

The PW exchange: Brutality or bunk?

The exchange of prisoners in Korea is over—except for the disposition of PW's who have rejected repatriation and the 27,000 who were illegally released by Syngman Rhee. In the weeks of the exchange, the U.S. press carried lurid headlines and stories of atrocities, death marches, starvation and brutality inflicted on U.S. PW's by the North Koreans and the Chinese. Do these stories have validity? If they do not, why were they told? The GUARDIAN will attempt in two articles (of which this is the first) to answer these questions.

The research for these articles turned up scores of stories—released by N. Korean and Chinese news agencies—of atrocities inflicted on PW's in UN-manned camps. If these stories (many of which were reported in Australian correspondent Wilfred Burchett's book *Koje Unscreened*, GUARDIAN, 5/13/53) are in tenth part true—and they are too well documented to be dismissed—they form a damning indictment. These articles, however, will be confined to the just-completed PW exchange as reported in the U.S. press, because these are the stories America has read.

By James Aronson

TWENTY months ago, on Jan. 2, 1952, United Press sent out this dispatch quoting the NBC correspondent in Tokio:

Special officers are now reading all letters sent out of Communist camps by American prisoners. . . . These officers look for . . . any evidence that the doughboys have succumbed to the Communist line. . . . Officers especially selected and trained are now ready to interrogate our soldiers after they are released.

In April, 1953, Operation Little Switch began; 149 sick and injured Americans were exchanged—and UP elaborated:

[The Army] is ready with a program to "reorient" to the American way of life any released prisoners who may have succumbed to Communist propaganda. . . . Medical officers gave assurances that any psychiatric cases will be spotted at the screening process the soldiers will go through after their release. . . .

ICE-CREAM WASH: The great brain de-washing was on. The specially-trained officers, armed with ice-cream



People's Voice, Auckland, N. Z.
"There I wuz! Prizner of war! Fed within an inch of my life! Torchered with book readin'! Surrounded by convoited G.I.'s!"

cones and comic books, descended on the stretcher cases. Some GI's, too sick or bewildered, spurned the ice cream. Others apparently failed the test in other ways; AP reported (5/1):

A plane load of repatriated American PW's from Korea, designated by the Air Force as "victims of Communist propaganda," arrived [at San Francisco] under a cloak of military secrecy. The cloak of secrecy was clamped down when the plane left Tokyo. The Air Force said it was ordered by the Pentagon.

But there was a leak: it was revealed that 23 GI's were being flown to Valley Forge Army Hospital at Phoenixville, Pa., for psychiatric treatment. The GI's were outraged; their families stormed the hospital; newspapers wrote indignant editorials—and the Army passed the buck. It admitted the story, denied it, then said the hospitalization was routine. The Los Angeles Mirror (5/4) quoted one Army doctor:

"I don't know where this idea started, but there's one thing for sure—we're not running a damned laundromat here."

29,000 PROPAGANDISTS: The protest forced the Army to backtrack—to deep-

er secrecy. What has happened to the Valley Forge GI's? It is impossible to get accurate information, but the N. Y. Times (8/13) offered a hint in a Washington dispatch:

Reports have persisted, only partly confirmed, that some of these earlier returned prisoners remain under official surveillance even though released from the armed services. [A] Pentagon official said Army medical authorities would certainly be interested in having talks with any [subsequently] returned prisoners who appear to have accepted the "Communist line."

The Pentagon was worried. As the date for Operation Big Switch approached, it disclosed that American PW's in N. Korean camps had written 29,000 letters home and that "virtually all these letters contained Communist propaganda to some degree." One degree may have been the universal reassurances the PW's gave their families that they had enough to eat, got adequate medical care and were being treated decently.

"THEY WILL BE WATCHED": Armed with this information and with the lessons of Little Switch, the Army prepared for Big Switch. UP reported (8/1) that military censors would forbid returning prisoners from

. . . revealing all their experiences in the Red prison camps. [They will be required to] sign statements that they understand the censorship rules. The statements will bind the prisoners even after they return home and talk with newsmen working outside military censorship [to keep them

(Continued on Page 4)

Washington's attempt to destroy the UN Charter meets wide resistance; Attlee denounces 'intolerance' of U.S. policy

By Tabitha Petran

"THE UNITED STATES," said Business Week 4 years ago (10/22/49), "has commanded bigger and bigger majorities in the United Nations to justify its crusade against communism. . . . Basically UN is a U.S. structure. . . . The U.S. gets what it pays for."

The conversion of UN into an instrument of this "crusade" produced a profound crisis, which has burst into the open with the initial efforts to settle the Korean War. Now a crucial battle is being fought in the UN General Assembly (see p. 3) to restore UN to its original purpose—a universal arena to seek agreement. Only if that is achieved can Washington's policy be peacefully readjusted to realities.

The battle is joined against a background of the illegal pinning in June, 1950, of the UN label on U.S. intervention in Korea, and of UN's obedient condemnation of China as an "aggressor"—a resolution which has since been Washington's chief pretext for refusing to negotiate any settlement in Asia. Now Washington is moving swiftly to block UN from winning back its independence, which the Korean truce—marking the failure of the U.S. policy

of force—gives it an opportunity to do. **DIVIDE THE WORLD:** In Boston last month Secy. Dulles, attacking the UN Charter as "obsolete before it actually came into force," said the U.S. would seek revision of the Big 5 unanimity principle (the "veto") because of the "inadequacy of an organization whose effective functions depend upon cooperation with a nation dominated by an international party seeking world domination." Determination to tighten U.S. control over UN could not have been more clearly signaled. As an earlier Secy. of State, George Marshall, told Congress in 1948, elimination of

the veto "would destroy the present world organization" and divide the world into "rival military alliances" in preparation for World War III.

Senate Majority leader Knowland spoke even more plainly. After repeated threats to pull the U.S. out of UN if China is admitted (a resolution to this effect has been moved in the Senate but at the President's request not voted on), he said (8/21) that the U.S.S.R.'s "admission" of aid to China in the Korean War should have been used "to throw Russia out of UN." Last week the Assembly voted to debate agenda items laying the groundwork for a Charter revision conference in 1955. This suggested that Washington contemplates an eventual ultimatum to the Soviet bloc to accept dilution of the veto or get out.

THE NAKED CLOWN: The immediate center of Washington's drive to prevent restoration of an independent peace-seeking UN is the fight to bar UN from any role in settling the Korean War, and to keep China out. Even U.S. correspondents admit the majority in UN oppose this unrealistic stand. Ludwell

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

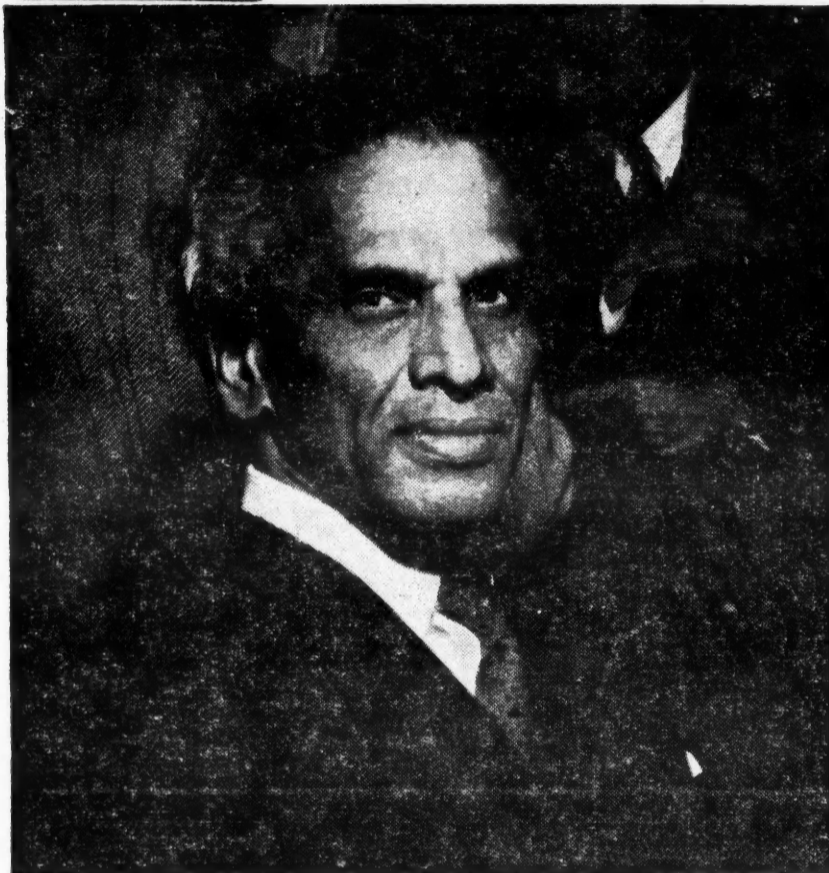
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WAR & PEACE

