



**Dear Zhuke: Long time no see . . .**

Since President Eisenhower and Soviet Defense Minister Georgi Zhukov (shown above in Berlin, 1946) exchanged friendly letters last month, peacemongers in many lands have been clamoring for talks to iron out big-power differences. Meanwhile Ike's and Zhuke's "boys" celebrated V-E Day together in Moscow. Nine U. S. vets raised \$5,583 for fares on the radio quiz program "Strike It Rich" after listeners phoned in cash offers.

**REPORT TO READERS**

**Needed (to save 9)  
— a stitch in time!**

**F**OR the first time in more than two years—a long time in our embattled but exciting history—we who produce the **GUARDIAN** have to confront you on Page One with a call for help—quickly! Not last-ditch help (to reassure everyone right at the start) but a wholesale round of booster money now, while the need is modest although most immediate.



The 6½ years since we started publication have been rough ones for all progressive enterprises—rough on us all equally. During them, the **GUARDIAN** has faced two major crises when the noise of creditors offstage sounded for a while like our death-rattle. The last time was right in the middle of the fight to save the Rosenbergs, which all of us are proud that the **GUARDIAN** initiated.

The present crisis hits us at a different sort of time—a time equally as important, but in an air of impending progress rather than tragedy. A time when Americans in general are beginning to pick themselves up and ask: "What happened to our country?"—and to decide to do something about it. A time of new, great expectation, with the old American songs of peace and liberty swelling up in the background—but a time when, more than ever, a progressive rallying-point and a free-flowing stream of truth are needed in this land.

**N**OW, when we can sense the new, fresh currents in the air, here's what we of the **GUARDIAN** face:

From the start, we have been blessed with a devoted and indulgent printer. Many the week, during the Rosenberg fight, during our costly battles in the Belfrage Case and in other critical hours, we have been able to postpone payment for printing an edition in order to meet other immediate costs. Now our debt to the printer who has been our staunchest friend and supporter has slowly piled up to a point where we must liquidate it to avoid serious consequences for him—and for ourselves.

That's just part of the story. Our other production costs are going up and up; it's a bigger fight than ever to hold circulation and win new readers, with all progressive organizations fighting their own battles just to stay alive; and lawyers working ceaselessly to prevent our editor's deportation must be paid.

Now—with the onrushing problems of summer, which have

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**WAR & PEACE**

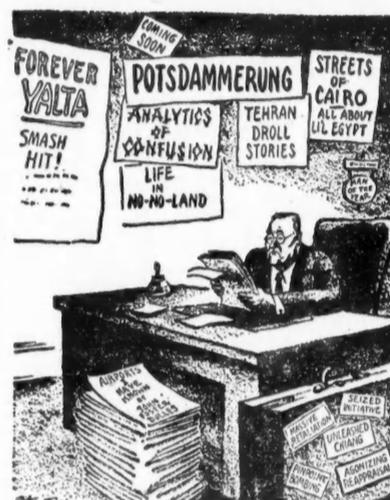
**Tides of peace  
shove Washington  
toward E.-W. talks**

By Tabitha Petran

**T**EN years after V-E Day, Western commentators see a "panorama of change," the beginning of a "new phase in the East-West struggle"—even a "new era" in international affairs. W. Germany's admission into NATO marked the new chapter for some. **Business Week** (5/7) called this "the diplomatic drama of the decade . . . a stunning . . . success for the West." James Reston (*N. Y. Times*, 5/2) found significant the "new trend toward independence" among Washington's allies which is "bound to force a new approach to world politics in this country." Joseph C. Harsch (*Christian Science Monitor*, 5/5) sensed an "atmosphere of readiness to talk" when "almost anything can happen."

However described, the new phase in world affairs mirrors two basic realities: 1) the shift in the balance of power between capitalist and socialist worlds in favor of the latter is becoming more pronounced; and 2) the relationship of forces within the former is changing rather sharply.

**FORCED TO TALK:** The shift in the world power balance can be read in Western governments' response to what they call the present "co-ordinated Communist peace offensive in Europe and Asia." Secy. Dulles may still prefer



Fitzpatrick in *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*  
The secretary in charge of publications

to sacrifice peace to "the blessings of liberty" since he believes (as he told the Jesuit alumni, 4/12) that "peace under some circumstances could lead to the degradation of the human race . . . a form of mental decay." But in

(Continued on Page 7)

**THE INFORMER RACKET**

**CRC hearings rattled as another witness decides to tell the truth**

By Elmer Bendiner

**A**FTER two stormy days of hearings Washington's Subversive Activities Control Board abruptly suspended its N. Y. probe into the Civil Rights Congress. Announcing an indefinite delay in the proceedings to determine CRC's qualifications for the subversive list, the Board said it would go back where it came from. But on Monday, May 9, the Board reversed itself, reopened in New York.

Storm-center in the Foley Sq. hearing was David Brown, ex-CRC head in California, ex-head of the Rosenberg Committee there, ex-organizer for the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union and ex-FBI informer (**GUARDIAN**, 5/9). He testified he had repeatedly falsified lists of names he turned in to the FBI. SACB presiding officer David J. Coddaira asked: "And now you are admitting you lied to the FBI?" Brown answered: "That's what I was paid to do by the FBI."

Brown told the Board that while betraying the Rosenberg Defense Committee he believed the Rosenbergs innocent and said so to the FBI. (Pri-

vately he told CRC officers he was able to fool people because he was "imbued with progressive ardor.")

**ROUGH STUFF:** Tempers on the government side were plainly ragged. While Mrs. Rosalie McGee, widowed by the frame-up of Willie McGee, was

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### As seen from China

**SHANGHAI, CHINA**  
Anthropologists tell us there are primitive tribes which do not know the cause of babies. They know babies appear from time to time, they know of other previous events, but that there might be some connection never occurs to them.

Something of the kind is taking place in America today. Every day I listen to the U.S. news broadcast from Tokyo, telling of the calamities now going on back home. Fierce gales, hurricanes, tornadoes, more than a million acres of Colorado wheat land flying through the air, whole counties in Kansas, Montana, N. & S. Dakota, Oklahoma, etc., blowing around in the atmosphere. Red rain, black dust-clouds that obscure the sun, sub-zero temperatures, ice-jams and seven inches of snow (in spring). Town after town washed away by floods, thousands of people sitting atop their homes that are drifting down the river, millions of dollars' worth of damage. Sickness and death, and the Red Cross clamoring for money.

The very same newscasts tell of the atomic explosions in the Nevada desert. Week after week it goes on. Above the ground, on the ground, under the ground—bigger and bigger and bigger explosions.

I am an American. From this distance I cannot tell for sure whether my unfortunate countrymen have completely lost their wits or whether they are completely cowed by the atomaniacs. Talk about destroying the government of the U.S. by force and violence! The Atomic High Command is bent on destroying not only the government but also the people and the country itself.

The people in China are by no means perfect, but at least have brains enough to know the facts of life and are building for life, not death. Dorothy Fischer Cheng

### Love from Vienna

**VIENNA, AUSTRIA**  
By accident I have read a copy of your excellent publication. I have translated some articles for my friends here, and they were all very much impressed by the rich and we may say courageous activity of the progressive forces in your country. Unfortunately we know very little here of what is really happening in the U.S.

Herbert Steiner

### Free speech and baloney

**ROME, ITALY**  
This is May 1 and I just returned from an imposing demonstration of the Communist Party in Piazza San Giovanni which impressed me with the freedom of speech and assembly prevailing in this city—true to the traditions of old democracy that we were known for years ago. But here also the ruling classes are playing the big propaganda game. Days before May 1, big proclamations were plastered all over the city by the Demochristian Party, which is in power, all others being torn out; then big proclamations also from the Vatican proclaiming such slogans as "Christ is with the working class."

On May Day they paid for thousands of buses and trains even from as far as Germany and Austria to bring Catholics to hear the Pope

### How crazy can you get dept.

... It also is recalled that in recent years large numbers of bear, moose, deer, wolves and other wild game have fled from the Soviet Union to Finland, as if to escape some menace.  
—Christian Science Monitor dispatch from Helsinki, May 4.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: D. Dillingham, Baltimore, Md.

In a counter-demonstration in St. Peter's Square. The Square was packed, but after the Pope's speech only about 50% were clapping and crying "Viva il Papa."

Nevertheless what impressed me is that most of the Italian people have religion imbedded in them from childhood, just like the English with their Queen. I am convinced that if not for the Pope and the Church, Italy would not escape the fate of communism—of course not forgetting the U.S. handouts. Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce once coined the word "globaloney," but now she is slicing it good and thick for the Christian Democrats of this country. I am sure the money for these buses and feeding the crowds did not come from the Christian Democrats' coffers. But as a railroad worker said to me: "These handouts can't last forever and ever, and then what?" Even the Pope would be powerless to stop the aspirations of a nation where a worker is paid less than \$1 a day, with high cost of living prevailing all over. Traveler

### Rare wine

**TORONTO, CANADA**  
I wish Dr. Dubois' series could have gone on indefinitely. The historical information contained in them is priceless, and so is the writer himself. His voice on the two GUARDIAN birthday records is like the rarest of wines. I wish him good health. M. Berke

### CHICAGO, ILL.

Many thanks for continuing to send your paper although my sub had run out. I have gained a vast store of knowledge from your many fine articles: particularly enjoyed Dr. DuBois' series on Africa. Mrs. D. M. Cheinick

### Down Texas way

**TEXAS**  
Please take my name and Mrs. \_\_\_\_\_'s off your mailing list. I am not only undergoing a nervous strain from threats of violence in my own home, but the mail carrier has now begun to threaten and intimidate us.

All this has made me more determined than ever to help those who are struggling for the rights of the underdog—the enslaved people of the "free world." Rest assured my \$2 pledge will go on.

