

The world asks U.S.: 'Won't you sit down?'

By Kumar Goshal

BY last week the possibility of an early top-level conference which might ease at least some tensions had become No. 1 political topic everywhere. World public imagination had been fired last spring by Churchill's idea of a big political conference — informal, exploratory, without inflexible agenda or viewpoint. With the peoples now unanimous in desiring some kind of talks, no government could afford to seem opposed.

Washington's line, for which it could find few buyers beyond the U.S. press, was that Moscow had shown itself "none too anxious for high-level talks at the present time" (N. Y. Times, 10/4) by its reply to the West's proposal for a Big Four foreign ministers' conference on Germany and Austria at Lugano, Switzerland. Actually, while Washington has continued to reject the broad Churchill proposal, and to insist on narrowly limiting the agenda of any talks, Moscow has shown a gradual willingness for a more limited agenda—provided it tackled basic issues, and involved parties rightfully concerned. In its Sept. 29 reply it suggested a four-power conference on Germany and a five-power conference (including China) on Asian problems. U.S. newspapers and Washington spokesmen promptly accused Moscow of trying to drag China into talks on German elections.

THIS IS NO. 1: India's Krishna Menon, in his major conciliatory speech in UN's current session, pinpointed "the tension that prevails" as

... the factor which supervenes every discussion, on which all problems center, and the solution of which is essential if we are to see daylight at all in the affairs of mankind.

Menon spoke for the people of the world when he therefore gave first place to a possible UN request for a highest-level, informal gathering of big powers—although UN faces so many major specific problems. He was in fact merely bringing UN back to its founders' conviction that the organization could not succeed without big-power agreement on substantial decisions.

WHO'S FRIGHTENED? After Soviet Premier Malenkov on March 15 said "there do not and will not exist troublesome and unsolved questions that cannot be resolved by peaceful means," Churchill said he "could not see why anyone should be frightened" by the idea of a top-level conference which "at best, might [bring] a generation of peace." The British Premier's proposal received overwhelming support. India's Nehru favored such a conference "to meet informally, in privacy and without a rigid agenda... to make every effort to rid humanity of the fear of war." Pope Pius XII called for a "frank and honest discussion" among the big powers as "a first and indispensable condition of peace." Norway, Sweden, Denmark soon pledged support.

Washington was "cool," agreeing only to a U.S.-French-British meeting in Bermuda (later abandoned) to plan strategy for meeting the Russians. But world public opinion, developing deep distrust of U.S. policy, would not let the idea of big-power talks die. In France, for example, ONA reported (6/29) that people "not Communists or pro-Communists" felt

... the time has come to lay the bases for a long-term co-existence through a reunification and neutralization of Germany, the recognition of Peking and a rapid increase of commercial exchanges between East and West... In the eyes of the average Frenchman, the America of 1953... has more in common with the Germany of 1933.

"THE FEELING PERSISTS...": When Washington on July 15 invited Moscow to talks limited to German elections and an Austrian peace treaty, it was a

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One-fifth of humanity came into its own four years ago

Despite all the bluster and humbug of our kept press, the fifth of the human race that live in China celebrated with joy last week the fourth birthday of their new people's government. Old Mrs. Tien of Chingpen village, who at 104 merrily knits socks for soldier great-grandsons, goes back in easy memory to Oct. 10, 1911, when the First Chinese Re-

public which Chiang Kai-shek's debauched was set up by Sun Yat-sen. The two-year-old Sun Yat-sen, playing in a Canton orphanage, looks forward to a world which—as Mme. Sun Yat-sen told National Day celebrants in 1949—"produce flows freely over the good earth, and life may be a joy to all people alike, regardless of race, color, belief and areas."

WHY THE ROSENBERGS' CO-DEFENDANT DID NOT TAKE THE STAND

Morton Sobell tells his own story

JUDGES Charles E. Clark, Harrie B. Chase and Jerome N. Frank of the U.S. Court of Appeals last week had under advisement an appeal for a new trial for Morton Sobell, now serving a 30-year sentence in Alcatraz prison as a "co-conspirator" in the Rosenberg case. An early decision was expected; if a new trial is denied by the Circuit Court, an appeal will be made to the U.S. Supreme Court. U.S. Atty. James B. Kilsheimer III argued for summary dismissal of the appeal.

Howard N. Meyer, attorney for Sobell, argued that no real consideration had been given by the courts to new evidence in the case because of the haste with which Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were rushed to their executions last June 19. Sobell himself, in an affidavit submitted by his lawyer, pointed out that he had joined in the last appeal in June "without being able to submit an affidavit of my own in support of the motion." His sudden transfer at that time to Alcatraz, 3,000 miles away, had made it impossible for him to file a statement in his own behalf.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE: The court action came on the eve of a national conference in Chicago to plan new steps in a campaign to win a new trial and eventual freedom for Sobell.

In his affidavit, Sobell reiterated that "I am completely innocent of the charges made against me" and called the testimony of Max Elitcher, sole witness against him, "fantastic" and "untrue." Noting that the prosecution has emphasized in all proceedings the fact that Sobell did not take the stand in

his own behalf, Sobell explained:

"I wanted to testify on my own behalf at my trial. I did not do so because (1) of the fact that the case that the prosecution had put in against me was so weak that my innocence was clearly established; and (2) that it was so clear that I had nothing to do with any atomic espionage conspiracy (as Judge Kaufman later admitted in sentencing

me) that it would necessarily follow that I would be freed..."

THE FULL STORY: The bulk of Sobell's affidavit consists of a complete explanation of his vacation trip to Mexico, where he was kidnaped and forcibly returned in an effort by the government to make him appear a "fugitive." This is his story:

ALCATRAZ FEDL. PENITENTIARY
THE ONLY other testimony concerning me at the trial related to a trip to Mexico which I made with my family, which had nothing to do with espionage, and which only after the trial did I realize was given significance by court and jury out of all proportion to what the facts actually showed. It was only after the trial that I realized how this testimony was misconstrued and misused, and to make the record clear, I want to tell the whole story now.

My wife, daughter, infant son and I left New York in late June, 1950, for Mexico City. This was no suddenly developed plan. I had become dissatisfied with my work in the summer of 1949, but I couldn't very well leave then because I was in the middle of a big project at the Reeves Instrument Co., where I worked. I was in charge of the design and manufacture of a special radar computer known as a Plotting Board, and to have deserted it in mid-stream would naturally have prejudiced opportunities for future employment. During the following year I investigated several positions but couldn't find anything like what I wanted. I was really interested in getting into more basic research or an academic position.

My project was completed by June, 1950. At about the same time my

(Continued on Page 3)



HELEN and MORTON SOBELL
There was a happier time

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(SEE REPORT TO READERS—THIS PAGE)

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THERE'S NOTHING TO FILL IN. Just tear off this corner with your label on the reverse. (Check your name and address for corrections.) Put it in an envelope with \$3 for 52 weeks (dollar bills are OK) and mail IMMEDIATELY to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.



Happy birthday

SCOTTSBURG, IND. Happy Birthday to you! To celebrate my birthday, which was Sept. 17, I'm sending you this \$5. I consider this the best birthday gift I have ever given—and I couldn't be more happy than I am to get the GUARDIAN. Josephine Grzslak

Harvey O'Connor's stand

FLEMINGTON, N. J. The prying-out of political views by Inquisitor McCarthy has reached a point of historical importance in the Harvey O'Connor case, in which this dauntless victim of the Senator's mediaeval procedure followed the advice of Dr. Albert Einstein that "every intellectual who is called before one of the committees ought to refuse to testify, i.e., he must be prepared for jail and economic ruin, in short, for the sacrifice of his personal welfare in the interest of the cultural welfare of his country." O'Connor did so and was promptly cited by the Senate for contempt.

The U. S. Attorney General has to decide whether or not O'Connor is to be prosecuted. If he is for prosecution, the Grand Jury invoked thereafter may indict O'Connor. If he is convicted, he will be liable to a jail sentence. If acquitted, our modern inquisition would suffer its severest blow to date, and our Bill of Rights would be back in the Constitution where it belongs. Andrew Cordian

How crazy can you get dept.

The Young Republicans' Conference at Monterey last weekend went on record as opposing recognition of Red China, but approved statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and the presentation of three dozen diapers to the president, Ed Osgood, a brand-new father. The vote on the diapers was unanimous. —San Francisco Chronicle, Sept. 24.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Dorothy De Lappe, Berkeley, Calif.

The "queasy" liberal

NEW YORK, N. Y. The country is faced with the doctrines and the works of evil men. One of the reasons that liberalism has been so incapable of working energetically for good ends is that it lacks the will to resist evil: in its priggish fear of committing an unfair moral judgment it habitually places itself on the side of the militant wicked. This moral queasiness has been one of liberalism's effective contributions to McCarthyism's advances. Out of the spinelessness of "liberalism" the backbone of McCarthyism is being strengthened.

"Righteousness exalteth a nation"; McCarthyism does the opposite. A. Garcia Diaz

For quake victims

NEW YORK, N. Y. The Council of Greek Americans appeals to every American to render immediate aid to the victims of the disastrous earthquakes in the Ionian Islands off the coast of Greece, and now most recently on the island of Cyprus as well.

The need is great. We appeal for clothing that you won't use, but can be shipped to these unfortunate people in Greece. There are 120,000 of the victims and the Papagos government in Athens is standing aloof on the whole matter. Help is going from various countries thru the Red Cross, etc. For clothing packages call CH 2-0260 in New York when pickup can be made. For out-of-town send bundles through Railway Express. Council of Greek Americans 359 W. 26th St., N. Y. C. 1

Mercy from Adlai?

BRONX, N. Y. "A Reader" in your Mail Bag wants to know whether other readers share his opinion that Stevenson might have granted clemency to the Rosenbergs had he been elected President. I had the same feeling until today when I saw in the paper a picture of a huddle of three persons: Eisenhower, Dulles and Stevenson. Another Reader

And keep on talking

KAMLOOPS, B. C., CANADA To Emanuel Bloch 401 Broadway, N. Y. C.

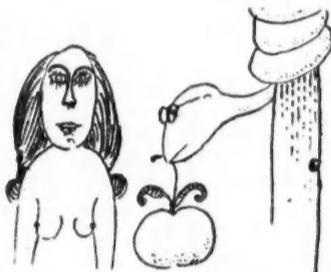
Dear Sir: I am sending one dollar to the fund for Michael & Robbie Rosenberg, and my neighbor has added another one. I have grandchildren the same age as Michael & Robbie, but they are happy at home with their Mom and Dad.

I have a sinking feeling as I write this, because nothing can fill the place of Mom and Dad, but I feel that I must talk, and keep on talking to try to convince more people that it was a crime to murder that noble man and his wife. Wm. R. Price

Mr. Price is a paid up GUARDIAN subscriber. Ed.

Gadget morality

ALGONAC, MICH. What terrible times these are! Who ever thought to see the vast majority of the American people knocking down to a thing as low as Hitler ever was. Some people are willing to endure any indignity or insult in exchange for physical comfort it seems. I'd rather live in a sod shack and know the joy of common effort toward a worthy ideal. Gadgets and comforts are nothing but ashes in the mouth when obtained in spiritual isolation—or should I say desolation? D. Florence Fagg



Vie Nuove, Rome "It contains vitamins, stimulates the liver, will not fatten. Why don't you try it, Madame Eve?"

The luxury tax

MARTINS FERRY, O. The national administration is evidently becoming a bit worried about the uproar resulting from its failure to keep its campaign promises, among which was to be a tax reduction—for whom, the campaigners didn't say.

A news item (Sept. 11) reveals a token effort to reduce taxes for some people by removing the "luxury tax" of 20%. Where does the government expect to get the tax money it will lose by abolishing the luxury tax? It will probably be necessary to up the taxes of those in the low-income groups. Abolishing the luxury tax won't benefit those in the low-income groups. They don't buy any luxuries. George F. Curry

The two-legged apes

PORTLAND, ORE. I am one of the old broken down Capitalist Slaves. No, I am not on Relief, but at 78 I am working at my trade, chiseling enough money out of Our People for me and Wife to get by.