New York Edition



United Nations photo

The face of half the world

While the Western whiteskins who for centuries have ruled humanity play verbal cart-and-horse to justify their dominating policies before the UN world parliament, Asia—here represented by chief Indian delegate V. K. Krishna Menon—watches, waits and insists on thinking for itself. India, Burma and Indonesia, the great Asian neutrals representing twice the population of all North America, support Soviet proposals on Asia because these accord with Asian interests. Yet "Dulles is still convinced," notes Le Monde (9/19), "that right and God are on his side. The attitude is lacking, to say the least, in realism."



Canard Enchaîné, Paris

The hunting season has opened.

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War & Peace

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Denny (N.Y. World-Telegram, 9/18) said "almost the entire Asian-African bloc and some Latin Americans" as well as "the British bloc" favor the other side's proposals on the Korean political conference.

Former British Premier Attlee's attack last week on "intolerant" U.S. policy, as responsible for worsening the world situation, showed the restiveness even major U.S. allies. Attlee's views represented "a good deal of British, including Conservative, opinion and a good deal of European opinion" (Wall St. Journal, 9/22). Yet allied governments, dependent on Washington for very existence, continue helplessly to follow its lead. Their position—to borrow an earlier comment by a U.S. official about the British (N.Y. Times, 2/26/50)—is "very much like the clown in the circus whose full dress suit looked fairly reliable but could be zipped off his body by stepping on a hidden string." Dulles' disavowal of "liberation" and professions of peace in his opening Assembly speech were an attempt to

avoid stepping on "the string that would leave them naked before the world."

"NO WAY TO PEACE": Whatever worry it betrayed over mounting popular criticism in the western world, Dulles' speech was "tough, very tough in content" (N.Y. Journal American, 9/18). It implied—and Australia's R. G. Casey later casually made the threat explicit—that the socialist world must accept the U.S. view on every key issue or face war. London's conservative *Observer* summed it up as

... a speech without compromise. ... Dulles demanded that the Communist powers hand over N. Korea to Syngman Rhee, Indo-China to Bao Dai and E. Germany to the European Defense Community. ... It is no way to peace to make demands that can only be realized by war.

U.S. "demands that can only be realized by war" were underscored by significantly timed U.S. deeds: 1) dispatch of atomic artillery to W. Germany, coincident as James Reston (NYT, 9/16) pointed out with the opening of the Assembly; 2) disclosure that A-bomb-carrying U.S. aircraft carriers had ringed N. Korea for weeks before the truce and both A-bombs and atomic artillery remain in the area. That disclosure coincided with the U.S.S.R.'s presentation in UN of its proposals for reducing arms, and its plea for Assembly discussion of Chinese-N. Korean counter-proposals on the Korean conference.

Another convenient "coincidence," on the eve of the major Assembly speech by the U.S.S.R.'s Vishinsky, was the press hullabaloo about Sen. McCarthy's alleged contact with Lavrenti Beria. But it served poorly to hide the contrast between Dulles' intellectual poverty (WSJ, 9/21, said his speech "must be dismissed as an over-ingenious essay

in table-turning") and Vishinsky's concrete proposals to extend the peace.

SOVIET POINTS: In a review of the world situation answering Dulles' speech, Vishinsky made these points:

- The relaxation of tension achieved by Soviet foreign policy puts it up to the U.S. and its allies—which have repeatedly said they could consider disarmament only when there was such relaxation—to get down to the business of controlling and reducing arms.

- International issues cannot possibly be solved without China, whose "justified demands concerning the composition of the Korean conference must and cannot fail to be met."

- The Security Council unanimity principle has to some extent tied the hands of the imperialist forces, and hence is under new attack as the U.S. tries again to prevent UN being an instrument of peace.

Vishinsky's speech underlined what was already clear in the Assembly's opening week: in line with Soviet Premier Malenkov's Aug. 8 report to the Supreme Soviet, the socialist world is energetically leading the fight to restore UN's prestige, and is unmistakably leading from strength.

ASIA SEES "BIGOTRY": Support for Soviet proposals continued to come from the "neutralist" Asian governments of India, Burma and Indonesia, which together represent twice as many people as all of North America. India's Nehru voiced their views when he said barring of India from the Korea conference "flouted the will of nearly the whole of Europe and of Asia," and called the barring of China from UN

... a manifestation of bigotry ... [It is] completely unrealistic and artificial to talk about China being represented ... by someone who cannot speak for China, who cannot do any-



SEN. KNOWLAND IN FORMOSA
"... throw Russia out. ..."

thing in China, who cannot affect China and can only at the utmost express strong disapproval of China. ... A whole castle is sought to be built on an artificial foundation.

The host of American VIP's making the "Asian tour" this fall (led by Vice President Nixon whose chief objective, said NYT 9/18, is to drum up support for the U.S. stand on China) testifies to Washington's continued determination to restore Western rule in Asia. But its drive is leading to the direct opposite: the ouster of Western influence from all Asia.

EUROPE WANTS OUT: No less real, if less apparent, is the failure of Washington's policy in Europe. Imminent rearming of Adenauer's Germany has so alarmed W. Europe that Washington is sugarcoating the pill by talk about "guarantees" to Moscow against aggression. But the French Cabinet had yet to swallow the pill, and the demand to talk settlement with Moscow would not down. NYWT reported (9/21) that legislative representatives at the Council of Europe agreed "W. Europe strongly favored a Big Four meeting—with 'minimum' demands by the West."

THE DEAD END: Loss of its A- and H-bomb monopoly on which it built the cold war illumines the dead end to which Washington has arrived. The President is reported planning a series of speeches this fall on "The Safety of the Republic," which will reveal "the facts" about A- and H-bomb war and dwell on "the nation's peril." But top Washington correspondents report much indecision as to what is to be said—a change from last summer when an H-bomb speech was first rumored. Marquis Childs (N.Y. Post, 7/17) then suggested it would be

... something like an ultimatum [to Moscow to] accept complete inspection and control of all atomic development by an international organization or face destruction.

No such ultimatum is now possible. Washington might use the speeches to clamp tighter controls at home through the Civilian Defense Organization, kick up the arms budget, whip up new tension. The President's Boston speech (9/21), declaring no sacrifice is too great for Americans to bear to provide "logical and necessary defense" against "most terrible" Soviet weapons, pointed in this direction.

But the growing fiasco of American policy has created the opportunity to change it. The fight to restore UN prestige and independence can constitute a broad rallying point.



Carrefour, Paris

"Say, doesn't it feel good to see civilization again?"

DULLES WALKED THE FLOOR WITH BABY, BUT—

Cracks in the U.S. majority grow at UN

By Kumar Goshal

Guardian staff correspondent

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

THE UN General Assembly's eighth session began under the shadow of McCarthy's assault on UN personnel, and of more desperate U.S. pressure on delegates to line up favorable votes.

Tension came within an hour of the opening call by Canada's Lester Pearson, outgoing Assembly president, for a minute's silent prayer. The U.S.S.R.'s Vishinsky moved that the Assembly "considers it necessary" that the government of China take China's seat in all UN organs. The U.S.'s Dulles promptly moved a postponement for the rest of the year of all discussion of China's representation.

