

As they were dancing the Tennessee waltz . .

Sen. Karl Mundt, chairman of the Senate committee investigating the McCarthy-Sen, Karl Mundt, chairman of the Senate committee investigating the McCarthy-Army mess, looks as though he has just swooned in the arms of committee counsel Ray Jenkins, the Tennessee lawyer with a voice like a bleeding foghorn. But it was only a whispered confidence in a hearing full of confidences and confidence men. As the days drone on the whole show more and more acquires the genuineness of a professional wrestling match—and the results, it appears, will be just as conclusive.

## NATIONAL 10 cents UARDIA the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 6, No. 34

NEW YORK, N. Y., JUNE 14, 1954

## THE PRESS THE ST. GEORGE BILL

## Opposition press threatened by Congress move to limit 2nd class mailing privilege

By Lawrence Emery

REP. Katharine Price Collier St. REP. Katharine Price Collier St. George, who belongs to the Republican horsey set around posh Tuxedo Park, N.Y. (she is a member of the American Assn. of Horse Shows and the Newburgh Saddle & Bridle Club, last week was engaged in an effort to overthrow the freedom of the press. On May 25 she introduced a press. On May 25 she introduced a bill (H. R. 9317) "to prohibit the trans-mission through the mails at less than cost of publications, books, other printed matter, and films containing material contrary to the best interests of the U.S."

For this radical departure from an

Anglo-American tradition that goes back to the year 1660 and is firmly rooted in U.S. history, Mrs. St. George originally scheduled hearings to begin June 7; a staff member of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service thought they might last "for a couple of days." Protests and de-mands for more time caused a post-ponement; the hearings are now uncertainly set for June 14 or 18 or 21.

Mrs. St. George herself will preside Mrs. St. George herself will preside over a subcommittee composed of Reps. H. R. Gross (R-Ia.), Edward J. Bonia (R-Pa.), Joel T. Broyhill (R-Va.), John Jarman (D-Okla.), John Dowdy (D-Tex.), Edward P. Boland (D-Mass.), and Frazier Reams (Ind-O.).



WHAT IT DOES: Under the St. George bill, the Postmaster General may "forthwith and without prior notice" revoke the second-class mailing privilege of any publication he may have "reasonable grounds to believe . . . contains material which advocates, advises, or teaches, or explicitly or by implication favors the political, economic, international and governmental doctrines of communism or any other totalitarian form of government, or totalitarian form of government, or the establishment in the U.S. or any foreign state of a communist or other

totalitarian dictatorship."

Any publication caught in this wide-angled net shall have "during a period of 30 days after such revocation . . . the right to a hearing to show cause why such tentative revocation should not be made perma-

(Continued on Page 8)

## WAR & PEACE British Cabinet backs move for peace in Indo-China; Dulles seeks way to dodge Congress' vote on intervention by U.S.

By Kumar Goshal

As the Geneva conference entered its seventh week, the British Cabinet gave Foreign Minister Eden its approval to continue negotiations for Indo-China peace and Korean unity. Secy. Dulles pursued his search for an excuse to enter the Indo-China war, to break off Korean unity talks. Meanwhile he threatened France with loss of U. S. aid if it failed to ratify the European Army treaty (EDC).

To enter the war, Dulles had to find a way to avoid asking for Congressional approval—certain to be denied him at present. He counted on Congressional approval of a S. E. Asia pact involving Thailand, the feudal princedoms of Laos and Cambodia and a Bao Dai-ruled section of Vietnam, the terms of which

"... would leave the President free to do whatever he finds necessary to support the agreement. That way,

Congress would not be called on to vote directly on the war issue" vote directly on the (Business Week, 5/22).

COLLAPSING RACKETS: To secure UN "moral sanction" for U.S. intervention in the war, Thailand, "prodded by the U.S.," has already complained of a threat to its security by the Viet Minh, asked UN to send "observers" (Newsweek, 6/7). Laos and Cambodia were expected to follow suit.

But popular resistance governments re strong in Laos and Cambodia whether they are recognized at Geneva or not. Well-informed diplomats at Geneva described the Thailand government as "a racket . . . more corrupt than Chiang's had been in China," whose members "have large sums hoarded" in U.S. or Switzerland. These diplomats had no doubt that the Thai government "would willingly tell the world, at Mr. Dulles' suggestion, that they were attacked by Communists. They reported that disgusted young Thais were drifting "up to the N.E.. Province to join the Free Thais," and

Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch "Didn't tumble like the walls of Jericho"

believed Thailand could "any day collapse from its own internal confusion" (London New Statesman, 6/5).

HO COMING HOME: Threads of news penetrating French censors indicated President Ho Chi Minh's army might soon re-enter Hanoi, capital of his Vietnam Republic government when France recognized it in 1946. James Reston reported (NYT, 6/9) an "alarming deterioration of the military and political situation. . . . Officials in Washington are now fearful for the fate of the whole of Vietnam."

Meanwhile at Geneva the U.S.S.R.'s Meanwhile at Geneva the U.S.S.R.'s Molotov recommended direct French-Indo-Chinese talks on "both military and political questions" covering all three Indo-China States, "along parallel lines." Britain and France disagreed with Washington's move to transfer political talks from Geneva to the UN General Assembly in New York. In Washington Defense Seeve York. In Washington, Defense Secy. Wilson was reported convinced, after a three-week Far East trip, that S.E. Asia problems were more political than military (NYT, 6/3).

Korean unity discussions took a favorable turn: the N. Koreans accept-ed S. Korea's proposal for proportional representation as the basis for an all-Korean commission, under supervision of a neutral nations' commission. Negotiations continued as the S. Koreans demanded clarification of the all-Korean commission's powers and super-vision by a UN commission. With U.S. allies reluctant to break off Korean unity talks, an uneasy Syngman Rhee asked the U.S. to walk out of the conference and help him unify Korea by force (AP, 6/7).

RESTIVE EUROPEANS: Neither Italy nor France seemed ready to ratify EDC. In France, a jittery government followed up a recent suppression of an edition of the Communist Humanité by (Continued on Page 4)

## If We Die

You shall know, my sons, shall know Why we leave the song unsung, The book unread, the work undone, To lie beneath the sod.

Mourn no more, my sons, no more, Why the lies and smears were framed, The tears we shed, the hurt we bore, To all shall be proclaimed.

Earth shall smile, my sons, shall smile-And green above our resting place, The killing end, the world rejoice In brotherhood and peace.

Work and build, my sons, and build A monument to love and joy, To human worth, to faith we kept For you, my sons, for you!

Ethel Rosenberg

This week is the anniversary of the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. See p. 3.

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## Just A Gentle Reminder

If your address-plate is printed in red, your sub-To Renew, Mail Your scription is in arrears Address-Plate With and is due for renewal \$3 For One Year. NOW.

Be sure to check your address-plate carefully for errors before enclosing. Indicate if you want your paper wrapped. Enclose \$3 and mail to:

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



Hitler plus H-bomb

HEGINA, SASK., CANADA
After a week's bombardment via
puess and radio, one gets the idea
that Americans must be stark, rav-

press and radio, one gets the ideathat Americans must be stark, raving mad. Then along comes the GUARDIAN to assure us that sanity has not completely disappeared from the American scene.

Such "smugness" may be irritating, but I'm sure it is understandable. We Canadians haven't any ailly senator from Wisconsin, and we haven't got a Dulles dashing around the world waving a hydrogen bomb. But if we suffer from sanugness, please don't mistake it for complacency. Your rulers have a lot of us frightened and perplexed. We can't understand why a great and powerful nation such as yours should tremble for its existence every time a hungry man in some part of the world demonstrates for an extra crust of bread. We remember Hitler and his "containment of communism." But Bittler with a hydrogen bomb—ugh!

F. J. Andersen

#### The Bunche affair

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The fact that Dr. Ralph Bunche was critical of U.S. foreign policy, coupled with the fact that he was called to a loyalty board hearing, seems proof that the government is kying to make criticism of its policies unpopular.

E. F. Reed

The right to travel

The right to elave.

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is beginning a series of lawsuits challenging the procedures of the State Dept in denying passports to people whose political convictions do not conform to the Dept's ideas. The ECLC is raising a fund to cover the basic research and major part the legal expenses necessary in the Supreme of the legal expenses necessary in taking these cases to the Supreme

We would like to have it known widely that we are doing this so

#### How crazy can you get dept.

WASHINGTON, May 31—(AP)—Sen, Price Baniel (D-Tex.) said today most Negroes prefer to live together and to maintain separate institutions, such as schools and churches, Daniel said a poll showed 85% of Negroes with college education received degrees from separate schools. This, he maintained, proves that such separate schools should be continued "so the Negroes can take advantage of education."

—Arizona Daily Star, June 1. One-year free sub to winner

One-year free sub to winner of each item published under this heading. Winner: Einfrank, Tueson, Ariz,

that others who wish to do away with restrictions on foreign travel may contribute to the fund and, if they like, discuss with us the possibility of adding their case to the others which will be grouped in this suit. The attorney handling the suit is Leonard B. Boudin, 25 Broad St., N. Y. C.

Clark Foreman Director, ECLC

#### Robeson is heard

IGDESON IS heard
LONDON, ENGLAND
Paul Robeson cannot get a passport, but his voice is heard abroad just the same. Enclosed is a program of the BBC for Whit Monday, June 7. Listed from 1:45-2 p.m. is: "Paul Robeson on gramaphone records."

The very simplicity of this announcement is impressive, It is taken for granted that the British

The very symplecty of this an-bouncement is impressive. It is taken for granted that the British radio audience would like 15 min-utes of Paul Robeson, between the Cricket Scoreboard and the Royal Air Force Band. Whit Monday is

a holiday.

The BBC runs a daily request program called "Housewives' Choice," in which one frequently hears Robeson records requested and played.

A Constant Reader

#### "The Last Illusion"

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.
In these tortured times it is heartening to read Dr. Meyer's The Last Huslen, At long last a thoughtful scientist rips the veil of timorous silence, presents a penetrating analysis of our frantic era, offers reasonable alternatives.

Instead of greeting this long-

needed work with enthusiasm, you choose to dismiss it with extraneous references to Dr. Meyer's leftist leanings. This kind of disparagement might be expected from others, but not from you. Furthermore, it is difficult to believe you wrote your "review" after a careful reading; it reads as though you had casually passed a priori judgment after quickly scanning the table of contents and a few random passages.

table of contents and a few random passages.

As for your reference to the book's scope and content "putting a strain on the average reader's digestion," while they may not be presented in popular style, surely there are enough readers left with capacity to appreciate and welcome one of the most significant books of this, perhaps the last decade. You have done Dr. Meyer a great disservice, but a greater disservice to those who hold you in high regard.

L. R.

#### In the church

In the church

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

There is so much false propaganda on the air and in our daily press and even in our churches, that it is disgusting. My church (First Presbyterian of Hollywood, largest Presbyterian church in the world) is stooping to this hate propaganda now. I have asked the ministers to stop it, but they slip some of it in at every chance. I have told them I will not give another cent to the church as long as it does this. I consider the work that you are doing far more necessary to the welfare of our country and the world than that of a crooked church.

The argumen proces

#### The orange press

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I am enclosing an ad that appeared in the May 21 N Y. Times:

ADVERTISEMENT

### NEWSPAPER A HERO

'The price of fruit is none of our business."

ade fruit prices (which were low) his business, predicted, higher prices if growers would show backno, hald their stuff a few weeks.

You see, the editor had heard of freeze in Spain, a short crep in California.

A little courage at the right me made our orange growers rich

Orlando Sentinel-Star Orlando, Florida Nat. Rep. Burke, Rulyers & Mahone

We held back the fruit,
Profit was our measuring rod,
And in our banks, we gave thanks,
To the graciousness of God.
Ben Anten

#### For Valentine

For Valentine

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Enclosed \$200 as a gift to the GUARDIAN from my departed daughter, Valentine. She would have preferred the money spent on flowers and other remembrances we received at the time of her death to go to the paper fighting for her and my ideals. But people feel better making personal remembrances, I suppose. To give instead to a cause is the last thing they learn; and all learn too late that giving of yourself to the cause of peace might prevent the greatest grief of all, loss of one's child. We cannot overnight stop preparations for war and give the money to scientific research, but liberals and radicals could certainly do without the millions of superfluities of our short, precarious lives—if all could only comprehend the agony and despair of a mother helpiess in the face of a death which science devoted to humanity might have prevented.