Will these two legged Apes, the American People, ever learn that there is an abundance, yes, a luxury, here for all just as soon as they get these Parasites off their backs? No name this time. My Family holds Federal Jobs. Old Dad



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CEDRIC BELFRAGE Editor

JOHN T. McMANUS General Manager

JAMES ARONSON Executive Editor

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OCTOBER 12, 1953

REPORT TO READERS

3 magnificent books offered to you FREE

ON THIS AND THE OPPOSITE PAGE we offer you the very finest inducements we can to win from you:

- Your immediate subscription renewal.
- Your personal and irreplaceable effort toward building a new readership for the GUARDIAN.

As a FREE PREMIUM with your renewal NOW, the new publishing firm of Cameron & Kahn has made available to us a limited supply of **The Game of Death**, Albert E. Kahn's new and urgent exposé of the effects of the Cold War on America's children, their homes, their schools, their futures (GUARDIAN, 10/5).

This \$1 book, the first exciting offering of the new publishing venture, is yours just for mailing back to us the top left-hand corner of this page with your \$3 renewal. We want you to have this book immediately, as a means of making your GUARDIAN subscription increasingly meaningful, and further so that you will know the quality of Cameron & Kahn books as their new ones reach print. As you may have guessed, we of the GUARDIAN are very much for the success of this outfit because of their determination to break through the curtain of censorship against liberal and radical writing in America.

WE ARE ALSO VERY MUCH for the success of Blue Heron Press, publishers of Howard Fast's works and now going to press with a beautiful Golden Jubilee edition of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' **The Souls of Black Folk**, the entire edition of which Dr. DuBois has undertaken to autograph.

The re-issuance, 50 years after its original date of publication, of **The Souls of Black Folk** is most significant—and not only because its venerated author is alive and hale today and at the peak of his eminence throughout the whole world. **The Souls of Black Folk**, from the pen of a young scholar whom **The Nation** had considered "coldly intellectual" as a speaker, burst upon the literary and thinking world of a half century ago as "the most thought-arresting challenge in the whole race problem campaign" (*Life Magazine*); and as "one of the most striking books in contemporary literature" (*Chicago Chronicle*). Said the *Kansas City Star*:

"No one who reads it can ever forget. This book seems to speak with the clearest voice, seems the strongest advocate for things spiritual in all this materialistic age."

From the *Chicago Tribune* (still as applicable now as then):

"In a day when books written for vanity, or for the making of money, or from habit, fill the book stores, and the jaded mind finds everywhere the trivial thought and the showy word, this passionate book . . . cannot but compel profound respect. It is a real, not an imitation book."

And the *New Orleans Item*, reflecting the controversy over conflicting views of Dr. DuBois and Booker T. Washington:

"Professor DuBois says that many educated Negroes join him in the belief that their race can gain reasonable rights, not by voluntary throwing them away, as advocated by Washington; not by belittling themselves, but by insisting, in season and out, that voting is necessary to modern manhood; that colored discrimination is barbarism, and that black boys need education as well as white boys."

A FOREWORD to the 50th anniversary edition by author Shirley Graham (Mrs. DuBois) records that this universally-acclaimed work had 24 editions in the U.S. with several concurrent publications abroad, and as late as 1946 was referred to by Henry James in his *American Scene* as "the only 'Southern' book of any distinction published for many a year."

GUARDIAN readers know and love Dr. DuBois well; and we are honored to be able to offer a limited supply of his autographed **The Souls of Black Folk** to our readers in conjunction with our mutual task of building a new GUARDIAN readership.

Blue Heron Press has made available to us also a supply of Howard Fast's fine new work, **The Passion of Sacco and Vanetti** (GUARDIAN, 9/28), which we are similarly pleased to offer you in acknowledgement of a new round of co-operation on the occasion of our Fifth Anniversary this month.

The details are on the opposite page. Your books are waiting. —THE EDITORS

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) showing the ownership, management, and circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for Oct. 1, 1953.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Editor, Cedric Belfrage, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Managing Editor, James Aronson, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7; Business Manager, John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7.

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Y. C. 7; John T. McManus, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7.

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 45,025.

JOHN T. McMANUS, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 29th day of Sept., 1953.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public. My commission expires Mar. 30, 1955.

ROSENBERGS' CO-DEFENDANT SPEAKS

The truth about Morton Sobell in Mexico

(Continued from Page 1)

daughter's school term ended, my wife's graduate physics course at Columbia wound up, and my own course I was teaching at Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, a graduate course on "Feed-back amplifiers," came to its summer recess. None of us had any special ties keeping us in the city, so we decided to go to Mexico. As my attorney showed, on his motion for reduction of my sentence, we had been planning and dreaming of such a trip for several years, and had documentary evidence to prove it.

Although we naturally made no public announcement of our plans, there was no secret about it either. I wrote

from a routine vacation. I was not alone, in mid-1950, in having become apprehensive over signs of political intimidation and repression in this country—the inquisitions, purges and political prosecutions—which were products largely of the cold war. Although a scientist, I was not oblivious to political developments, and in fact, in common with many other scientists, saw a danger to my future in the oppressive atmosphere in which we had to work. My wife and I talked about saving our children from the terrible things the world had seen occur in Nazi Germany, and had at least half an idea we could escape its threatened repetition here. We had both engaged in left of center political activities in college days and every day saw people, including distinguished scientists like Dr. Condon, harassed and persecuted for no more than their opinions. All this, coupled with my dissatisfaction with my job anyway, and the fact that we had saved up a little money meant that when we left, we just didn't know whether we would come back or not. I recall thinking that Mexico might offer me a real challenge and opportunity—a country that, in my technical, engineering field, was really in its pioneer days.

In Mexico, there were more typical examples of our indecision. On one occasion, in Mexico City, I talked to a travel agency about an Italian Line ship due to sail from Vera Cruz to Havana, and how much it would cost to fly from there back to the U.S.—and made no reservation for anywhere. Again, we cashed in our adult American Airlines return trip tickets that were good only for only 60 days, but kept the one for our daughter that was good for six months.

THEN, in the midst of our uncertainties, the newspapers suddenly published the news of Julius Rosenberg's arrest as an alleged "atom-spy." To me, the charge was absurd, but nonetheless frightening in what it meant. I had known Julius in City College years before, we had been together in a number of progressive student organizations during our college days, and had seen each other infrequently since then. I felt that he was being persecuted for political reasons and that the charge was calculated to intimidate and silence political dissent in the U.S. I reasoned that anybody who opposed the then new Korean war, or otherwise dared to speak up and oppose any American policies he disagreed with, would be slapped into jail on one pretext or another. But this led me to make the mistake of feeling that a dictatorship was already taking over my country.

Then, and only then, was it that I left the family in the Mexico City apartment and traveled around Mexico—to Vera Cruz and Tampico—even using false names, and inquiring about passage to Europe or South America for all of us. It is hard to understand how I might have been led to do such a stupid thing, but it didn't take long for me to recognize how inept and pointless it was. Of course, I had no idea how it could be misinterpreted, and how dangerous it would turn out to be.

So I went back to Mexico City, and my wife and I talked it over once again. We realized that our ties to home were too strong, that we owed it to everyone to return and help to combat the repressive tendencies from which we had contemplated staying away and "sitting it out." I know now how right this last decision was, and how wrong I was to think I could isolate myself from others who had the same problem.

SO MY WIFE and I decided to come back to New York, take up our lives, and join in whatever way we could in resisting the attacks on the liberties of people that were being made in the United States. We made plans for our return. There is tangible, documentary proof of this, too, for we then secured vaccinations in Mexico City—which we had not needed to get there, but which we did need to return to the U.S.

But then came the unheard-of attack which deprived us of the chance to return voluntarily. My apartment was invaded by armed men who represented themselves as Mexican police, but refused, when I requested it, to take me to the American Embassy. This fact, and the rest of this incident, was set

forth in my uncontradicted affidavit in support of my trial counsel's motion to arrest judgment. The U.S. Attorney at my trial as much as admitted that the FBI had engineered the whole affair. I cannot understand to this day how this lawless act, apparently calculated to prevent me from returning voluntarily—for I was never informed of so much as even that I was wanted for questioning—has remained unrebuked.

(signed) Morton Sobell
Sworn to before me this
23rd day of September, 1953
(signed) R. Delmore, Jr., Asst. Warden

First Rosenberg play opens in London

SINCE the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg stirred world-wide vows to honor and vindicate their memory, many progressive writers have undertaken books and plays about the case. First to get a completed work before the public were Britain's Eric Paice and William Bland, whose play *The Rosenbergs* opened Sept. 27 at the Unity, London theater permanently devoted to repertory performed by amateurs. Representatives of labor organizations, diplomatic missions and the world press who attended the opening saw an effective chronicle play with the first act establishing the main characters (Rosenbergs, Greenglasses, Sobells), the second devoted to the trial, the third to the fight to save the Rosenbergs' lives. GUARDIAN correspondent Ursula Wassermann wrote of the performance:

The last scene, set in the death-house a few hours before the execution and centered around the Rosenbergs' last letter to their children, has

The bloody tattoo

According to a Reuter report, a spokesman for the Indian custodian forces in Korea said on Sept. 11 at Shantinagar (Peace Camp) that an increasing number of North Korean and Chinese prisoners were asking to be sent to their homelands. Some of the prisoners-of-war who had changed their minds had accused other prisoners of forcibly tattooing them with Chinese nationalist slogans, the spokesman said. On Sept. 11 one prisoner had come to an Indian guard with his arm covered in blood and said that he had spent the whole night trying to scratch off the tattooed Chinese nationalist flag. From Sept. 14 *Indiagram*, issued by Indian Embassy, Washington.

dramatic and emotional implications seldom achieved on the stage. Celia Prendergast and Ron Barron play Ethel and Julius with a quiet dignity that could hardly be improved upon; Manny Bloch is brilliantly and sensitively interpreted by David Abrahams. The actors refuse all curtain calls. They and the authors—who performed an ambitious and difficult task exceedingly well—have indeed done honor to the two simple Americans who were called upon to play one of the most tragic and heroic roles in their country's history.

One newspaperwoman felt the play was "too realistic." For the sake of the future of the Rosenberg children, and of all those who have identified themselves with their fight for justice and peace, can any play be realistic enough?

Bring articles like this into the homes of more people who need facts with which to work for peace and a better America. GET ONE NEW GUARDIAN READER THIS WEEK.



ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG
Their silence became thunder



my employer for an indefinite leave of absence, applied for and obtained necessary visas from the Mexican consul in New York, and bought round-trip tickets at the American Airlines ticket office. On the way, I had the customs officials at Dallas-examine and make a record of my foreign-made cameras, so I wouldn't have to pay duty on them when bringing them back into the country. In Mexico City, we rented an apartment for a month or two, where the family stayed all the time we were there.

THERE WAS one aspect to the trip, however, which differentiated it

Convenient 'link'

On the eve of the Chicago conference to plan for a new trial for radar engineer Morton Sobell, the Army announced that "several" Signal Corps radar workers at Ft. Monmouth, N. J., had been suspended as security risks. The Washington *Times-Herald*, Chicago *Tribune* and Hearst papers promptly ballooned the story into a new spy scare, "linked" it with the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

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ATOMIC ENERGY AND WORLD PEACE — V

What is the hope for atomic control?

By Prof. Philip Morrison

(Last of a 5-part series by the noted Ithaca, N. Y., physicist)

EIGHT years ago, with Hiroshima still a vivid memory, the Big Three foreign ministers pledged themselves in Moscow to sponsor a UN commission to study the elimination of mass-destruction weapons and the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. Since then the U.S. has lost its monopoly of the A-bomb and the two biggest powers have started toward H-bomb supplies. These years have been spent in war, hot and cold, until there is little official trace of the urge to agreement which still existed in the shadow of the victory.

