR NEWS SERVICE

"Okay, as long as they insist on a bigger pay envelope . . . but not a penny more pay in it."

By Lawrence Emery

**THE** New York State CIO Council, the Natl. Exec. Council of the CIO and Sen. Lehman (D-N. Y.)—plus some 150,000 New Yorkers—last week were all solidly behind 800 striking employees of the city's two Hearn department stores who have been on the picket lines for nearly four months.

Sen. Lehman, after hearing a delegation of Hearn strikers, called upon the Natl. Labor Relations Board to reconsider its rejection of union charges and to reverse a recent ruling that would prohibit strikers from voting in an NLRB election demanded by a rival AFL union after the strike began. The striking union, District 65 of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union, collected 150,000 signatures in three days on petitions urging the same demands.

**5 BIG UNIONS:** The State CIO Council stepped into the picture because the Hearn management has refused to bargain with the striking union. It set up a five-man committee (representatives from the United Auto Workers, the Textile Workers, the Transport Workers, the Communications Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers) to handle the strike.

Last week the CIO nationally endorsed this move, denounced the Hearn company's "lying campaign" to label the striking union as "communist," and demanded that the NLRB accept an unfair labor practices

charge against the company so the issues can be aired. The strike began May 14 when the company, converting to a self-service plan, announced mass lay-offs without regard to seniority.

**BITTER TRAGEDY:** Death struck the Hearn picket line in the Bronx on Aug. 14 when an out-of-control automobile mounted the sidewalk, crashed into the pickets and killed striker Josef Monk. Acting president Jack Paley of District 65 called the death a "bitter and unnecessary tragedy." He said: "Brother Joe Monk and the 800 other Hearn strikers had repeatedly proposed and urged that the dispute be settled peacefully by impartial arbitration or public mediation. Neither Monk nor any of his fellow strikers wanted to be on the picket line. Only the high-handed and callous attitude of the Hearn management kept them there."

Some 10,000 unionists filed past Monk's bier before the funeral; more than 1,000 attended the services.

**Clear 2 Arma officials who ran down pickets**

There was bitterness in the month-old strike at the Arma Corp. in Nassau County on Long Island. Two company officials, Arthur Crowder, an assistant manufacturing superintendent, and Richard C. Smyth, vice-president in charge of industrial relations, had both driven their cars into the picket line, injuring several strikers. At the time of the assaults, ALP mayoralty candidate Clifford T. McAvoy demanded the removal of Nassau County Police Commissioner John M. Beckman. "It is apparent," he said, "that this barbarous and unlawful conduct by Arma Corp. officials has not too greatly concerned the Police Commissioner." Others were similarly unconcerned: last week the two officials were cleared of charges of felonious assault by a grand jury.

The strike, conducted by two locals of the CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers, began July 24 in a dispute over wages and lay-offs in violation of seniority rights. The company works on highly technical government defense projects and is currently under contract to supply control devices for the super-secret H-bomb plant at Savannah River, Ga. Scientists and engineers surprised the company when they refused to cross IUE's picket lines.

**NO PROGRESS:** A week ago Arma's engineers charged the corporation with strike-breaking by hiring 40 outside engineers for the Savannah River job and urged the Atomic Energy Commission to take "immediate steps to protect the national defense program." The Engineers Assn. of Arma warned that it "will not be responsible for improper operation, loss of safety features and delays of start-up due to mishandling, improper installation or wiring, and design changes by Dupont or Arma supervisory personnel unfamiliar with the operation and original design of complex control equipment." The engineers offered to go ahead with the work without pay if the corporation would also agree to no compulsion. No progress was reported from the latest meeting conducted by the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service.

**Fare is foul**

**NEW YORK, N. Y.** The fare is foul. Foul the fare. A-riding through Sub-Dewey str. Horace Casseberry

**The slaughter-house around us**

LONDON

Nicholas Monsarrat's naval masterpiece of a book, **The Cruel Sea**, now widely publicised by the production of an excellent film based on it, has been re-published in "expurgated" form for Britain's younger generation. As might be expected, the swear-words are cut out or toned down, and the references to sex are deleted. So much is undoubtedly to the good.