I feel the time will come when I can receive the GUARDIAN regularly. It is growing better and more interesting as time goes on—but I have a friend in town who takes it and I will read hers two or three times a month. The GUARDIAN is the only beam of light coming through, and we know in due time it will pierce the dark clouds of lies now hysterically growing worse through press and radio—but these things are straws in the wind to those of us who have the light. (Name withheld)

### What's the angle?

**LITTLETON, MASS.**  
I constantly wonder what the rulers of this nation have in mind. Do they intend to follow Hitler's

footsteps? If so, are they so blind as not to see that his methods are not workable? Do they not know that fascism is the next-to-last step to capitalism's end? History proves it beyond doubt.

Now that the balance of power has decisively shifted to socialism, to chart the course of fascism would be sheer ignorance, day-dreaming and insanity. Co-existence is the only road clear, as common sense dictates. James Pacy Jr.

### Long live Bandoeng!

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
The world is in a state of great change. We are at the dawn of a new era. Large masses of people are on the march mapping new ways of life of their own choosing. World-wide is the ten-years-old unfolding of this phenomenon. All men and women of good will should welcome and help it to reach its historical goal. Those who attempt to wreck it live in a swamp of faulty and foul opinions and fantasies of omnipotence.

Long live the spirit which animated the deliberations and decisions at Bandoeng! A. Garcia Diaz

### Action on vaccine

**REVERE, MASS.**  
Read your excellent article (April 25) on the polio vaccine. A group of us are to petition the local city council to, in turn, "demand" of the Natl. Polio Foundn. that they reverse their stand on distribution of the "surplus" vaccine. In order to be on sure footing, may we have the documentation of Basil O'Connor's statement that the "surplus" is to be channeled commercially? B. S. Weinstein

It was made at his press conference April 14, reported in next day's N. Y. papers. Ed.



Carrefour, Paris  
"On May Day you can do anything you like except parade."

### Out of nothing . . .

**GRIDLEY, CALIF.**  
Ament the H-bomb evacuation farce that is "enjoying rehearsals" not only in New York but all over the country: out of nothing, nothing comes. Not "just for fun" are all these warnings, scare rehearsals and defense-shelter stuff being promoted by officialdom. Undoubtedly they have something back of them other than the desire of the U.S. monopoly interests (now in control of government policies) to give people the jitters. This is a cold and calculated build-up in conformity with some monstrously wicked intention that cannot be avowed.

In the dealings between nation and nation, you do not fear sudden, terrible reprisal unless your lawless provocations have in some manner or degree been instrumental in bringing such reprisals upon you—any more than, in the dealings between man and man, you expect to be assaulted "out of a clear sky." (Name withheld)

### Ethel Linn hearing

**LOS ANGELES, CALIF.**  
The Immigration Dept. has set May 24 for the continuation of Ethel Linn's deportation hearing, at 458 S. Spring St., Room 238.

Ethel Linn was arrested in 1953 for deportation under the Walter-McCarran Act. At a hearing in Sept., 1955, the Immigration Dept. presented a witness, Adele Kronick Silva of Oakland, who claimed she was told by others that persons meeting at our home were members of a secret subversive group; when in fact the meeting in 1950 was in protest to the renazification of Germany. Upon this alone the Immigration Dept. is attempting to deport my wife. There was to have been a postponement of two months for the continuation but they delayed the hearing over 21 months.

The Walter-McCarran Act has been read and investigated and protested against by many of our leading citizens, but few have had the opportunity to see this vicious law in action except those ensnared in its web. To the many who were excluded from the room at the last hearing, this is your opportunity to see how this law can affect you and your loved ones. We suggest that you write to John J. Bartos, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 458 S. Spring St.,



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MAY 16, 1955

"Nothing could be worse than the fear that one had given up too soon and had left one effort unexpended which might have helped the world."—JANE ADDAMS.

### REPORT TO READERS

# ... a stitch in time!

(Continued from Page 1)

always hung us on the ropes in the hot season—it adds up to a situation for the GUARDIAN which can become critical at any moment.

**WHAT** has stood between us and crisis in the last two years is a band of men and women in a thousand communities of our readership who faithfully send us monthly sustaining dollars, or who never fail to enclose a new sub or something extra with a renewal. These are the readers who have understood, as all have not, that publications on our side must be reader-backed to offset the difference between a necessary low subscription price and high cost of production. A GUARDIAN, no beneficiary of big-money advertisers, must earn its subsidies from our rank and file.

Yet for every rank-and-filer now sharing in this great sustaining effort, there are ten from whom we almost never hear—and primarily it is to YOU that we address this appeal.

It's simple but true: if every reader who has not given the GUARDIAN any kind of a boost this year would mail back a contribution right now, the serious problems facing us today and through the summer would disappear by Monday morning.

**IN THE PAST** we have sent out two last-ditch appeals. This is not quite that, but it is made necessary by an accumulation of immediate problems which, if unresolved, can and do topple an outfit like the GUARDIAN into that last, deep ditch.

Nobody knows better than YOU how hard it is to budge YOU; and even if you yourself are not hard to budge, you know how many unbudgeables there must be in a peck of even the best human beings. That's why we ask YOU to respond NOW. If you do, everybody will.

So please let us hear from YOU NOW, while the spirit moves you.

—The GUARDIAN Staff.

L. A. 13, and request that ample room be afforded this time so you may be accommodated. Your continued protest of the Walter-McCarran Act and support of Ethel Linn can be manifested by your appearance at this deportation hearing. Morris Linn

### Pensioners & undertakers

**BROOKLYN, N. Y.**  
Pension Age Laws should be equalized. A bill passed by the House without discussion or opposition will allow a Congressman to be retired with pension after 10 years' service or at 55 years of age. City, State and Federal employees can retire after 20 to 30 consecutive years' service. All these retired employees can secure employment with no limit to their earnings, and can build up several more pensions as well as being eligible for social security at 65.

The less fortunate person who is covered only by social security has to be 65 before he can collect. He can only earn a certain amount and has no opportunity to build up several more pensions—yet it

is he who pays a large portion of City, State, Federal pension funds.

Why not put all workers on equal footing, let them retire at a younger age and give them the same opportunities to build up pensions? Why must a person who is covered only by social security wait until such a late age to retire? Why make him wait until he is nearly ready for the undertaker? Charles F. Müller

### Human economics

**CLINTON, ILL.**  
Fear is economic. Hate is economic. Crime is economic. War is economic. Poverty is economic. Suffering is economic. Ignorance is economic.

Peace is humanity. Equality is humanity. Prosperity is humanity. Live-and-let-live is humanity. All-out production is humanity. Unhindered distribution is humanity. Unlimited wealth of goods and services is humanity.

All peoples and persons are exactly alike before God and must be so regarded in all ways. That is Humanity. B. E. Roll

WILL THE WEST LEARN?

# Bandoeng's challenge unheeded in African-Asian trouble spots

By Kumar Goshal

THE long-range challenge of Bandoeng to governments steeped in white master-race philosophy began to be felt throughout the West as the conference's unanimous resolutions were studied. The conference, said the *Christian Science Monitor* (4/25), had "... given fresh form and new impetus to forces the West must comprehend if it is to assess correctly... the wisdom of its own policy-makers."

How slowly the West would comprehend Bandoeng's momentous political, economic and social effects in Afro-Asian countries was already clear in the Indo-China shambles. The conference unanimously condemned major-power interference in other countries' internal affairs: even pro-Washington Carlos Romulo of the Philippines declared that Asians and Africans would no longer recognize "unilateral decisions by countries outside Asia and Africa affecting our interests" (AP, 4/29). But maneuverings in strife-torn S. Vietnam showed that its people would have little or nothing to say in whatever decisions were made on its government. Some Washington officials wished to retain playboy ruler Bao Dai "because of Vietnam's political immaturity" (AP, 5/4); others felt "Gen. Collins might have overstated the U.S. view that Bao Dai [had] some hypothetical value in giving a thread of legitimacy to the Vietnamese govern-

mented "every second man is armed."

● **MALAYA**, whose Overseas Natl. Youth Movement asked the Bandoeng conference to recommend a UN commission to look into political, economic and social conditions as Britain's shooting war against "communist bandits" continued. The Movement urged that the conference ask Britain to establish a provisional free Malaya government, with independence guaranteed within two years, after the July elections.

● **THE MIDDLE EAST**, where anti-imperialist unrest continued to smolder ominously despite violent repression, especially in Iran. There, noted CSM (5/4), the jailed ex-Premier Mossadegh "... still represents a whole school of Iranian thought, nurtured and growing in the belief that any foreign investments, interference and organizational work in Iran enslaves the country. The over-all Iranian reaction [to oil settlements with the West] was violent, and the repercussions even worse. Strict press censorship failed to show this trend to the outside world. But few in Iran doubted the gravity of the situation."

**ASIAN-AFRICAN NEW DEAL:** On the economic level Bandoeng not only put the West on notice of the revolution Asia and Africa are determined to carry through, but advanced it more than any other event since China took control of its own destiny. The different roles—all of them significant—that China, India and Japan would play in the development of under-developed countries were spelled out.

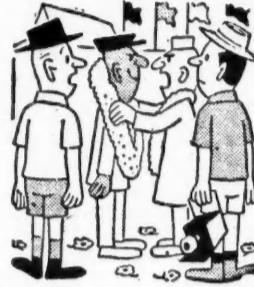
Asia and Africa are rich in both human and natural resources; yet Asia with 50% of the world's population, and Africa with 8%, get only 11% and 3% of world income respectively; while N. America with 10% of the population gets nearly 45% of the world income. Washington's Foreign Operations Administration bulletin (4/29) figures the U.S.'s gross national product at \$357 billion annually, W. Europe's at just over \$200 billion; the socialist countries' at about \$220 billion; the Far Eastern countries' (excluding China but including industrialized Japan) at about \$82 billion. It underscores the point by saying that about 30% of the world's population produces only 8% of its goods and services. Peoples of the under-developed countries made it clear at Bandoeng that they will no longer tolerate this economic anomaly.