We are deep in the fearful atomic arms race. Strategically, the U.S. has built a world-wide net of air bases, with troops stationed in half the countries of the world; the U.S.S.R. has sought to increase the depth of the zone of contact between itself and the West. Politically, the search has been for allies tied by economic and other bonds with each of the great powers. Above all, China's unification and strengthening under a Communist regime has greatly enhanced the Asian peoples' importance in world affairs.

In light of this history, what can we hope for in the long-abortive UN discussion toward atomic control?

POINTS OF AGREEMENT: The issues have grown to be mainly these: Both sides envisage an eventual international agreement which will control the manufacture of A-bombs (excluding it entirely, or perhaps allowing some to be made for UN). This agreement will be guaranteed by an international technical organization empowered to inspect, and in some measure oversee, the peacetime atomic energy operations which any nation may carry out. All installations in every country must be open to the inspectors, who must have power to visit—at least after following a kind of search-warrant procedure—any place which the international technicians suspect may be a concealed, undeclared plant for production of atomic explosives. All this is, on the record, agreed.

This picture does not jibe with the universal assertion of the U.S. press that "the Russians will never allow inspection"; but on the face of the matter, the papers are wrong. Said Vishinsky on Oct. 23, 1950, in New York:

"Our critics demand that all opportunities for inspecting the situation at atomic enterprises be provided; but... our proposals... say in black and white that the international control body has the right to send its inspectors wherever there is suspicion of this sort, and to conduct a careful and thorough investigation by the decision of the international control body."

And it has long been agreed that no veto would control the day-by-day activities of the international inspectorate.

ARE RUSSIANS ALLERGIC? There is some basis besides cold-war propaganda for the U.S. view that the Russians are allergic to inspectors. It is true that the Russian agreements in this respect were slow in coming; that occasional evasive words appear; that their documents never contained the graphic detail of

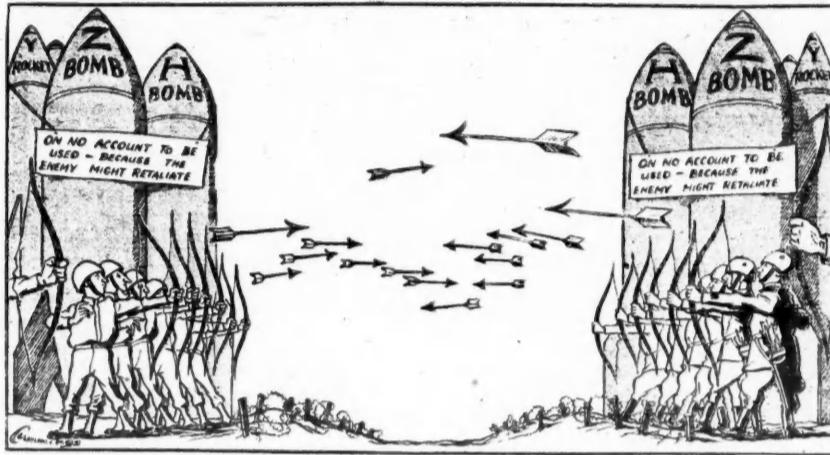
the U.S. proposals, and so on. But it is not likely that the few hundred inspectors, highly-selected and discreet persons, were regarded by the Soviets—as our newspapers vulgarly suggest—as a "rift in the Iron Curtain" which would let the world in on the depths of Soviet infamy. Perhaps a few would write books on their experiences, no new thing in Soviet public relations.

More important was doubtless the realization by Soviet security forces that the location of plants and industrial areas, in little-traveled Soviet Asia, would become pin-pointed in time

clear that an evening-up would be the first step. That step has been taken. Both sides have the know-how and the stockpiles.

"INTERNATIONAL" OWNERSHIP: A central issue was ownership and management. The U.S., following the Lillienthal report, visualized the inspection and control job as only one task of a great international body which would actually own and develop atomic energy plants the world over.

This is a working model for a limited world government in a not unimportant,



Cummings in Daily Express, London

BACK TO WHERE IT ALL STARTED . . .

under such surveillance which in the U.S. plan included wide surveys. This is a sacrifice of security which the already open U.S., holding few such secrets, did not anticipate having to match.

Issues that have prevented agreement

What are the hitches, then? They are not few. First, perhaps, in the initial stages, was the Baruch proposal for eliminating the veto in atomic-energy matters. This was to apply not simply to the agency's routine work, where there was early agreement that no veto would run, but to the use of force against nations charged with violating the agreement.

If the Security Council is to vote such sanctions, war is nearly inevitable. It is unrealistic to expect to have a power watch the legalization of war against itself. The issue could have been introduced only as a step in the cold war, then very fierce over this particular question. It was important in its time, as the real sign that the reasonable—if prematurely idealistic and somewhat paternal—Lillienthal proposals were not all of U.S. policy.

Chester Barnard, now head of a great foundation, utilities executive for many years and member of the Lillienthal report commission, wrote in 1948: "Mr. Lillienthal and I personally begged Mr. Baruch not to introduce the veto problem in connection with his presentation of the plan." Baruch has denied this publicly. The issue is probably no longer a real barrier.

TIMING—1946 & NOW: Very important was the matter of timing. Who would do what first? In 1946 the U.S.A., with the "know-how" and the bombs, wanted control to begin first at the uranium mines and gradually move to the point of bomb-counting; the U.S.S.R., with no bombs and not much "know-how," wanted it to begin with the bombs.

There is some logic here, but very much more of self-serving. This issue life has pretty well settled. It is not hard to believe that the very disparity between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in a time of tension made it inevitable that there could be no agreement. When knowledge and power were so uneven, and real trust was absent, it was fairly

ant, if not decisive, field. But in our divided world it seems at best idealistic, and at worst a scheme to fix UN—and hence U.S.—control over the power economies of the world.

The worst view was the Soviet official one, and the plan stands rejected. It does not seem a strictly necessary part of atomic agreement, especially now that both sides have made great technical strides.

U.S. IN REVERSE: How much should the negotiations include? At first the U.S.A. said atomic energy was the key to all mass-destruction weapons, insisted it be discussed separately from all other problems of disagreement or control; the Soviets took the other view. After Korea, President Truman said (10/24/50) "the plan must include all kinds of weapons. Outlawing any particular kind of weapon is not enough." On the record, this reversed U.S.

Questions?

At the conclusion of this five-part series, Dr. Morrison has offered to answer reasonable questions about atomic energy. If you have a question, send it in now to Atom Q and A., National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 17, N. Y.

policy and was a concession to the Soviet view. Some observers, like Prof. Burhop, have regarded it as an effort to counter the famous Stockholm Appeal, which put atomic weapons in a special category as for five years official U.S. policy had done. But again it seems wiser to allow greater scope for the negotiations if they are to succeed.

One technical point remains: the lapse of time. Most inspection schemes include a method of checking on whether, after the agreement, any undisclosed bombs might remain. The bigger the total stock, the easier it will be to conceal a few dozen A-bombs, or even of H-bombs. The longer the arms race goes on, then, the harder the certification of genuine control, without fear of loopholes. This is an unpleasant but evident fact.

The future: 3 possibilities

What lies ahead? The matter can go three ways: the arms race can continue

in classic fashion until tensions mount, irrational minds decide, war begins. This is what every sane and sober man fears. It is the way of "preventive war."

Or agreement can be reached, the arms race checked, and the long period of a return to trust, or at least toleration, begin. This is the way of negotiation, what all must hope for. It is in the end the only way to lift the pall of fear.

But there is an intermediate way, pointed out perhaps by Korea and the Korean truce. There may be a kind of truce in the arms race. Lacking trust and a complete agreement, there may be a tacit or even public agreement not to use the weapons of total destruction.

ATOMS vs. ALLIES: Such a situation is not a stable one. No one would stop building his bombs or his bombers, the world would bear the heavy burden of a race for arms, perhaps somewhat slowed down. The preparation of better and better defenses against air attack would continue.

But allies and policy are more important than the best of weapons, and this importance grows as both sides gain great stocks of bombs, and grows still more as both sides perfect their defenses against the distant air intruder. It is the smaller countries which cannot defend their cities; it is the village economies of Asia which could suffer but not feel defeat under the bomber.

Those considerations may lead to a world still armed atomically but unwilling to loose the bombers—disarmed not in military fact but in the real world of politics. Then, as time passes, and the great fabric of social and economic changes is woven, the arms race might end by an agreement based on a new-found trust. Small hidden violations would no longer be so likely, since they could not be militarily decisive when the defenses are better, the "know-how" widely diffused, and atomic plants everywhere. Disarmament would include not just bombs and bacteria, but above all the bombers or the rockets which can carry them abroad, and the bases from which they might be launched.

SMALL STEPS TO PEACE: This is not a pretty picture, but it is plausible. Whether we will know peace in our time is not clear any more, but that we will not know atomic war is a prophecy I grow more and more confident in making.

The atom has strained men too far; the opinion of the peoples, and the hard



facts of balance, may guarantee that no new Hiroshima will shame the works of science. A genuine peace must yet be built, though the steps toward building it may be steep and insecure.

If they but head toward it, progressives may be proud of them. In the next years final atomic agreement is too much to expect, but all sorts of partial and half-way steps will appear, and they will merit our support. That is the way out of a near-decade of cold war.

The good old days

They handled these matters much better in the old days of Franklin D. Roosevelt—such important matters as sensing the drift of public opinion... squaring the pronouncements of the White House with the speeches of Administration leaders on Capitol Hill.

Up in Boston, hard on the heels of [Eisenhower's] speech to the Republicans who had paid \$100 a head for the victory dinner, one old timer walked away muttering: "The speech was terrible. But perhaps... the people just don't give a damn what he says, even if it doesn't make sense. We can hope they go away happy because they like the way he grins and gives them the big wave of the hand."

John O'Donnell, N. Y. Daily News, 9/24.



Carrefour, Paris

"Our Soviet bomb is so loud that even Dulles heard it."

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Registration sags as ALP alone hits the issues

By Elmer Bendiner

BY midweek it was clear that most New Yorkers viewed the election as a horse-race in which they had no stake. The first two days of registration showed a 35% drop from 1949 figures. The vote, always a fraction of the registration, seemed likely to add up to a withering vote of no confidence in the candidates and parties most likely to succeed.

Commentators, speculating on the cause of public disinterest, ascribed it to the weather

amassing charges of shady connections on all sides. Riegelman was tarred with the Dewey machine and the scandals at the raceways. Wagner was stuck with Tammany's marauding past and present. (The Roe machine in Queens, which went with Impellitteri in the primaries, also seemed easily reconciled to Wagner, and Farley cabled his congratulations after the primary.) When Joseph T. Ryan of the racket-run Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. was last seen on the waterfront he was sporting an Impellitteri button, but not so long ago Wagner had chaired a dinner in Ryan's honor. Halley made hay out of Tammany's backing of Wagner, but reliable evidence showed that before the primaries Halley had tried desperately to sell himself to Tammany boss Carmine de Sapio and since then has had only kind words to say of witch-hunting supt. of schools Jansen.

GEROSA DILEMMA: The ALP punctured the balloons of each major candidate impartially. At a press conference last week ALP chairman Vito Marcantonio revealed that Democratic candidate for controller Lawrence Gerosa's construction company was suing the city for \$490,000 on a claim growing out of the Independent subway extension to Hillside, Queens. (Gerosa said the city had not warned him he would encounter water underground.)

If Gerosa is elected, Marcantonio pointed out, the city will have to defend itself in court against its own second-highest official. If the case is settled out of court, controller Gerosa would have to settle with himself. Section 886 of the city charter makes it a misdemeanor for any official to be interested in any litigation against the city, but enforcement of the provision is up to the controller: Gerosa must plead with Gerosa.