M. Eskenazi

#### A dame for the doc

A dame for the doc

BROOKLYN, N.Y.
In his "Worry Clinic" column in
the Newark Star-Ledger, Dr. George
W. Crane prints a letter from "Dr.
Larry J., a talented dentist...
Presbyterian...nnt a brute or a
drinker" who says he wants a wife
but "hasn't time to shop around
blindly" to find one. Dr. Crane
comments: "One of the best ways
to combat communism is to help
good Americans like Dr. Larry find
a suitable wife so they can rear
three or four children in our American tradition of religion, free enterprise and our republican form



Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y. Telephone: WOrth 4-3960.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islan'is, \$3 a year.
All other countries \$4 a year. First class and air mail rates on request. Single copies 10c. entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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Circulation. TIBA G. WILLNER, Los Angeles representative. MALVINA
REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St, Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San FranciscoBay Area representative.

Vol. 6, No. 34



JUNE 14, 1954

"You will rise again even as the grass of the field; though all men's hands be set against you, though you feel isolated and abandoned, you, the rank and file, will surely rise to spread the green mantle of democracy over this ravished American soil."—OSCAR AMERINGER (speaking to Illinois miners, 1930).

#### REPORT TO READERS

## Red ink on page 1 means you're ripe for renewal

THE YOUNG GENTLEMAN with the pitchfork, across the page, is out to make hay while the June sun shines on this Spring's crop of GUARDIAN renewals. It is quite a healthy crop and our hope is to get it all in the barn before the dry spell sets in.

You can tell at a glance where your sub stands. If your address plate on page 1 or your subscription wrapper is printed in red ink, your sub is ripe for renewal. Will you take a quick look, right now?

THIS CROP includes all unrenewed subs dated through June, 1954. If yours comes due in July or August, your plate may not be printed in red ink but you could renew now, to save our Circulation Dept. the job of pulling your stencil out for the July-August expiration list.

If the date on your address plate goes back quite a stretch, don't get conscience-stricken about it: it undoubtedly means we have had a contribution from you, or a fistful of new readers or some other "S for Sparkplug" activity that warranted keeping your sub alive without bothering you about it.

NOW, HOWEVER, our young Haymaker across the page is covering the whole field. The past is prologue, he says, to the future, he says. What's done is done and tomorrow is another day. A renewal in the barn is worth two on the bush and now is the time for all good subscribers-in-arrears to come to the aid of the Circulation Dept. Red ink comes high; let's get those address-plates out of the red!

That's what our Haymaker Angel says. What do you say?

-THE EDITORS

of government."

If it wasn't for the GUARDIAN I'd have gone mad long ago. Flease don't use my name or I'll have to start hunting for a job again.

C. C.

#### Good appetite!

Good appense:

BROWNSVILLE, TEX.

I have been scraping and saving for a year to get a set of teeth. Saved \$25 by getting them made in Matamoras, Mexico. Will get them Saturday. I did without the teeth until I had ulcerated stomach because of faulty mastication. I will try and keep up my dollar a month for the balance of the year, but cannot promise anything beyond that time. I am 87 years old and have to buy a lot of medicine and on a small income.

W. Lee Green

#### We'll live

We'll live

SUNNYSIDE, L. I.

Am enclosing \$10—three for last year's sub, three for this year—
if we live that long—and four to keep up the good work. The GUARDIAN is a welcome relief after the daily filth sheets one reads these days. Our only regret is that it comes but once a week. J. Bissell

#### The Lion and the Beast

HERMOSA BEACH, CALIF.

I heard on the radio about the visit of the Lion of Judah, Haile Selassie, for whom I have always had a great respect. I saw him in the newsreel when he appeared before the League of Nations, and reverenced the supreme dignity with which he received the boos and catchis of the riffraff who were representing Italy It breaks my heart to see him walking into

this trap and handing his nation, bound, to the Beast. They do not deserve it, nor does he. Why must we be like this? 1

deserve it," nor does he.

Why must we be like this? I am old and have never been able to talk to people. I do what I can with my typewriter. Well, I feel a little better, getting this off my chest, and my courage is coming back.

Kute C. Young

#### Keep Telling Congress

Keep Telling Congress

Indo-China continues to be the crucial issue, but the flood of letters against further U.S. involvement is encouraging more Congressmen to take a position. An example: Hugh Scott, former chairman of the Republican Natl. Comm., and James A. Byrne (D.)—both of Pa.—when contacted by the Progressive Party of Pa., put themselves on record against sending U.S. troops to Indo-China, Said Byrne: "I do not wish to see the policy of colonialism furthered in any part of the world."

A May 16 Gallup Poll shows 68% against, 22% for sending troops. In another poll on May 19, asking "What do you think America would gain by getting into a fighting war in Indo-China?" 48% answered "Nothing"; 7% no gain, but leading to World War III; 3% no gain, leading to bigger debt, ill will; 18%, stop communism from taking over.

We urge you to keep writing, visiting Congressmen and state and local officials, asking them to speak out on no U.S. involvement and a speedy cease-fire settlement at Geneva.



#### ON JUNE 19, 1953, ETHEL AND JULIUS ROSENBERG WERE PUT TO DEATH

## They left us a legacy—we will live freer because they died'

By Helen Sobell

COULD have reached out and touched Ethel's hand. I said to myself again, as I had said to so many others: "I could have been in Ethel's place; she could have been standing here in mine." It would have taken such a small turn of the wheel of fate for my hus-band, Morton Sobell, to have been lying in one of the caskets, and I dead at his side. Instead, Morton's fate is the living death of 30 years on the Devil's Island of Alcatraz—and I stood beside the coffins of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Not here in this coffin but in the tight little apartment of the lower east side will I remember a living Ethel. My eyes have seen her face fewer times than can be counted on my fingers, but my heart knows her well. She was born in the squalor of the poorest, most crowded part of New York City on Sept. 23, 1915. Her mother still lives in that same house where Ethel grew up with her three brothers. She suffered a childhood of loneliness and deprivation. Unloved herself, she poured her heart's warmth and affection into her little brother, the infamous David Greenglass, who sent her to her death.

ALWAYS THE ARTIST: But even the hardness of her life added to the strength and creativeness of this daughter of the people. After high school and a six months' business course, Ethel worked three years as a course, Ethel worked three years as a clerk in a shipping and packing concern; but she found her real life in her singing. In each place where she worked from 1932 until her marriage in 1939, she was a union member. Through those years each penny of every paycheck, except for carfare and lunches, went to her family—to the tunches, went to her family—to the mother who did not even come to her funeral, to the brother who killed his

Always Ethel was the artist, the singer, the dancer. She studied drama in a famous settlement house on the lower east side, but she never studied a drama which could be compared to that which she was to experience.

When Ethel and Julius were married they had the problems of where to live and what to do. But they knew each other well; they had gone to the same high school, had exchanged experiences and ideas during the time they waited for Julius to graduate from the School of Technology of the College of the City of New York in February of 1939. It was a period of working at odd jobs for Julius. They knew they were meant to live together. They did not know that they must die together.

THIS WAS HOME: They went to live with Julius's mother, Sophie Rosenberg. No help or offer of help came from Ethel's mother. But Sophie Rosenberg must have then, as she did later wail-ing at their caskets, called them her two children. They were her pride and her promise.

They found a furnished room in the same poor section of the city, and finally an apartment—a place to live and bring their children into the world. They must have felt that this modest yet to them wonderful apartment, these three them wonderful apartment, these three rooms and bath in an elevator building, was more than a stopping place for them: it was really a home. From a friend who was going to California they got some old furniture. They picked up other odds and ends—and one new piece of furniture, a console table. It was this table that David Greenglass said had been given them as a reward for spying. (Did he feel that his sister and brother-in-law should not have permitted themselves the luxury of buying themselves a cheap \$21 table, as a representative of Macy's department store testified had been done?)

Ethel then, a queen among her sec-

Ethel then, a queen among her sec-ond-hand furniture, bore her children, tended and cared for her family,

cooking, washing, cleaning. All the pleasure and pain that belong to a woman's life were hers as she lived and worked as millions of her sisters throughout the world have done and will continue to do.

THE BABY COMES: Her first son, Michael, was born to her on March 10, 1943. As soon as he could talk, questions poured forth to challenge the energy, imagination, and patience of

There were times when Ethel was not too well. She suffered a spinal curvature from the time she was 13, and occasionally would be confined to bed with severe backache; but she still managed to oversee the household. Even when sometimes the hands and shoulders which did the work were another's, hers was always the mind and heart of her home.

SOUND OF A VOICE: The morning of



the mother. Sharp, eager, he hungered for life and knowledge.

Ethel needed all of her strength and cleverness to bring her baby through his first years of life. He was sick. His was not the usual illness common to infants, but unremittingly his temper-ature soared and he tossed the night away in an atmosphere of vapor and drugs to ease his pain. Patiently Ethel nursed him, looking for improvement, happy for each respite, until her child outgrew his sickness. This very period, when her life was so concentrated upon the most intimate personal cares, was the period during which Ethel was ac-cused of being a spy.

When Michael was 2½ she studied child psychology and music for children, that she might better meet his needs. With Robert came the problems of readjusting an older child to the of readjusting an older child to the advent of a younger one, but this too was accomplished with thought and understanding. In their small apartment, to let the older child sleep undisturbed by the younger one, they would leave the combination living-room-bedroom in darkness for Michael and sit in their tiny kitchen. There was and sit in their tiny kitchen. There was no "sacrifice." They wanted to do these things; they worked for their children

the trial I came to the basement of the isted. As I pressed against the bars and wires to see a little of what was within, so they, each one of the three, pressed against their bars to see what lay outside. They did not permit me the cold pleasure of almost seeing, almost hear-ing, almost being together with my husband. They sent me away.

Later I saw them: Ethel with her sweet face and little red jerkin provided a spot of brightness in the som-ber courtroom. A man sitting next to me whispered: "Is that your husband? Hs looks so very young." And so they were, all of them. All young with the youth which comes from not having sold one's birthright for a mess of pottage. Young with the love and trust in one's fellowman which loves a neighbor as oneself. Young with decency and honesty which would not lie then and which gave up life later rather than

TOGETHER: In the last days before the execution my husband wrote to me

### Memorial Week

A STONE in memory of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg will be unveiled Sunday, June 20, at 1 p.m., at Wellwood Cemetery, Pinelawn, Long Island. The ceremony is open to the public. These meetings will be held: NEW YORK: Thurs., June 17, 8 p.m., Chateau Gardens, 105 E. Houston St., Manhattan. Speakers: Helen Sobell. John T. McManus. The recorded voice of Emanuel Bloch will be heard.

CHICAGO: Thurs., June 17, 8:15 p.m., Curtis Hall, 410 S. Michigan Av. DETROIT: Wed., June 16, 8 p.m., 5928 Joy Rd.

NEWARK, N. J.: Wed., June 16, 516 Clinton Av.

Clinton Av.
BALTIMORE: Sat., June 19, Little Falls Theater, Pennsylvania and North Av.
Other meetings will be held in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Toronto and Vancouver, B.C.

from the fog-bound rock that is his

"There are worse things than fac-ing death when you know you are innocent and when you know your cause is just. It is much worse to face the death of your beloved."

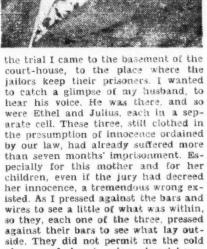
True, no agony was spared the Rosen-errs. Ethel could not lay down her life

bergs. Ethel could not lay down her life for her husband. Julius could not lay down his for his wife. They had to die together for the world. They knew far better than anyone, with the clarity and detail which come from endless nights and days of contemplation, what sufferings would be visited upon the heads of their children and of their mother. But they saw the whole world too, and in a process as inexorable as giving birth, they knew the truth must be held holy. They left us a legacy. We will live freer, braver because they died.