**JAPAN & INDIA:** Japan hopes to be the supplier of heavy goods to Asian and African countries. Its representatives at Bandoeng were in constant consultation with other delegations, especially with the Chinese. They carried away from the conference trade agreements with Egypt and Indonesia; offered technicians and materials to aid the Burmese rice industry and to develop inland transport in India and other S.E. Asian states; and planned to give technical training to more than the 100 Asians and Africans now studying in Japan. Shortly after the conference a group of Japanese businessmen signed a \$168 million trade agreement with China, stipulating also the establishment of trade missions in both countries with diplomatic status.

Western liberals have tirelessly presented China and India as demonstrating the "totalitarian" and "democratic" ways, respectively, of building a modern economy. They have urged the Africans and other Asians to follow India's path, and pleaded with Washington to give India more aid. But Bandoeng suggested that China, not India, would be the dominant influence on the pattern of Asian-African economic development. Starting later and with greater handicaps, China has already so far outdistanced India that, according to British economist T. Balogh, "in the best of

circumstances, India can hardly hope to equal" China's rate of development.

**"INDIA'S WAY OR CHINA'S?"** In two articles in *The Nation* (3/12, 19) Balogh, now a guest professor at Delhi University, pointed out that India has lagged behind in all things in which China has made giant strides. India has not achieved a greater equality "either socially or economically since liberation"; land reform, the drive against "un-



Carrefour, Paris  
"It's impossible to understand these people. Sometimes they put garlands on each other, sometimes they cover each other with flowers."

touchability" and illiteracy, road construction by under-employed peasants and unemployed city workers "have not been pushed with vigor"; and

"... as much as half of total profits still go to foreign owners, and foreign enterprise is still expanding at a much greater rate than the Indian." Noting that India's five-year plan, unlike China's, has not achieved "even its modest goals," Balogh observed:

"India has yet to achieve a rate of investment... of more than 7% of the national product, disregarding agricultural maintenance work. China already seems to have surpassed 8% and should approach 12% this year. China's aim apparently is 20% toward the end of the decade. ... As the critical level of investment, i.e. the level at which output per man can be expected to increase, is hardly less than 10%, the vital importance of the difference can easily be appreciated."

Pressured by the Indian public, which has become familiar with happenings in China through reports of official and unofficial Indian visitors, the Nehru government has admitted that India can learn much from China. Balogh, worried as to whether Asia would follow "India's way or China's," suggested drastic domestic reforms and "at least \$500-700 million of foreign aid... annually for at least ten years to enable

India to overcome the massive advantages of China." But he noted Washington's inability to pledge long-term aid, in contrast to Russia's "planned long-term help" to China.

**U.S. "DRIBLETS":** Peking's increasing attraction will show itself as the nations represented at Bandoeng take advantage of Premier Chou En-lai's invitation to send officials and trade and cultural missions to China. Some delegations have already accepted such invitations. Asians and Africans will become even more familiar with happenings in China as the Asian-African Journalists Assn.—formed at the close of the conference to promote greater coverage of Afro-Asian news and reduced cable rates—begins to function.

Washington has recommended a "new" \$3½ billion foreign aid fund, of which about \$1½ billion is for the Far East, to be administered by the late Sen. Robert Taft's law partner John B. Hollister, "spokesman of the group within the Republican Party that is most strenuously opposed to substantial foreign aid" (*New Republic*, 5/9). Even if Congress approves it as it stands—which is doubtful—actual economic aid would be nominal, as the following division shows:

Direct forces support: \$285,700,000.  
Defense support: \$827,800,000.  
Economic development in countries not militarily allied to U.S.: \$71,000,000.

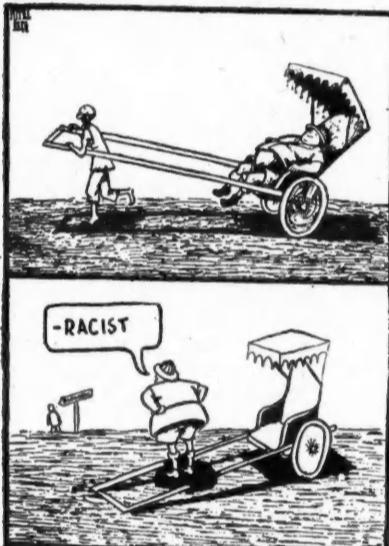
Technical co-operation: \$66,500,000.  
President's Asian Economic Dev. Fund: \$200,000,000.

This aid is in sharp contrast to the minimum \$3 billion annual non-military aid to the Far East recommended by UN's Economic Commission for Asia & the Far East. Even the \$200 million President's Fund

"... is to be given in dribblets over a number of years. ... Of course, we are also giving Asia \$2,717,500,000 for military assistance. The tiger is proverbially generous only with his claws" *Nation*, 5/17).

**THE SOWER:** Plainly Washington can no longer prevent China's prestige and influence from spreading among the world's under-developed peoples. For, as *Le Monde's* Robert Guillain reported (4/24) from Bandoeng:

"... a great event has taken place here which has not appeared in the newspapers: one can say that in fact, if not in law, the Chinese People's Republic has been truly recognized by 28 countries of Asia and Africa. The Americans will have a hard time persuading us that their positions remain intact... [Chou En-lai] reassured, he won over, he sowed seeds."



Humanite, Paris

ment" (*N. Y. Times*, 5/7); still others were "seeking a policy on Indo-China that the French can accept" (*NYT*, 5/4).

**AREAS TO WATCH:** Short-range effects from Bandoeng's declaration of Afro-Asian independence were to be expected in:

● **SOUTH AFRICA**, where as African Natl. Congress leader Moses Kotane told the conference, "our people are wounded in the soul." Kotane, who attended as an observer together with S. Africa's Indian Congress leader Cachalia, feared "anti-white riots the like of which has never been seen"; he appealed for support to "the ordinary people of Asia, Europe, America and other parts of Africa." Kotane's and Cachalia's experience in Bandoeng will surely influence the June 25 Congress of the People in Johannesburg, called to frame a "Freedom Charter embodying the demands of our oppressed millions."

● **FRENCH N. AFRICA**, where on all sides are "evidences of the fear which is now weighing on [its] main city [Casablanca, Morocco] and all the rest of France's rich and strategic holdings here" (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, 5/2). In Tunisia France has been forced to seek a compromise with the nationalists, but Morocco seethes with political terrorism and violent repression and it is esti-

## UN SLAPS DOWN WITCH-HUNTERS

### Tribunal upholds appeal against U. S. firings

WASHINGTON'S hunt for "subversives" in the UN was once again slapped down by the special UN administrative tribunal in Geneva. On April 26 the tribunal upheld the appeal against dismissal by UNESCO director Luther Evans of three American employes in Paris—David Leff, Peter Duberg and Mrs. Annette Wilcox—and ordered Evans either to reinstate them or pay them damages totaling \$43,800 for loss of their jobs. These three had refused to testify before a U.S. roving loyalty board last year.

Leff has been hounded by Washington since 1951. In 1953, he and several others who would not sign a loyalty questionnaire sent from the U.S. were sustained by UNESCO's exec. board. Leff was again sustained by the board when he failed to honor a New York grand jury subpoena on the ground that, his passport having been confiscated by the U.S. Paris embassy, he had no guarantee of return to his post and family. Last September the UN administrative tribunal ruled against a bench warrant for Leff's arrest issued by Federal Judge Henry Goddard, on the ground that UNESCO lacked authority to order an American employed in Paris to testify before a U.S. grand jury.

The *London Times* last year (3/19/54) found the staff members' refusal to tes-



LUTHER EVANS  
Reinstate or pay up

tify "courageous and right" and the Leff case "a test case of first importance for the status of international civil servants." (For details, see *GUARDIAN*, 7/26/54; 9/27/54.)

## OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

## Western groups lead in stormy fight for more aid

By Ione Kramer

(Fourth in a series. Other articles on Mar. 28, Apr. 4 and May 9 discussed inadequacies of Old Age Assistance and Social Security, and the need for a unified national approach.)

THE West, particularly California, has a colorful history of protest movements to end the poverty of the aged. That state saw the birth of the Townsend movement; in 1934-36 EPIC's (End Poverty in California) program of "production for use" and pensions elected 37 state legislators and nearly put in Upton Sinclair as governor on the Democratic ticket. In 1939 Willis and Laurence Allen's "Ham 'N Eggs" movement advocating "\$30 Every Thursday" on retirement narrowly lost with 1,143,670 referendum votes.

Current stormy petrel of pensions is George McLain, whose Calif. Institute of Social Welfare (1031 S. Grand Av., Los Angeles 15), in a state of 4 million 1954 ballots, consistently rolls up 1½-2 million for its \$100-a-month pension.

**THE MAN:** A one-time "Ham 'N Eggs" and L. A. Unemployed Voters Assn. organizer and political aide to former



Frontier, Los Angeles  
"McLain is a force more than he is a person."

Gov. Olson, McLain's dapper appearance has made him a target for charges that he is running a racket to get rich off the poverty-stricken aged. But in the L. A. monthly Frontier (4/51) California expert Carey McWilliams said it was time the community realized that McLain is a "natural phenomenon" of the pension situation,

"... neither a sport nor a ham, [but] a hard-headed political organizer [who] just happens to look like the first and sound like the second."

Describing McLain as "more the lobbyist for an interest group than the leader of a mass movement," McWilliams said CISW's advent "marks the substitution of a pension lobby for a pension movement. . . . There is little grassroots democracy in the Institute . . . but lobbyists are always hired to do a job." McLain, who had to organize his lobby first, spurred by a drive for power, takes pride in making his organization strong and effective.