MARC & THE "WORKER": Gerosa did not deny the story, said only that the legal aspects

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)



JAMES A. FARLEY
Have a coke, Bob

and to a "hangover" from the world series. The plain fact was that among the four old-line parties there was no essential difference in program and a great reluctance to talk issues. Willingness to talk issues remained the monopoly of the American Labor Party.

KNEE-DEEP: From the point of view of program and issues, the one significant tally in the race would not be the winner's but the ALP's—at least insofar as voters had been able to learn about ALP's program. That could be a measure of how far New Yorkers were willing to go beyond a general disgust.

The old-line candidates campaigned knee-deep in mud,

ALP's WEEK

SUNDAY, OCT. 11: Vladimir Flores, Council candidate, "The Spanish Hour," WBNX, 5:15 p.m.
MONDAY, OCT. 12: Borough presidential candidates and Marcantonio, TV Channel 5, 7:45 p.m.; Marcantonio and councilman candidate Arthur Raggio at Columbus Day rally, 187th St. & Camberling Sq., Bronx, 8:30 p.m.; Marcantonio, Allerton Av. ALP Club, 683 Allerton Av., Bronx, 9:30 p.m.; McAvoy on "The People's Choice," WNEW, 10:35 p.m.
TUESDAY, OCT. 13: Stewart, N.Y. Jewish Conference Forum, Riverside Plaza Hotel, 253 W. 73d St., 8:30 p.m.; Schutzer, Stadium ALP Club, 724 Gerard Av., Bronx, 9:30 p.m.
WEDNESDAY, OCT. 14: Henry Abrams (for McAvoy), Walden School Forum, 1 W. 88th St.; Andronicus Jacobs, 39th St. & 7th Av., 12 noon; McAvoy, Retail Drug Clerks Local 1199 Forum, 210 W. 50th St., 7 p.m.; McAvoy, Schutzer, Marcantonio, Sunnyside Gardens, Queens Blvd. & 45th St., 8:30 p.m.; Stewart, forum P.S. 233, E. 94th St. & Av. B, Brooklyn; Council candidate Arnold Olenick, Council of Jewish Women forum, Fresh Meadows Jewish Center, 193d St. & Horace Harding Blvd., 9:30 p.m.; Bronx borough president candidate Carl Trost, emergency meeting of tenants facing eviction for Area 1 speedway, P.S. 70, Eastburn Av. & 174th St., Bronx, 8 p.m.; McAvoy, "The People's Choice," WNEW, 10:35 p.m.
THURSDAY, OCT. 15: Jacobs, Waverly Pl. & W. 6th St., 8 p.m.; also at Greenwich Village Club, 28 Greenwich Av., 9 p.m.; McAvoy and Marcantonio at Brighton Beach rally, 3200 Coney Island Av., 8:30 p.m.; Stewart, Tremont Club, 154 Tremont Av., Bronx, 9:15 p.m.; also Elsemere Hall, 284 E. 170th St., Bronx, 10 p.m.
FRIDAY, OCT. 16: McAvoy, Hunter College political science forum, E. 68th St. nr. Lexington Av., 12 noon.



This is United Nations, New York United Nations photo
Press photographers at UN headquarters taking pictures of Mme. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit of India, President of the UN's Eighth General Assembly.

THE WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

Taft-Hartley ends dock strike, clears field for bosses and mobs

EVEN before the strike call went out along the waterfront, its end was plainly charted. The strike dealt with pay raises and an 8-hr. day for longshoremen; in the war along the docks these were seemingly irrelevant, and as the week went on such considerations were lost in the shuffle.

Fulfilling predictions at the strike's start, President Eisenhower quickly appointed a fact-finding body, declared the strike would "imperil the national health and safety" under the Taft-Hartley Act, and ordered Atty. Gen. Brownell to apply for an injunction. Judge

have its machinery in motion.

Under the commission's rules, no longshoreman may legally work on the docks after Dec. 1 unless he is registered. Lt. Gen. George P. Hays, Dewey's appointee to the commission, and Maj. Gen. Edward C. Rose, Driscoll's man, have already sent out registry application forms. Only 10,850 of the 35,000 at work in the port have returned them. The old Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. has been urging a boycott and conducting a test fight in the courts. The new AFL-ILA has promised to cooperate with the Generals.

MANTLED BEEF: That fact, among others, accounted for the reception given members of the Seafarer's Intl. Union when they came down to win the piers for the AFL. The competition between the AFL and the old ILA saw these shifts last week: Local 1171, coopers, which had earlier voted to secede to the AFL, took another vote and decided

to stay with the ILA. Similarly Local 975, checkers and clerks, of Brooklyn, retracted its earlier vote for the AFL and went back to the old ILA. On hand for both meetings, and plainly cracking a whip, was Capt. William V. Bradley of the tugboat workers.

It seemed to many that Joseph P. Ryan's mantle had fallen on Bradley's equally beefy shoulders. He signaled the return to work on the port. Ryan, who retired to a hospital for "observation" when the trouble started, last week slipped quietly out of it and without so much as a press conference went off under police guard to his summer home, 5 Fitzgerald St., Great Kills, S.I. (The boss insisted that "reformers" carried guns, and police received a tip that two killers were on their way from the west to deal with Ryan.)

THE BATTLE RAGES: The AFL claimed a majority in 5 (Continued on Page N. Y. 3)



Edward Weinfeld granted a 10-day injunction, certain to be extended to 80 days after union and employers filed arguments.

"NORMALCY": T-H worked swiftly, a model for curbing the right to strike. In five days the port was back at work. Union bosses, shipping companies, mobsters, politicians could jockey for power, undistracted either by a drop in the port's profits or unruly rank-and-filers worrying about their wages.

The President's Board of Inquiry—lawyer and labor mediator David Cole, Jesuit priest Rev. Dennis J. Comey and Columbia dean-emeritus Dr. Harry J. Carman—summed up the negotiations with the shippers, concluded that "prompt resumption of normal operations on the piers through the usual process of collective bargaining is exceedingly unlikely."

ENTER GENERALS: It was said that the port would be quiet from now until Christmas, and by that time the N. Y. - N. J. commission for screening, licensing and controlling longshoremen would

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WASHINGTON WANTS TO CLOSE IT

Embattled Jefferson School swings into its 9th year

THE Jefferson School of Social Science, largest and busiest Marxist school in the western hemisphere, opened last month the last semester of its ninth year in spirited battle against an order of the Subversive Activities Control Board to "register" as "subversive." As students crowded the corridors and halls registering for the more than 100 classes offered in the catalogue, a note of urgency without panic was felt in the business office, where a banner for the "Jeff School Fighting Fund" was tacked beneath the permanently fixed text of Jefferson: "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberties." For the semester whose end will mark its tenth anniversary, an enrollment of 8-10,000 is expected. The school raises roughly 2/3 of its \$100,000 budget from \$7.50-per-course tuition fees, the rest coming from fund drives.



THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL
"... educate and inform ..."

TEACHING MARXISM: Under the McCarran Act the school, whose existence in the time and place of bitterest anti-Marxism needles the U.S. government, could continue only if it described itself on all printed matter as operating in the service of a "communist foreign government," and published the names of financial contributors. The drive to make it "register" is in effect a move to outlaw it.

"The position of the government," director Dr. Howard Selsam told the *GUARDIAN*, "is that only anti-Marxists can teach Marxism." The same position is reflected in the big press' consistent refusal to accept paid ads for the school. Refusing to run a letter from Selsam about the school, N.Y. *Times* publisher Arthur Sulzberger said: "You do not teach what Marxism is, but that it should be followed."

"THE CHALLENGE WE NEED": Educators around the world took a different view. These

were typical excerpts from their letters in the school's files, shown to the *GUARDIAN* last week:

• "Education is a constant challenge. In our self-complacency we particularly need at this hour the challenge of Marxism."—Albert Leon Guerdard, prof. emeritus of general literature, Stanford University.

• "Although I am not a 'Marxist' . . . I count it a privilege to add my name to the list of those liberal, real Americans who are supporting your right to exist."—Dr. Philip B. Oliver, leader of People's Humanist & Ethical Society, Providence, R. I.

• "I want to put on record my firm protest and disapproval of the measures taken by the N. American government against the Jefferson School. The government's at-

picket lines, do nothing to prevent supervisors from entering or leaving. The 750 engineers, organized into the independent Engineers of Arma which earlier had spurned any affiliation with CIO, walked out in sympathy, indicating rare white-collar-factory-hand solidarity.

Mediation was stormy, Arma executives blustering defiance all the way. On Sept. 29, after 69 days, the union ratified an agreement marking an out-and-out victory. The 158 men originally fired were reinstated; a new contract provided plant-wide seniority, a raise of 9-14c (new rates: \$1.42-\$2.92 an hour), 10 paid holidays, paid group health plan.

"LET'S FORGET": The union's victory statement had a note of gentle forgiveness for the company that tried to break the union, and a greater enthusiasm for war production. Joseph Bartholomew, pres. of IUE Local 464, urged the members to forget "what has gone on during the last 10 weeks when you enter the plant tomorrow morning. Let's every one buckle down to work and do our best for the defense effort."

NEW YORK CALENDAR

WED., OCT. 14, is the big evening in Queens. Folk singing with Les Fine & Leon Bibb. Comedy. ALP Election Jamboree at Sunnyside Garden, 45th St. & Queens Blvd., at 8:30 p.m. Speakers: McAvoy (for Mayor), Vito Marcantonio. Adm: \$1 reserved, 50c general. Auspices: Queens County ALP.

THE CATASTROPHE OF BRITISH CAPITALISM—A report and analysis of the British Labor Party Conference. Speaker: Harry Frankel, Militant staff writer. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Pl., near Union Sq. Questions, discussion. Auspices: Friday Night Socialist Forum of Socialist Workers Party.

DON'T MISS JOHN RANDOLPH, Broadway actor, in dramatic reading of "Salt of the Earth," epic making scenario of Mexican-Americans, filmed by black-listed Hollywood talent. Sat., Oct. 10, 8:30 p.m., 884 West End Av. (103d St.), Apt. 63. Social, refreshments incl. Cont. \$1. Auspices: 7th A. D. ALP.

YOU'LL WANT TO ATTEND the gala Get Acquainted Dance at the Jefferson School on Sat., Oct. 17. Entertainment by: Earl Robinson, Laura Duncan, Myer Weise and music by Joe Budet & his quintet, plus lots of food and fun. Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Av. of the Americas (cor. 16th St.) Contribution: \$1.25.

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itude in condemning any thinking which is not the official one is establishing a true intellectual dictatorship. . . . —Dr. M. Agustin Aguirre, Dean of Faculty of Economic Sciences, Central U. of Ecuador.

• "I [was] professor of the course 'Latin America Today and Tomorrow' in the Jefferson School in 1945, and I could realize that all the chairs in it co-operated in the noble end of promoting a broad international understanding between the countries. . . . [The school] has been functioning under the protection of the democratic principles that regulate in your country the freedom of teaching . . . embodied in the UN Charter."—J. Antonio Arze, prof. of sociology & history, Universidad Mayor de San Andres, La Paz, Bolivia, in a letter to Eisenhower.

THE HORSE'S MOUTH: The school approached its tenth year confident that hysteria-proof Americans would defend its right to continue teaching Marxism by Marxists, in a world half of which is under predominantly Marxist influence. (Courses also include workshops in "Jewelry-making," "Leather Craft" and "Guitar Playing"; the faculty includes Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Albert Kahn, Morris Schappes, Howard Fast, artist Hugo Gellert, economist Victor Perlo.)

It called on all who think Americans have a right to "learn Marxism from the horse's mouth" to write or wire their protests against the "registration" proceedings to their Congressmen and Senators and to President Eisenhower, Atty. Gen. Brownell, and SACB chairman Thomas J. Herbert.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words); minimum charge \$2 per insertion. Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

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Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 6th Av. (cor. 16th St.) WA 9-1600

Union wins total victory in Arma strike

LAST July the Arma Corp., making electronic measuring devices for use in A-bomb manufacture under lush government contracts, set out to smash the union at its plants in Manhattan and Carle Pl., Nassau County. During contract negotiations the plant laid off 158 workers without regard to seniority.