As I passed by the coffins and looked at Ethel clad in shimmering white, I knew that for me especially she had left a legacy. Her lifeless lips gave me message of hope:

"You will have your Mort again. The people are stronger now, they are less afraid. They will not permit the first defender of the Rosenbergs to be buried alive. He faced death together with us, he would not exchance his truth for lies about the Rosenbergs. He is the hostage who will be delivered up when the people of the world rise in their anger and demand his freedom."

Thousands pressed to look at Ethel and Julius. I whispered: "I will make your words come true. The freeing of my Mort will be your vindication."



## THE CRUELEST HOAX IN HISTORY

## What the state said then

YOUR crime is worse than murder. Plain, deliberate "YOUR crime is worse than murder. Plain, deliberate murder is dwarfed in magnitude by comparison with the crime you have committed. . . . Your conduct in putting into the hands of the Russians the A-bomb years before our best scientists predicted Russia would perfect the bomb has already caused the Communist aggression in Korea with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000 Americans and who knows but that millions more of innocent people may pay the price of your treason. Indeed, by your betrayal you undoubtedly have altered the course of history to the disadvantage of our country."

—Federal Judge Irving Kaufman, sentencing Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death, April 5, 1951.

"I CAN only say that, by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war, the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of millions of innocent people all over the world. The execution of two human beings is a grave matter. But even graver is the thought of the millions of dead whose deaths may be directly attributable

## What the experts say now

THE man in the Atomic Energy Commission responsible for classifying nuclear data warned here yesterday that an 'ostrich-like" attitude about atomic secrets could lead to a national catastrophe.

Dr. James Beckerley, director of the Atomic Energy Commission Classification Office, said it was time to stop believing that Soviet scientists are incompetent... The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb were not stolen from us by spies, Dr. Beckerley emphasized. Espionage played a minor role in the attainment of successful weapons by the Soviets, he said... at a meeting of industrialists at the Biltmore Hotel... "The Russians have the skills and the plants to make fission materials and bombs," he said... Atom bombs and hydrogen bombs are not matters that can be stolen and transmitted in the form of information, Dr. Beckerley said, in emphasizing the unimportance of spying in nuclear physics.

—N. Y. Times, March 17, 1954.

to what these sples have done."

—President Eisenhower in his second refusal to grant the Rosenbergs clemency, June 19, 1953.

#### "A PEOPLE AWAKENED CANNOT BE BROKEN"

## A letter to a Frenchman from the battle line in Viet-Nam

By Wojciech Zukrowski

(Translated from Nowa Kultura, Warsaw, May 2, 1954)

AM a writer who likes to take chances. If I get the chance to take part in great events, I certainly won't let it pass, even if I have to risk my neck. I left home for six weeks, or so I assured my wife. I exposed myself to her wrath by coming back after six months—proof that I like risks.

I was in the outskirts of Hanoi and at the border of Laos, in the valley of Dienbienphu. If I had fallen into the hands of the French, they would have made me out to be an "agent of Moscow," a spy. Actually, like your brilliant reporter Robert Guillain of Le Monde, who parachuted down into Dienbienphu, I was getting material for articles.

Yet even when the shells from the fortress' heavy guns were falling around me. I never thought of calling the French enemies. The Vietnamese have the same feeling. That is a great victory of the Vietnamese people, a greater victory than their military feats. Despite the cruel war, dragging on into its eighth year, they make a clear distinction between the colonialists and the French people.

BROTHERHOOD OF ART: This unusual maturity

the colonialists and the French people.

BROTHERHOOD OF ART: This unusual maturity of judgment among the peasants and soldiers at the front was not just phrases learned by rote. The Vietnamese were glad to talk with me in French; they were proud of their knowledge of French literature and culture; many had studied in France and still had good friends there.

I remember a January dawn, with the guns growling and hundreds of porters running past in the mist in their conical hats. A tall thin man wearing a beret was sitting next to me, warming his bare feet at the fire, smoking a pipe. As the woven walls of the house shook under the explosions, he recalled the art galleries of Paris. He was one of the best Vietnamese painters—Cau Tien; he had enlisted in the struggle for liberation as a comrade of the front-line soldier. Out of a bamboo tube he took two brilliant water-colors. I shall never forget his whisper: "I like Bonnard," drowned out in the sounds of explosions close at hand. That was more than an expression of gratitude toward the ever-living France.

rise pression of gratitude toward the ever-living France. THE POW'S LEARN: Do you know what a prisoners' camp looks like there? A camp without barbed wire, a camp village. The prisoners often have more food than some of the guards. But it is hard—very hard: the heat, the shortage of medicines, sickness, nostalgia. . . The dark nights under the arches of giant trees, nights measured by the drumming of heavy drops beating against the leaves, the high pitch of the mosquitoes, the insistent drone of the erickets, the oppressive mist, the odors of rotting vegetation. . .

pitch of the mosquinces, the histstem whole of the crickets, the oppressive mist, the odors of rotting vegetation. . . .

But into that green hell a whole nation has entered. Only there will the aggressors learn the damage they have done to every family, to the women, to the millions of children who study at night by oil lamps. Finally they will understand that their soldiers have lost their dignity in this dirty war. . . . Only now do they know where the true interest of France lies.

I spoke with a young French Catholic woman who was working in a hospital for prisoners. She was a volunteer. She wanted, if she could, to make good in part the harm her countrymen were doing to the Vietnamese. She fought suffering, she fought

IN FREE VIET-NAM

This is a school class far behind the fighting in Viet-Nam. Here the children are taught the culture and the traditions of their own land - in addition to reading, writing and all the other things they never were taught before. They are not taught to hate France. Hatred is not in the nature of the Viet-Nam people. Love is.



cruelty, she would explain to the soldiers of the ex-peditionary corps that they had become like the men who had burnt Oradour, who were the invaders of your country. She is loyal to the true France.

FORCE vs. FAITH: This war is lost for you. This war is horrible nonsense. And yet you could get all the raw materials and merchandise that you wrest from the Vietnamese, along with their sweat, their blood and their lives; you could get them all by signing a trade pact guaranteeing peace with free Vietnam.

Vietnam.

A people awakened cannot be broken. This is not just a matter of the Communists. Every man wants to be master in his own house, to eat his fill, to see the way open before him. The present struggle attests to this stubborn, patient will. The steps cut out by hand in the cliffs, the tons of rice and ammunition carried for hundreds of miles, the land lovingly tended despite air attacks. You cannot take it away by force. away by force.

It is simply the will to victory: an invincible faith. How many times did I see a house in flames, the jungle cheked with smoke! How many napalm bombs

have fallen on villages! . . . The damaged roads were repaired by dusk; there was no break in transport. In a few hours the huts were rebuilt; they told me shrewdly: "We shall win the race with the airplanes; we have more bamboo than they have bombs. . ."

if THEY KNEW...: More than once, as I drank captured "Dubonnet," or ate sardines from the officers' mess of a ruined fort, I thought what a shock it would be for the ordinary taxpayer if he knew what his money was going for—how it was going to waste there. Well, bombs, it is clear, are money thrown away; but the wine we drank mads us remember the magic of sunny Burgundy.

I fell in love with the Victoringer How many

I fell in love with the Vietnamese. How many times there, at the front, under the circling airplanes, we spoke of France in friendly fashion. It brought us closer. Every day lived there was a major lesson in brotherhood among people. That is why I should like, in the name of the heroically battling Vietnam, to repeat to you, a French intellectual, the simple request: "Do not force them into hate! Do not kill France in their hearts!"

## War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

censoring an editorial in Jean-Paul Bartre's Temps Modernes and confiscating an issue—and ransacking the office
—of the pro-government Express which eriticized Indo-China policy. The anticommunist Combat was reminded of
"the Pharaohs of old [who] slaughtered
the bearers of bad news." On the eve
of National Assembly discussions on
Indo-China, opponents of continuing the war were reported seeking to join forces with opponents of EDC "to overthrow the government before irrevocable decisions could be taken upon either issue" (N. Y. Times, 6/8).

either issue" (N. Y. Times, 6/8).

In Britain, where "U. S. policy is highly suspect by the working-class," everyone agreed that "the British people are completely unprepared . . . to examine the possibility of creating" a S. E. Asia military alliance demanded by the U. S. (NYT, 6/5). Even in Germany two former Chancellors of "great." many two former Chancellors of "great prestige among the Germans"—Bruen-ing and Luther—joined "the conserv-ative movement to reverse W. Ger-many's foreign policy and make the country a mediator between the East-ern and Western power blocs" (NYT, 6/6). Bruening warned German industrialists of a possible U.S. depression, emphasized the value of trade with socialist countries. At Geneva, "four high-powered German businessmen" met Peking's Foreign Trade Vice-Minater Lei Jen-min to discuss

German-Chinese trade," demand for which was so great that "Bonn is un-derstood simply not to have been able to prevent" the industrialists' trip (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 6/5).

Aware that the EDC project might

collapse, Dulles admitted before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "the Administration is examining alternatives." According to Hanson Baldwin (NYT, 5/30), the alternative being discussed

"...in Washington and overseas [was the formation of] an 'American



Post-Intelligencer, Seattle GRADUATION GIFT

foreign legion' [with] European and Asiatic sections. . . . Pay for the first ten years would be half that of American soldiers."

WASHINGTON DOGFIGHTS: The key to Dulles' S.E. Asia policies remained simple and clear: his main target is China. But there were obstacles not only abroad but at home. Wrote Walter Lippmann (NYHT, 6/8):

"The principal obstacle is right here in Washington..... The interventionists, led by Adm. Radford, have an ultimate objective—namely the overthrow of the Red Chinese regime. For this objective Secy. Dulles can never hope to organize a united front in Europe and in Asia, and there is not even a united front among the Chiefs of Staff, and with Congress and with American public opinion . . [Radford] wants to go places where nobody in Europe, no great power in Asia, and mighty few Americans are willing to go along with him."

Divisions at the home base of the Dulles "policy of strength" continued to get headlines around the world. They were reflected in the split decision in the Oppenheimer case, the Atomic Energy Commission hassle over grant-ing dictatorial status to chalrman Lewis Strauss, the increasing bitterness generated by the Army-McCarthy hearings. There was clear danger that extremists might try to resolve the various conflicts and confusions by precipitating a military adventure. Yet equally clear was the American people's opportunity to force a solution of internal conflicts by another road: the way of live-and-let-live between different social systems.



See you at the BIG GUARDIAN WEEK-END AT WHITE LAKE LODGE Fri.-Sun., June 25-27

#### Free World puzzle corner

A recent election in a "free world" country (X) resulted in narrow victory for the pro-U.S. government party, although the opposition polled most votes. The Manchester Guardian correspondent in X commented before polling day:
"Only the results of the pro-

"Onlookers agree upon one thing—that the present X election campaign is the dirtiest in half a century. . . . Six weeks ago the Government party approached the general elections with less than even chances of victory. Then the Y affair, bringing the Communist issue again to the forefront of local polities, restored the Government's morale and changed its prospects overnight."

Can you guess the identity of X and Y? Solution below.

A te Auchalle. T la Petrov, "eny deserter from the Soviet Embassy.



DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

Keep our boys out of Indo-

The fighting must be stopped before it becomes an H-Bomb

There must be a world-wide ban on the H-Bomb.

Keep peace talks going.

NATIONWIDE DRIVE FOR POSTCARDS FOR PEACE This postcard has been issued by the American Peace Crusade in its campaign for 1,000,000 messages to the President and to Congress to keep American boys out of Indo-China and to prevent H-bomb war. Cards may be ordered from APC, 35 W. 26th Orders must be prepaid and include cost of postage and 10c St., N. Y. C. 10. They cost 1c each, 1/2c for orders over 1,000. mailing charge.

## The new pamphlets

CLEARLY - WRITTEN, sparklingly illustrated rimer on what to do when the Un-Americans hit your town, Smear and Run, shows unionists how and why witch-hunters make organized labor a chief target. Includes background on the Un-AAC, the merits of answering yes or not a the \$64 question labor to the \$64 question, labor fightbacks in several cities. Put out by the same people who did Courage Is Contagious last year (Citizens' Comm. to Preserve Amer. Freedoms, 4274 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles 4, Beverly Blvd., Lo. Calif.; 30 pp., 7c).