Those who have read the book in its original form, however, or who have seen the film, will surely have been impressed by the author's emphasis on the beastliness of war: war is shown to be a bloody and brutal business, without glamour, full of boredom, that destroys not only men, but the whole web of relationships which we know as civilisation. This aspect of the book is apparently regarded with horror by those who have censored it for the younger reader, and has been cut out completely.

The next generation must be taught to rush joyously to the slaughter-house, so war must be depicted as some kind of "honourable sport"!

Cmdr. Edgar P. Young, RN, Rtd.

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Guardian photo by Bernard  
They didn't ask the questions, but the answers affect them deeply

**THE BELL WILL RING SOON**

**Teachers Union quizzes candidates on city's dilapidated schools**

SUMMER'S approaching end brought a problem to the City Planning Commission, meeting last week to devise a new capital budget for New York. Many children soon would be coming back to overcrowded, under-equipped, antiquated schools. They do it every year; but in this election year the parents may vote with the schoolhouse in mind.

American Labor Party candidate for mayor Clifford T. McAvoy in a statement on the commission's meeting, offered these items for consideration:

"In our city today over 100 schools need new roofs and waterproofing. In 125 schools the exterior windows, doors, woodwork and ironwork have not been painted in nine years. Defective electric wiring, unsafe boilers, inadequate heating and ventilating, poor lighting, defective wood flooring make our schools an actual hazard to the health and safety of thousands of children. There are five school units over 100 years old."

**QUIZ PROGRAM:** McAvoy said the Commission ought not only to budget for the much-needed new schools but press Gov. Dewey and the State Legislature for a state bond issue for modernizing school facilities.

The N.Y. Teachers Union talked directly to the candidates for top offices in all parties, asked ten questions which added up to a Bill of Rights for teachers, parents, children:

• Will you vote to increase the capital budget to provide 50 new schools annually, replace obsolete and dilapidated structures and wipe out the backlog of repairs within a reasonable period (4-5 years)?

• Will you vote to provide the funds for appointment of a sufficient number of teachers to reduce class size to a maximum of 30, with 25, 20 or less where special problems require it?

• Will you vote for funds for an adequate number of language and remedial teachers, guidance counselors and social workers, extra health and

nutrition services, special supplies, to provide a realistic, not a token program (for the 40,000 public school children of Puerto Rican parents)?

• Will you vote the funds necessary to provide the space and the personnel so that every child of kindergarten age who may apply will be assured of admission?

• Will you vote to put the day-care program on a permanent basis, expand it to admit all children eligible for the service, and raise the salaries of the entire teaching, maintenance and clerical personnel, all of whom are grossly underpaid?

• Will you vote for an immediate cross-the-board salary adjustment of \$500 for teachers and other school personnel, support legislation in Albany to establish a salary schedule of \$4,000-\$9,000 with commensurate increases for other school employees?

• Will you vote to withdraw the city's opposition and support legislation for a pension plan (1% of the teacher's salary for each year of service) with a maximum compulsory contribution of 6% by the teacher? (Under present rules some teachers must contribute as much as 15% or else find their pensions reduced at retirement time.)

• Will you support the Health Insurance Plan and use your influence to defeat the unwarranted attacks upon it?

• Will you vote to abolish seasonal unemployment for substitute teachers (teachers hired in September as substitutes could be used in the spring term to decrease class sizes); provide sick pay for "regular" substitutes, include them in HIP, insure their coverage by Federal Social Security benefits?

• Will you vote for a labor relations policy that will guarantee to teachers and other public employes the right to belong to and be represented by any union or other association of their own choosing, without hindrance or interference by their employers or supervisors in any board, department or agency?

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Watch For Our Fall Program

# Movie Suggestions

## First Runs

**THE SNOW MAIDEN**, Russian full-length color cartoon based on Rimsky-Korsakov opera. Stanley, 7th Av. nr. 42d St. Opens Aug. 29.

**BEGGAR'S OPERA**, John Gay's gay 18th-century opera, with Laurence Olivier singing. Baronet, 3d at 59th.

**FROM HERE TO ETERNITY**—Based on James Jones book on brutality of army life, this one is no encouragement to enlistment. Capitol, B'way & 51st St.