**THE MOVEMENT:** CISW became famous when in 1948 its near-100,000 membership got enough signatures to put "Proposition 4" on the referendum ballot. It raised Old Age Assistance payments from \$60 to \$75, raised payments for the blind and placed them under central state rather than county control, ended relatives' responsibility rules, lowered the age to 63, and named as Director of Social Welfare Mrs. Myrtle Williams, "widow of means" who is McLain's assistant. It won by some 37,000 votes.

The Chamber of Commerce, predicting calamity, launched a repeal campaign which has kept pensions the state's hottest issue. C of C reached an "understanding" with the welfare agency Council for the Blind whereby

the latter would present the repeal if C of C furnished funds. CISW spent \$230,845, its opponents \$965,617—plus, CISW charges, \$2,254,131 of public tax money spent for "advertising and promotion" by county supervisors. A "get McLain" legislative investigation under the late Sen. Fred Weybret spent \$105,000 between 1951 and 1953, but did not prove McLain was "getting rich from the old folks."

As a rider to a school-fund bill in a 1949 special election—in which C of C predicted the school system's collapse if the aged continued on higher grants—"Proposition 4," though supported by labor, was repealed. But CISW has succeeded in getting on the ballot every time since; and its campaigns have been credited with influencing Congress to raise federal OAA aid in 1952, and California authorities to raise the state maximum to \$80.

**SERVICE TO MEMBERS:** Currently CISW has turned its fire on county grand juries, who hold local investigations and submit to the Legislature recommendations which blueprint C of C's plan. Last year grand jury representatives from 25 counties, conferring on public assistance at a plush country club near Fairfax, made recommendations which the San Francisco Chronicle said "would reduce welfare payments to an irreducible minimum." CISW members presented 200,000 petition signatures urging legislators to disregard these. They will hold their annual convention in Fresno May 20-21.

The Pomona College study "Our Needy Aged" attributes McLain's success to "the combination of a service organization . . . with a political movement." Along with legal aid in helping pensioners fight their cases, CISW sponsors daily programs on 37 radio stations and "Saturday afternoon jamborees" at a downtown L. A. theater; it aims to set up all-day recreation clubhouses—all paid for out of \$10-a-year dues, (\$5 for associates) which supporters have criticized as too steep for impoverished OAA-ers.

**NATIONAL RALLYING-POINT:** CISW's current program for immediate and politically realizable state gains include: \$100 a month top OAA payment (a recent state survey found OAA recipients' needs were \$101.02, but the maximum is \$80); end to relatives' responsibility (both houses of Alabama's legislature have just repealed theirs); raise real property allowance from \$3,500 to



THEY'RE ALL "PENSION LOBBYISTS"  
A meeting of the Calif. Institute of Social Welfare

\$4,000; more lenient eligibility rules for long-resident non-citizens.

Nationally, its "12 Point Program"—being introduced into Congress by Rep. Roosevelt (D-Cal.) and Sen. Kefauver (D-Tenn.), amending the Social Security Act—may become a pensioners' rallying point for immediate gains. It includes: permitting the Federal government to share aid up to \$100, instead of the present \$55 for both OAA and dependent children; allowing aged and handicapped to earn up to \$50 a month without a cut in aid; no lien laws (repeal of this has just passed both Arizona houses) or "shame lists"; Federal payment of aid where an otherwise eligible person does not meet state residence requirements.

A provision which may get attention this term is reduction to 60 of the eligibility age for widows under Social Security. Congressional sensitivity to problems of older workers is revealed by 33 bills introduced into the House lowering ages for women or all pensioners. Oldsters are writing chairman Rep. Jere Cooper (R-Tenn.) and members of the House Ways & Means Committee which will hold hearings on pensions.

**PENSION UNIONS:** While CISW takes no stand on matters other than welfare, two of its neighbors to the north, the pension unions of Idaho and Washington stress the relation of adequate welfare to national planning geared to peace, civil liberties and rights. They back organized labor's program for schools, farm support, power, etc., and help elect candidates—mostly Democratic—who can help get them.

Founded in 1937, the Washington

Pension Union (2d & Pike Bldg., Seattle 1) is proud of its grassroots democracy and its successful fight to gain free state medical care for aid recipients. This year they continued their fight for a \$75 floor to payments, and against the lien law and a proposed budget which would cut 15% from old age funds. The Idaho Pension union (Thos. B. Wood, pres., 905 Young Av., Coeur D'Alene) succeeded in getting a lien law repeal plank in the Democratic platform. This year's legislative aims were a burial fund; minimums raised to \$75 for one and \$125 for two persons; and the right, already gained in one county, of recipients of medical and dental care to choose their own doctor.

**ARE THEY "SUBVERSIVE?"** Both groups represent pensioners in hearings and advise on the almost unbelievable budget intricacies under a system dedicated to penny-pinching. For their pains, both are now fighting registration with U. S. Atty. Gen. Brownell's Subversive Activities Control Board. WPU's president, former minister and college president Dr. Charles H. Fisher, has denied he is a Communist, and the IPU News editorialized:

"Is it subversion . . . to peacefully assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievance and initiate legal action as established in our Constitution? . . . This attack raises grave doubts as to the validity of Brownell's complete listing. . . . The witch-hunt . . . is a camouflage behind which the real enemies of the Constitution and democratic government hope to silence all opposition so that an anti-social, pro-war program can be forced upon the people."

### HE'LL FIGHT TO CLEAR NAME

## Lt. Gilbert, Negro scapegoat in Korea, is reunited with his family in California

**AFTER** five years in Army stockades, for months under sentence of death, a happy ending seemed to have finally come last month for former Lieut. Leon A. Gilbert. For disobeying orders in Korea, he was sentenced to hang in 1950. In November of that year President Truman, responding to nationwide pressure, commuted the sentence to 20 years. Last December Gilbert was dishonorably discharged and paroled in California. His wife, who had fought through the years for his freedom, remained with their children in his home town of York, Pa., without the funds to join him. York citizens formed a committee to raise funds for the fare, and on Good Friday the family was reunited at a Los Angeles airport.

Fair, blue-eyed Gilbert, a Negro who always so designated himself although his machinist-blacksmith father was for years listed and regarded as "white," joined the army in August, 1940, after a period of waiting table and similar

jobs in York. Uncommonly brilliant, he was sent to officers' candidate school; he led a platoon as 2d Lieut. in the African, European and Middle East campaigns. He married after his discharge, re-enlisted in 1947, was sent to Japan as a sergeant and there commissioned 1st Lieut.

**"THEY WERE WHITE":** In Korea he was popular with enlisted men and fellow-officers. Defenders came forward willingly when, on trial for disobeying orders to return his unit to a forward position, he explained it would have meant certain death. Negro ex-infantryman Morgan McClain said in a newspaper interview after Gilbert's sentence was commuted:

"He was a brilliant leader . . . a brave fighter, and he had a real feeling for soldiers under his command."

McClain was asked whether he would have acted differently if he had been in command when the order to go back was given. He said: "In command of

what?" There were only seven men left—"sick, hungry and exhausted," who had been fighting "87 straight days without reinforcements." They had started out with 70 men, "and we didn't have one chance in a million." He added that "a majority of officers" from time to time disobeyed orders "but they were white and none of them got the death penalty but only four or five years when they were tried."

The Chicago Globe described Gilbert as "the symbol of a race considered 'not quite human' at home but expected to display superhuman exploits to defend the system that keeps him in a less-than-human category." The "MacArthur forces," facing "a major onslaught from the North Koreans," needed a "scapegoat" for their "prestige." "That scapegoat turned out to be the Negroes of the 24th Infantry."

In a January, 1951, letter answering one from the San Francisco Civil Rights Congress, Gilbert sent his "soul-felt gratitude" for its interest in him and his family. He wrote:

"I am a member of this horde who make up this country we love, and I feel confident that these people will demand that justice be done and that I be exonerated, my family rejoined with me and my name cleared."

WEST COAST

# What East-West trade could do for jobs

In the framework of a caution that current U. S. policies do not make immediate prospects bright for expanded East-West trade, the GUARDIAN (4/25) published economist Perlo's perspectives of what job opportunities it could open up in New York state. This article considers what it could do for West Coast, and especially California, workers.

By Victor Perlo

**WORLD WAR II** and its aftermath have changed California into a major industrial state: it had 271,000 factory production workers in 1939, 709,000 in 1952. Moreover, the center of gravity has moved from primary processing of local materials to advanced fabrication of metals and heavy industrial products. In 1939, 45% of all Pacific Coast manufacturing workers were in the food, tobacco and lumber-product industries, less than 25% in metal, machinery and transport equipment. By 1952 the latter industries em-



ployed considerably more workers than the former; and with stone, clay and glass products, more than half of all workers in California.

The basis of this change was the development of the military aircraft, ships, and allied industries—instruments, electronics, aluminum, machinery, steel. Thus California is uncomfortably geared to war economy. Aircraft is far and away the state's leading industry. It is also important, together with the atomic bomb industry, in nearby Washington.

**NO SOLUTION:** The great development of war industry brought a rapid rise in California's population: under 7 million in 1940, over 12½ million in 1954, and continuing to rise by half a million yearly. But California has its full share of unemployment to which continued high armament spending—especially for aircraft and A-bombs—is no solution even in the pettiest economic sense.

By March, 1955, every major labor market area on the West Coast was a labor surplus area, and three, San Diego, Portland and Tacoma, were acute centers of "substantial" labor surplus.

**EMBARGOES & RESTRICTIONS:** The Pacific Coast's peacetime growth has been intimately connected with trans-Pacific trade. But the anti-Chinese, anti-Soviet, pro-colonial war economy has destroyed the main basis of that trade. In pre-war years Pacific ports handled 30% of our national export tonnage; in 1948, 15%, and in 1952—even with the stimulus of the Korean War—only 16%.