'Rosenberg Cantata'

'Rosenberg Cantata'
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and Julius Rosenberg where
history will assuredly place
them—in the gallery of
American martyred heroes
with Joe Hill, Sacco and
Vanzetti and the men of
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June Jewish Life (22 E. 17th
St., N.Y.C. 3; 25ct. Mike
Gold's Rosenberg Cantata
ranks with the best writings
of the 60-year-old people's
poet and essayist.

A newspaper's 'crime'

EUGENE MOY, editor of the N.Y. China Daily News, is on trial in New York for carrying ads from Hong Kong banks to transmit money from Chinese here to their families China. The aim is to put Y.'s last remaining anti-In China. The aim is to put N. Y.'s last remaining anti-Chiang paper out of business after a terror campaign failed to do it. The facts on this

LOS ANGELES

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Angeles WEbstee 5-1197 important case and CDN's gal-lant fight back are in The china Daily News Case (Committee to Support CDN, 105 Mott St., N. Y. C. 13; 14 pp.,

#### Guatemala; Pink shades

A 1953 report on Guatemala A by the non-governmental but influential Natl. Planning Assn. said: "It may no longer be possible to eliminate them Communists] by peaceful as." Background to the means." means." Background to the "communism" (an economic independence - land reform independence - land reform program described by a conservative authority as "a mild shade of pink compared with the New Deal", and to United Fruit Co.'s less than "peaceful means" and links with U.S. government officials are supported. government officials, are supplied in The Truth About Guatemala, by Helen S. Travis and A. B. Magil (New Century, 832 B'way, N. Y. C. 3; 23 pp., 10c). Facts you must know to understand Washington's current attempt to keep Guate mala from securing arms to defend itself.

#### China trade

N AN impressively docu-mented 47 pages, China Trade Facts (Far East Re-porter, 103 W. 93rd St., N.Y.C. 25: 25c) shows how trade with China's 500 million customers can help U.S. business out of its slump-and-surplus dil-emma, provide more U.S. jobs. Such trade can reach \$11/2 to \$2 billion a year, \$10 billion

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#### IN MEMORIAM

### Edwin Rolfe: Poet, soldier and patriot

By Alvah Bessie Special to the GUARDIAN

SAN FRANCISCO SOMETHING tells me the poetry journals will not devote much space to the death on May 24 of Edwin Rolfe, the poet. Though he was published by most of them, Rolfe long ago made it plain that he did not inhabit the rarefied atmos-phere of the poetasters and esthetes whose empty verse and dubious merits are debated at such length in these journals.

In fact, even before Spain, Ed Rolfe realized that poetry is something more than avocation, entertainment or self-indulgence. Even before 1937, Rolfe realized it was a weapon for the liberation of mankind, and utilized it as such.

HIS CANVAS: And Spain brought him to his finest expression, both as a poet and a man. For he was one of the first American volunteers of the International Brigades, and as soldier and editor of The Volunteer for Liberty, its front-line newspaper, Rolfe found line newspaper, Rolfe found his canvas—and his battlefield.

Even in World War II, when Ed was in the U.S. Army, his mind returned to 1937. In his

Why do I always return to the sunken road through corroded

hills, with the Moorish castle's shadow casting ruins over my

and the black-smocked girl approaching, her hands laden with grapes?

The answer is implicit. Spain, even for multitudes who were not poets, was the touchstone



of our time: the pure cause, the turning point, the springboard into the struggle that engulfs

Rolfe was the poet of that struggle for human decency and love and human freedom; the poet and the soldier, too. For the two were inseparable.

VOICE TO SHARE: His constitution, never too robust, was undermined by the two years he spent in Spain; he died before he had given us the best

last book of verse, the title of which he was so manifestly poem First Love asks; capable. But what he left was very good indeed.

Share this with us—his fel-low-veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade—who moura the loss of a fallen comrade, and who today are under at-tack by the Subversive Activities Control Board for having dared to be anti-fascists before it was fashionable and for remaining anti-fascist McCarran and McCarthy days: Forgive me, I cannot love you

properly from afar—
o distant thing is ever truly

loved-but this, in the wrathful impotence of distance.

I promise: Madrid, if I ever for-

I promise: Madrid, if I ever forget you,
may my right hand lose its
human cunning,
may my arms and legs wither
in their sockets,
may my body be drained of its
juices and my brain
an soft and senseless as an

go soft and senseless as an imbecile's. And if I die before I can return

to you, or you, in fullest freedom, are

restored to us,
y sons will love you as their
father did

Madrid Madrid Madrid

as China's economy expands. as China's economy expands. Quotes from British and U.S. businessmen, shippers and labor leaders prove that the official U.S.-McCarthy policy of barring China trade has not worked: millions of dollars of "free world" trade and a certain amount of U.S. business was negotiated last year any-way, and many of the most influential concerns would like to grab its benefits if they could. Voices as far right as u. S. the chairman of the U.S. Council of the Intl. Chamber of Commerce and Alf Landon agree the U.S. has suffered

more from the ban than China, ask a new policy since "the more trade has expanded in freedom from politics, the better it has served the political goal of peace" (Wall St. Journal). The pamphlet lists things china wants to buy (especially heavy production machinery—an industry hard-hit by the U.S. slump and what it can pay with, e.g., scarce minerals like tungsten.

A useful companion is America's Stake in East-West Trade, by Theodore Bayer, reprinted

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from the April issue of New World Review (from Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32d St., N. Y. C. 16, 8 pp., 5c.,

#### Subversive probes

VERY readable and informa tive background for TV viewers of the McCarthy soapbox serial is The Congressional Inquisition, by philosophy teacher and investigation target Corliss Lamont (Basic Pamphlet No. 8, Box 42, Cathedral Station, N. Y. C. 25, 35 pp., 5c). Complete with examples, Lamont offers 25 rea-sons why Congressional investigations as they are practiced are "subversive" in undermin-ing the law of the land, including Constitutional Amend-ments 1, 4, 5, 6 and 10.

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#### WASHINGTON: 70% FOR ARMS-MOSCOW: 18% FOR ARMS

## Budgets compared: U.S. and U.S.S.R.

By Tabitha Petran

THE Administration is reported ready to ask Congress for a "supplemental appropriation" of about \$5 billion for the military regardless of war in Indo-China. It is drawing up a further budget for war in the Far East, should the U.S. become involved. This move to kick up U.S. defense

spending comes little more than a month after the U.S.S.R. announced a 10% cut in defense spending in its 1954 budget. Yet an alleged "Soviet arms buildup" is one of the pretexts

used in the current campaign.
Added to the \$45 billion
budgeted, the additional \$5 billion would bring U.S. military spending to \$50 billion in fiscal 1955. At official exchange rates this is exactly double the 100.3 billion rubles (\$25 billion) budgeted for defense in the U.S.S.R. The \$50 billion would be 70% of the U.S. budget; the 100.3 billion rubles is 17.8% of the Soviet budget. (The percentages are not exactly comparable since many things included in the U. S. S. R. budget are financed outside the U. S. budget.)

THE 2 HOUSEKEEPERS: Comparison of the budgets suggests why the U.S. S.R.'s prestige is growing while that of the U.S. declines; Moscow's looks to the world like a peace budget; Wash-

ington's like a budget for war.

The Soviet budget, biggest in its history, provides for an expenditure of 562.7 billion rubles (\$140.6 billion). Of this, one fourth (141.3 billion rubles) is allotted to education, health and so-cial insurance—41 billion rubles (\$10 billion) more than the appropriation for the military, and almost as much as the total Soviet budget in 1939. Adding the 73.2 billion which the Union Republics will spend in these categories, the total for education, health and social insurance comes to 214.5 billion rubles (\$53.5 billion). This is more than twice the total Soviet military appro-priation—and even more than the total U.S. military spending.



ONLY THE DELIVERY BOY

HAS BEEN REPLACED

"I predict 1950 will be another year of prosperity."

In the U.S., combined federal, state, local budgets for education, health, social security, veterans benefits, etc. come to roughly \$16 billion. This is about a third of the U.S. military budget and less than a third of the comparable Soviet appropriations.

EDUCATION GOALS: Soviet spending for education alone is roughly three times that of the U.S., and up 10% in the new budget. The goal now is universal, compulsory, ten-year schooling (as compared to 7 years previously) within the next few years. Compulsory ten-year schooling already prevails in Union Republic capitals and major industrial centers. The number of secondary-school graduates in 1954 will be roughly double 1953.

Some 9.5 billion rubles (over \$2 bil-

lion) is allocated for Soviet science academies. Eric Ashby, pres. of Queens University, Belfast, writing of the high level of Soviet universities and scientific institutes ("Soviet Science Is a Challenge To Us," N.Y. Times Magazine, 4/18), says that on completion of the five-year university course the Soviet graduate "is up to the level of an American Ph. D."

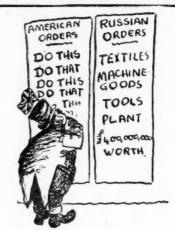
NATIONAL ECONOMY: In 1954 the U.S. S. R. will spend 326.7 billion rubles (\$81.7 billion) for developing the national economy. Of this, 216.3 billion is allocated from the budget and 110 billion from funds of industrial organizations. The budget allocation is more than double that for arms, is up 20% over 1953 and 57% over 1950.

In the U.S. the nearest comparable figure—gross private domestic invest-ment—is running at an annual rate of \$44.2 billion-down 21% from last year and 16% from 1950.

Soviet spending on development of heavy industry will exceed any previous year—90 billion rubles (\$22.5 billion). But its percentage share of total capital investment—61.6—has dropped (from 68% in 1953) owing to the increased emphasis on development of agriculture and consumer-goods industry. Actually much of the capital in-vestment in heavy industry is being made for the sake of agriculture.

BREAD & BUTTER: Capital investment in agriculture—21 billion rubles (\$5.2 billion)—is 14.4% of total capital investment and almost 80% higher than in 1953. Some of the money saved by defense-spending cuts will go for soil reclamation and increasing grain crops. One of today's chief goals of Soviet agriculture is to put under the plow 32 million acres of virgin soil—more than Canada's total wheat area.

Capital investment in consumergoods industry is set at 14 billion rubles (\$3.5 billion)—almost double last year's, and 9.6% of total capital investment. Consumers will also benefit from price cuts announced last month which will add up to roughly 20 billion rubles (\$5 billion) on an annual scale. Consumer prices today are 57.5% below 1947, 25%



World News, London

below 1950. In the U.S., today's costof-living index is 20% above 1947.

ADDITION & SUBTRACTION: Soviet revenue provides one index to the country's economic advance. It will total 571.8 billion rubles (\$142.9 billion) in 1954, three times that of 1940 and 149 billion more than last year. Taxes levied on the people will account for 45.7 billion rubles (\$11 billion) or 8% of budget revenue, compared to 65 billion rubles (12%) in 1952. The bulk of the revenue (86.9%) comes from taxes on socialist enterprises. The drop in revenue resulting from the cuts in con-sumer-goods prices is more than made up by higher production and productivity, hence lower production costs of industry.

The Soviet budget surplus this year will amount to 9.2 billion rubles (\$2.3 billion). 1953's 29.4 billion ruble surplus enabled credit investments in the national economy to be in Soviet currency strengthened. be increased,

The U.S. budget for fiscal 1954 is expected to show a \$5 billion deficit. The deficit for fiscal 1955 is estimated at nearly \$5 billion. If the military budget is increased, as expected, the govern-ment by fall will be paying out \$10 to \$12 billion more in cash than it draws out in taxes. Any kickup in the arms budgets means yawning budget deficits and more debt.