DULLES' STROLL: Correspondents knew that Britain, having recognized People's China, had been reluctantly persuaded to back the U.S. stand only for the rest of 1953. During the discussion on the two resolutions, Dulles walked up and down the Assembly hall, listening to and whispering in the ears of delegates in the manner of a whip in a GOP convention.

When Pearson ruled against his contention for priority for his motion, Dulles demanded an Assembly vote on the issue of priority, and with support of the Latin Americans and most West Europeans, won both on priority and on his own motion. (In Copenhagen, Foreign Minister Kraft said the Danish delegate had acted against government instruction in supporting the U.S. proposal to postpone discussion of China's admission to UN.)

"IT'S UNNECESSARY": Dulles then opposed Pearson's putting the Soviet motion to a vote: it was "unnecessary" since the Assembly had already voted to postpone discussion of the

issue. Pearson, pointing out that UN's principle from its inception had been to vote on all resolutions no matter how illogical the sequence might seem, ruled in favor of a vote on the Soviet motion. Dulles appealed against the ruling, and the appeal was put to a vote.

When Pearson was sustained by a majority, Dulles demanded another voice vote, on the ground that there was confusion in delegates' minds because 11 of them did not vote at all. Distinctly uncomfortable, Pearson wished out loud that the China issue had arisen after a new president had taken office. (The new president is Mrs. Pandit of India, former ambassador to both Washington and Moscow.)

EMBARRASSMENT: Vishinsky wondered why Dulles was questioning the

integrity of the president, who was not known for any special sympathy for the U.S.S.R.—and reminded him of previous occasions when some delegates refrained from voting. Pearson, feeling the pressure, apologetically declared that perhaps he had not presented the issue voted upon clearly enough. Thailand's delegate saved him further embarrassment by suggesting that the Assembly decide whether it wished to vote on the Soviet resolution. The matter ended when a majority declined to vote.

Dulles won—but India, Indonesia, Burma, Sweden and Yugoslavia voted with the U.S.S.R. Many other delegates were embarrassed by Dulles' tactics, and cracks in the U.S.'s automatic majority—especially on colonial and Asian issues—were plainly visible.

COMING TESTS: Its strength will be tested when the Assembly comes to discuss Charter revision, definition of aggression, administration of trust territories, and disarmament. (The U.S.S.R. last week proposed one-third reduction of armed forces of the five permanent Security Council members, the Council to undertake dismantling of all bases on foreign territories and supervise a ban on atom bombs.) Another test will be the discussion of "loyalty tests" of Americans employed by UN; U.S. pressure is to be expected upon UN Administrative Tribunal members who upheld the appeals of over half the dismissed UN-employed Americans, and who have returned as members of delegations.

Washington's ability to continue lining up sizeable votes cannot be underestimated; but some believe the day may not be far off "when we'll not have anything left but our own big power veto" (N.Y. World-Telegram, 9/17).



HENRY C. LODGE

The boss came down from Washington so he took a back seat

BEHIND THE HEADLINES ON 'BIG SWITCH' — I

The PW exchange: brutality or bunk?

(Continued from Page 1)

from discussing matters] reflecting on the behavior of UN captured personnel or reveal information which might make good propaganda fodder for the Communists.

Again (8/9) UP said:

Specially-trained counter-intelligence agents were flown down to Japan and Korea this week to mingle with returning prisoners and watch and listen to suspects. . . . They will be watched at UN rest camps at Inchon and Munsan—in hospitals in Korea and Japan—and on troopships and hospital ships on the way home.

The competition

The wards swarmed with doctors, nurses, psychiatrists, intelligence officers. . . . Newsmen were not allowed in the Tokyo hospital wards, but U.S. correspondents had got in their licks at Freedom Village in Munsan. Somehow a headline-hunting competition for "atrocities" had started. Most of the voluminous file of atrocity stories last week was highly exaggerated, and the total impression was highly false. Under press interrogation at Munsan prisoners talked of cruelty only when pressed by leading, insistent questions.

Time magazine, May 4, on Operation Little Switch.

CURTAIN OF FEAR: That was the plan—and this was the procedure, as reported in the San Francisco Chronicle (8/11) by Keyes Beech of the Chicago Daily News foreign service:

This is a fear-ridden atmosphere in which American PW's are being processed and being shipped back to the U.S. Of 425 ex-prisoners processed through this center in the last five days, only 88 have been made available for interviews with UN correspondents.

All interviews with repatriates are conducted in the presence of a censor and a Counter-Intelligence Corps agent. Unless the repatriate is an exceptional man, this is, to say the least, an inhibiting influence. . . . Often during the course of the interviews, ex-prisoners have turned to the counter-intelligence men for consent before answering questions.

The N.Y. World-Telegram (9/8) said only one-third of PW's passing through Freedom Village told their stories:

Some were held back from the press because doctors felt they were too weak or too confused to face the ordeal. . . . Others wanted to forget about their days in Red hands and the Army threw a curtain of secrecy around others who were not permitted to talk. According to the Munsan Provisional Command, which ran Operation Big Switch, 1,362 of the 3,797 talked to the press shortly after they were returned.

The atrocity stories

But although more than a thousand GI's talked to reporters, only a fraction of their stories got into print. A survey of wire service and big-newspaper reports in the New York press, and of clippings sent in by GUARDIAN readers throughout the country, shows a remarkable repetition of names and ex-



periences. The atrocity stories which made headlines, and were constantly repeated, were ascribed to not more than a few score of FOW's. Typical is the report in the N.Y. Daily News (8/7):

Prisoners held in the Death Valley camp on the Yalu River estimated that from 1,600 to 2,000 Americans died during the Arctic winter of 1950. Their stories followed a pattern of eyewitness reports that thousands of Yanks died in the valley.

"Camp 5 was a death camp," said Sgt. Junior E. Dunlap of McCorkle, W.

Va. "In June, 1951, out of 3,500 men, 1,400 were left. The other men were dead from malnutrition, starvation, dysentery and diphtheria."

Warrant Officer Dwight E. Coxe of Fresno, Calif., said: "Medical attention was a farce. We became extremely lousy and they brought in a small bowl of DDT."

2 VIEWS OF CAMP 5: In the N.Y. Herald Tribune (8/14) Mac R. Johnson writes of another Camp 5 prisoner:

He and others who crossed to freedom today had been the "bad boys"



A FAREWELL BANQUET AT CAMP NO. 5 IN N. KOREA
Prisoners and Chinese guards offer a toast to peace

of Camp No. 5—men who had tried one, two, three times to escape, men who had been in jail one, two, three times for protesting about poor and inadequate food, men who had been beaten for stealing food or warm winter clothing from a Chinese warehouse.

Contrasted with this was the picture of Camp No. 5 given by Pfc. Donald J. Dumas of Ogden Island, N. Y., in an interview after his return home in the Watertown (N. Y.) Daily News (8/26):

"We had swimming and outdoor sports which included football and softball. The medical care given UN prisoners was better than the Chinese had for themselves. There were doctors and nurses available at all times, although the supply of medicine was only fair. Penicillin was scarce, the supply being only what the Chinese confiscated from captured Americans.

"The Chinese allowed us beer, whisky and wine on our holidays and we also helped them celebrate their holidays. We were given the day off from work on our holidays and provided with special cards for observance of such days as Mother's Day, Fourth of July and Christmas. [A typical daily menu was] Breakfast: rice and soy bean soup; dinner: bread and tea; supper: soup (sometimes vegetable), fried potatoes and bread, with lots of fish, some beef, pork and chicken."

"MOST TREATED FAIRLY": The "brutality" of the headlines was rarely borne out in the stories. Generally the repatriated GI's who spoke of harsh treatment were the self-styled "bad boys" (described in most stories as clean-cut types "who can be found on any American streetcorner"). These men admitted to reporters that they had tried to escape, stolen supplies, variously broken camp rules. But even in these cases the fear or expectation of beatings—or worse—were described, not the beatings. Greg MacGregor wrote from Panmunjom (NYT, 8/9):

Tales of deliberate brutality were infrequent from soldiers captured during the last 12 months. There were stories of punishment by solitary confinement and extra duty. Apparently, however, most of the men received what they called "fair" treatment by Communist standards.