On July 24 the 3,500 members of CIO-IUE struck. The strike took unprecedented twists; the first week saw bloody violence with company officials running pickets down in their cars. (The officials were later exonerated.) Nineteen strikers were arrested, some freed, others given suspended sentences.

69 DAYS TO VICTORY: Then a rare cease-fire agreement was reached, the company agreeing not to work the plant, the workers promising to limit

The "lesser evil"

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Once again the "lesser evil" argument is being offered us and some of our misguided friends are urging us to desert the ALP and vote for Wagner, Tammany's candidate, as less of an evil than Rieglman!

Can't our fellow-progressives see how they weaken our position and influence by deserting at the one time of the year when their voices really count—on Election Day?

I have heard the ALP Mayorality candidate, Clifford T. McAvoy, and our other candidates on radio and television several times, and I have also heard Mr. Wagner and others of his party. Not once did the latter offer a solution to the city's fiscal mess, nor did they answer ALP's claim — backed up by facts and figures — that an equitable assessment of large commercial buildings would eventually yield about \$150,000,000 annually.

What price sanity? I. Van Frank

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WOMAN WILL SHARE her 4 room apt. with business woman. West Bronx, nr. subway, 1st floor. All improvements. Reasonable. Call LU 4-1909 all week.

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LARGE DOUBLE ROOM for 1 or 2 men, or business woman. Washington Hts., very convenient transportation. Phone all week except Fri. night & all day Sat. LO 8-0821.

LARGE SUNNY ROOM for girl. All improvements. 165 E. 31st St., Apt. 4A. Call MU 5-8263 Sat. & Sun. all day; weekdays in evenings.

LARGE SUNNY ROOM. Conveniences. Reasonable. Near Ft. Tryon Park. Call mornings and evenings LO 8-1158.

APARTMENT FOR RENT
2 ROOM APT. WITH TERRACE. W. 90's, near Cent. Pk. W., convenient transportation. Available Nov. 1. Rent \$86. Write full particulars Box C, 17 Murray St., NYC 7.

FASCISTS ON SHOW

Stores go below the basement to make a buck

NEW YORK dept. store shoppers were offered a "bargain buck" prize for strike-breaking at one store, and at another a carnation and a look at a grandee from Franco Spain to deodorize doing busi-



ness with fascism. Neither was a bargain.

Hearns told prospective customers that there was no strike, although Hearns workers have been picketing the store for the last 21 weeks. The strike—however the store might describe it—started May 14 when Hearns junked seniority rules and began to fire employes in preparation for a switch-over to self-service.

ASSORTED SCABS: In the weeks that followed, Hearns tried every trick in the book against the 800 strikers. It took large newspaper ads charging the strikers were communists although they had a political bill of health from anti-communist CIO pres. Walter Reuther.

Hearns eagerly encouraged a strikebreaking raid by the AFL Retail Clerks Intl. Assn., which offered to scab in the store. Last week, having failed to corral enough members, RCIA withdrew from the contest. Hearns then encouraged the AFL Teamsters to take over its 40 warehouse workers, and entered into immediate negotiations.

The store argued there was no strike because it had fired all the strikers and the union made no claim to represent the scabs presently at work.

"TREMENDOUS DAMAGE": The Natl. Labor Relations Board turned the union down three times on its charges that Hearns was guilty of unfair labor practices. Hearns followed up its NLRB victory with this word to the strikers:

"We demand that you immediately stop all picketing. Every moment of continued picketing will aggravate the tremendous damage you have already caused us and you will be held responsible therefor."

The union, noting "the tremendous damage," went on picketing. Hearns offered "bargain bucks" prizes to customers with the right dollar bills in the wrong place.

RICE AND CARNATIONS: Macy's workers showed solidarity not only with Hearns strikers a mile away but with La Mallorca Local 101, a taxi-drivers' union on strike in Manila. Answering an appeal from the 300 strikers for money to buy rice, Sam Kovenetsky, pres. of Local 1-S, CIO United Dept. Store Workers, said: "We feel that no matter where it may be, a worker's fight and hunger is of concern to us." The Manila cab-

drivers are in their sixth week of a strike under a new Philippine version of Taft-Hartley. Local 1-S sent money to buy 1,000 bags of rice and urged CIO nationally to pitch in.

At Franklin Simon, shoppers found an echo of the State Dept.'s new deal with Francisco Franco. On Monday the Hon. Ramon de la Presilla, Consul General for Franco, was billed as the attraction at the opening of Plazita Espana, a new department handling goods from fascist Spain. Customers were lured by a free carnation flown by Trans-World Airlines direct from Spain.

Politics

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

would be out of the controller's hands. All city papers played the story prominently but the N. Y. Post irrelevantly headed it: "Marc Blasts 'Worker' For Stabbing ALP."

In the course of Marcantonio's press conference the Post reporter had questioned the differences between the Daily Worker's position on the election and the ALP's. (The Worker has called Riegelman and Impellitteri the men to beat and seeks a "coalition" around the man likeliest to beat them. At the same time it has urged support for the ALP.) Of the Worker, Marcantonio said to the reporters: "I only wish they would stop urging people to enroll in the ALP on page two and stabbing me in the back on page six. I am against any labor coalition around Wagner. His record as Building and Housing Commissioner in the O'Dwyer administration doesn't justify it."

SING SING NOTE: An insight into how lesser and greater evils were running the state was provided by a Sing Sing visitor's list. On the receiving end was prisoner Joseph S. (Joey) Fay, an AFL building trades boss convicted of extortion in 1948. Fay's distinguished guests at Sing Sing include pres. George Meany and other officials of the AFL (currently "reforming" the N. Y. waterfront), also acting Lt. Gov. Arthur H. Wicks and State Sen. Wm. F. Condon.

Wagner and Halley made capital of the list, demanding that Wicks resign. Wicks refused and charged the New Deal with "coddling" labor racketeers. Gov. Dewey acted quickly. After five years in which he could not have been unaware of Fay's top-level conferences (presumably running business as usual), Dewey ordered Fay's Sing Sing headquarters closed, transferred him to Dannemora, called "Siberia" by the inmates, some 300 miles further from New York City.

WRONG MANTLE: In the midst of the scandal Dewey came down to the city to announce that only Riegelman could wear the late Fiorello LaGuardia's mantle. ALP's McAvoy, who served in LaGuardia's administration, denied that Dewey had any title to LaGuardia's mantle that he could transfer to anybody. At the Parkway Forum, P. S. 167, Brooklyn, McAvoy said:

"I heard both Gov. Dewey and Mr. Dubinsky's Halley last night misuse LaGuardia's name. . . I charge that during the last year of Mayor LaGuardia's administration Dewey and Dubinsky both became LaGuardia's bitter enemies. The facts

are that early in 1945 Dewey sent word from Albany that he would see to it that his Republican Party would under no circumstances renominate LaGuardia for another term. At the same time Dubinsky and Alex Rose both stated that they would not again support LaGuardia because he had participated in 1944 in the American Labor Party primaries in which Dubinsky and his gang had been defeated. It is to be noted that LaGuardia enrolled in the American Labor Party the very year of his death."

UPDATING HALLEY: Wagner scored last week when he won official endorsement by Amalgamated Clothing Workers officials to rival Halley's strength in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Halley tried to score support by declaring himself for an FEPC for city workers. But ALP's Andronicus Jacobs, running for Borough President of Manhattan, brought Halley up to date, informing him that such a measure had been enacted in 1942 under LaGuardia "but the Republican, Democratic and Liberal Party bosses have allowed it to become a dead letter."

Waterfront

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

of the 71 locals on the docks but the Ryan forces are still contesting many. Biggest and clearest victory for the AFL came when Local 808 (1,300 members), in a vote supervised by the Honest Ballot Assn., went AFL 541-359.

Earlier Frank Nawrocki, the local's delegate and firm opponent of Anthony (Tough Tony) Anastasia, had tried to swing the local with him to the AFL. The 11 other exec. board members stuck with Ryan.

"WE HAVE NO CHANCE": Last week the members of 808 by standing vote had supported Anastasia, Ryan and the strike, but Francis Sugrue of the N. Y. Herald Tribune reported this give-and-take by rank-and-filers:

"It's our own fault. We're the ones to blame. We're the longshoremen and we ought to do something."

"We don't have a chance. You've been to meetings. If I want to get up and say something I can't get the floor. They won't let me talk. They'll only let a member of the clique talk even if he's only a drunken bum."

"We can start and build a new union right from the foundation, and then the rest of the house. . ."

"A lot of us were there [at the standing vote for Anastasia]. I stood up like everyone. You don't think I'd sit down, do you? Those guys were watching to see that no one sat down."

ISSUES IN THE ELECTION: HOUSING — II

Million homes needed, so public housing is ditched

By Ione Kramer
(Second of two articles)

NEW YORKERS have been living in a deepening housing crisis for years, with one-fifth ill-housed, tenements crumbling or burning and rents rising. Private enterprise has been able to meet the challenge only with high-priced apartments. Municipal government has met it mainly with surveys.

During the depression and after the war the City and State had appropriated funds for public housing, but city aid ended in 1951. The only city aid now under discussion is a partial tax exemption to guarantee builders' profits on 9 middle-income projects (containing 9,840 apartments) renting for \$19 a room plus a large down payment. Two of these projects in predominantly Negro areas of Bedford-Stuyvesant and Brownsville will use city aid to move out thousands of low-

income residents to make room for 1,430 middle-income apartments.

the reason why real estate interests have been trying so hard to sabotage public housing. He warned builders not to go ahead with large-scale construction because there might be a few apartments vacant and rents would come down.

New Yorkers haven't seen the vacancies, and they have seen rents go up 15% under the State "rent control" law. The State Rent Comm. allows many landlords to charge increases above the 15% to guarantee them 8% profit. In August the Rent Commission granted 23,993 rent increases and 470 evictions. They prosecuted only 1,207 landlords for overcharges, illegal evictions and other evasive practices.

The Welfare Dept. has frequently been charged with aiding landlords to make huge profits by placing entire families in one-room "apartments" and paying illegally high rents from city funds. This spring a group of tenants on E. 11th St. successfully fought for rent reductions in such a case.

HOMES, NOT SURVEYS: Within the next few years the city will need a million new homes. A recent AFL survey, asking 12.5 million new homes for the nation, said: "Past experience has provided unchallengeable proof that not nearly enough new housing will be made available if we depend entirely on speculative builders to do the job."

The old-line candidates in the mayoralty race have either ignored housing (Halley left it out of his list of 10 major issues), called for "surveys" or like the GOP's Riegelman, plumped for free-enterprise (inevitably high-rent) housing. Wagner's program would provide public funds (amounts unspecified) for middle-income housing, fails to mention low income housing.

The home-hunting New Yorker combing the N. Y. Times ads found this among last week's more reasonable opportunities:

70 St., 236 W. 4 rooms, bath, elev. bldg. Oct. 1 \$143.75 mo. MU 3-2614.

Four rooms were also available at \$225 a month.



income residents to make room for 1,430 middle-income apartments.

HELP TO HIKE RENTS: When one of the middle-income projects (badly needed as long as they do not force present low-rent tenants into worse places) was planned for vacant land in the Ulmer Park area north of Coney Island in Brooklyn, it was vetoed by the City Planning Commission at the urging of B'klyn Boro Pres. John Cashmore. He wanted the seaside property for "industrial purposes."

Under the guise of "slum clearance" real estate interests are getting U. S. gov't. money to put up high-rent apartments. These are forcing Negro and Puerto Rican families out of desirable real-estate areas and making them "displaced tenants." In the next 3 years 45,000 families, 15,000 in Harlem alone, will be displaced by this building program under Title I of the Housing Act. Practically none of these people can afford to move back into the new apartments (Manhattanville rents will be \$48 a room, those in the Columbus Circle area, \$43 per room), and less than 50% of the relocated families are being admitted into existing low-rent projects.