During 1954, U. S. non-munitions exports to Asia, alone of the continents, showed a declining trend. Three-fourths of U. S. exports to the Far East go to three countries with but one-tenth of the population of that area: Japan, the Philippines, and Australia.

China, Soviet Asia, N. Korea and Outer Mongolia, with over half the Far East's population, are wholly embargoed. Trade with such populous countries as India, Indonesia, and Burma,

while not embargoed, is low because these countries are "neutralist," do not put out the unrestricted welcome sign to exploiting U. S. corporations, and will not have "aid" on terms requiring unwelcome military and financial commitments.

**"THE SENSIBLE COURSE":** The campaign to open up China trade has the advantage, on the West Coast, of being spearheaded by the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, whose historic victories have set the tone for the Coast's advanced labor movement. While California is the home of Knowland and other anti-Chinese sabre-rattlers, it also has some businessmen with a more sensible perspective. Before Korea, Chambers of Commerce and shipping magnates stood out in calling for trade with China. They kept quiet while reaping profits out of Korean War business, but with the war's end began to speak up again, as in the Pacific Shipper's editorial on 8/10/53:

"The sensible . . . course to take . . . is to lift our embargo on non-strategic goods and trade with Peiping in all things except military weapons and accessories."

The response of "a very large proportion of the West Coast shipping public, if not an actual majority," was favorable (9/7/53).

**PERSPECTIVES:** Just what could this mean for California and its neighboring coastal states? (Figures in thousands of employes in 1952.)

### Transportation equipment: 273,000 employed

Today 90% of the activity in the West Coast's huge aircraft industry is in military types. Sufficient relaxation of the embargo to permit export of civilian aircraft to China is not on the horizon. But for the longer run, it does not go un-noted that China and Siberia are



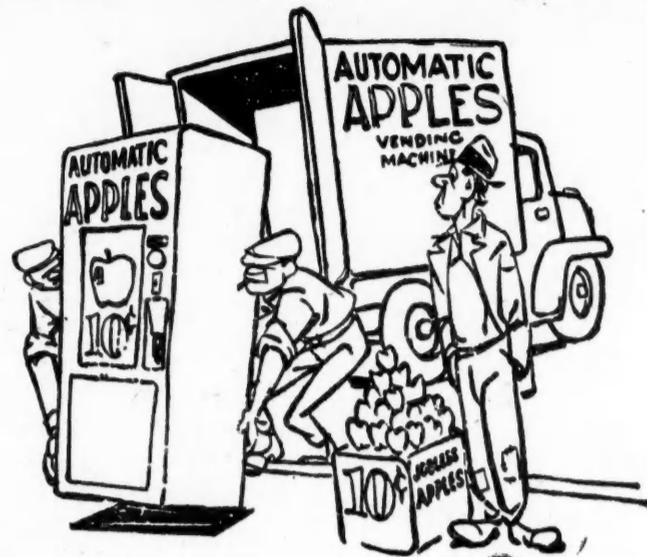
developing industry with seven-league boots in the age of aircraft, without a gigantic prior network of railroads.

By the same token, the hope of C. B. Thomas, pres. of Chrysler Export Corp., that China would be "a big new market" for America's dwindling auto export business is especially well-founded. During the next five or ten years, before China develops its own mass-production of trucks, tens of thousands of U. S. vehicles—to speak conservatively—could be welcomed. Pacific Coast ports would be the shipping points. And development of a stable large-scale Asian export market could provide the decisive push needed to build up factories for full production of autos in California, instead of predominantly assembly operations as at present.

West Coast shipyards would also be the logical recipients of orders for Soviet and Chinese ocean-going vessels of many varieties, from modern coastal vessels for use by China to icebreakers and whaling vessels for Soviet Pacific and Arctic shipping.

### Machinery and instruments: 128,000 employes

As with the heavy equipment manufactured in the East, the specialized equipment made in California could find a ready market in China and the



Fred Wright in U.M. News Service

**Soviet Far East.** Types of equipment made in California which the socialist countries are buying, or have expressed an interest in, include food industry equipment, oil-well and mining equipment, power transmission equipment, motors and generators, electrical control apparatus.

### Oil & metals, mining, smelting & refining: 90,000 employes

Another big market potential exists for the expanded West Coast steel and aluminum industry, for the non-ferrous metals refined at Tacoma, for California oil. Socialist countries are getting sizeable quantities of steel and aluminum from W. European countries. Before and during World War II the U. S. S. R., itself an oil exporter, purchased U. S. oil for its Far Eastern needs. With the rapid development of Chinese industry, California petroleum products, as well as those of Southeast Asia, could find a market hundreds of times as large as when "oil for the lamps of China" was a significant element in Far Eastern trade.

### Lumber & products: 240,000 including forest workers

In 1931, before Japan invaded China, Portland and the Columbia River sent China 163 million board feet of lumber, which equaled 3½% of the state's production. Combined exports in that year from Washington and Oregon—314 million board feet—exceeded 60% of these states' total lumber exports to all countries in 1953. Since unemployment has been particularly severe in the Northwestern lumber industry, the revival of this trade can be most valuable.

### Agriculture: 628,000; Food manufacturing: 186,000

California is tied with Texas for first

in value of farm products. The Pacific Coast states account for more than half the value of fruit produced in the U. S.; California ranks third in cotton production; first in poultry output. A big canning, packaging, ginning and processing industry handles the products. West Coast fruit production is notorious for the annual, massive, organized destruction of surpluses—accomplished by such devices as the green-picking of peaches.

Recent years' experience shows that the U. S. S. R. is in the market for foodstuffs on a surprisingly large scale. Obviously California citrus fruit, as well as Israeli, can be marketed there. The huge surpluses of prunes and raisins, which the government has gone to great pains to dump on unwilling W. Europeans, might find ready buyers in the socialist Far East.

West Coast flour mills once specialized in supplying China. Now, according to the ILWU, many have closed down U. S. plants, opened in Canada instead to get around U. S. export restrictions. As for cotton, Lamar Fleming—head of Anderson, Clayton, world's biggest cotton dealers—said: "Eastern Europe and China offer the greatest potential for a substantial rise in per-capita end-use of cotton" (7/27/53). During the Truman administration, when this firm was very influential, it was able to get an exception from the embargo policy to sell cotton to Czechoslovakia.

### Shipping, longshore, associated services: 100,000

Workers in the maritime industries suffer from chronic irregular work and unemployment. Opening of trade with the socialist countries could restore the West Coast's pre-war proportion of U. S. export trade, and hence at least double maritime employment.

### Georgetown paper urges recognition of China

**C**ONSULTATION between the U. S. and People's China "even though all preliminary conditions . . . may not have been fully met in advance" was urged by World Council of Churches leaders meeting May 6 in Buck Hill Falls, Pa. Representatives of most U. S. Protestant and Orthodox denominations heard a 5-point program presented by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, director of the Commission of the Churches on Intl. Affairs. It asked early talks; withdrawal from Quemoy and Matsu; a UN peace observation commission unit in the Formosa area; UN membership universality; an impartial study of Formosa and world peace.

The Courier, publication of Washington, D. C.'s Georgetown Univ. School of Foreign Service, has editorially urged U. S. recognition of Communist China. The Foreign Service School at the Roman Catholic college is generally considered to be to the U. S. Foreign Service what West Point is to the Army. The editorial, "Peace or Power," which the paper says represents only its editors' opinion, and not that of the student body or administration, called U. S. refusal to recognize Peking "a misconception of the reality and a stumbling-block on the path toward a real international peace. . . . Recognition would gain the U. S. prestige in the rest of Asia, for by such a move, although we would admit our diplomatic defeat in losing China, we would proclaim that we are prepared to negotiate for the maintenance of a peaceful status quo. . . . Even if [Formosa] were neutralized, the removal of the reactionary government of Chiang Kai-shek would be no loss to our national security. . . . China is an actuality—that its government is Communist should not allow us the privilege of crying over spilt milk."

### British see \$140,000,000 China trade as "likely"

Sydney A. Lane, leader of a British trade delegation to China, told the press on his return to London April 24 that the delegation did "quite an amount of business" but that "once restrictions are removed a possible \$50 million trade per annum is likely." He said he found the Chinese people "very kind, courteous and peaceful. I think they are happy."

## FARM-LABOR COALITION SHAKES WASHINGTON

# House passes farm bill but Senate action unlikely

THE House of Representatives last week voted (206-201) to give the farmer back the support he desperately needs: 90% of parity prices on five "basic" crops. But the complicated footwork on the House floor made the maneuver look like 90% politics.

When Congress convened it faced a crisis in the economy's most sensitive sector: agriculture. This was the way things looked at the point where depressions begin, the farm:

Operating costs were at a record high while the farmer's net income in 1954 had dropped 28% below 1947, 10% below 1953; forecasters predicted "further declines" for this year and next. Farm prices had dropped 22% from Feb., 1951 to Feb., 1955. On Jan. 1, 1954, the total value of farm assets was \$10½ billion less than it was two years earlier. U. S. News (3/25) said the farmer's

"... plight recalls the 1920's when agriculture slumped long before the big depression. . . . Farm wages are down. The farmer is buying less machinery. . . . But family needs are more expensive. And taxes are rising. Farmers have gone deeper into debt. . . . Interest payments on mortgages are increasing. . . . As consumers, they are not able to buy as freely as last year; they share the lowest income since World War II."

**"A DRIFT BACK":** Last year the Administration, with Democratic Party support, passed Agriculture Secy. Benson's bill for a "flexible" price-support system, which in effect drastically reduces government supports to the farmer. (Under the parity system, prices are supposed to give the farmer an even break, with the government making up the difference between the market price and a certain percentage of the parity price.) Sliding scales, relying more on the "supply-and-demand" formula, offer big farm owners a chance to squeeze out little ones.