**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**—Asst. B'way & 45th.

**SEVEN DEADLY SINS**—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per six. Parla, 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. Krakut (prophetic Czech film on the atomic age from Karel Capek novel) & Great Missouri Raid, Sept. 3-4.

**ART**, 36 E. 8th St. Fanfan the Tulp (Fr.), cont.

**BREKMAN**, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. Mask of the Himalayas (docum. scenery), cont.

**BEVERLY**, 3d Av. at 50th St. Last Holiday (Br. Guinness) & Glass Menagerie, thru Aug. 29; Rastomon & Kontiki, Aug. 30-Sept. 1; Under the Paris Sky (Fr.) & Narrow Margin, Sept. 2-5.

**85TH ST. TRANS-LUX**, 85th & Madison. Fanfan the Tulp, thru Sept. 1. **FILM FESTIVAL**: 8 B'way stage hits: Showboat, Sept. 2; Odets' Golden Boy, Sept. 3; One Touch of Venus, Sept. 4.

**8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE**, 52 W. 8th. 2 reissues: Hired Wife (C. Grant, R. Russell) & My Man Godfrey (W. Powell, C. Lombard), thru Sept. 1; The Lodger (Jack the Ripper) & Ox Bow Incident, Sept. 2-5.

**5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE**, 5th Av. at 13th St. Outcast of the Islands (Br.) & Breaking the Sound Barrier, thru Sept. 3.

**52D ST. TRANS-LUX**, Lexington & 52d. Lili, cont.

**FINE ARTS**, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. The Cruel Sea, (Br. docum.—type from Monsarrat novel, cont.)

**GRAMERCY**, Lexington & 23d. His Girl Friday & Brave Bulls, Aug. 21-Sept. 1; Peter Pan, Sept. 2-4.

**GREENWICH**, Greenwich Av. at 12th St. Male War Bride & Broken Arrow, thru Aug. 29; Kontiki & Rastomon, Sept. 2-5.

**GUILD**, 33 W. 50th. A Queen Is Crowned (docum., Olivier narrating), cont.

**HEIGHTS**, 150 Wadsworth Av. Golden Salamander & Oliver Twist (both Br.), Aug. 27-Sept. 3.

**MIDTOWN**, B'way & 100th. Fanfan the Tulp & Wherever She Goes (Australian), thru Sept. 1; Amaz-

ing M. Fabray (Fr.), from Sept. 2.

**PLAZA**, 58th & Madison. Below the Sahara (color docum.)—from Sept. 1.

**STUYVESANT**, 189 2d Av. Ox Bow Incident & Bowery to Broadway, Aug. 29; Singing in the Rain (good musical) & Woman of the North Country (western), Aug. 30-31; Plymouth Adventure & Hour of 13, Sept. 1-2.

**SYMPHONY**, B'way & 95th. Hidden Room & Blue Lamp (both Br.), Aug. 29-30.

**WAVERLY**, 6th Av. & 3d St. Two Cents Worth of Hope, Aug. 3-4.

**WORLD**, 153 W. 49th. Rome Eleven O'clock (It.), cont.

## Bronx

**DOVER**, 1723 Boston Rd. Shane & Lady Wants Mink, thru Aug. 29; Two Cents Worth of Hope & I Believe in You, Aug. 30-31.

## Special

**CLUB CINEMA**, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 1 showing, 9:15 p.m. Meet John Doe (1941), Frank Capra, dir., G. Cooper, B. Stanwyck, Aug. 28-30.

**MUSEUM OF MODERN ART**, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m. Films of Ernst Lubitsch series. *Desire* (1936), Dietrich & Cooper, Aug. 31-Sept. 6.

**THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL**, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370. *To Live in Peace* (It.), Aldo Fabrizi & L'Orage (Fr. The Tempest, Boyer, Morgan, Barrault), Sat., Aug. 29.

*Heart of Paris* (Fr. Raimu-Morgan) & *Jouvet in Monelle*, Sun., Aug. 30.

*Cocteau's The Strange Ones & Young and the Damned* (Mexican), Mon., Aug. 31.

*Strauss' Gypsy Baron & Vienna Melodies* operetta, Tues., Sept. 1.

*Fathers Dilemma* (It.) & *Gina Loblorigida* in Miss Italy comedy, Wed., Sept. 2.