#### BITTER FRUITS OF HYSTERIA

## Scientists denounce ban on Oppenheime call it a 'sure road to national suicide'

HE cold-war politics of the A- and H-bombs claimed another victim last week; Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, the man who headed the project which produced the A-bomb, was ruled a "security risk" and banned from any further official contact with the knowledge of super-destruction he helped

It was ironic that his fall came during commemoration of the first anniversary of the deaths of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, earlier victims of Abomb politics. How many more would succumb to A-bomb politics, none could guess; but Americans in general and U.S. scientists in particular last week were fearful of a continuing toll unless the politics were changed. The Federal the politics were changed. The Fedn. of American Scientists saw the danger clearly; commenting on the 2-to-1 decision of the Atomic Energy Commis-sion's Personnel Security Board, it said:

"We believe the majority findings unfair to Oppenheimer. But more than that, we believe them to illustrate the dangers and the bitter fruits of a security system which is now motivated more by the risks of politics than the risks of disclosure of information... We urge strongly that the entire machinery of security must itself come under review. The American people are seeing samples of the mixing of politics and security in such highly-publicized proceedings as the Army-McCarthy hearings. It is to be hoped that these hearings will attract attention to the underlying problem—the exploitation of legitimate concern for national security for political ends. Security ma-

chinery has only one justification, to chinery has only one justification, to protect a small area of vital national information. It cannot efficiently do more; it cannot do more without sapping our national strength and eventually destroying our traditions and practices as a free people."

YES-AND NO: The panel which examined Oppenheimer was composed of Gordon Gray, former Secy, of the Army and now Univ. of N. Carolina president; Thomas Morgan, former head of the Sperry Corp.; and Ward V. Evans, chemistry professor at Loyola. They interrogated 40 witnesses, took 3,000 pages of testimony, examined another 3,000 pages of written material.

Gray and Morgan signed the tortured and self-contradictory majority opin-ion, which held that Oppenheimer is "loyal" and "discreet" but nevertheless a "security risk." They admitted they might have found an "alternative recmight have found an "alternative recommendation" if, under the Eisenhower security program, they had been allowed "to exercise mature practical judgment without the rigid circumspection of regulations and criteria established for us." To Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.), a member of the Senate-House Atomic Energy Committee the majority decision was "nothing tee, the majority decision was "nothing but doubletalk."

LACKED ENTHUSIASM: On the charge that Oppenheimer—with many others—had originally opposed a 'crash" program to develop the H-bomb the frankly stated his reasons had been both technical and moral), the majority found he "did not oppose the project



in a positive or open manner, nor did to co-operate" in it. But it also made this finding:

"However, enthusiastic support on his part would perhaps have encour-aged other leading scientists to work on the program."

On this, Evans said in his dissent:

"He did not hinder the development of the H-bomb and there is absolutely nothing in the testimony to show that he did... I personally think that our failure to clear Dr. Oppenheimer will be a black mark on the escutcheon of our country."

The majority found that had Oppenheimer "enthusiastically supported the thermonuclear program either before or after the determination of national policy, the H-bomb project would have been pursued with considerably more vigor." The Washington Post remarked: "This is a truly shocking commentary. Does the board really mean that a man should be expected to anticipate a decision and temper his convictions to conform with what later may turn out to be a popular course? What is this but a formula for intellectual dishonesty? . . . The decision deals a devastating blow to free inquiry in government research. . . ."

"ROAD TO SUICIDE": The blow was already beginning to be felt. On June 6 the Atomic Scientists of Chicago re-ported that a dozen top scientists, none of them implicated in any charges, are resigning from Fort Monmouth's radar laboratories because of security charges against their colleagues. The ten offi-cers of the Fedn. of American Scien-tists in an open letter to President Eisenhower warned:

"The purge of a loyal scientist for giving frank advice presents a grave peril to our nation. Such a policy, if continued, will eliminate the men of independent mind from our defense establishments. In this age . . . this is a sure road to national suicide."

At the end of the week it was ruled that Oppenheimer might file a brief appealing the decision with the AEC, but his lawyers would not be permitted to argue the case before it.

QUESTION FROM THE FLOOR: Meanwhile Britain's Labour. MP Henry Hynd said he would formally ask in Commons on June 15 that Oppenheimer, whose "services as atomic scientist are not required by the U.S. government," be invited to Britain "to place his knowledge at the disposal of place his knowledge at the disposal of this country."

A letter-writer in the N.Y. Times had a practical question for the chair-man of the AEC:

"Is Admiral Strauss going to make the next atomic bomb and not tell Oppenheimer how he did it?"

#### THE WORLD PEACE COUNCIL MEETS IN BERLIN

## A Frenchman says: Fatalism is the danger--only peace can make history

An Extraordinary Session of the World Council of Peace (officially described in the U.S. as "red-dominated") was held last month in Berlin, keyed in large part to the implications of the U.S. H-bomb "tests" beginning last March in the Pacific. It was widely reported around the world, almost blacked out in the U.S. Among the participants were Jean-Paul Sartre (see excerpts below) who has lately been directing heavy fire at certain French Communists, and the famous Swiss theologian Dr. Karl Barth who recently charged E. Germany with attacks on the church

The following (excerpted) speeches at the conference followed an account by Prof. Y. Hirano, member of Japan's Academy of Science, of the slow, tortured death of Japanese exposed to atomic radiation. Hirano described the vigorous action being taken by the most conservative groups in Japan to halt the "tests" which, in addition to the direct danger to life, threaten the food supply of the Japanese

people who depend wholly on fish for proteins.

#### By Jean-Paul Sartre

Distinguished French writer

T IS the atomic bomb that characterises what we call the cold war. . . Only yesterday, you needed millions of men to kill millions of men; and to get the masses to accept death and to inflict it, the conflict had to reflect, if not their interests of least their if not their interests, at least their passions to a certain extent, and it had to avoid shocking their sense of justice. The entry of the masses into the national army obliged governments to distinguish between wars of aggression and defensive wars—wars of aggression being those waged by others, and defensive wars being those waged y ourselves. Thus, even in the bourgeois democra-

cies, at a time of national war, opinion exercises a control. But especially dur-ing the Second World War and after, ing the Second World War and after, in occupied Europe, in the Soviet Union, then in China and in Indo-China we have seen the appearance of popular armies which live among the people and not on the people, which take to the people, as the Chinese say, as a fish takes to water. In this instance, the people take over complete control of the war they are supporting, and immediately they win peace.

THE OPPONENTS: A people's war



JEAN-PAUL SARTRE Conscience is the barrier

can only be a war of defense or of liberation; a people's army defends itself on its own soil, and it could not attack another nation nor cross its borders without losing its character. But . . . the people's army and the atomic bomb are the two opposed characteristics of our time. At a time when the partici-pation of the whole people in war has been finally seen to be a factor making for peace, a terrible power enables the leaders of the West to make war without the people. . . . A handful of men, an instant of time, and an order given far away by a bureaucracy which is cut off from the nation, are all that is needed to blow up a capital. War be-comes detached from mankind, it is no longer restrained by the masses who fought it and suffered in it.

The American people as a whole want peace. But the more they are persuaded that they are not needed to make war, the less influence they bring to bear on events. Because of fatalism which inculcated into them, atomic war getting out of control. . . . That is perhaps the greatest danger. . . .

"STOP WORLD TURNING": The atomic bomb is the only weapon suitable for oppressive minorities. Without it, their task would be impossible. Their task is the maintenance of abstract barriers between the nations and between people inside each country, and to govern against the necessities of history and political economy.

We have lost Indo-China because it was contrary to the necessity of history that a professional army, thousands of miles away from its bases, should defeat a people's army. There remains but one way out—the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is a weapon against history . . . a permanent ultimatum. . . . In fact, it is blackmail on the destruction of the human race. They try to stop history as Joshua stopped the sun, by threatening to blow up the world. "We will drop the bomb if the French lose the war, and it is just too bad for man, we will drop them on Indo-Chinese, on the Chinese or Russians, it doesn't matter."

In order to stop the world turning round they are threatening to suppress History by liquidating those who make history. It is all they can do: wipe out man in case he changes. . . .

IT THREATENS ALL: Fortunately, the warmongers are defeated by their very power; the catastrophe which they are preparing for us is too complete; it threatens everyone of us, but they do not dare unleash it. Can one wipe out the whole of humanity because of the retreat of a regiment of Marines in Korea or the loss of Dienbienphu? The Korea or the loss of Dienbienphu? The weapon is too horrible, it cannot be controlled, every day it deviates further from concrete reality; too sure of their power, those who have this weapon have forgotten even the most elementary diplomacy; they confine themselves to threats but do not turn their threats into action. But meanwhile, barriers are falling, more contacts are made, the peoples case to put fear in the hearts of their neighbours, there is new unity in Europe and inthere is new unity in Europe and in-deed in the world. . . .

Up till now, anger, blundering, wrong calculations, stood in collective history as unimportant accidents; at present, they can become formidable, the moods of a leader can become historical factors. History must remove the warhead from the atom bomb, or else the bomb will blow up the world. The peoples have a double task: they must unite against the bomb, instead of war impose peace, replace abstract opposition by definite alliance, win victories for peace, without ever giving the nuclear weapon the time or the pretext for being exploded. . . .

We must redouble our efforts; in the past history was often made by war, but today, since war would mean the end of the world, peace alone can make

#### A Russian says: Ban all weapons of mass destruction

By Nikolai Tikhonov

Soviet writer, Stalin Award winner

A TOMIC energy and radio-active materials open great and grandiose prospects for a life of peace. The use of this energy for the people's benefit transforms industry and agriculture, it digs canals, moves mountains, replaces all other fuels and gives inconceivable power to airplanes, ships and trains.

Man's most extraordinary dreams are now becoming realizable... But we have met at this extraor-dinary Session of the World Council of Peace because we are worried by all that is happening in the world, and not to expatiate on the magnificent prospects that science in its omnipotence is opening up for peace and prosperity. . . . All those, in all countries, who read the sensational press articles on the details of the [March 1] explosion, clearly realized that if we do not put an end to such dangers to mankind, a hitherto unknown menace will hang over all peoples.

THE FIRST DAY: Dr. Ralph Lapp, head of the Marine Dept. of the American Institute for Research in Nuclear Physics, could say: As frightening as it may appear, we must be ready to lose from ten to fifteen million men on the first day of the "super blitzkrieg." Nonetheless, reasonable voices have been raised in the U.S. which do not support this pessimistic propaganda, announcing the inevitable death of millions of men in order to terrify all who are opposed to the policy of strength. Protesting voices have been

heard on all sides demanding, at the earliest possible date, the absolute pro-hibition of weapons of mass extermina-

For nine years the Soviet Union has demanded the absolute prohibition of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction. She has demanded that atomic energy should be used peacefully and for the benefit of mankind. The Soviet Union made this demand at a time when she did not yet possess these weapons; she demanded it and she demands it now that she possesses both the atomic and the hydrogen bomb NO QUAKING: President Eisenhower said to the General Assembly of UN in Dec., 1953, that two atomic giants

were condemned to glower at each other across a world trembling with fear for an indefinite period of time.

That is an exaggeration. The world is not trembling with fear. . . . Mankind is confident in its strength and knows that it is stronger than atoms because it has every possibility of using atomic energy in any way it likes in-stead of collapsing in horror at atomic

energy, in terror at its own discovery.

Does there exist a real possibility for the peaceful solution of the atomic question? We can confidently reply to them: Yes, such a possibility exists... the absolute prohibition of all weapons of mass destruction, and the establish-ment of strict international control

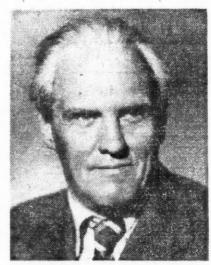
over implementation of this ban.

We stand for an international control which would not only allow of the inspection of centres of production and stocks of bombs and raw materials declared by the governments; the inter-national control body must also have the right to inspect centres of production and stocks which have not been declared by the governments if there is any reason to suspect that they exist.

THE BAN: Only a complete control of this kind, binding on all the parties to the agreement, can be effective. Only by control of this kind can we eliminate the mutual distrust which . . . creates the tension in the relations between states possessing atomic and

hydrogen weapons.

A beginning can be made by an agreement not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons. What does this mean? It means that those states which can produce these weapons will give a solemn pledge not to use them in any circumstances. This agreement would precede the absolute and general pro-



NIKOLAI TIKHONOV

hibition of these weapons....
At the same time, resolute action must be taken to obtain a substantial

reduction of all conventional arms and armed forces. This would allow of a considerable reduction of the expenditure imposed on the peoples of many states by the armaments race and the inordinate expansion of armies.