Early this year the House Agriculture Committee reported favorably on HR 12, a bill to restore supports on cotton, rice, peanuts, wheat and corn to 90% of parity. In recommending the bill, the committee said:

"Lower supports mean a drift back toward the uneconomic balance that pauperized agriculture in America in the years ahead of the Great Depression and which in other nations has institutionalized a peasant class on the land."

## Brown-Natvig

(Continued from Page 1)

testifying on the CRC's help, Justice Dept. lawyer Posey Kime tried to make hay out of a word she misused. CRC exec. secy. William Patterson protested. Referring to Patterson, Kime said: "We object to having this creature here."

Patterson came close to Kime's face, said: "Now I'm not a creature to you or to anyone in this room. Just you bridle that tongue of yours." Coddalre, shaken, called out: "Mr. Patterson, I'm warning you." (Kime almost broke up the hearing earlier when he asked Brown if he knew Joe Hill. Brown didn't.)

In adjourning the hearing Coddalre blamed a lack of order (referring to a dispute with CRC's attractive young attorney Rhoda Laks). To some it seemed more likely that government agencies were rattled by the prospect of another FBI informer publicly confessing he lied.

**MRS. NATVIG ON TRIAL:** In Washington another government witness was paying the penalty—not for lying—but for admitting she lied. Few papers outside of the capital covered the perjury trial of Marie Natvig, who said that "only an idiot" would have believed her testimony on the government's side.

Mrs. Natvig, a bespectacled, gray-



AGRICULTURE SECY. BENSON TOURS THE DUST BOWL  
He looked at it, but the wind still blows the land away in Colorado

**NEW FACTORS:** For all the crusading talk, HR 12 was in fact a watered-down measure which would leave 75% of the crops unprotected and allow the big-business farmer to benefit far more than the little farmer who needs the protection. Still, it looked like a return to sanity and Administration forces sought to rally last year's coalition against it.

There were significant new factors, however: farm state Congressmen were fresh from an election campaign in which they promised rigid farm supports. An election year was coming up and farmers would be watching the voting records. Most important was a brand new farmer-labor coalition which, said AP, "could materially change the legislative complexion of the House at this session."

**QUID PRO QUO:** At Agriculture Committee hearings on the bill, CIO pres. Walter Reuther asserted farmer-labor solidarity, demanded 100% parity, told the committee: "Anything less than that will deprive the farmer of a fair opportunity to realize his just place in society."

haired grandmother, aged 51, testified at length in a Federal Communications Comm. hearing on the political fitness of Edward Lamb to operate a radio station in Erie, Pa. She said later she was "induced" and "coerced" by government attorneys to testify against Lamb. (Another witness, Lowell Watson, has also recanted, claiming he testified falsely as the "result of constant and consistent coaching, conditioning and misleading conversation" by FCC officials.)

The government has indicted Mrs.

### A letter to write

Last week Dave Brown joined Harvey Matusow, Marie Natvig, Lowell Watson, Paul Crouch, Manning Johnson, Thad Mason and others in the long list of informers who have confessed to lying or whose testimony used in Justice Dept. witch-hunting convictions has been challenged by responsible people.

The Very Rev. James A. Pike, Dean of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of N. Y., said in a sermon on Mar. 28 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine: "A Congressional investigation of the paid informer system would be useful right now." Among the many groups protesting the use of informers have been Congress Weekly, organ of the American Jewish Congress, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Letters calling on the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties to launch an investigation should be addressed to its chairman, Sen. Thomas C. Hennings Jr. (D-Mo.)

AFL pres. George Meany said: "We know what hurts the farmer hurts us." Presidents Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Beirne of the Communications Workers, and other top CIO and AFL leaders threw their weight into the fight for the farm bill, going beyond the usual lip-service to active lobbying.

Though all labor spokesmen pointed

West) would have to vote against the bill; their defection would kill it, leaving Benson's sliding scales in effect.

Democratic leaders stalled off a decision, regrouped their forces and on Thursday reversed the vote on the peanut amendment; passage of the bill followed.

**CHANCES ARE SLIM:** From the start Senate leaders of both parties made it

to the closeness of farmers' and workers' interests, and Reuther insisted labor demanded no "quid pro quo," farm lobbyists indicated they would solidly back labor's demand for a \$1.25 minimum wage. Said Rep. Harold D. Cooley (D-N. C.), leading the fight for the bill:

"For the first time in the 20 years I have been in Congress we have clear-cut labor support."

**PEANUT GAMBIT:** The N. Y. Times (4/11) reported the threat of "a farmer-labor coalition . . . is giving the Administration something to ponder." (The Times editorially opposed the bill. Paul Smith, asst. commissioner of N. Y. S. Dept. of Agriculture & Markets, in a letter to the Times reminded the paper that it, and all newspapers, had been receiving a government subsidy since 1879 and therefore their stand against farm subsidies came with little grace.)

As the debate neared its climax GOP Congressmen played a gambit with peanuts. They won tentative approval (186-150) for an amendment exempting peanuts from the list of price-supported crops. If the amendment stayed, the peanut states (in the South and

clear they would not bring the bill up for discussion this term, even if it should pass the House. The GOP went further and pledged a Presidential veto if by some chance it should come up and be passed.

House Democrats were in an enviable position. The score was: for the bill, 185 Democrats, 21 Republicans; against, 29 Democrats, 172 Republicans. The fight would look good on the record, though the bill had little chance of passage into law. But the *Christian Science Monitor* (3/12) took a skeptical view of Democratic motives:

"Is this one of those rare occasions . . . when politicians might prefer not to get what they appear to be fighting for?"

Whatever the politicians' motives, and whatever the chances for overwhelming bi-partisan resistance to the measure in the Senate, the significant forward step in the debate was the new-found farmer-labor unity. Washington was plainly shaken by it. Leaders on the farm and in the unions had, if not a taste of victory, at least an appetizing smell of it.

Natvig on seven counts of perjury—none involving her testimony against Lamb, all dealing with her recantation, in which she claims her testimony was in part written for her by government attorneys. The trial opened May 3, with the prosecution presenting two FBI agents and an FCC investigator who claimed Mrs. Natvig told them before Lamb's hearing opened that she had been a Communist and knew Lamb was one. The defense had not yet opened its case as the *GUARDIAN* went to press. A conviction could call for five years in prison and a \$2,000 fine on each count.

**WANTED FOR "BIG TIME":** The government's program was plainly reeling as informers were exposed not only as liars but as such ludicrous ones. Columnist Miles McMillin of the *Madison, Wis., Capital Times* (3/14) wrote:

"The last time I saw Marie Natvig she told me she was scheduled to receive the Pulitzer prize for an editorial she had written for some paper in Florida. I didn't ask her any questions about it because I had discovered from previous experience that if she were questioned about such statements she took on a far-away look and her replies got mysteriously vague or fantastically specific. . . ."

"Anyway Mrs. Natvig finally said something that appears to have made Atty. Gen. Brownell indignant. Apparently it wasn't her lying, but her

admission that she was lying. Some are saying that the reasonable conclusion to draw is that Mrs. Natvig has been indicted for telling the truth, but this is argued by those who have little admiration for Brownell. . . ."

"I have never met Matusow, so I can't testify as to the persuasiveness of his artistry. But I would like to make the acquaintance of the government talent scout who discovered Mrs. Natvig and signed her up for the big time. I've been looking for a customer for an old deed I have to the Brooklyn Bridge."

**HARVEY'S NEW ROUTINES:** The man who started the trend in repentant traitors, Harvey Matusow, was meanwhile appearing, with few press notices, before a special grand jury in New York. According to N. Y. *Post* columnist Murray Kempton, Matusow has been telling the jurors how he makes a living, performing comedy routines he has written like the one about the "Comrade Hilton Hotel in Moscow," delighting them with French poodles he makes out of pipe cleaners and talking about his forthcoming novel *The Ego's Nest*.

Undaunted by the exposures, the House Un-American Activities Committee announced it is preparing a medal for an as yet unreconstructed informer of the N.Y.C. Police Dept., Mrs. Mildred Blauvelt who has submitted 450 names of New Yorkers she says are Communists.

# War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

both Europe and Asia he is being forced to the conference table by the socialist world's political strength, the strong appeal throughout the capitalist world of its program for settlement.

The Administration, for instance, has been told by its anti-communist satellites in Asia that "their continued support of the West depends on Washington's willingness to negotiate outstanding questions"; in maneuvering for W. German and Japanese support, Washington "is finding that it cannot ignore the sentiments in those key countries for a relaxation of tensions" (Reston, 5/4). It has therefore agreed to direct talks with China—which it rejected last winter—though clearly hoping to stall as long as possible.

**BACKFIRE:** Washington is also preparing for talks with the U. S. S. R. on Germany in mid-summer. The aim of Western governments in such talks is "to demonstrate to the world what they believe is Moscow's basic refusal to agree to Germany's reunification in freedom" (NYT, 5/3). The attempted demonstration may backfire. Moscow will certainly not agree to a German settlement on present Western terms—a united and rearmed Germany allied to the West. But it already has agreed to the Eden plan for all-German elections, presented at last year's Berlin conference as the Western plan.

Western fear of possible Soviet proposals for a unified and neutral Germany is the subject of daily dispatches in the U. S. press. Walter Lippmann (5/5) pointed out that the West has yet to work out a policy to meet the "radically changed" German problem.