*Casque d'Or & Dedee* (both Fr.), Thurs., Sept. 3.

*Sacha Guitry in My Last Mistress & Lucrezia Borgia* (both Fr.), Fri., Sept. 4.

**55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE. ENGLISH FILM REPERTORY**, 55th near 7th Av. *Tales of Hoffman & The Mikado*, Aug. 27-29.

*The Seventh Veil* (J. Mason) & *Shaw's Caesar and Cleopatra*, Aug. 30-31.

*Graham Greene's thriller Brighton Rock & Carol Reed's Outcast of the Islands*, Sept. 1-2.

*Maugham's Trio & Dickens' Great Expectations*, Sept. 3-5.

## THE CLOCK IS TURNED BACK 100 YEARS

# City Housing Dept. issues blanks legalizing cellar apartments to 'relieve' acute shortage

By Ione Kramer

IN 1844, Dr. John H. Griscomb, a City Inspector, said:

"The most offensive of all places for residents are the cellars. It is almost impossible to maintain the proper degree of calmness requisite for a thorough inspection . . . (of the) mournful and disgusting conditions in which many thousands of the subjects of our government pass their lives. . ."

Last week the City Dept. of Housing and Building turned the clock back more than 100 years by announcing it is issuing application blanks for landlords seeking to "legalize" cellar apartments. The move implemented an act passed by the 1953 state legislature permitting presently-occupied cellars (apartments more than half below the curb level) to be legalized for two years as temporary relief for the housing shortage and is being carried out despite a Health Dept. hearing in June at which every witness testified against it.

**FIRE AND FILTH:** An estimated 15 to 30 thousand cellar apartments are now occupied in violation of the city's sanitary code, but the Health Dept.'s policy has been to permit tenants to remain there "until they find other homes." In April, 1952, the Health Dept. reported cellar apartment rents ranging up to \$70 a month, with roomers paying as much as \$20 a week. It said:

"Landlords are collecting as much as \$200 a month for dark, dirty and unhealthy cellars. The use of cellars as living quarters is a safety and health hazard not only to the families in the cellars, but to all other tenants in the buildings. If a fire were to start in a cellar it



could sweep all through the building and the filth, so often found in occupied cellars, is a health menace to every person in the building."

ALP mayoralty candidate Clifford T. McAvoy charged the Impellitteri administration is "happily urging gouging landlords to continue to reap high rents from these death-trap abodes," urged real rent control, more low-rent housing projects and effective enforcement of safety and health regulations.

**FADING HOPES:** Cellar tenants, forced to choose between death-traps or no apartments, were not impressed with the "legalization," saw little hope for more low-rent housing despite the huge press fanfare on the opening of the Baruch Houses.

When Pres. Eisenhower downed his golf clubs long enough to fly to N. Y. to dedicate the new federally-aided Baruch Houses in Manhattan's east side, he heard N. Y. City Planning Commissioner Robert Moses score the "deplorable resurgence of hardboiled reactionaries" in Congress, which cut appropriations for federal housing to 20,000 units for the entire country; he heard Mayor Impellitteri, putting his political foot into his political mouth, attribute "much of our housing problem . . . to immigration—notably from Puerto Rico"; he heard both the Mayor and Gov. Dewey claim credit for any housing funds secured and forcibly assert that public housing is "not socialism."

**HEAVY AXE:** Tributes to the East Side, to housing for "the least of us" and to cold-war financier Bernard Baruch and his father Simon, for whom the project is named, obscured a few tell-tale figures. Less than 2,000 low-rent apartments can be begun in N. Y. with federal aid this year (Brevoort project, 484; La Guardia, 490; Gen. Grant, 1,000.) Several thousand

apartments planned to open this year, some of them already in construction, will be postponed (La Guardia II, Geo. Washington, Jefferson, Baruch II, Grant, Triboro); 8,800 others previously authorized will "never be built" according to the N. Y. C. Housing Authority. (The federal housing program was established with the aim of constructing 10,000 new units in N. Y. in a "normal" year.) Last year 71,700 families applied to live in federal projects, but only one out of ten families found homes in the 7,381 new apartments opened. A total of 59,312 families, or an estimated 220,000 people, are still waiting.