UNTOUCHABLE 8%: Addressing a Washington building congress in August, a spokesman for the real estate lobby, Harry L. Merrick, pres. of the Washington Board of Trade, let slip

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EVENING IN THE THEATER

'Mother Riba', moving play of a woman come to life

By Ione Kramer

MOTHER RIBA, by David Berg, at the charming little Davenport Free Theater, is an inspiring evening; it is not only a deeply moving and meaningful play, but it is the first production of the Repertory, a new company under the direction of playwright Herb Tank.

Charging no admission (a tradition at the Davenport) and entirely supported by contributions, the Repertory has scheduled new topical plays and stage pieces by foreign writers rarely seen here. An example is the British anti-fascist play **Thunder Rock**, which will open late this month and run in repertory with **Mother Riba**.

THE REAL RIBA: Riba Mendelsohn couldn't understand why there had to be a war in Korea, and why her only son Seymour, whose comfort had been the pivot of her life for 23 years, had to be drafted. She signed a petition and led a delegation asking the President for peace. She began to understand that she was not the stupid household drudge her husband thought her, but a real person.

With sensitive attention to details, Tank splendidly directs a troupe of fine actors, including Miriam Craig, who is warm and wonderful as Riba; Salem Ludwig, powerful as Bennie Mendelsohn, her groping husband with middle-class yearnings; Albert Ottenheimer, Milroy Ingram, Tommy Lee, Elnita Ostrom, Arch Johnson and Stan Schneider.

RIBA'S TRIUMPH: The dialogue is straightforward but lacks a certain quotable pithiness, and after Act I the characters take on a somewhat mechanical manner. Riba, who grieves deeply at losing her son, later defies her husband with relatively little emotion. But Riba and the play triumph as the curtain falls with Bennie Mendelsohn struggling to realize that he must come to terms with his wife's new understanding — and her new world — or lose her. **Mother Riba** is powerful theater and may well be for Americans of

our time what Gorky's **Mother** was for the Russians.

MOTHER RIBA, by David Berg, directed by Herb Tank. Davenport Repertory Theater, 138 E. 27th St. Tues. thru Sat., 8:30 p.m. Free. Reserv: MU 4-8864, Box Office, MU 5-2160.

Events for Children

- Films**
- MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y.**, 5th Av. & 103d St. Free. **Pueblo Heritage & New York Parade**, Sat., Oct. 17, 11 a.m. & 3 p.m.
 - AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY**, Central Park W. at 79th St. Free. **Mammals of the Rocky Mts.; Wild Fowl in Slow Motion; Glacier Intl. Park**, Wed., Oct. 14 at 4 p.m. **Louis Pasteur**, Sat., Oct. 17 at 2 p.m.
 - N. Y. BOTANICAL GARDENS**, Bronx, N. Y. Free. **Northern Rockies—Glacier, Yellowstone and Grand Teton Natl. Park**, Sat., Oct. 17, 3:30 p.m. in Museum Bldg.
 - BROOKLYN MUSEUM**, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Free. **Travel Films & Comedies for children**, Lecture Hall, Sats. at 2 p.m.
 - B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM**, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. **Films on Sat.**, 11 a.m., 2 p.m. & 4 p.m. Tues., Thurs. & Fri., 4:30 p.m., Wed., 3:45 p.m.

- Plays**
- RUMPELSTILSKIN**, plus a variety show, featuring puppets and a magician. Presented by Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan Duane, 201 W. 13th St. & 7th Av. Performances Sats., Oct. 10, 17, 24, 31 & Mon., Oct. 12, at 3 p.m. \$1.80, \$1.20, 75c. Reservations: PL 7-1145.

- Miscellaneous**
- STORY HOURS:** Museum of the City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Free. **Stories of Discoveries**, Sat., Oct. 17, 2 p.m.
 - B'klyn Children's Museum**, Park Pl. & Brooklyn Av. Free. Sats. at 11:30 p.m.
 - EXHIBITS:** Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Free. **N. Y. Street Scenes—1852** (life-size reconstruction of shops and houses).

Rachel Productions, producers of **The World of Sholem Aleichem**, are setting a new precedent in using the profits from their continuing hit at the Barbizon Plaza Theater to further art. They have commissioned Serge Hovey, who wrote the background music for the play, to write a symphonic suit of the same name.

Movie Suggestions

- Special**
- CLUB CINEMA**, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. Shows at 8:30 & 10 p.m. Fri., Sat., & Sun. **Lady Paname** (Fr.), on Paris' Tin Pan Alley with Jouvett, Delair, Oct. 9-11.
 - THALIA INTL. FILM FESTIVAL**, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370. **Beauty and the Devil** (Fr., Faust-legend), Gerard Philippe & Magnani in **Before Him All Rome Trembled**, Sat., Oct. 10; **Carnival of Sinners** (Fr.), Jouvett & Marked Girls (Fr., Prison de Femmes), V. Romance, Sun., Oct. 11; **Magnani in Angelina** (It. comedy of feminism) & **Harry Baur in Hatred**, Mon., Oct. 12; **Under the Olive Tree** (It. peasant life) & **Anatole France's Twilight** (Fr.), Jourdan, M. Presle, Tues., Oct. 13; **Path of Hope** (It., Venice prize) & **The Strollers**, Wed., Oct. 14; **Wonderful Times** (Ger. social satire) & **Not Guilty** (Fr.), Thurs., Oct. 15; **Open City & Paisan** (2 Italian anti-fascist classics), Oct. 16-21.
 - MUSEUM OF MODERN ART**, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily. **Le Million** (Fr., 1931), Rene Clair, dir., Oct. 12-18.
 - JEFFERSON SCHOOL**, 6th Av. & 16th St. Friday Nite Get-together. **The Maitese Falcon**, with comments by author Dashiell Hammett, Fri., Oct. 16, 8:30 p.m.
 - YOUTH FESTIVAL**, full-length color film of Berlin festival, spon: German-American. Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St. 8 p.m. 75c.

- Manhattan**
- AMERICAN**, 236 E. 3d St. **Man of Music** (Glinka biog.), Oct. 15-16.
 - ART**, 36 E. 8th St. **Forbidden Games**, thru Oct. 21.
 - BARONET**, 3d Av. & 59th St. **Beggars' Opera**, cont.
 - BEVERLY**, 3d Av. & 50th. **Promoter** (Br., Guinness) & **Importance of Being Earnest**, Oct. 11-13; **Ox Bow Incident & Talk of the Town** (reissues), Oct. 14-17.
 - COLONY**, 1519 2d Av. **Fanfan the Tulip** (Fr.) & **Lady Vanishes** (Br.), Oct. 13-14.
 - 85TH ST. TRANSLUX**, 85th & Madison. **Tonite** at 8:30 (Br., Noel Coward), thru Oct. 10.
 - 8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE**, 52 W. 8th. **Philip Barry's Holiday** (Heppburn) & **Here Comes Mr. Jordan** (2 reissues), Oct. 7-10.
 - 5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE**, 5th Av. & 13th St. **Lavender Hill Mob** (Br., Guinness) & **Tight Little Island** (Br.), thru Oct. 13.
 - 52D ST. TRANSLUX**, Lexington & 52d. **L.H.**, cont.

- New Jersey & Upstate**
- Each Wednesday, beginning Oct. 14, Walter Reade theaters will present one-night showings of "art" films not usually available in upstate N. Y. and N. J. One showing at 8:40 p.m. at the following: **Importance of Being Earnest**, Carlton, Red Bank; **Community**, Morristown; **Kingston**, N. Y.; also at Paramount, Long Branch, Oct. 15. **Promoter**, Majestic, Perth Amboy; **The Sea Around Us & Pennywhistle Blues**, Community, Saratoga Springs & Community, Toms River.

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FRI., OCT. 16—8:30 p.m. CARNIVAL ROOM
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"Warm and humorous"

SHIRLEY GRAHAM: "I feel that **MOTHER RIBA** is a powerful human presentation of life in America today. It is warm, humorous and more—very, very real!"

"Heartwarming"

MIKE GOLD: "This story of the rebellion of a little Jewish mother is a heartwarming and unforgettable epic of so-called 'little people' of our time, the heroes and heroines who make history with their hearts. It will be loved by very New Yorker who knows and shares the struggles of the people of his city."

"Intensely moving"

ALBERT KAHN: "A highly dramatic and intensely moving play of urgent importance."

"Sensitive, fine drama"

HOWARD EAST: "My own feeling is that you must see **MOTHER RIBA**. It is a play about man's greatest and finest hope—about peace. It is a sensitive, fine drama—for me the most important postwar drama written in America."

MOTHER RIBA

A new play by David Berg, Directed by Herb Tank.

THE REPERTORY at the Davenport Theatre, 138 E. 27th St.
For reservations & bookings call MU 4-8864, Box office: MU 5-2160.
Nightly except Sunday and Monday.

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Auspices: China Welfare Appeal, Inc.

GUARDIAN THEATRE NIGHT—Thurs., Oct. 29

A new production of

"THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES"

By George Tabori. Directed by David Pressman. Starring Alice Childress and Howard Weirum.

Greenwich Mews Theatre, 141 W. 13th St.

All Seats — \$2.25

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17 Murray Street, New York 7 WO 4-3960

- Oct. 18: **Marriage of Figaro**, Sun. eve., Oct. 18.
- OLD-TIMERS SYMPHONY ORCH.** Franck D minor symphony, Mendelssohn, Verdi, Wagner. Walton Community Center, 196th St. & Jerome Av., Bronx. Sat., Oct. 10, 8:40 p.m. Free.
- RIGOLETTO**, professional, non-profit Amato Opera Theatre, 159 Bleecker St., 8:30 p.m. Oct. 9-11, 16-18. Free. Reserv: GR 7-2844.
- MARTHA SCHLAMME**, folksong concert, Town Hall, Sat., eve., Oct. 10.
- GILBERT & SULLIVAN**, American Savoyards Co. at B'klyn Acad. of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. **Mikado**, Thurs., Oct. 15; **Patience**, Fri., Oct. 16; **Mikado**, Sat. mat., Oct. 17; **Prates of Penzance**, Sat. eve., Oct. 17. Evs to \$3, mats. to \$2.40. ST 3-6700.
- EVERYMAN**, morality play with musical background. Everyman's Theatre, 351 E. 74th St. Oct. 11-13.

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2. Arthur Miller
3. The New Poetry
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Every other Sun. eve., 8:15 p.m.
First lecture Oct. 25 at ASP, 35 W. 64th St.
Single lecture, \$1.25; Series, \$5
For res. call ASP, SU 7-4677

OCT. 9-11: LADY PANAME

Brilliant musical comedy, starring Louis Jouvett & Suzy Delair, about the "Tin Pan Alley" of Paris in the 1920s. English sub-titles.

OCT. 16-18: PASSION FOR LIFE

Shows at 8:30 & 10 p.m. Fri., Sat. & Sun.

Members, \$1; Non-Members \$1.25
430 6th Av. CLUB CINEMA
Nr. 9th St.

A Woman Physician Looks at the Kinsey Report

Lecture by
Dr. Clementina J. Paulone
Thurs., Oct. 15, 9 p.m. Adm. Free
Village LaGuardia Club
166 Thompson St., N. Y. C.