**THE "OPEN SECRET":** Western fear is stimulated by the radical change in Austrian opinion on neutrality, highlighted by the progress toward an Austrian treaty. London's New Statesman said (5/7):

"... Three years ago, Dr. Figl, former Chancellor and now Minister of Foreign Affairs, was speaking of Austria as 'a fortress, a wedge driven into the Eastern front'; and it is only 18 months since Vice-Chancellor Scharf, the leader of the Socialists, declared that 'a so-called policy of neutrality—a courtship with Russia—will not bring us nearer to liberty. That is why we refuse all invitations to such escapades.' Yet today the Austrian Government has committed itself, with overwhelming public backing, to a neutrality... as absolute as that of Switzerland."

According to NYT (5/3) it is "an open secret" that U. S. military authorities are strongly opposed to the Austrian treaty because Austrian sovereignty will "cut NATO's land communications between W. Germany and Italy... [and also] deprive the U. S. Army of a reason for staying in Leghorn, Italy..." Western diplomats similarly have made no secret of their fear that agreement on Austrian neutrality threatens to wreck their plans for Germany. Yet the West is forced to conclude the treaty.

**THE STRUGGLE IN NATO:** The second basic reality—the changing relation of forces within the capitalist world—is pointed up by this month's NATO meeting in Paris—the first attended by W. Germany as a member. The U. S. aim at the meeting was described (NYT, 5/5) as to "broaden" and "tighten" the Western alliance by developing "common Western attitudes"



The Darling family—Act 2

Mannequins set up by the atomic Rover Boys for their latest "test" at "Doom Town, Nev.," ended up like this. The remains, says photo-agency caption, "represent a typical American family in a typical American home 4,750 feet from an atomic explosion." The bill just for stuff set up to be atomized: \$1,000,000.

toward Far and Middle East as well as European problems. This was pictured (NYT, 5/7) as an effort "to introduce something that might be called a democratic element into the diplomacy of the alliance." But smaller powers were reported "alarmed" at what they considered an attempt to force them to support U. S. policy in the Far East, where "common Western attitudes" are distinctly lacking—as witness the U. S.-French squabble in S. Vietnam.

Washington's effort to tighten its grip on NATO is one move in a growing fight among the leading Western powers for supremacy in this bloc—reflecting the rising economic strength of these allies, particularly W. Germany. In the fight for markets the U. S. is losing ground to its allies. Despite the increase (almost 5%) in U. S. commercial exports in 1954, they were 4% below the 1952 figure. During these same two years other capitalist countries increased their exports by an average of 6% (W. Germany 31%).

**THE STRONGEST RIVAL:** Washington hailed W. Germany's membership in NATO as adding "vitality and power to the U. S.'s military defenses and diplomatic offensives against Russian communism" (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5/6).

## U. S. vs. UMT

"UMT will not train men well for anything; at best it is a method of giving young men a taste of military life and a way of recording names and addresses for a hurried mobilization. But this the nation already has in the selective service program."

"Universal Military Training... will 'train' young men by whisking them off to camps whether they need the 'training' or not. Even in the securest peace—if it ever comes—the caissons will be rolling."

"To add a useless, costly and dangerous appendage to the present system would be an unwise act on the part of Congress. One evil, however necessary, is bad enough; to compound it with an unnecessary evil is simply senseless."  
—Wall St. Journal (12/7/54).

"Only a fraction of the cost of UMT could build a \$200,000 hospital in every county in the U. S."

—Ben Seaver, American Friends Service Committee Education staff, at AFSC's annual meeting, Feb. 25

But W. Germany's economic and military potential make it Washington's strongest rival in the Western alliance. Once that potential is realized, the W. German government will pursue what it conceives to be its own interests—and these will not necessarily, or even probably, coincide with Washington's.

The W. German government needs the Paris agreement so it can create its own military forces and so pursue its independent course. The London Economist (10/23/54) warned: "The feeling that an army exists to lend weight to a policy is a deep-seated one among the Germans." Even before the agreements were ratified, during the Bundestag debate a spokesman for Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party, Herr Kiesinger, boasted:

"The policy of strength? Well, we pursue it."

**SEEDS OF WAR:** W. Germany's membership in NATO changes the character of that alliance, since heretofore no member had territorial claims on other countries. W. Germany's territorial claims carry the seeds of dangerous provocations and the threat of new war. The "continued partition of Germany," conceded NYT (5/8), "is a situation from which a new world war could arise." Washington's policy has been based squarely on the partition of Germany. W. Germany is being prepared, more or less openly, for a new "crusade to the East." But as NYT's M. S. Handler reported from Bonn (5/8):

"... The Germans of today know that their relations with the Soviet cannot be settled with arms... They no longer believe they can master the Soviet Union by force of arms... Were the W. Germans ever convinced that German rearmament meant another contest on the battlefield with the Russians, they would resist the draft in the streets of their cities, towns and villages."

If W. Germany is unwilling to settle with the Soviet with arms, as Wash-

ington has long planned, it will have to settle through negotiations; for its main problems—reunification, frontiers, markets—can be solved not by the West but only by the East. The W. Germans "may surprise us all one of these days," wrote Harsch (CSM, 5/5), "by sending Chancellor Adenauer to Moscow for direct Soviet-German talks." W. German strategy may well be to give priority to its territorial demands in the West—against France, for example, as in 1939. Such a strategy could also lead to a new world war.

**THE PUSH TO DISASTER:** That Washington's German policy spells disaster for the West, whatever it may

## England Under Dulles

Following the NATO ceremony, the W. German flag will go up outside Supreme Allied headquarters near Paris, and a British military band has been found to play "Deutschland Uber Alles" to mark Germany's re-entry upon the military stage in Europe.  
—N. Y. Herald Tribune, May 9.

mean for the rest of mankind, is becoming ever more clear. Yet Washington and London remain determined to push ahead with it. The New Republic (5/9) reported that the NATO powers will resist the expected Soviet offer on Germany "even if this means exposing the Chancellor and all pro-Western forces in Germany to political defeat."

The West's sharpening dilemma over Germany underscores the weakness of its "strong policy" as against the strength of the socialist policy of negotiation. Based on military might, Western policy relies in the last analysis on a contest of arms, that is, war. Socialist policy, based on political strength, relies on winning the conscious support of peoples everywhere. The West's political bankruptcy means its ever greater reliance on atomic-hydrogen weapons.

**THE DEADLY PERIL:** Hence even when Washington is talking peace, it is speeding preparations for atomic war. Last week it announced it would train RAF crews in atomic bombing (A-bombs are already stockpiled at W. European bases) and continued its atomic extravaganzas in Nevada, "productions [which] invariably look to much of the world like a naked, intimidatory display of brute strength" (N. Y. Post, 5/6). Ecstatic eye-witness comment on the latest public show ("my greatest thrill" was typical) was flashed far and wide—to a world which is beginning to understand that atomic war is the ultimate expression of Western "strong policy."

Atomic weapons are of such a nature that atomic war can be launched without warning by a mere handful of men who have assumed the right to decide when to "pull the trigger," and who have so far resisted successfully all attempts to outlaw such weapons. Outlawing the weapons, and scrapping Western "strong policy," become the more imperative as capitalist rivalries intensify and the "strong policy" heads for new setbacks.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register  
"Have you got something that won't give me cow-like complacency about the world? I want to be concerned, stimulated, stirred, worried."

STIRRINGS AT THE ROOTS

# Peacemongers are getting off the ground all over the U.S.

LAST week it seemed that the loudest atomic test "boom" had set off a boom in peacemongering. From coast to coast on Mother's Day week-end, petitioners were at work. San Franciscans, under sponsorship of 54 prominent Bay area people, were circulating a petition calling on UN and all countries to outlaw atomic war. It will be presented when UN meets there June 20-26. Address: Petitioners to the UN, 165 O'Farrell St., Rm. 411.

**QUEMOY-MATSU:** The Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom, urging support of the Morse-Lehman resolution limiting the President's powers to intervene in the Chinese islands Quemoy and Matsu, asked letters to Congressmen calling for hearings on the resolution.

Gov. Robert B. Meyner of New Jersey, speaking at a Reno, Nev., Democratic women's club, called for evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu. He said it would be "... the most savage irony of history if millions of people should die of atomic blasts over a few square miles of bleak rock in the Formosa Straits. ... I wonder how we would feel if a

hostile power were in possession of Long Island? Quemoy is only a few thousand yards from the mainland, not even twice the distance from Manhattan to Staten Island."

In New York City the American Labor Party began its 3-month peace drive by distributing on street corners a Mother's Day card urging Eisenhower to take the initiative in calling high-level peace talks.

**URGE GIFTS, VISITS:** An "Invitation to Live" issued by the American-Russian Institute (90 McAllister St., San Francisco 2, Calif.) called for further exchange of visits between U.S. and Soviet citizens; American-Soviet festivals of culture in both countries; exchange of letters and gifts, especially letters and drawings by children.

Last year the Institute, a non-profit group for cultural relations, printed a "Friendship Book" of messages from Americans to Soviet citizens. They will forward goodwill letters or gifts to U.S.S.R. citizens, and hope to have some to present to Soviet delegates to UN's 10th anniversary celebration in San Francisco in June.

**19-GROUP CHICAGO MEETING:** Several hundred persons meeting at Chicago's Sherman Hotel April 30 heard Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.) declare: "Don't be afraid to speak for world disarmament." At the meeting on "Disarmament and World Development" sponsored by the American Assn. for the UN and 18 other Illinois religious and civic groups, he urged a top-level disarmament conference of ten powers.

In what one observer called a "ringing denunciation of our foreign policy" Sidney Lens, director of AFL local 329, United Service Employees, said the "free world" consisted of four or five advanced nations and about 25 others which "by no stretch of the imagination could be called free." Citing Franco Spain, Iraq, S. Korea, he said the U.S.

**Detroit angels set meeting on Formosa**  
The Detroit Guardian Committee will hold a meeting on Formosa on Friday, May 20, at 8 p.m. at the Rainbow Hall, 5028 Joy Rd. (near Grand River). Far East specialist Maud Russell will be the speaker; admission is 50c.