From Munsan the N.Y. Herald Tribune reported (8/6):

Pfc. Albert L. Chickine of Bloomfield, N. J., declined to talk about any personal mistreatment at the hands

of the Reds, or brutalities inflicted on his buddies, saying: "It could have been a lot worse."

SELFISH CHILDREN: The N.Y. Times' Robert Alden wrote (8/12):

Pfc. Ernest Haskins of Langdorf, W. Va., [who said he was a camp rebel often punished for a "hostile attitude"] said he learned in camp about Communist collectivism. "Collectivism," he said, "means that if I have a fire, everyone else in the camp is supposed to have a fire."

He could not understand, apparently, that stealing wood for a fire while his buddies were cold was not an act of brotherly love. What happened to the wood stealers? Alden explained in NYT (8/17):

Night and day

"There was no fence around the camp, constructed in a wide area. . . . We were left alone most of the time."

Pfc. Donald Dumas, interviewed by the Watertown (N. Y.) Daily Times.

"We begged them to put a barbed wire fence around our camp. We wanted that wire fence more than anything else," said one of the returned prisoners. The barbed wire fence would have meant that they would have been able to speak among themselves without fear of being overheard. . . . Night and day the guards were everywhere."

Robert Alden, N.Y. Times, (8/22).

patches alleging maltreatment of PW's, those of UP's William Miller are the most consistently unscrupulous. He is the reporter who invented the trick of charging, when repatriates refused to tell him the lies he wanted to hear, that such men were being "gagged" by the U.S. (presumably in its anxiety to protect the reputation of the Chinese and N. Koreans).

When I met Miller three weeks ago at Panmunjom, he broke into a conversation I and Willard Burchett were having with Sam Summerlin of AP and John Rich of NBC. I had just remarked that now the war was over, these pressmen surely would be among millions wondering what it had all been about, as the GI's already were wondering. Miller interrupted: "Our soldiers know what they were fighting for."

Burchett commented: "They certainly don't seem to when they get to N. Korea after capture." Miller then snapped: "I wouldn't wonder, after you people put red hot barbed wire under their fingernails."

Burchett said: "Whose fingernails? Can you name me a single man who has been so treated?" Miller was silent. "If you can't," Burchett went on, "can you mention a single man who said this was done to another?"

Miller's reply was: "We have our imaginations." As a former UP bureau manager (Tientsin, 1937, Canton, 1938) I would never have believed such a story possible if I had not heard it with my own ears.

Medical care

On medical treatment the GI's received there were sharp contradictions. NYT (9/3) reported:

One released U.S. Army doctor said the Communists sometimes refused to treat sick men until they signed propaganda statements or confession of "crimes."

But on Aug. 7, Lt. Col. Thomas D. Harrison, a relative of Lt. Gen. William K. Harrison Jr., chief U.S. truce negotiator, told NYHT he had received "excellent treatment" at the hospital where he was taken after parachuting from his plane.

Reuters (8/5) reported that several doctors who had examined returning Commonwealth prisoners found them healthy as the result of "reasonable medical care and attention." Some were wearing "new and well-fitting dentures."

"GOOD . . . LET'S SAY FAIR . . .": Keyes Beech (S.F. Chronicle) wrote (8/11):

Today I interviewed Capt. Sidney Cohn of Passaic, N. J., medical officer of the 8057th Medical Holding Det., who has been treating repatriates. I asked Cohn what sort of medical treatment the Americans got from the Communists.

"I'd say it was quite good," said Cohn. He turned to the Public Information officer and asked anxiously: "Is it all right to say that, Major? I wouldn't want to go against PIO, you know." The major was non-committal.

"Well, let's say the medical treatment was fair," Cohn said. "That is let's say they did the best they could with what they had."

NYHT's Homer Bigart, reporting on Army Secy. Stevens' return from Korea, wrote:

He said he had visited Freedom Village three times during the prisoner exchange and expressed the opinion that the general physical condition of the returning American captives was "surprisingly good."

NEXT WEEK: Brain-washing and the "progressives," and the return of the airmen accused of germ-warfare raids.



WILFRED BURCHETT
He reported what he saw

of the Russians who proceeded to tell him "under the influence of vodka that Soviet pilots were flying MIG fighter planes in air battles over North Korea." Then the Russians offered him vodka too as the truck bounced along.

Alden gave no hint whether Bach spoke Russian or whether the Russians offered their secrets in English.

Anatomy of a reporter

What happened when the atrocity well went dry? Here is an on-the-scene description from GUARDIAN's special correspondent Israel Epstein from Panmunjom:

Among the fantastic U.S. press dis-

THE LABOR SCENE

Unions face govt. on four fronts; transit row near

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK labor was embattled on four fronts last week. On each—transit lines, waterfront, schools and the war plant of Arma Corp.—unions found themselves facing the government.

When the Transit Authority took over the city's subways and bus lines last spring it meant not only more fare and less service but a new boss for transit workers. The CIO Transport Workers Union Local 100 had had its troubles with

fused to bargain with TWU on its demand for a 25c-an-hour raise and 15 changes in working conditions. When the authority lengthened the trains on the Independent lines so that they ran longer than many platforms, and contemplated cutting the already poor service between rush hours, TWU demanded a conference. TA maintained what the big press called a "dignified silence." Then last week before the service was cut it spoke out in language which, in the case of private corporations, has always been taken as a provocation to strike and a sign that the boss felt strong enough to break a union. TA wired:

"We are not impressed by invective; neither are we impressed by threats. . . . Your officers have already had four meetings with representatives of the Authority and your views are well known to us. . . . We cannot and will not surrender any of our powers to you."

UP THE RULES: TWU pres. Michael Quill warned that transit men might follow the book of rules to the letter, thereby slowing service drastically, as one answer to TA's policy of no negotiations.

The results of last January's bus strike were still to be counted. An arbitration panel set up when the strike ended was preparing its final award and reportedly at odds on TWU wage-hour demands (a 40-hour week with no cut in take-home.) Authorization for a fare rise on the private lines was guaranteed in advance to pass on any increased costs to the consumer. (The State declined to pick up the tab in the form of any tax exemptions.) The

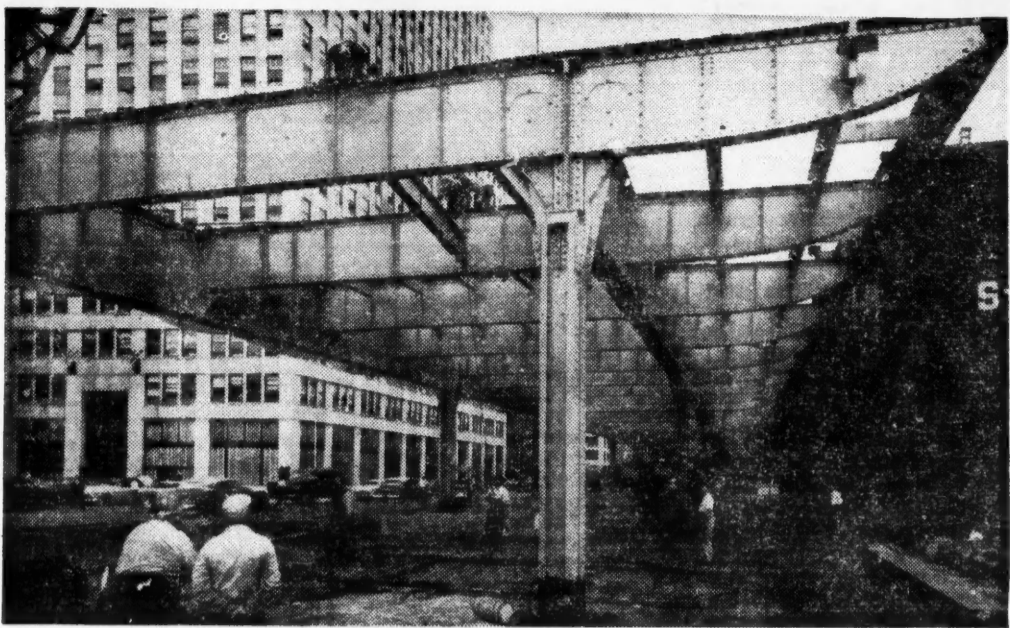
(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)



MIKE QUILL
The union made an offer

the old city transit commission, but lines for negotiation had always been open. Commissioners were politicians as well; they or their machines had to answer to labor at election time. The Transit Authority, no more responsible to an electorate than a private boss, but claiming the privileges of a public service, took a frankly labor-busting position.