American Premiere
"MAXIMKA"
in MAGICOLOR

EXTRA:
Malenkov Speaks in Moscow
STANLEY THEATRE
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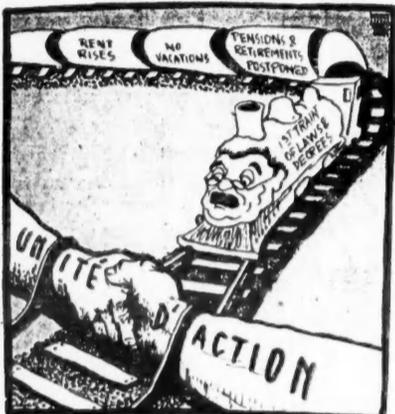
UE AND MINE-MILL CONVENTIONS

No. 1 job: The fight for unity of all labor

By Lawrence Emery

UNITY of the labor movement was a major theme at the conventions last month of two independent unions, the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers and United Electrical Workers. At the former, attended by 300 delegates in St. Louis, pres. John Clark stressed the "overriding importance" of unity and said the promise of it is "at its highest peak in more than 15 years." The convention declared:

"We believe any unity deal between the AFL and CIO that leaves out the independents such as Mine-Mill is not a genuine, meaningful unity of labor. . . . We must take every step possible which has as its ultimate goal the inclusion of our union in any realignment of the American labor movement."



L'Humanite, Paris
How they did it in France.

UNITY WITH RAIDERS: Although Mine-Mill is the largest union in the non-ferrous mining and related industries, some ten other unions are also in the field. The convention proposed "immediate negotiations" with these "aimed at joint bargaining agreements within this industry." It also voted to

... issue an announcement to the other unions in this industry and to the whole of organized labor, to the effect that Mine-Mill stands ready immediately to enter into negotiations aimed at taking our rightful place in any unified labor movement. . . . We are ready to negotiate with any union holding contracts in this industry, including the unions which in the past seven years have raided

Mine-Mill locals, because we believe the members of these unions need and want the strength that unity gives as much as we need and want it.

Where raiding unions, notably the CIO Steelworkers, have taken over bargaining rights formerly held by Mine-Mill, the convention decided:

There are still several places where Mine-Mill locals are being maintained even though they no longer hold certification as bargaining agent. . . . This convention recommends to the loyal members of these locals that they lay aside any feeling of bitterness against raiders which may still exist, and join sincerely and wholeheartedly whatever union now actually is the bargaining agent.

DEFEAT BUTLER BILL: On the wage front, a convention report said major settlements this year were "generally valued at over 9c an hour in cash and benefits [and] compare favorably with those of any other union in the U.S."

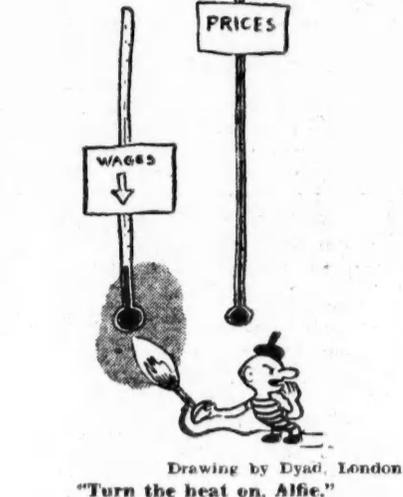
Delegates centered considerable fire on the pending anti-labor Butler bill, which would put unions under supervision of the Subversive Activities Control Board; they called it "the application of McCarthyism to organized labor" and urged every means to defeat it:

This bill is an open, direct, vicious union-buster. It would try to turn the labor movement into a labor front of the kind they had in Nazi Germany under Hitler. The government would, in effect, not only name the leaders of the unions, but would decide which unions are permitted to stay in business, and which are to be denied the right to represent their members.

WILL BACK DEMOCRATS: On the political front, the convention urged its locals to lead "a people's fight against the millionaires who have captured the Eisenhower Administration." It indicated that the union will support for re-election Democratic Senators James Murray (Mont.) and Clinton Anderson (N.M.), and Democratic Representatives Lee Metcalf (Mont.), Gracie Pfost (Ida.) and Byron G. Rogers (Colo.).

Full support was voted for defense of Mine-Mill Intl. representative Clinton Jencks, now under indictment on a charge of falsely signing a Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavit:

The reason is that Jencks has a long, honorable record of fighting in a militant way for the rights of Mine-Mill members, and especially of our Mexican-American members in the



Southwest. . . . We intend to fight because we consider the defense of Jencks the defense of our whole union and its membership.

MINE-MILL'S MOVIE: A guest speaker was Michael Wilson, Hollywood Academy Award winner and author of *Salt of the Earth*, a movie co-produced by the union telling the story of its Mexican-American members in Arizona. While filming the movie, the crew was the subject of Congressional denunciation and local vigilante attacks. Wilson said the movie will be ready for release before December; the convention voted to work for its widest distribution.

Pres. Clark and Western vice-president Orville Larson were nominated for re-election unopposed. Eastern vice-pres. Charles Wilson, white, stepped down from his post to nominate in his place Asbury Howard, regional director in Bessemer, Ala., and the union's outstanding Negro leader; he will be opposed by Ernest Gunsalus of Buffalo, N.Y. Two candidates will run against secy.-treas. Maurice Travis, and there will be several contests for places on the exec. board. Officers will be elected by secret referendum in November.

UE calls on labor to lead McCarthy fight
THE United Electrical Workers held its 18th convention in Chicago with

more than 500 delegates representing 320,000 members, a gain of 43,543 for the year. The union holds bargaining rights in 1,039 plants.

The convention opened with a special order of business devoted to a declaration against McCarthyism, which it defined as "Hitlerism," and said "unions have a special responsibility to give leadership" in the fight against it.

BACK SMALL FARMERS: Increased wages and reduction of speed-up in the industry were twin goals set by the convention, which voted to "redouble efforts to secure united action with other unions representing workers in our industry." Director of organization James Matles said there was "a crying need for unity" but that this did not mean "conducting a love affair" with leaders of other unions and federations.

Farmer-labor unity was also stressed; a resolution called for "farm price support floors for all farm commodities at full parity" and "immediate action to protect family farmers against the drastic drop in cattle, dairy and other farm commodity prices." Guest speaker Fred Slover, pres. of the Iowa Farmers Union, charged the Administration with "attempting to eliminate the family farmer" and "integrate agriculture into Big Business' cartel economy."

POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES: A political action resolution urged efforts . . . to bring our members and the rest of labor into their rightful role of political influence. This means increased independent political action both within existing parties and through independent candidates, with the long-range goal being the creation of a powerful new political alignment of labor, farmers, Negroes and small business.

New York City's recent Democratic primaries were cited as an example: The victory of labor-supported Robert Wagner . . . over the old-line Farley anti-New Dealers is a symbol both of the will of the people and of the means for progressive political victories. . . . It is evident that broad opportunities for united labor political action and united political action with other allies in our communities are growing, and that this broad unity furnishes labor the key for success in the political field.

The union will hold a national political action and legislative conference in Washington next spring. Top officers were reelected unanimously. Pres. Albert J. Fitzgerald enters his 13th consecutive term; secy.-treas. Julius Em-spak has held the office since 1937; Matles enters his 17th term.

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)
deceptive response to this world pressure. On Aug. 4 Moscow agreed, but suggested widening the agenda in conformity with Churchill's proposal; on Aug. 8 Malenkov again said there was "no disputable or outstanding issue that cannot be settled in a peaceful way . . . [including] those issues under dispute between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

Ignoring Moscow's suggestion, Washington on Sept. 2 again invited the U.S.S.R. to British-French-U.S. talks (at Lugano Oct. 15) on German elections and an Austrian treaty. The W. European reaction was indicated by NYT's Anne McCormick who, reporting from London (10/5), found that

... the feeling persists even in well-informed circles over here that Washington is the obstacle to any discussion with the Soviet Government.

(A new confusion-creating idea, birthed by Adlai Stevenson and taken up by various Washington figures, is for the U.S. with its circle of A-bomb bases around the U.S.S.R. to "offer a non-aggression pact" to Moscow. Secy. Dulles, discussing it amiably last week but calling it "vague and somewhat meaningless," exposed its absurdity by agreeing with Sen. Knowland's insistence upon "free elections in Soviet satellites" preceding any such "offer.")

EVERYONE WANTS IT: Still the demand for broader negotiation would not

die. Both the British Labour Party and the Canadian Labour conventions last week demanded the kind of conference Churchill had outlined. From the conference of the Intl. Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace at Stalden, Switzerland, where "the keenest American investigating committee could not have found a single Communist," Alvarez Del Vayo reported (*Nation*, 9/19) an overwhelming sentiment for negotiation. Vayo stressed the contentions of the Swiss Socialist delegate Jules Humbert-Droz—"no pro-Russian"—that:

- UN should be strengthened, and then must exercise its authority to further negotiations, not supersede them;
- The U.S. was to be "sharply criticized" for insisting that all its demands must be satisfied in any negotiations.

THEY WON'T TIRE: The tireless Krishna Menon, interviewed Oct. 3 for an international UN broadcast, again emphasized the need for an informal big-power gathering. Churchill himself, returning to Parliament after a convalescence, vigorously repeated his original proposal.

The Paris press brought out its biggest headlines in anticipation of his renewed plea; and Assembly Speaker Edouard Herriot, on the eve of the special session at which final efforts will be made to persuade reluctant French MP's to ratify the NATO treaty, expressed the hope that Big Four negotiation "may make a European Army unnecessary."

UNITED NATIONS U.S. again packs Council

IN an act further deepening the embarrassment of its democratic allies, the U.S. delegation last week violated an accepted UN principle for the fourth time in a Security Council election. It shoved through Turkey to replace Greece as representative of Eastern Europe, against Poland, the choice of the socialist countries. (Turkey's capital, Ankara, and most of its territory, lie in Asia.) To add to the confusion the Philippines, without the slightest chance of winning, became a candidate for the E. European seat. On the fifth ballot Poland received 23 votes; Turkey won on the eighth with 40—the required two-thirds majority.

SCRAMBLED GEOGRAPHY: Article 23 of the UN Charter asks members to pay "due regard . . . to equitable geographical distribution" in electing for two-year terms the six non-permanent members of the 11-member Council. In the first Assembly a "gentleman's agreement" was reached to consider "geographical" distribution to mean politico-regional distribution—with the emphasis on "politico," otherwise the British Commonwealth, assigned a non-permanent seat, could not possibly be considered a regional bloc. The E. European socialist group was assigned one seat, the Latin Americans two, the Middle and Far

East one each. It was also agreed that each group would select its own candidate whom the Assembly would later approve.

In 1949 the U.S. broke the agreement by pushing through Yugoslavia against the socialist group's candidate, Czechoslovakia, by 39 votes to 19. Britain upheld the agreement, declined to go along with the U.S. Next year the U.S. got Turkey elected as representative of the Middle East, without Asian-Arab approval. Two years ago the U.S. backed Greece against the socialist choice, Byelorussia; it took 19 ballots to thrust Greece in. Last week other candidates were elected on the regional basis, on the very first ballot. Both Greece and Turkey are NATO members; both have sent troops to Korea.

"RETURN TO PRINCIPLES": At a press conference before the election, Poland's Dr. Katz-Suchy called U.S. opposition to Poland's candidacy "an attempt to prove that [the U.S.] can force its decision upon others and . . . decide upon the composition of [UN] membership." To utilize fully "the perspectives of understanding now visible," he demanded a return . . . to the recognized principles of the Charter, confirmed by additional agreements concerning equitable distribution of seats in UN organs."

RELIGION

Behind the arrests of Polish priests

ARTICLE 70 of the new constitution of predominantly Roman Catholic Poland establishes church-state separation, guarantees free functioning of all religious bodies, makes punishable "the abuse of the freedom of conscience and religion for purposes prejudicial to the interests of the Polish People's Republic." In 1950 church officials pledged themselves to punish priests guilty of "anti-state activities."

On Sept. 28 Cardinal Wyszynski, head of the Polish R. C. Church since 1950, was suspended by the government, charged with breaking this pledge. The move followed the sentencing in Warsaw to 6-12 years in jail of three priests and a bishop, Kaczmarek of Kielce. The four all pleaded guilty, as did a nun who was released with a suspended 5-year sentence. Polish newspapers said Wyszynski broke his pledge by failing to report Kaczmarek's activities, and was himself guilty of "leading activity directed against the state."