The honor and conscience of the peoples can not allow the forces of science to be used for the destruction of mankind's present and future, instead of being placed at its service in peace. Atomic energy, that great dis-covery of the human genius, belongs to the whole world, and the whole world must benefit from it. By fighting for these noble aims, we shall make an extraordinary advance. We shall win prosperity for all peoples and an eternal friendship between them which will no longer be threatened by the black forces of war. And then, we shall be able to say in triumph: Peace has

#### Spellman sounds bugle in Paris for world 'crusade'

Following a "delirious harangue full of hate and violence" in Paris by New York's Cardinal Spellman May 20—a call to arms for a world crusade against "the communistemenace"—the newspaper Liberation wrote: "One begins to understand" why Foreign Minister Bidault "is sabotaging all chances of negotiation at Geneva: God wills it!"

Regretting that "no one is killed

Regretting that "no one is killed by ridicule any more in France, not even an American Cardinal," the paper commented:
"We know what the crusade that

Cardinal Spellman so cheerfully preaches would mean for the coun-tries which would be involved in it despite themselves: the massacre of hundreds of millions of human beings, the destruction of hundreds of thousands of homes; the decay of civilization.

"Spellman has castigated 'the Church of Silence.' But what then is his Church? The Church of Blood?'

## The St. George Bill

(Continued from page 1)

nent." Denial of second-class postal privileges would put most publications out of business because of the prohibitive cost of circulating them at firstclass rates.

ANTI-DEGENERACY: The importance ANTI-DEGENERACY: The importance of the second-class privilege to periodicals of news and opinion was well recognized by this country's Founding Fathers; Mrs. St. George, as a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, should be familiar with the dictum of the House of Representatives shortly after George Washington's first inauguration:

"The circulation of political intelligence through these vehicles is justly reckoned among the surest means of preventing degeneracy of a free government. . ."

to six cents for a letter.

Mrs. St. George's bill is an echo
of Sen. Joe McCarthy's who, on Aug.
22, 1953, démanded revocation of
second-class privileges for both the Daily Worker and the conservative Washington Post, which persists in criticizing him. Her measure provides that a listing of any publication in the House Committee on Un-American Activities' "Guide to Subversive Or-ganizations and Publications," or in the Attorney General's list of "sub-



Interlandi in Des Moines Register He was watching the McCarthy hearings and getting a big kick out of it, and then he realized these are the men running the government..."

versive" organizations, shall be "prima facie evidence" they violate the bill.

"LONG FIRST STEP": Mrs. St. George says her measure was drafted in co-operation with the Post Office, the State Dept. and the Justice Dept. She gives as her own opinion that such publications "should be excluded from the mails entirely, but objections have been raised against such a sharp de-parture from past policy. . . . My bill is a first step, a long first step, toward excluding this material from the mail."

Among sample publications cited by Mrs. St. George as targets of her measure were the California Eagle, measure were the California Lagic, oldest Negro publication in the U.S., the People's Voice of Helena, Mont., the Honolulu Record, Our World, a Negro picture-magazine of mass circulation, and the Lawyers Guild Review. Murray A. Gordon, an editor of the Review. Approprieted last week that the Review, announced last week that he will testify at the hearings and will attack the bill on three main grounds.

Citing existing laws barring material of a seditious character and any material which advocates treason, insurrection, forcible resistance to any U.S. law, or which would serve to undermine the morale of the armed undermine the morale of the armed forces, he argues that the present bill cannot be applied solely to these matters and therefore "must of necessity be understood as an abridgement of the freedom of the press to publish expression of a political or economic nature with which the Postmaster General disagrees." General disagrees.'

DUE PROCESS QUESTION: In addition, he argues that the bill would violate the Due Process clause of the Constitution by failing to grant prior notice, hearing and an opportunity to defend against the charges before such injury as revocation of the postal privilege is inflicted. His third point is ilege is inflicted. His third point is

Take action now!

A bill to bar progressive publica tions; books, printed matter and films from the mails by denying them traditional low-cost postal rates is now before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service. If you want to help block this new threat to freedom of the

press, write letters to:
• Rep. Edward H. Rees, chairman House Committee on Post Office. • Rep. Katharine St. George, au-nor of the bill and head of a sub-

committee conducting hearings on it.

Other members of the subcommittee (see story for names).

Your own Congressmen.Your local newspaper.

that the House Committee's "Guide" can be considered as no evidence of subversion; he cites the nature of his own publication as a scholarly journal concerned with discussing legal issues.

For a contrast to the St. George measure, the Post Office recently ruled that Rep. Sam Yorty (D-Calif.), first chairman of the California State Com-mittee on Un-American Activities, now running for the U.S. Senate, is en-titled to send electioneering printed matter to every voter in the state free under Congressional frank simply by addressing it to "Occupant" and giving a street number.

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

lication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National rdian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

## CALENDAR

REMEMBER THE ROSENBERGS— JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL: Rosenberg Memorial Meeting Pre-siding: Miss Pearl Hart, Prof. Stephen Love, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Rabbi S. Burr Yampol. Thurs. June 17. 8:15 p.m. Curtiss Hall. 4:10 S. Michigan Av. Adm. 31. Ausp: Chicago Rosenberg-Sobell Comm.

"EVE WITNESS IN INDO-CHINA"

— Tues., June 22, 8 p.m. Music
Room, 410 S. Michigan. Hear Joseph
Starobin, author, reporter. Adm.,
50c. Ausp.: Amer. Peace Crusade.

"Labor Faces the '54 Election." Speaker: Frank Roberts, American Socialist Forum, Fri., June 18, Sed-wick Hall, 333 North Av., 8:15 p.m. Donation: 35c.

For Peace . . . For Freedom . . . . For Democracy . . Amnesty for Political Prisoners, Join us in a sALLTE TO FATHERS, Sun., June 20, 7 pm., at Greek Cultural Center, 522 S. Halsted St. Don: 50c. Auspices: Civil Rights Congress of fillinois, 6 E. Lake St. (Room 510), ST 2-8357.

CHICAGO'S BIGGEST AFFAIR OF THE YEAR! MANDEL TERMAN TESTIMONIAL DINNER, 6:30 p.m., SAT., JUNE 26, at WALSH'S HALL. 1014 N. Noble (at Milwaukee), \$2.50 per plate (no collection); make reservations now with Boris Brail, 3121 No. Sheridan Rd.

#### Los Angeles

ANNI M. MEETING, Community Medical Foundation, Fri. June 25, 8 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th. Robert Peck, M.D., Speaker, Al Hammer-Ernie Lieberman, Entertainment, Public invited, No admission charge.

IPP SING OUT — SPEAK UP — FIGHT BACK HOOTENANY, June 25, Larchmont Hall, 118 W. Larchmont.

#### San Francisco

ART SMITH, distinguished Ameri-ANT SMITH, distinguished American actor, reading from works of frish playwright SEAN O'CASEY, Prt., June 25, 6 p.m., at a Chinese Dinner; Hang Far Low Restaurant, 723 Crant Av. Res. \$2 at Spanish Refuges Appeal, KL 2-3703.

## **CLASSIFIED**

#### General

WANTED for union theater: popular plays, fables, satires about famous events, modern times. Write The Compass, Box 7012, Chicago, Ill.

#### Boston

JOB WANTED by alleged "con-spirator" out on \$5,000 ball, prefer-ably as bookkeeper or detail work. Fired due to McCarthvite indict-ment. Frank Collier, 47 Ferdinand St., Melrose, Mass.

#### Chicago

FUR STORAGE. Let a skilled fur craftsman remodel or repair your old coat to look like new. RUHIG FURS 1343 Foster Av. LO 1-9717

PROFESSIONAL WOMAN DESIRES room, kitchenette, or cooperative setup. EAstgate 7-1892.

#### Los Angeles

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EAST HOOK for a happy week-end or vacation. Mountain country, swimming, fishing, boating, contin-ental cuisine, 60 miles from N.Y. C. Children welcome, Lerman, R. D. No. 2, Hopewell Junction, N.Y. Tel. BEacon 9-4156.

white Mountains—Swimming, hiking, fishing, sightseeing, Modern facilities. Modest rates. Children welcome. For folder write: J. Timms, Wentworth, N. H. Tel. Rockwell 4-2544.

CITY SLICKER FARM, Jefferson-ville, N.Y. NEW! 100-foot natural pool. Chitdren's paradise, Camp-fires, barn dances, sports, food galore. Artistic rooms, Adults \$38, Children ½ rate to 12, Booklet. Tel. Callicoon 321 J2.

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KENOZA LAKE, N. T.
Ideal family resort. Private lake,
swimming, boating, fishing. Chitdren's counsellor. Food—plentiful
& delicious. June, \$35. Booklet.
Call Manya Hamburger, BE 2-4754,
Jeffersonville 212 R. July 4th weekend—3 days—\$21. July and Aug.
\$40 adults, \$29-825 children.

#### FOR "TRADING WITH THE ENEMY"

## China Daily News on trial; press freedom is at stake

ON Jan. 27, 1951, the China Tribune, a N.Y. daily published in Chinese, reported:
"Then the youngsters who

had broken up the newsstand of Chan 'the Dog' went to the newsstand at Canal St. and warned the newsdealer who in turn said something carelessly, whereupon he was beaten by one of the youngsters and, as a result, his nose was bleeding. All those who have heard the

news are very, very happy."
Chan and the newsdealer who spoke carelessly had been selling the China Daily News which during the war became the largest-selling Chinese paper in the country.

A DOSE OF TERROR: After the war the little 8-page daily championed the new China, peace and world trade. As the cold war gripped the nation

COMPLETING NEW 3½ rm. bunga-lows. Also rooms with kitchen privileges. Private lake, washing machine, Twin Lakes Colony, Tel.: Middletown 92-4031; week-days (NYC) LO 4-9340 or LU 3-9895.

#### VACATION AT CAPE COD

Write Brown at La Casa Linda Guest House, 5 Indiana Av., Fal-mouth, Mass, RFD # 1, Box 146. Phone: Falmouth 403-J.

THE HILLBERG FARM - Reserv now for July 4th and summer. \$35 week, \$6 day. Open all year, Ker-honson, N.Y. Kerhonkson 8008W.

#### Children's Camp

FOR EARLY TEEN-AGERS. girls. Small group. Intimate lodge high in mountains 1½ hrs. N. Y. C. Swimming, boating, fiding, arts, crafts. Moderate rates. L. Lerman, RFD No. 2, Hopewell Junction, N. Y. BEacon 9-4156.

#### Summer Rental

LOOKING FOR COUPLE TO SHARE ur 7-rm, house in Golden's Bridge olony. Lake facilities, Call Kato-oh 4-1164 (N.Y.)

#### Summer Board Wanted

ON FARM for boy 11. Swimming. animals, other children preferred, not essential. Phone particulars ST 3-2537, or write Box F, 17 Mur-ray St., New York City 7. Kuomintang representatives in New York, and the three other Chinese dailies in the city, moved to put out of business the only remaining Chinese paper in the western hemis-phere supporting the People's

Republic of China. Terror at the newsstands was followed by intimidating visits to advertisers and subscribers. Some were frightened off; others rallied to supplement their subscription money with contributions. The paper kept coming out. Recently when a fire (apparently without police) fire (apparently without political origins) broke out in the loft above the paper's offices, water damage put the presses out of commission and fire fighters spilled the type racks. (Chinese papers are all hand-set, using thousands of characters.) The paper's staff pains-takingly hand-lettered the day's news and the ads on mimeograph stencils and the paper hit the streets on schedule until the press room was restored.

THE LAW: After blackmail and vandalism failed, the law stepped in. In April, 1952, a grand jury indicted editor Eugene Moy and four others, the paper itself and two Hong Kong banks. Moy and the paper were charged with publishing ads placed by the banks to facilitate the sending of money to families in China. The grand jury ruled that sending money to one's family

often the original reason for emigration—was a form of trading with the enemy, al-though the U.S. was not at war with China and China was not an enemy in the past war. The pretext seemed thin. The fact was that a newspaper which had survived vandalism fact and terror was now to be prosecuted to death.