"NOT IMPRESSED": It re-



BUILDING THE SOUTH ST. ELEVATED HIGHWAY ON LOWER MANHATTAN
Negroes get dirty jobs on such projects. Negroes in office could change it.

THE FIGHT FOR FIRST-CLASS CITIZENSHIP

What the all-Negro contest for Boro President of Manhattan means to New York and the nation

By Ewart Guinier

THE 1953 elections in the city may rate a chapter in the nation's history though all the candidates, winners and losers, pass into obscurity. The significance was pointed out by a newspaper not usually noted for its sense of history. The World-Telegram (9/14) headlined its story: "HARLEM ENTERS POLITICAL BIG LEAGUE VIA MANHATTAN BOROUGH PRESIDENCY."

The story, featured on page one, sized up the implications flowing from the fact that all legally-established political parties in Manhattan have designated Negroes for the job:

"Harlem has at last and irrevocably cut its political eye-teeth. Henceforth no political party can discount the potential Negro vote. . . . Harlem is a voice to be respected. . . . From a disorganized sprawling political entity Harlem has suddenly become an important force in the politics of New York City."

ALL OR NOTHING: Others misread current history. The N. Y. Post, never dismayed up to now at the lily-whiteness of the Board of Estimate, spoke out against the situation which seemed to guarantee an end to that scandal, calling it "segregation in reverse" and "the emergence of a new kind of jimcrow in politics."

In deploring the all-Negro race for the borough presidency, it said that not one but all offices ought to be open to Negroes. While saying amen to the finish of the Post's statement, Negroes saw in the argument the familiar position of the man who opposes the fight for higher wages because "socialism is the only answer."

win any part of their representational rights anywhere, all Negro America is heartened. County leadership is significant to Negroes in the South where the county seat is the local capital. New York County leadership is doubly so because Negroes everywhere look to Harlem for portents of what is to come.

According to the World-Telegram, the great step forward came because Gov. Dewey first proposed a Negro for Manhattan's president. The fact is that in 1949 the American Labor Party, not Dewey, first proposed

Rev. George Thomas from Brooklyn. In 1942 the GOP picked Ludlow Werner, then editor of the N. Y. Age, for state senator and in 1946 named a Negro woman candidate for the Assembly from Brooklyn.

NEW POWER BELT: Early in the 1953 campaign it became clear from the record that the GOP could not win Negro and white voters' confidence sufficiently to break jimcrow in government; and the Negroes could not rely on Tammany gratitude even after so many years of support. The ALP, though it has scored many victories in the past, and though its fight for Negro representation has been long and honorable, had never on its own elected a Negro to office. What seemed necessary, to assure a break-through, was unity.

There were other factors: a new feeling of dignity and power was running through Negro America which has come to consider itself not so much a minority but part of the two-thirds of the world that is non-white. It shares the victories in the people's battle for self-rule in the West Indies, Latin America, Asia and Africa.

AGAINST DEMAGOGY: Within Harlem itself there are Southern Negroes, West Indians (almost 1/4), and Puerto Ricans. Together they could muster a great political force; this year they felt their strength.

The sense of power and the need for unity came as New Yorkers generally were in a mood of dismay or rebellion at domestic measures flowing from the cold-war policies of both Truman and Eisenhower. All cold-war parties were maneuvering to duck responsibility for the consequences of their over-all major policies. Demagoguery and the double-cross seemed the order of the day.

THE HOUR STRIKES: Negro New Yorkers, sensing the urgency and the timeliness in their drive for representation, acted. In the Bronx, where no Negro has ever been elected to any office, the NAACP set up a political action committee which sought and won support from the Bronx Protestant Council

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)



ANDRONICUS JACOBS
Carries ALP standard

a Negro candidate, myself, for the office. This year again the ALP was first in the field with designation of a Negro, longshoreman Andronicus Jacobs.

THE WOOING: The ALP was first in the field not because it fights single-handed the battle for recognition, but because it senses and sides with the growing fight for recognition by the Negroes themselves.

For decades Harlem has voted Democrat though the Democrats, being the party in power, have always been the last to give in on Negro representation. The GOP, the outs, have repeatedly wooed Harlem with Negro candidates. In the 20's they elected the first Negro alderman and state legislators from Harlem, proposed a redistricting that made possible the first Negro judgeships; ran Hubert Delany for Congress in the 30's, and last year named

NATIONAL IMPACT: Recognition of the Negro as a major political force in the city has an importance far beyond city limits. There are 1,000,000 Negroes in N. Y. State, more than in any other state of the union. But, more important than population statistics: when Negroes



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"LILY-WHITE COURTS MUST GO"

Flagg bucks Democratic bosses to win Brooklyn court primary

The GUARDIAN last week reported that Lewis S. Flagg Jr. lost in the Democratic primary race for Municipal Judge in Brooklyn's Second District. Shortly before press time the tide turned and Flagg won by 138 votes. The editors are delighted to make the correction and report a happy ending, a significant advance in the fight for Negro representation.



LEWIS S. FLAGG JR.
The machine lost out

IN headquarters over the Baby Grand Cafe on Brooklyn's Fulton St., Negro attorney Lewis S. Flagg opened his fight under a banner inscribed: "Lily-white courts must go."

With no machine backing, Flagg set out to win the Democratic Party nomination for Municipal Court judge. The incumbent Benjamin Schor was backed by the Impellitteri Democrats and the Liberal Party. (Schor was uncontested in the Liberal primaries.) Also in the running was another white attorney, John J. Walsh, an independent Democrat. The GOP

nominated W. H. Staves. The ALP put up no candidate. **A BIG ISSUE:** The second dis-

trict is overwhelmingly Democrat, so that the primary would very likely decide the election. There are 50,000 Democrats in the district divided into Negro, Irish, Jewish and Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

Negro and white volunteers filled Flagg's headquarters on Tuesday evenings for canvassing throughout the campaign. Flagg told them: "This issue is bigger than any one candidate and this movement will go on until the machine is licked."

All through the balloting the vote seesawed. Toward the end it seemed that Schor had nosed Flagg out. Then the final tally showed: Flagg, 4,503; Schor, 4,365; Walsh, 2,339.

"THE FOLKS RALLIED": Flagg had won support not only in the Negro areas but in white neighborhoods as well. When word came to the headquarters, a campaign worker said: "We beat the machine." Flagg said:

"It looked doubtful but the folks have rallied around wonderfully—remarkably. It represents the work of a united community. It's a great victory. We have shown that we are a power in our town. We can make this community what we want it to be."

Priest 'regrets' charities split on birth control

REFUSAL of top Roman Catholic authorities to work in any community organization allowing representation from the Planned Parenthood Assn. last week forced the resignation of eight groups from the 96-group Nassau County Council of Social Agencies. It also ran up against one priest who openly voiced his "regrets."

Planned parenthood committees have been working, within state restrictions, to give birth-control information to those who need and want it. Careful to avoid stepping on toes, the committees have recommended only the rhythm method to those whose religion objects to other methods. That failed to appease high churchmen who continued to see heresy in planned parenthood.

"I AM EMBARRASSED": When the Health & Welfare Council was formed, Catholic Charities demanded planned parenthood organizations be banned. When the council delayed action, Catholic Charities resigned.



FATHER BERMINGHAM
Relations were cordial

One of the best organized of all agencies, their going would hurt collective fund-raising.