"THE ONLY ROAD—WAR": Among activities admitted by Kaczmarek at the trial were supplying the U.S. with information, urging priests not to cooperate with the government, and spreading among them the idea that Poland's possession of former German territories was "only temporary" and "the only road was to count on a war. . . . A revision of frontiers was a lesser evil than the strengthening of the people's system through them."

He also said in the courtroom that, after the Nazi occupation of Poland in 1939 and after a meeting with the Gestapo, he had written two pastoral letters urging upon the faithful obedience to Nazi authorities.

TWO KINDS OF PRIEST: While the

Cardinal's suspension inspired violent abuse of Poland from the Vatican and throughout the West (Cardinal Griffin, R. C. primate of Britain, called the charges "monstrous . . . arrant nonsense"), the Polish press devoted columns to church-state relations in Poland which on the whole it found good.

The daily *Zycie Warszawy* traced "two trends" in the Polish church which had existed since the 1794 Kosciuszko uprising, when the bishops of Poznan and Krakow and a number of priests "distinguished themselves by their patriotic



Le Figaro, Paris
"Shh! I'm Beria."
"Not a word! Me too!"

conduct" while other bishops "betrayed their motherland for Tsar's rubles or Prussian and Austrian thalers" and "are remembered by the people with contempt." The "two trends" were seen again in World War II; among Poles to whose memory "the people bow their heads in reverence" are Bishops Wloclawek, Nowowiejski, Wetmanski and Goral who died in concentration camps and "238 nuns, 170 friars and 1996 priests murdered by Nazis in concentration camps and Gestapo jails."

THE 2 POPES: Commenting that "everyone knows" priests in Poland "freely carry on their religious work,

A LETTER FROM A WORKING NEWSPAPERMAN

How things look from Federal Tank 3-C

Federal Tank 3-C, King County Jail, Seattle, Wash.

During the six weeks I have been in jail, have seen only one issue of the *GUARDIAN* (all newspapers except the *Christian Science Monitor* and certain Catholic publications are forbidden to inmates of this institution). But such a denial has one positive aspect. It does sharpen one's understanding of what life would be like if the very few gallant people's papers and magazines were silenced.

Is there such a threat? Months of participation in the Smith Act trial convinces me, with a clarity that is almost painful, that the *GUARDIAN*, like our paper, the *Daily People's World*, is a prime target. Jailing editors is only incidental—only a necessary part of the program to silence the voices for peace and a world of brotherhood and love.

In my own case, I have heard a special assistant to the U.S. Attorney General (Mr. Tracy Griffin) use editorials I wrote 15 years ago as "reasons" why the jury should send me to prison for five years. We must find some way to drive home to the American people that when the prosecutors under the Smith Act speak of "conspiracy to advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence" they mean everything decent and for-

ward looking.

Frankly, I am a bit dismayed at the apparent complacency of so many people. I cannot help feeling fearful when I realize that any issue of the *GUARDIAN* is sufficient "evidence" under Smith Act procedure to put the editors in the prisoner's dock.

All I can do at the moment is to write from a jail cell. At such times it is difficult not to be overwhelmed by one's own inadequacies. If I could only penetrate the minds of millions of staunch people with the fire and passion of a Zola. We need such words today. The conscience of France was pricked and aroused. The conscience of our dear country, stained as it is with the blood of the Rosenbergs, must be aroused.

As a working newspaperman who has been away from his typewriter since April 15 (when our trial started) and in jail since Aug. 18 (when I was committed for "contempt"), I appeal to *GUARDIAN* readers to defend their paper and the people's press by building its circulation as never before. We must strike back. To remain on the defensive is to die.

Terry Pettus

Terry Pettus, Northwest editor of the *Daily People's World*, is one of six defendants at the Seattle Smith Act trial. A seventh, William J. Pennock, died during the proceedings. Ed.

conduct services, hear confessions, confirm and preach," *Zycie Warszawy* pointed to the numerous dailies, weeklies and monthlies published by the Catholic press in Poland, to the various seminaries and Lublin's Catholic University.

The trade union publication *Glos Pracy* pointed out that the spires of several Catholic churches, completely restored at state expense, are visible from the window of the courtroom where Kaczmarek described and was

convicted for his activities against the state. It said the trial pointed to the "hostile attitude toward the most vital interests of Poland" of the Vatican which is "co-operating with American imperialism and Germans who seek revenge," and added:

It is necessary to emphasize strongly that we brand and condemn the Vatican as a reactionary and anti-Polish political centre but fully recognize the right of the faithful to regard the Pope as the highest authority on matters of religion.

CALENDAR

Chicago

AN EVENING OF FOLK SONGS AND DANCES will be featured at the 5th Annual Festival of Nationalities. Support repeat of Walter-McCarrian Law and defense of its victims. Guest speaker: Louise Pattibone Smith, Prof. Emeritus Biblical History, Wellesley College. Peoples Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago Av., Sat., Oct. 24, 8 p.m. Tickets: In advance, 75c; at door, \$1. Auspices: Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Los Angeles

Return showing of *PASSION FOR LIFE*, the French film about a teacher and a short film on progressive education—FRIDAY, OCT. 23, First Unitarian Church, 8th St., E. of Vermont, 8 p.m. Adm: 55c.

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Canada says okay

TORONTO, CANADA My mother, my husband and myself have greatly appreciated the copies of your paper we have seen. In subscribing, we want to tell you personally how much we in Canada welcome courageous voices raised in the U.S. against the big-business, war-spreading policies from Washington that threaten the livelihood, liberties and lives of all of us. Mrs. I. Spence

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

DIGEST OF SOVIET NEWS—monthly 4-page fact sheet on all phases of life in the Soviet Union, published by American Russian Institute of So. California, 1024 1/2 No. Western Av., Los Angeles 29, Cal. Sub: \$1 a year, single copy 10c.

Records

Still available: "VOICES OF RESISTANCE," sensational records of testimony of L.A. witnesses before Un-American Activities Committee, 2 LP, 90 minutes, \$5.50 (incl. postage), 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7, WO 4-3960.

WASHINGTON

WILSON, THAT'S ALL

GM corners market on tanks for Army

WHEN Charles E. Wilson, former president of General Motors, was tapped for the job of Secy. of Defense, his company was already under contract to provide some 60% of all war weapons for the government. He defended his appointment with the now-famous dictum that "what was good for our country was good for General Motors, and vice versa."

Late this summer Wilson announced a new policy to "concentrate" war production in selected large plants. How the Wilson dictum pays off became known—with small notice in the U. S.

press—on Sept. 11, when the Army announced that GM had been awarded a \$200,000,000 contract as sole producer of the M-48 Patton medium tank. The Army explained that GM's bid was 12% under that of the Chrysler Corp., the only competitor for the job. Ironically, it was Chrysler which developed the M-48 and first put it into production. Only other tank in quantity production is the M-41 Walker Bulldog light tank; it is being made by GM's Cadillac division.

THAT'S LIFE: At the same time the Army announced that GM was given the major share of a \$146,000,000 order for 2½-ton trucks; of this total, Reo Motors Co. was granted a \$61,000,000 contract because, the Army said, its bid was so close to GM's.

Army Secy. Robert Stevens, whose boss is Wilson, said he personally made the decision on the tank and truck contracts following consultation with other high officials:

"After carefully weighing all the factors, I decided on the award as being clearly in the public interest."

An unidentified top defense official



Drawing by Fred Wright
"Just say anybody who doesn't buy it is un-American!"

denied that Wilson's order for "concentration" of production had anything to do with the awards; he ascribed it to "the facts of life."

Another unnamed Army press officer tried to take the edge off the transaction by insisting that "Secy. Wilson definitely was not consulted about the deal."

MORSE ASKS PROBE: Chrysler Corp. was plainly miffed but limited its public statement to this polite expression by its president, L. L. Colbert:

"All I can say is that we worked very hard to get this business. Beyond that, the Secy. of the Army's statement seems to speak for itself."

GM vice-president James E. Goodman said simply:

"We are happy to have been selected as the producer of our defense establishment's newest tank."

But to Sen. Wayne Morse (Ind.-Ore.) the deal didn't smell good and rates a Congressional probe.

Wooster, Ohio, sponsors 'grass-roots' peace talks

WAYNE COUNTY, Ohio, is taking the initiative to mobilize "grass roots opinion" for peace, which "will have its telling effect upon national policies for future generations," by means of a World Peace Workshop to be held Nov.

BOOKS McCarthy vs. labor — & free schools

THE best short, easy-to-digest handbook we've seen on McCarthyism is the Sept. issue of *UE Steward*, a monthly published for officers of United Electrical Workers locals. In 24 pages with photos and cartoons you get the story on (1) Senator Joe's friends in Congress—men who never once have voted on labor's side on a key issue; (2) Why labor is McCarthyism's major target; (3) Why big businessmen are giving Joe unlimited backing; (4) Why McCarthyism means depression and finally war; (5) The parallels with Hitlerism; (6) The broad anti-McCarthy forces and how you can help them. A "limited supply" of this McCarthy Special are available on request from *UE*, 11 E. 51st St., N. Y. C. 22.

A more detailed, but still usefully brief account of *The Thing is Jos. Morton's McCarthy, the Man and the Ism* (Pacific Publishing Foundation, 590 Folsom St., San Francisco 5, Calif.; 5c). This contains the highlights of McCarthy's background and financial prestidigitations before and since he entered the Senate, and of his recent major witch-hunts including his attack on the press (but with no mention of his attack on the *GUARDIAN*). Recommended for the useful facts it summarizes, although the argument for broad labor unity to lick McCarthyism is less effectively made than in *UE Steward*.

13-14 in the First Presbyterian Church at Wooster, Ohio. The idea is described in a release from the Workshop planners as "a local effort of Wayne Co. citizens who are anxious to study 'Avenues to World Peace & Security.'" Initial sponsors are Wayne Co. peace groups and "all representative Christians and Jews in the Wooster area."

The sponsors believe "a more intelligent decision and action" on peace problems can be reached by "full study, discussion and presentation of facts" at the Workshop. Announced speakers include Sen. Ralph Flanders (R-Vt.); Dr.

Free schools

For the fight against the witch-hunt in the schools, we recommend for broad distribution *Keeping Our Schools Free* (Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 E. 38th St. N. Y. C. 16; 28 pp. illus., 25c). Here is a sober argument for freedom of ideas by Dr. H. Gordon Hullfish, prof. of education at Ohio State U., who insists that teachers should be appraised not by expressions of "loyalty," nor by political affiliations, but by classroom performance.

He points out that "few, if any, of the teachers attacked by Congressional committees have been charged with abusing their position by seeking to indoctrinate students in their political beliefs," and that Congress' authority to investigate does not include schools unless it is proposed to shift responsibility for them from local and state to federal authorities.

The author does not question a teacher's right to use the Fifth Amendment before Congressional committees, and is disturbed by the fact that "many Congressmen and the general public" interpret refusal to answer "as a confession of guilt"—an interpretation which, if accepted, makes the amendment "lose its meaning."

—Cedric Belfrage

* Please order pamphlets from the publishers, NOT from the *GUARDIAN*. Prices for quantity orders are lower.

Raymond Miller, consultant to UN's Food & Agriculture Orgn.; U. of Michigan economics prof. Dr. Kenneth Boulding; UAW educational director Francis Hensen of Milwaukee; former U.S. delegate to UN Ernest Gross.

An appeal for contributions to a \$2,000 Workshop budget has been sent out; "every organization and individual interested in Peace, representing labor, industry, business, church, school veterans, etc." is invited to endorse the Workshop or send delegates (registration fee, \$5 per individual; address, PO Box 11, Wooster, Ohio).

A LETTER FROM GROPPER

Dear Friend,

I am writing to you as an artist who has devoted more than thirty years of his life to the American principles of freedom and expression, to help in the development of a great American art, and where we can live in a world of peace to be enjoyed by everyone.

I strongly feel that art should be accessible to every person and not alone to the few who can afford luxuries. Great artists of the past have suffered indifference and poverty, only to be acclaimed as masters after their death.

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