Baruch houses had been planned with 2,194 units, but after all the speeches and tributes were over last week, there will still be only 750 apartments ready to move into this fall; the rest will be postponed for two years.

## Supreme Court reform

**NEW YORK, N. Y.** Several years ago I wrote you to suggest that you begin a campaign designed to inform the American people of the dangers that exist in the American judicial system, particularly in the Supreme Court. I suggested that Thomas Jefferson was the best source for material on the dangers that the courts are to our democracy.

As you well know, the Supreme Court's unholy decision in the Rosenberg case—and their un-Christian haste to put these two innocent Jews to death 15 minutes before the Jewish Sabbath—poignantly illustrates the court's dangers to our way of life.

I now make a further suggestion: Begin a campaign calling for review of Supreme Court decisions by the people of the country. States like Oregon can upset laws passed by the legislature provided a certain number of the people petition for its review. The issue is then put up at election time or at a special election for the people to approve or disapprove the legislature's action.

Question: Why not a campaign to elect Supreme Court judges? That would liberalize them. If they were somehow subject to popular pressure, their decisions would be in accordance with our wishes.

Philanthropos II

# Events for Children

**B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM**, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. **FILMS:** Mon., Aug. 31. The New Paul Bunyan, 11 a.m.; You and Your Bicycle & Mary Had a Little Lamb, 2 p.m.; The American Road, 4 p.m. **STORY HOUR:** Mon., Aug. 31. Why Pigs Have Curly Tails, 11:30 a.m. Other films will be shown daily at 11 a.m., 2 & 4 p.m.; story hour, 11:30 p.m.; cultural history demonstr., Thurs., 1:15 p.m.

**B'KLYN MUSEUM**, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Travel films for older children. Mon. & Wed. at 2 p.m. Free.

**LOLLIPOP FARM:** Stories told three times on Saturday by Mistress Mary, who also entertains the children by making storybook animals with vegetables. Route No. 25, Jericho Turnpike, Syosett, L. I. Open daily 10 a.m.-5 p.m. 50c.

**N. Y. Public Library:** Stories in Spanish, Aguilar Branch, 174 E. 110 St., Wednesday, 2:30 p.m., thru August. Story hours at other branches, check local branches for time.

**MARIONETTE CIRCUS**, Dept. of Parks, Free. **MANHATTAN:** Mon., Aug. 31, 2:30 p.m. Mt. Morris Playground, E. 123d St. & Madison Av.

Tues., Sept. 1, 10:30 a.m. Bellevue Hospital, parking lot east of Hospital; 2:30 p.m., Chelsea Play-

ground, W. 28th St. bet. 8-9 Aves. Wed., Sept. 2, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m. Jay Hood Wright Playground, 173d St. & Ft. Washington Av. Thurs., Sept. 3, 2:30 p.m. Lincoln Houses Playground, 5th Av. & E. 135th St. Fri., Sept. 4, 2:30 p.m. Colonial Park, 147th St. & Bradhurst Av.

You can get hundreds of listings of children's activities—many free, many listed nowhere else—for every day of the month, in advance! For one year subscription (12 Monthly Issues) just send \$2 with name and address to Box MC, Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

# Radio Tips

"LET'S SPEAK ENGLISH," a 10-day course in English for Spanish-speaking people, will be presented by station WNYC daily (except Sat. & Sun.) at 2 p.m., Aug. 31 through Sept. 11.

A five-week series of broadcasts of the Perpignan Music Festival in France with cellist Pablo Casals conducting the Festival Orchestra, and outstanding vocal and instrumental artists, will be heard Sundays (12 noon to 1 p.m.) through Sept. 20.

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Aug. 28-30: Meet John Doe  
Story in humanist tradition.  
Stars Gary Cooper & Barbara Stanwyck. . . a credo for democracy.—Herald Tribune.  
Dur. Aug.—1 show at 9:15 p.m. Fri., Sat., Sun. Social from 8.  
Sept. 4-6: Jackie Robinson Story  
Members, \$1; Non-Members \$1.25  
430 6th Av.  
**CLUB CINEMA** Nr. 9th St.

**Life in Arctic**  
Snow Maiden  
Music by BRUCE HANCOCK

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