Last week when the dictum reached Nassau County and eight Catholic organizations withdrew, Rev. Charles E. Bermingham, family case-work director for Catholic Charities and pres. of the county Mental Health Assn., plainly thought it a mistake but went along. He said:

"We were told by our authorities that to be consistent we would have to resign, too. We have done so very regretfully. I wish to say that our relations with both the council and the Planned Parenthood Assn. have been cordial. There has been no friction and I am embarrassed because of our fine association with the council." A Council spokesman said: "It is difficult to understand why religion should interfere with social work."

Labor scene

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

award would leave the Board of Estimate in the ticklish position of approving a tax boost or, if it vetoes the award, vetoing a wage raise. The panel, it was understood, would not present its finding until after election day.

Quickie teachers hired in 'surprise' shortage

THE Board of Education, which for a long time has been trying to break teachers' unions, last week found itself hit by a boomerang. The day after school opened, Tuesday, Sept. 15, assistant corporation counsel Saul Moskoff (in charge of school witch-hunts) tallied up the victims to date and said 150 more teachers were under investigation. On Friday, Sept. 18, the Board announced in surprised tones that of 1,100 elementary school teachers appointed during the summer, 200 had failed to report for work. It left 6,500 pupils teacherless.

The N. Y. Times reported officials "at a loss to explain the wholesale declination by the new teachers." Newspaper editorials and cartoons traced it to low wages. None saw a connection with witch-hunts.

HOW TO END IT: The Teachers Union pointed it out. In a letter to-Supt. of Schools Dr. William Jansen, TU officials Abraham Lederman and Rose V. Russell said:

"If you really want to end the shortage, you will reinstate the good teachers you have

brutally and unjustly forced out of the profession and call a halt to the disastrous policy that has destroyed intellectual freedom in our schools and made them such an unattractive place for teachers and students alike."

Dr. Jansen sent out an emergency call for men and women aged 19-55 with a bachelor's degree and enough credits in education to pass muster. The Board gave them quick oral tests, put them to work next day with temporary licenses. TU officials commented:

"Let us remind you, Dr. Jansen, that your inquisition was especially concentrated in Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant and the southeast Bronx—communities where poverty, racial discrimination, and the language difficulties of Puerto Rican children created special problems. You drove exceptionally successful teachers out of those areas, and now you are trying to replace them with untried, inexperienced, probably unqualified newcomers."

Arma picks fight with engineers

AT CARLE PLACE, Nassau County, the Arma Corp. abruptly broke off talks with the Engineers of Arma, an independent union that had scrupulously respected picket-lines set up by the CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers in their 9-week-old strike.

The engineers not only failed to cross the lines but pitched in on the fight, detailing in a radio broadcast the ways in which the U.S. government

was subsidizing the company's strike-breaking. Engineers urged listeners to protest the strike-breaking in letters to Defense Secy. Wilson.

NEW UNITY: CIO News (9/7) summed up the significance of the Arma story: "For the first time in this country, white-collar engineers—as a group traditionally anti-union and separated from the mainstream



of American labor—have pooled forces with shop workers to resist a bitter onslaught against unions by the Arma Corp., designer and manufacturer of secret electronic equipment for the armed forces."

Arma broke off negotiations with the engineers when the CIO electrical workers were reported on the verge of a settlement with the company on the key issue of seniority. When Arma's vice-pres. Richard Smyth, who early in the strike ran down pickets with his car, walked out on a conference with the engineers and federal mediators, CIO-IUE's negotiator Joseph Molfetta announced his union would stay out until the company settled with the engineers.

N. Y. dockers ditched by new AFL union

JOSEPH P. RYAN returned to the waterfront last week after he and the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. were formally read out of the AFL in convention at St. Louis. The convention at the same time voted to charter a new union, the

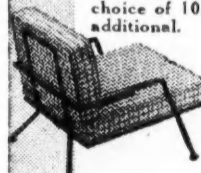
American Federation of Longshoremen.

Out-of-town leaders had already endorsed the AFL-AFL. No organizing efforts were reported by the AFL in N. Y. New York longshoremen apparently were to be left to fight alone against gang bosses, corrupt politicians, the shippers (who now are stalling negotiations on a new contract) and a N. Y.-N. J. government commission that plans unprecedented labor regimentation and a thorough union-busting campaign in the name of racket-busting. The new AFL-AFL, it was indicated, would cooperate fully with the bi-state commission.

OUT TO LUNCH: Labor leadership was largely silent in face of the government's offensive. Labor leaders were up to their ears in politics but had so bargained away labor's independent political strength that even in the campaign none of the old-line candidates—Dem., Rep. or Lib.—felt impelled to take a stand against license tags on the waterfront, union-busting in transit or at Arma, or witch-hunting in schools.

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Rosenberg parley set for Chicago Oct. 10

TO plan for "a new dedication to justice," the Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case last week announced a national conference to be held in Chicago's Fine Arts Bldg. at 410 S. Michigan Av. The conference call, addressed "to all men and women and groups of good will," emphasized that "it is not too late for justice to be done for Morton Sobell" who is now serving a 30-year sentence in the federal prison on Alcatraz Island:

"We call upon our fellow citizens to strive to right the wrong that has been done. Those who understand

5 named to trust fund for 2 Rosenberg children

A ROSENBERG Children's Trust Fund has been established to provide for the support, education and upbringing of the two sons of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg—Michael Allen, 10, and Robert Harry, 6. The announcement was made Sept. 21 by Emanuel H. Bloch, attorney for the Rosenbergs, designated by them as guardian for the children. The five members of the board of



SHERLEY GRAHAM
The legacy was life

trustees, all of whom have agreed to serve without fee or compensation, are:

Shirley Graham, author of several works of biography and fiction, and wife of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois; Prof. Malcolm Sharp, of the University of Chicago Law School, who was associated with Bloch in the last months of the Rosenberg defense; Yuri Suhl, author (*One Foot in America*) and poet; James Aronson, executive editor of NATIONAL GUARDIAN; and attorney Bloch.

All contributions should be sent to the Rosenberg Children's Trust Fund, Emanuel H. Bloch, trustee, 401 Broadway, N. Y. C. 13, N. Y.

that Morton Sobell was convicted under the most dubious circumstances and upon the most questionable kind of evidence must work to secure a review of his case and a new trial."

SOBELL FIGHT: 6,000 persons gathered Sept. 16 in the stadium on Randall's Island, to step off a nationwide movement to win justice for Morton Sobell and to broadcast to the world the truth about the Rosenberg case. The rally pledged also to secure the future of the Rosenberg children.

Mrs. Helen Sobell read a letter from her husband, serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz prison, San Francisco Bay, in which he said he had hoped his children, Mark, 4, and Sydney, 13, would "grow up in a world at peace, in a land without fear, hysteria or discrimination." He said he was not

... brave, or heroic, but with every barb they aim at me I can feel my inner strength grow. ... Even with my limited means of information I feel through your letters the sea of human energy which swells around us, which holds us up and does not let us fall to destruction.

Mrs. Emily Alman, exec. secy. of the

New York Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, retold the Sobell story (GUARDIAN, 8/17), adding that "we shall return to the courts" to get him out of Alcatraz and to the East Coast pending the result of a legal appeal.

THE PRESS

Another editor held for deportation

ON Monday last week the Dept. of Justice took another notch in its attempted strangulation of the U. S. progressive press with the arrest of Boris Sklar, member of the editorial staff of *Rusky Golos*, an independent Russian-language newspaper published in New York. Sklar was taken to Ellis Island and denied bail pending deportation proceedings for alleged Communist Party activities. The 68-year-old editor has been in this country since 1913 and is internationally known under the pen-name Borisoff.

His fellow-editors of *Rusky Golos* called the arrest "a dangerous violation of freedom of the press," announced an immediate fight to obtain Sklar's release on bail. (GUARDIAN's own British-born editor Cedric Belfrage was held on Ellis Island for 30 days earlier this year before court action won his freedom under \$5,000 bail.)