THE ISSUE: There were indications that the paper's edi-torial policy would figure largely in the government's case,

Adapte for

and that before the prosecutors finished it would be clear that freedom of the press was the issue.

In Federal Court at Foley last week Moy went on trial before Judge Sylvester J. Ryan. Moy's attorney Paul Ross waived a jury trial, moved to dismiss the case altogether. Judge Ryan took that motion under advisement. Meanwhile U.S. Atty. William Esbit, au ex-Army colonel, opened the government's case calling as first witness a Chinese who had read the Hong Kong bank ads and sent money to his family. Ross objected to the testimony on the ground that a newspa-per cannot be held responsible for what some reader may do in response to an ad.

"WE'LL CONTINUE": Judge Ryan indicated he would seri-ously consider that objection. If he rules against the govern-ment on that point it would automatically throw out 45 of the 53 counts in the indict-ment, since these all relate to acts by readers and not by the

Before the case came to trial Moy said: "We shall continue to publish the China Daily News and we shall fight against this unjustified prosecution until we are vindicated. In doing so we shall be defending the freedom of the press for all newspapers. We shall also continue to do all in our power to tinue to do all in our power to prevent a terrible war which is desired only by the China Lobby and its cohorts in the Kuomintang clique who, in order to retain their ill-gotten profits, would sacrifice mil-lions of Americans."

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NEW YORK

# Strike or no strike, TWU fights to halt

By Elmer Bendiner

THE ONLY THING they haven't told us yet is that if we strike they'll move the snbways to Pennsylvania."

A subway conductor talked freely, but anonymously, of the issues in the transit fight, and of why the men are ready to strike against an anti-union administration — comparable with the toughest die-hards in private industry-of the city's transit system.

He said the men hadn't had a wage raise in four years and, no matter how they dressed up the over-all statistics, many were taking home \$45 a week and trying to raise a family on it. An old-timer, he recalled the earlier victories of the union in whittling the week down from 84 to 40 hours and giving the men two days a week out of the subways.

THE "BEAKIES": The formuta proposed by the Mayor's fact-finders, he said, would "take away all the gains made by the union in 20 years." He said the union ought to negotiate with the Authority not on the basis of the fact-finders' get what "a g - - d - - - beakie gets." (\$4,200-\$4,900 a year.)

TOKEN TIME: The tokens meant additional work for the men and women in the change booths, involving an elaborate inventory at the day's end; yet the TA authorized no additional time. The union finally won an additional 15 minutes a day for the change booth personnel but, said the conductor, at the busy stations they put in more than half an hour on their own

Another issue that won't make headlines, but adds to the discontent underground, is the matter of no time off for deaths in the family. It rankled the conductor. He said: "Suppose your sister is married to a cop. And suppose your mother dies. The cop gets five days off to bury your mother while you got to work."

He went down the list of beefs and closed: "You want to know why the subway is like it is—because the man who runs it is a real authority—an authority on whiskey." (TA Chairman Maj. Gen. Hugh J. Casey is first vice president of



Young Reds infiltrate New Jersey

Three mouths pop wide open as Mother Robin makes up her mind about where the worm will was taken in the backyard of a Nutley, N. J., home. Mastro burrowed himself in foliage to get the shot. This photo Photographer Frank

THE GRAVY BOWL OVERFLOWS

## **Democrat-GOP** huddle places party hacks in court posts; deal on Surrogates is seen

EARLIER this year the GUAR-DIAN, in a six-part series on life in New York's bi-parti-san "political sewer," told how the big-party machines, working together, staff our courts with loyal party hacks. Last week State Supreme Court Justice James B. M. McNally in an interview with the World-Telegram brought the sewer story up to date.

Justice McNally revealed that GOP county chairman Thomas J. Curran and Tammany chief Carmine DeSapio had present-ed candidates for court posts and the court had accepted them. Among them was William J. Sheldrick, Democratic leader of the 7th AD, named "chief confidential attendant" at \$7,920 a year. Sheldrick, a former State Assemblyman, was once characterized by the Citizens Union as "distinctively inconspicuous."

THE \$2 WINDOW: When Mayor Wagner was Borough President of Manhattan, Shel-

drick was a "provisional" junior civil engineer. (The "provision-al" exempted him from civil service requirements.) At the same time he worked as a pari-



mutuel clerk at the Yonkers Raceway.

The court named two "confidential attendants" at \$5,335 each. They are Helen M. Noonan, GOP leader of the 7th AD North, and boss Curran's secretary; and Henry Berlin, for-mer vice chairman of the Tammany executive committee. James J. Fitzimmons, GOP leader of the 15th AD, was raised from information clerk to confidential clerk, at \$8,650 a year. The duties are vague and the hours flexible.

GRAVY & PLUMS: The World-

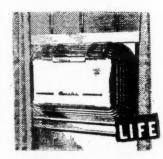
Telegram linked the court appointments to a far bigger deal; the nominations of two Surrogates in 1956. Surrogate courts are the political ma-chines' gravy bowls. Each Surrogate yearly hands out several million dollars in appointments of guardians for infants or other "incompetents" who in-herit large estates.

He sends attorneys on all-expense-paid junkets to take depositions from hard-to-reach witnesses and names others to investigate in adoption cases, where fees are fat. The Surrogate also names public admin-lstrators for estates left with-out a will, the richest plum crop of all.

## Don't Simmer Another Summer

GET A

BOOM AIR CONDITIONER



The new slim silkenette looks se

handsome in your window. The new Carrier scarcely extends beyond the sill, yet it cools, filters, dehumidifies and ventilates. See this great new Carrier. It's built by the people who knew air conditioning best!



ALL HOUSEHOLD APPLIANCES



A TWU DEMONSTRATION IN 1950

proposals, but on the union's program of collective bargain-ing rights; a 25c raise; improvements in working conditions, and vacation time which the union proposed last fall.

said there were other long-standing grievances that never made the papers. The "beakies" are one. Transit Authority classification schedules call them "special inspec-tors," but in practice beakies operate as outright labor spies the kind the Wagner Act outlawed in private industry. Their assignments call for any-thing from a routine snoop on the energy the workers are putting into the job to tailing union members around town.

The worst of it is, said the conductor, a motorman doesn't

Melrose Distillers, sidiary of Schenley.)

SURVIVAL AT STAKE: Bigger than all the beefs, more im-portant even than the wage issue was the question of TWU's survival. Many rank-and-filers felt last week that if the union negotiated on the basis of the fact-finders' formula with its compromise on wages and its appointment of a labor czar, the union might not survive. Four years without a real conract gain would shatter mo-rale, pave the way for raiders from other unions, leave it powerless to negotiate.

One course could hold the union together—a campaign for the original TWU demands;

(Continued on Page 10)

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#### NEW YORK CALENDAR

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YORKVILLE COMPASS FORUM invites you to hear and meet that GREAT American DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS Statesman - Scholar Historian - Educator Author: "The World and Africa" "Souls of Black Folk," etc.

In a Timely Report: "COLONIALISM" The Struggle for Independence in Asia, Africa, Latin America

Honorary Chairman: JOHN T. McMANUS Journalist, Critic, Editor Mgr: "The Natl. Guardian"

Whats happening—and WHY—in Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia; in Kenya, South & West Africa; in Puerto Rico, Guatemala, etc.

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Free Iced Drinks, Cakes
YORKYHLE TEMPLE, 157 E, 86 St.
Contribution: 85c. Members 75c

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TRADITIONAL HUNGARIAN PIC-NIC—Sun. June 13, all day, at International Park, 814 E. 225th St. (Bronx). Hungarian music, real Hungarian goulash, strudel, home-made cakes. Adm. 75c. Take IRT White Plains train.

PARTY & SOCIAL in honor of Sons & Daughters of the Foreign Born. Dramatic skit, folk dancers, folk singers. Sponsor: Jewish Young Fraternalists. Sat. June 12, 6:30 p.m. Sholem Studio, 11 W. 18th St. Donation: 75c.

NING & DANCE at Levittown Hall. Ausp: Levittown ALP. Sat. night. June 19. Featuring Hootenany Ar-tists, Les Pine, Sonny Terry and other favorites plus a professional caller. Sub.: \$1.25.

WHEN IS A PARTY
MORE THAN A PARTY?
When it's an AMERICAN LABOR
PARTY PARTY! (Village La Guardia
style), Sat., June 12, 8:30 p.m. 137
Waverly Pl. Dancing, games, surprise antertainment, refreshments.
Contribution: 81.

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Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, Natl. Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

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ROCKAWAY, LONG BEACH and all resorts to 60 miles. Express service by car or truck, Call Ed Wendel, JE 5-3000.

## Transit strike

(Continued from Page 9)

25c-an-hour across-the-board raise; union recognition; a full-fledged contract; a working procedure to settle the beefs. For those objectives the men were ready to strike on June 14.

Last week that was still the official union deadline. But in the daily press the emphasis was on how to persuade the TA to accept the fact-finders' formula. The question was: Would the TWU leaders settle in the end for only that?

RANK & FILE: Pres. Michael Quill and the executive board originally accepted the formubut on May 22 an expanded joint executive of shop stewards and rank-and-filers voted it down in a stormy session. For the first time in years the Quill administration is opposed by a powerful "Pearly and File." by a powerful "Rank and File Committee." At the last elec-tions it scored 7,000 votes to 9.000 for the Quill administra-

In leastets circulated before the May 22 meeting it demand-ed rejection of the fact-finders' report, strike preparations in every borough, campaigns to enlist labor and the public. It wavering members to stay in TWU

That sentiment swept the May 22 meeting and Quill later moved to suspend four union members in an attempt to crush what could be a "dan-gerous" effort to rally the membership around the union's official program.

WARNING POSTED: Meanwhile surface preparations for a strike went on throughout the city. The TA applied to Justice Alfred V. Norton in Brooklyn Supreme Court for an injunction against the sched-uled strike, and TWU officers were ordered to "show cause" June 9 why they should not be restrained. On 2,000 bulletin boards throughout the transit system notices were tacked threatening dismissal for any worker who might "deliberate-ly cause a delay of subways, elevated lines, trolleys or bus-

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YOUNG BUSINESS WOMAN share ideal 5-rm. apt. with same; Con-course area, conven. all transp. JE 8-5281 evenings and week-end,

SPECIAL SESSION

## Let the LIRR wait, says ALP: talk jobs first

EGISLATORS were due back in Albany June 10 for a quickie special session, called by Gov. Dewey solely to straighten out the Long Island R. R. The legislators are restricted to the Governor's agenda.

Mayor Wagner wired Dewey demanding that Albany act this session to grant the city authority to boost taxes on big real estate. Dewey called his ideas "old, worn-out and dis-credited." (On its own the city could re-evaluate underassessed big real estate.)

The American Labor Party last week asked Dewey to put first things first. Acting Exec.

Secy. Morris Goldin wrote:
"With the mounting unemployment rolls creating an increasing sense of concern and fear among thousands of fami-lies in N.Y. State, we submit that emergency legislation to cushion the recession merits, at the very least, equal consideration with the Long Island R. R." Goldin said state unemploy-

ses." (The Condon-Wadlin Act, never yet tested in court, denies the right to strike to any government employe.) In some subway shops workers ceremonially burned the TA working

City Labor Commissioner Joseph E. O'Grady was busily attempting to bring together the TA and TWU. AT GUAR-DIAN's press time no one knew whether the TWU would meet the TA half way, all the way-or take the position that injunctions can't run subways

An Unusual Musical Evening folk, concert & chamber music
PETE SEEGER NADYNE BREWER METROPOLITAN TRIO (Beethoven, Opus 11, premiere of modern piece) See CALENDAR for Details

ment was "conservatively es-timated at more than 600,000" and asked that the agenda

include greater jobless benefits wider unemployment insurance coverage, repeal of the Hughes-Brees Law and a public works program. He blamed the city's new amusement tax on the state's refusal to give the city more power to tax big real

Rose V. Russell, Teachers Union legislative representative, also seconded the motion on real estate taxes and asked state aid to pay teachers' raises.