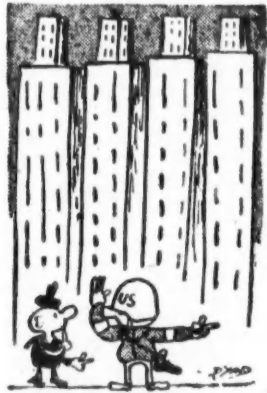
PICKING THEM OFF: The arrest of Sklar brings to 14 the number of progressive editors now under deportation or denaturalization proceedings. The others are Al Richmond of the *West Coast Daily Peoples World*; John Steuben of the monthly *March of Labor*; Paul Novik, Paul Juditch and Moses Resnikoff of the *Jewish Morning Freiheit*; Tony Minerich of the *Croatian Narodni Glasnik*; Vincent Andrusis and Leon Prusikis of the *Lithuanian Daily Vilnis*; Michael Nukk of the *Esthonian Vuf Ulm*; George Witkovich of a Slovene daily paper; Knut Heikinen of the Finnish *Tyomies Eteenpain*; and Diamond Kim of the *West Coast Korean Independence*. All but Belfrage are being defended by the American Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.

THE LAW

'Subversive' lawyers answer Brownell

THE Natl. Lawyers Guild Sept. 16 made the following three-point challenge to U. S. Atty. Gen. Brownell's threat, before the American Bar Assn. convention in Boston (GUARDIAN, 9/7), to put the NLG on his "subversive" list:

• The Guild does not come within the scope of Exec. Order 10450 [which laid the basis for listing certain persons—and, later, organizations—as "subversive"]; is not "communist, communist-dominated or communist controlled," but "an independent



Drawing by Dyad, London
"Sure, Buddy—turn right at the Statue of Liberty, thru the Security Office, past the Un-American Institute, thru the Public Screening Centre, and Woolworth's is on the left."

assn. of attorneys dedicated to the welfare of the American people and bar and to the American traditions of freedom, democratic government and justice and equality for all."

• The Atty. Gen. under Exec. Order 10450 is empowered to evaluate whether opinions held by organizations are "totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive"; but "under our Constitution, as the Supreme Court has said, 'no official, high or petty, can proscribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion.'" The listing therefore is unconstitutional.

• The Guild "for nearly 17 years ... has stood among those in the forefront of the defense of the economic, social, political and civil rights of the American people. ... It intends to continue upon this course in the belief that in so doing it is furthering the best traditions of the Bar."



THOMAS I. EMERSON
Silence was out

NLG vice-pres. Thomas I. Emerson, Yale Law School professor, told an Emergency Civil Liberties Comm. gathering in New York last week that Brownell's action

"... is a basic challenge to the whole right of association in this country. Our legal and political principles of the democratic process have been undermined. ... The use of hysteria has been to such political advantage that it won't be readily abandoned."

World lawyers fight for "respect of rule of law"

AN Initiating Committee for an Intl. Conference of Lawyers for Defense of Democratic Liberties has called on lawyers of the whole world to convene in Brussels, Belgium, Nov. 12-15,

... to unite in resisting arbitrary methods, lack of respect for human dignity, discrimination against individuals or peoples, and to make common cause in establishment of those legal principles which are of universal validity today.

At an Intl. Assn. of Democratic Lawyers council meeting to urge participa-

Berebuchen

"... They [the Communists] said, for instance, that the answer to the whole Jewish problem was berebuchen, which was an establishment they had set up somewhere along there. ..."

—Official U. S. Govt. Printing Office text of Robert Rosen's testimony before the Velde Committee, May 7, p. 1468.

The above is a sample of the countless errors in the printed Velde Committee reports resulting from sheer ignorance of geography, spelling, grammar and the political and general facts of life.

No prize is offered for elucidation of what Rosen really said, which came out as "berebuchen."

A prize of a case of berebuchen, with free opener, is offered to any reader who can explain why the American people as voters send such sub-brains to Congress and why as taxpayers they consent to their money being spent on printing such gibberish by the mile.

• Birobidjan.

The President at work

A renowned fortune teller has been dropping in at the White House during the spring and summer, carrying her crystal ball. She is vivacious Jeanne Dixon, who foretold the Korean truce, forecast that Native Dancer would place in but not win the Kentucky Derby and, for 10 years, has been telling the future for Mamie Eisenhower. ... Furthermore, she has done some crystal-ball gazing for the President, himself.

She has amazed the President by reading his golf scores in the crystal-ball. ... As for the future, she declared firmly: "Beware of Russia in 1964."

—Drew Pearson column, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 8/28.

President Eisenhower has enjoyed his Colorado vacation so much that he plans to spend as much time as possible away from Washington between now and the first of the year. ... [He] has several important trips scheduled for the fall, and between these trips he hopes to divide his time between Washington and Augusta. ... He has frequently complained to intimates that the red tape surrounding the job of being President was so burdensome that he never had time to think.

—Drew Pearson column, 9/12.

tion in the November conference, British barrister D. N. Pritt Q. C. pointed to "the rapid degeneration of the respect of certain governments for the rule of law." Some of the attacks on lawyers fighting to uphold democratic liberties, listed, in the August IADL Bulletin, were:

IRAQ: 180 lawyers arrested since Nov., 1952; two lawyers were among 15 political detainees shot dead by police in Bagdad June 18 during a transfer to another prison; Bagdad lawyers held 24-hour strike in protest.

SYRIA: 107 Damascus lawyers protested to the President against the five-months detention of 11 lawyers, without charge or right of defense.

EGYPT: Yousef Helmi, advocate of the Court of Cassation of Egypt, is among scores of prominent Egyptians jailed without charge by the Naguib government; 42 persons charged with "subversive activities" will be tried in camera by a court-martial presided over by a colonel. The Procureur General has decided that "communism is not a 'political' offense but a crime against society."

FIGHTING BACK: In Thailand, a group of eight lawyers have undertaken the defense of 42 well-known trade union and peace leaders charged with "conspiring to overthrow the government in order to install a government of peoples' democracy." In Argentina a barristers' council has been set up, headed by Buenos Aires Law Faculty prof. C. Fontan Balestra, "to affirm the necessity for principles of International Law, and fundamentally of the UN



Carrefour, Paris
MISS EUROPE, 1953

"Have the Americans offered her an economic aid program?"

Charter ... to take a stand in each case of a violation of these principles." In Bhopal, India, almost the entire Bar has associated itself with a defense committee for two members of the peace movement, arrested under the Preventive Detention Act. The German Assn. of Democratic Lawyers sent a telegram of protest and solidarity to French lawyers following the police attack on July 14 demonstrators, in which one French and six Algerian workers were killed. While Belgian lawyers continue preparations for a "counter-trial" in the Rosenberg Case before an international tribunal, French lawyers are preparing a book on the case; the IADL "envisages a legal study for the use of the entire movement for their vindication, [which] lawyers of every opinion throughout the world demand."

BOOKS Howard Fast's finest talents tell anew the tragic story of Sacco and Vanzetti

By John T. McManus

HOWARD FAST stands virtually alone among American authors for the sheer force and timeliness of his writing on the most vital themes for those seeking to construct a genuine democracy in the United States.

His newest work is perhaps the finest example of what I mean. It is a most extraordinary treatment of the last hours of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in August of 1927; and although no mention is made of any possible later-day similarity, hardly any reader can fail to relate its circumstances to the tragedy of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in June, 1953. Nor can any reader knowing of the Rosenberg Case fail to scent frame-up after reading the facts of the Sacco-Vanzetti Case as Fast presents them.

LIVING HISTORY: The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti is presented with Fast's special talent for vitalizing history. The last 18 hours of the two New England radicals, framed for a payroll holdup and murder in 1920 and held in jail for seven years until executed, become the focal point of a retelling of their whole story—of the world unrest surrounding their case, the final efforts to save their lives, the callous smugness of authority from the President down, and the incandescent forbearance and greatness of the two simple workmen chosen to die as a deterrent to radicalism in the Twenties.

The story is told with great beauty of writing, an intimate understanding of the men and their cause, and a passion and vehemence not only warranted but necessary in the re-telling of a political frame-up.

APPALLING FACTS: Told almost as fiction, with few names used other than those of the victims and their families, it nevertheless gives new generations the true story of how a New England judge sentenced "two anarchistic bastards" (as he called them) to death on



NICOLA SACCO
There was a parallel . . .



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI
. . . with two in our day

trumped-up evidence, against absolute proof of their innocence; how the sentence was affirmed by the Governor of Massachusetts and the president of New England's most vaunted university as head of a commission to investigate the case; how a law professor in the same university challenged his president and the authorities; how a great New York newspaper columnist and a world-famous woman poet fought for clemency; and finally how a New England-born U.S. President washed his hands of the case despite world-wide appeals for mercy.

But transcending even the beauty and passion of Fast's presentation is its re-telling of the appalling and oft-overlooked facts of the frame-up. Both men were proved by the most reliable of the witnesses in the case to have been in other cities when the holdup and murder took place; and a young Portuguese who confessed to participation twice sought to attest their innocence and died rejecting his priest because his story was not believed.

THOSE WHO FOUGHT: As in every such work of Howard Fast, the facts reflect the most painstaking research and are incontestably accurate. The fictionalized portions serve principl-

pally to drive the facts home with the greatest persuasion.

For those reading the book without a ready reference at hand for the historic names involved in the case, the convicting judge was Webster Thayer, the Massachusetts governor was Alvin T. Fuller, the Harvard president who condoned the conviction was A. Lawrence Lowell, the newspaper columnist who fought so hard for their lives was Heywood Brown, the poetess Edna St. Vincent Millay, the law professor who challenged the evidence, the conviction and the affirmation by his university president was Felix Frankfurter. The U.S. President who denied clemency was Calvin Coolidge.

FOR THESE TIMES: Ameri-

'Lift Every Voice' — and sing

FOR those with a will to sing for peace and decency, *Lift Every Voice*, People's Artists' Second People's Songbook published this month, provides an exciting collection of words and music. Edited by Irwin Silber and beautifully illustrated by Jim Lee, songs in the collection range from "Riflemen of Bennington" (sung by American soldiers in the Revolutionary War) to "The Lighthouse" (a new song from China).

The book includes moving ballads like "Michael" and the Irish anti-war "Johnny I Hardly Knew You," as well as less well-known original lyrics and translations like the Spanish Civil War song "Venga Jaleo"; the German folk song of the Reformation "Die Gedanken sind frei"; the Italian "Partisan Song"; the Puerto Rican national song "La Borinquena"; and "Arian," written during the Korean freedom struggle against the Japanese. Many of the songs of the underground railroad ("Follow the Drinking Gourd") and labor songs ("Bread and Roses" and "Joe Hill") have played their part in history.

Especially noteworthy are the introductory paragraphs on the origin of the songs, which are in themselves a brief history of the fight for a better life.—Ione Kramer.

LIFT EVERY VOICE, the Second People's Songbook. People's Artists, Inc., 799 Broadway, N. Y. C. 96 pp. \$1.25.

ca's topmost writer in the fight for human decency has written an incomparable document. You can read it again and again, and be more emotionally moved, more convinced each time.

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THE PASSION OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, A New England Legend. 254 pp., \$3. Blue Heron Press, 47 W. 63 St., N. Y. C. 23.

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COST OF LIVING

Govt. report shows huge landlord profits

WHILE protests rose in every American city against the lifting of rent controls on housing much of which is jammed, run-down or unfit for habitation, the Dept. of Commerce in a study of rental income frankly exposed the dishonesty of the "poverty" cries raised

by real estate lobbies to end controls. The meat of the Commerce Dept. report, statistics for which were supplied mainly by real estate interests, is summarized in the August **Economic Notes** of the Labor Research Assn. (80 E. 11th St., N. Y. C. 3; 15c, \$1.50 a year.) The report shows that landlords made a net profit, after all deductions, of \$2,390 million in 1952—an all time record. This was over 5½ times (568%) the average yearly net profit for the 10 years 1930-1939, and almost twice (193%) the average annual net profit banked by landlords in 1940-49.

"FAIR RETURN" NOSTALGIA: The

rent for apartments and small houses has gone up an average of 84% since 1939. Landlord figures for operating costs—which have been padded with an exorbitant allowance for "insurance and miscellaneous costs"—have advanced only 45%. As a consequence, the average landlord made 4 times as much net profit per dwelling in 1952 as he did in 1939.

Housing experts pointed out that on a basis of "fair return on investment," rents should be reduced 18% to restore the 1939 ratio of profits to rent.

Are you or have you ever been a Virgin?

A British Labor paper claims that this happened when a U.S. immigration official was questioning a British seaman: "Are you or have you ever been a Communist?" "No," replied the sailor. "But I see that you went to Russia during the war." "That's right," said the sailor. "Well?" said the American official knowingly. "Well," the seaman came back, "I've been to the Virgin Islands but that doesn't prove anything, does it?" —People's Voice, Detroit.

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A Letter to the Author by **HERBERT BIBERMAN** Director of SALT OF THE EARTH

Dear Howard:

Only the unceasing day and night concentration on finishing our picture has delayed for two weeks beyond my finishing your recent book, this word of appreciation of it.

It possesses me all the more for the hours of reflection upon it. I have grown to have added respect for the bareness of the fullness of the telling of this awful history. The very deep partisanship rolls out of what seems such incontrovertible fact . . . as if the author was no more than the instrument of introduction. The very absence of names finally achieves the transformation of an individual into a category without loss of any personal detail. It marches so inevitably toward a unified social documentary . . . in which truth lives . . . in the warm flesh of beloved people.

When I had completed it, I wished that it had been twice as detailed and was instantly also pleased that it was not. I recognized that more complete telling might have made it easier to treat the impact of the book as art rather than as still wet blood . . . upon our hands too, still, yet, for we have not yet reached the point of being able to prevent the ghastly repetition of such arrant barbarism.

Beyond this appreciation of the work itself, I feel constrained to add a word of very personal appreciation for you as well as for your work. The nourishment which is there for all who work in the furrows of culture in these days is immeasurable. Knowing the tremendous difficulties of production in the cultural field in these days rather intimately by now, I have even more than normally generous appreciation of the unceasing labors and achievements which bear your name and imprint. Thus my gratitude is not only for your accomplishment in respect to our people, but most subjectively and concretely for your gifts to me . . . as

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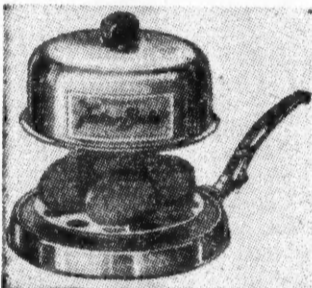
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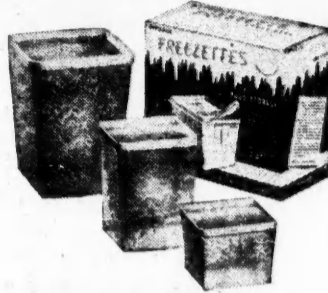


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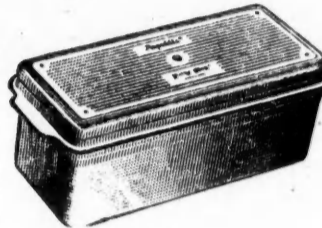
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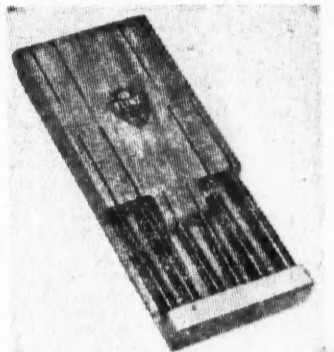
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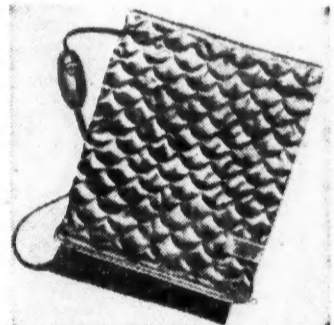
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