## "Summer Is A-Comin' In" HOOTENANNY

and Dance

Another big People's Artists song-fest with Pete Seeger, Walter Raim, Al Moss, Laura Duncan, Leon Bibb, many watter ratin, At Moss, Ladra Duncan, Leon Bibb, many more, Dancing to Rector Balley Orch, Tix: \$1.25 in adv. (res.), \$1.50, at door. SAT., JUNE 19 — 8:30

Manhattan Center (34th St. & 8th Av.)

## Unveiling for Ethel and Julius ROSENBERG

SUN., JUNE 20 - 1 P.M.

Wellwood Cemetery Pinelawn. L. I.

Comm. to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in Rosenberg Case

"QUIET WEEKEND"

A delightful British comedy about an unusual weekend in the country. Fri., Sat., Sun. at 8:30 & 10 p.m. Members, \$1; Non-Members \$1.26 CLUB CINEMA 430 6th Av. Nr. 9th 9t.

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Chungsoon & Choon Cha Kwak

Korean patriots ordered deported to Rhee's Korea BACH . MOZART . CHOPIN . DEBUSSY . KOREAN FOLK SONGS

Comments by CEDRIC BELFRAGE WED., JUNE 16 Adm. \$3.39, \$1.80, 50c MANHATTAN TOWERS
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Call, write Prov. Committee to Defend the Kwaks 23 W. 26th St. MU 4-3457

Remember the Rosenbergs

## ROSENBERG **MEMORIAL** MEETING

THURSDAY, JUNE 17-8 P.M. CHATEAU GARDENS (air-cooled) 105 E. Houston St. (at 2nd Av.) Admission: \$1 incl. tax

Hear: John T. McManus, Helen Sobell, recorded voice of Emanuel Bloch, others National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in Rosenberg Case 1959 Sixth Av. LO 4-9585



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#### **CONCERT JUNE 12**

## Kwak hearing on deportation set for July 1

OR Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, Koreans whom the Justice Dept. seeks to deport to Syngman Rhee's S. Korea, two weeks remained before the next round of their legal battle against what would amount to a death sentence. The Kwaks, who served the U.S. in key positions during and for four years after World War II, now have no desire to remain here and ask only to be allowed to leave for a country of their choice. The Justice Dept., asserting that they would not be physically persecuted by Rhee whose outspoken foes they have been for two decades, had ordered them to report last April 7 at Ellis Island for deportation to S. Korea. Lawyers for the Kwaks had obtained a temporary order restraining the Dept. from proceeding with the deporta-tion. Last week, July 1 was set as the date for Federal District Court hearings of the Dept.'s

attempt to vacate the order.
This week (June 16, 8 p.m.)
the Kwaks, both professional musicians, are to give a concert of Korean and Western classical music under auspices of the ar music under auspices of the Provisional Committee to De-fend the Kwaks at Manhattan Towers, 76th St. and Broadway, N. Y. C. The proceeds will go toward their fight to remain alive. (See ad on p. 10.)

CHILDREN'S CAMPS

#### CAMP KINDERLAND

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# Events for Children

FILM PROGRAM: American Museum of Natural History, Central Park W. & 79th St. June 16, Williamsburg Restored; June 23, Sheep Raneh in Australia & Shelter; June 30, Desert People & Blooming Desert, Film showings on Wednesdays, 4 p.m. Free. BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY BRANCH: New Utrecht, 8402 18th Ave. Song of the Prairie & Bonco Busters, June 19, 11 a.m.; Circus Boy, June 26, 11 a.m. Free. B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM.
B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Weekday film program; 4:30 p.m.
Tues., Thurs. & Fri. and Wed.
3:45 p.m.; Sat. films at 11 am.,
2 & 4 pm. Free.

#### Miscellaneous

Miscellaneous

CHILDREN'S HOOTENANNIES—
Stories, play-party games with
Peggy Mairs; The Puppeteers;
songs with Leon Bibb. People's
Artists will sponsor periodic children's hootenannies in varied
forms in response to requests
from parents. 2:30 p.m., Sat.,
June 12. People's Artists, Studio
5, 124 W. 21st St. Adm, 75c.
AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL,
HISTORY, Central Pk. W. & 79th
St. Exhibits: Alaska Brown Bear
(largest bear in the world), Hall
of No. American Mammals; Moths
and Butterfiles (from all parts
of the world), Insect Hall; Dragon Lizarels of Komedo (world's
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Hall; Dinosaur Eggs 60 million
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Sun., June 13: Bike to Riis Park, swimming, Bring musical instruments, lunch, Meet 9 a.m. Park Circle or 9:30 a.m. Av. U & Ocean P'kway, B'klyn. Bike to Tarrytown. Bring swim suits. Meet 8:45 a.m. Grand Concourse & Mosholu P'kway. Bike to Clove Lake Park, picnicking, boating. Meet 9 a.m., Columbus Circle or 10:30 a.m. Boro Hall. Staten Island.

Sun., June 20: Bike Rally & Treaure Hunt to Alley Pond Park, an easy five mile trip. Meeting Places: B'klyn. Park Circle, 10 a.m.; Manhattan, end of Triboro Bridge, 9:30 a.m.; Woodhaven Blvd. & Atlantic Av., 10:30 a.m. Hike: Dyckman's Boat Basin and Buttermilk Falls on trip from Old Dyckman to Alpine Ferry. Meet 9:30 a.m. at bus stop. N. Y. side of Geo. Washington Bridge. Cost: 50c.

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June'll be bustin' out all over!



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June 25, 26, 27

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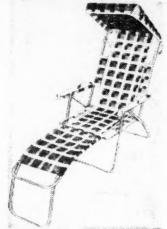
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JULY 4th WEEK-END
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#### SUN KING

5-Positional Aluminum

5-Positional Aluminum
Beach Chair in Colorful Saran
This sun chair is sturdity constructed, comfortable and easy to
store and carry. It weighs only 8
lbs, and can be folded in one motion to 7x26x40 inches. Finger tip
arm adjustment changes the chair
to any of five positions while you
sit in it. Weather-proof, highly
polished aluminum tubing covered
with colorful plaid saran reinforced
with blending solid-color canvas.
All stitching is with durable Orlon
thread. Shipped express.

Regular Price — \$2.5.95
(\$26.50 w. of Miss.)

GUARDIAN PRICE \$20.50

GUARDIAN PRICE \$20.50

#### FREE GIFT SERVICE

Guardian Buying Service will gift-ship, enclose a gift card and send any Item anywhere in the U.S. at NO EXTRA CHARGE.

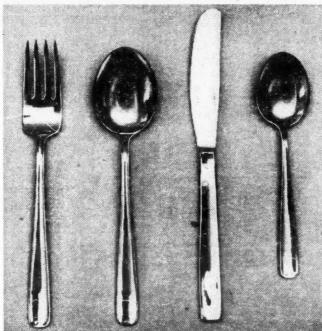
## Educational Toys & Games



AGES 8 and up FLEXCRAFT. Wonderful creative medium. Wire can be bent into any shape by the child, then liquid plastic is poured on and hardens in 20 minutes. Object can then be painted any color. A truly creative toy. Not a number kit. Comes complete with instructions.

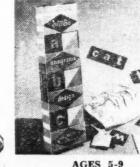
Quantity

## **EXQUISITE, SIMPLE, MODERN** STAINLESS STEEL TABLEWARE



\*HE current vogue in tableware are the beautiful, simple-lined, modern Scandinavian designs. We agree these are the most attractive designs on the markets. Unfortunately, they are priced far beyond the average pocketbook, ranging from \$6-\$9 priced far beyond the average pocketbook, ranging from \$6-\$9 per place setting. However, we have found a set of stainless steel tableware to match the beauty and craftsmanship of the Scandinavian models. It is made in Japan with exquisite taste and sturdy construction. IT IS AS BEAUTIFUL AND WELL MADE AS THE SCANDINAVIAN MODELS. It is made of stainless steel, heavy weight, one-piece knives, beautifully contoured. And best of all, it is priced to fit most budgets.

24 pc. service for six includes a fork, knife, teaspoon, \$12.95 tablespoon in each setting .....



QUOITS. A delightful outdoor mer game. Can be played by dren of all ages.....ppd.

AGES 5-9 ANAGRAMS. Aids word on. Only anagram game wer case letters similar to lower case letters summer used in teaching reading ppd. \$1.75

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE ORDER BLANK Size, Color, Description Amount POSTAGE TOTAL

Name ..... Address .....

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7

Sales Tax) All Sales Fully Guaranteed. Money Back If Not Satisfied!

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Full payment must accompany all orders. Make checks, money orders payable to GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE.

## the SPECTATOR.

Charlie . . . how could you?

A CROCODILE on the N.Y. Times editorial staff shed half a column of tears last Saturday for Charlie Chaplin. In a tremulous piece headed "Little Man, Farewell," the writer wrung his hands over Chaplin's acceptance of the World Peace Council's award, wailing:

"He has allowed himself to be used by a sinister conspiracy of which the little man he so touchingly represented is the victim. . . He shuffles off leftward toward Moscow, perhaps not calling himself a Communist or a fellow-traveler—but there he goes and the sag of his back, the flap of his coattails, the set of the derby over the ears and the sadly reminiscent twirling of his cane move us to tears."

iscent twirling of his cane move us to tears."

Father Times is saddened. The boy he used to chortle over isn't cute any more. His voice has changed, his views are his own, his actions are independent. Father Times wistfully thumbs the early pages of the family album, lingering over the baby pictures: Charlie smiling as "The Tramp"; Charlie eating his shoe in "The Gold Rush." He sighs lovingly at Charlie in his schoolboy uniform in "Shoulder" in his schoolboy uniform in "Shoulder Arms," calling this "a contribution to American victory in the First World War."

World 'War."

At this point Father Times drops the album, unable to look at the pictures of the youth growing up: Charlie flexing his muscles in "The Dictator"; Charlie at "Verdoux" University; Charlie as a mature humanist in "Limelight."

T IS PROFOUNDLY DISTURBING

to many comfortable creatures that
Chaplin lives in a real, 3D world.
They wish he would please melt into
the "little man" and obligingly trudge off into the sunset with
a shrug of the shoulders and a blissful smile, resigned to a
mysterious, all-powerful fate. But no. He always behaves as
if men can do something about their own future. In the thirties if men can do something about their own future. In the thirties he was not merely anti-Hitler but maturely anti-fascist. During the war he spoke up for opening the second front. After the war he cabled Picasso to protest to the American Embassy in Paris against the threat to deport composer Hanns Eisler to the U.S. zone of Germany, denouncing this course as "...the prospect of being incarcerated in a concentration camp along with Nazis, as the Nazis themselves would have done."

And now, to top off his indiscretions, he accepts a peace prize. Pardon—wrong punctuation. "Peace" prize.

THERE ARE THREE areas in which celebrities get into trouble: art, politics and sex. The first two are alien territory to almost all movie stars. Chaplin, however, is a triple-threat man. The mounting violence against him recalls Isadora Duncan's career. What made her a virtual exile was not her barefoot dancing nor her startling love life, but the good words she spoke about the Soviet Union when 14 nations were trying to strangle the young country. strangle the young country.

Last year, Contemporary Reader published a provocative evaluation by Abraham Polonsky of Chaplin and Hemingway, taking off from the latest work of each at that time—"Limelight" and "The Old Man and the Sea." Since then both men have borne out Polonsky's estimate of them. Chaplin reaffirms

have borne out Polonsky's estimate of them. Chaplin reaffirms life and his love for people. Hemingway takes to the jungles of Africa and Franco Spain.

The future will show that Chaplin's peace award was an honor accorded by half a billion people. And when a nosey grandchild asks: "And what did Hemingway do in that period?" someone may play him the song, "Bananas and Gin," recorded to celebrate Hemingway's crackup and recovery, by singer Rosemary Clooney and her husband Jose (I Was A Dupe, Congressman) Ferrer.

LOS ANGELES

## IN YOUR NAME

this message was sent to the Rosenbergs on the day of their execution:

We will fight until the last moment, but if we fail, the work to clear your name will go on. . . ."

THIS PLEDGE MUST BE FULFILLED BY SECURING JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL.

## Rosenberg Memorial Meeting

FRIDAY, JUNE 18 - 8 P.M. Admission: 75c, tax inc.

EMBASSY AUDITORIUM 9th and Grand