Inst. for Nuclear Studies said that now for the first time it is possible to feed the whole world, but if it is to come about, disarmament is urgent. The Rev. Charles F. Boss Jr., exec. secy., Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church, said he had airmailed 1,400 letters to friends urging them to wire Secy. Dulles to negotiate a Formosan settlement directly with China.

The group plans further disarmament education. A straw vote taken among 200 remaining at the meeting's end was 80% in favor of multilateral agreement to end atomic tests.

In Moscow, nine U.S. veterans—seven former Pfc's and two former sergeants—celebrated the Elbe link-up of World War II with 50 Soviet vets, "trying," said former S/Sgt. William Weisel of Cincinnati, "to regain the comradeship of the Elbe." Profs. Richard Powell and J. B. Brebner of Columbia University delivered their school's greetings to Moscow University at the latter's bi-centennial celebration.



has backed counter-revolutionary regimes all over the world.

The Rev. George M. Gibson of McCormick Theological Seminary urged that the U.S. explore unilateral disarmament, because it could not always hide behind multilateral action. Dr. James Arnold of Chicago University's

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**CALENDAR**

Boston

**PUBLIC FORUM**—Florence Luscomb, Mass. State Chairman of Progressive Party, speaks on "Freedom in the USSR." Sun., May 22, 8 p.m., Community Church, 565 Boylston. Sponsored by Debs Club.

Los Angeles

**FOURTH ANNUAL FESTIVAL OF THE ARTS**, May 20 and May 21—LOS ANGELES PREMIERE, ARTHUR MILLER'S "THE CRUCIBLE," May 22—Dance & Folk Song Concert: Valentina Oumansky, Martha Schlamme. Also Children's Art Festival. Call DU 2-4611 for information. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St. (Just e. of Vermont).

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Keep the body healthy and the GUARDIAN out of the ditch (see p. 1).

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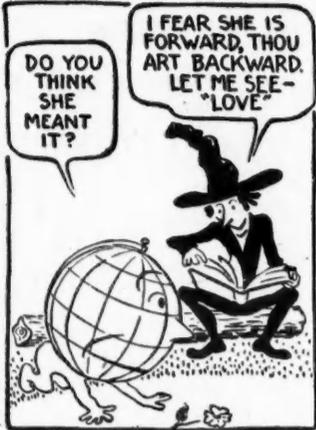
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Thank God (and I don't use the word as loosely as some of these politicians who try to impress the public of their religious souls) we still have our NATIONAL GUARDIAN. The title alone is worthy of your paper. Keep up the magnificent work for the sake of our country.

Sarah Mesrobian

Join the anti-nightmare squad—keep the GUARDIAN out of the ditch (see p. 1).



NEW YORK

When a factory runs away— a few find jobs but at lower pay

WHAT happens to working people when their factory "runs away?" Three-fourths of the workers are still unemployed six months later, and those who found jobs took them at lower pay. These are findings of a survey made by United Electrical Workers (Ind.) Local 475 on the effects of the removal of American Safety Razor's 1,200-worker Brooklyn plant to Staunton, Va. It was calculated from a detailed questionnaire answered by a sampling of 396 workers.

"I SEE NOTHING": Of the 26% who did find jobs, 3/4 took work at lower rates, an average of \$1.27 an hour compared to their \$1.50 average at ASR. They had to job-hunt an average of 15 1/2 weeks; 46% could find work only in non-union shops. Women were unemployed two weeks longer than men, got an average of 47c an hour less when hired. Only 8% of the women got jobs, and no Puerto Rican woman reported she was employed. Fewer Negro men found work, and those who did averaged 32c an hour less than white men.

"I see nothing in sight," reported a widow of 50. "Am too

old to obtain work, and too young for Social Security." But many women said employers told them repeatedly they wouldn't hire women over 35. Still jobless were 94% of the women over 35 and 73% of men over 40. A man of 50 with 4 dependents said he had covered over 100 agencies and industries and found "over 40 years old you have to drop dead."

BACK TO THE ARMY? Asked how they would "get along" when unemployment insurance ran out, 64% replied: "Cut down on living necessities"; 52% said they were using savings; 35% would borrow money; 31% receive support from other members of their family; 10% double up with relatives; 2% are on relief. A single man, age 23, said: "I'll have to go back to the Army so I don't have to worry about paying board."

The union calculated that purchasing-power lost through unemployment of its members, and of the 500 former ASR white-collar workers not in their bargaining unit, cost the community \$1.5 million purchasing-power since the lay-off; the monthly loss from now on would be \$240,000.



STATES WITH "RIGHT TO WORK" LAWS



JILLAGOTCHIE, MISSISSIPPI, BIDS 90 CENT AN HOUR LABOR DO I HEAR 85 CENTS FROM GEORGIA?

Jerseyites say: 'Leave us alone'

"THE Right to Be Left Alone" is the topic of a meeting to be held in Newark, N. J., Wed., May 18, protesting a 4-day House Un-American Activities Comm. hearing scheduled to open May 16. Sponsoring the meeting, which will be at 7:45 p.m. at Essex House, 1050 Broad St., Newark, are the N. J. Associates of the Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.

Speakers include H. H. Wilson, associate prof. of politics at Princeton Univ.; and Dr. Broadus Mitchell, Rutgers prof. of economics who said in announcing the meeting: "This... inquisitorial committee has nothing positive or constructive to contribute to the people of New Jersey... it is more likely to sow bitterness, distrust and loss of confidence in our established institutions."

The Un-AAC chaired by Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) announced its closed hearings in the Federal Court House would

TICKETS ON SALE FOR STRONG LECTURE

NEW Yorkers were already making reservations last week for the June 1 lecture on "China, U.S.A. and World Crisis" by Anna Louise Strong—her first appearance here in six years. The lecture, at 8 p.m. at the True Sisters Clubhouse (150 W. 85th St.), is sponsored by the GUARDIAN; tickets are \$1 each.

Miss Strong, internationally famous "reporter of revolutions," was expelled from the U.S.S.R. in 1949 on charges of espionage which the Soviet government recently withdrew, having found them groundless on investigation. Since then she has been analyzing world events in the newsletter Today published in Los Angeles. The most widely-read American writer on the revolutions in Russia and China, in which she spent most of her hazardous years as a reporter, she has published 15 books and her articles have appeared in 40 countries. Her most recent book was The Chinese Conquer China (Doubleday, N.Y.).

concern members of United Electrical Workers Union and the school system. At its annual meeting May 6, the N. J. Bar Assn. approved without opposition a 24-page report

scoring Sen. McCarthy's investigation at Ft. Monmouth last year and voted to continue its special committee on Congressional investigations, which made the McCarthy report.

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**THE GREAT BUNGLE**

**Federal foul-up halts serum, threatens another polio summer**

**D**R. JONAS SALK's anti-polio vaccine was launched April 12 with garish ceremonial. Cautious disclaimers by Salk and other scientists who had developed the vaccine were written off as over-modesty. Publicity men arranged celebrations and awards. The nation saw a triumph of U.S. know-how. Manufacturers freely counted profits, predicted a boom. By last week it was plain that U.S. know-how had so bungled the vaccine that few would be spared the dread of another polio season this summer.

In the face of short supply, a well-substantiated (but officially denied) report of black market operations, government officials whirled in contradictions. At a press conference President Eisenhower promised that no child would be deprived of the vaccine because his parents couldn't afford it; he also said the government would exercise no controls.

**NO SPIES OR PERVERTS:** Health, Education & Welfare Secy. Hobby called closed-door conferences which issued communiqués indicating a faith in "voluntary" controls. As the chaos mounted, Mrs. Hobby summoned a National Advisory Committee of prominent scientists and drug company executives.

Since these were to be government employes (at \$42 a day plus expenses) each was fingerprinted, required to sign affidavits that they were neither communists nor fascists and would not strike against the government. Then they were handed "Standard Form 61" notifying them they were to avoid habitual drunkenness, drug addiction, sexual perversion, sabotage and associating sympathetically with spies.

The committee, though thoroughly secure, produced no clear-cut guide to anxious parents. State administrations, looking to Washington for guidance, found it impossible to plan.

**CONFUSION:** New York City, shortly after the vaccine was announced, took the lead in offering to vaccinate all under 20 free. But as the school term neared its end and the city supply became only a trickle (largely through commercial channels), the city had to lower its sights. It had been hoped to reach school children in the first four grades before summer. Then the city said it would reach the first two grades at least, and perhaps the others by keeping schools open an extra week. (The Health Dept. tangled promptly with the Board of Education on that question when the Board said flatly it could not afford to pay school maintenance costs another week.)

After it was discovered that 44 persons who succumbed to polio had been inoculated with vaccine from the Cutter Laboratories (eight others who were



**LEONARD SCHEELE**  
He called the halt

stricken had received vaccine from other laboratories) Washington called in all Cutter vaccine. Authorities made it plain inoculations should continue with other vaccines, reassured parents of vaccinated children there was no danger.

Surgeon-Gen. Dr. Leonard A. Scheele abruptly halted all clearance of new vaccine, then on the week-end urged the suspension of all inoculations even with already-cleared vaccine from any laboratory.

**SLOWING DOWN:** Appearing before the House Banking Committee, Scheele said: "It is a wonderful vaccine but not 100% effective"—a point Salk had made earlier when it was drowned out in the noise of celebration. Scheele dismissed the black market as "very minor," then outlined the testing procedures at the Natl. Institute of Health in Bethesda, Md., responsible for approving each batch of vaccine. Up until the week-end the Institute had been approving the vaccine by "protocols," data recorded by each manufacturing company indicating the safety tests to which the vaccine had been submitted. The vaccine itself had not been checked by any government authority.

An alternative procedure now under consideration is for the Institute to test every batch by animal inoculations, which

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could take a month to clear each batch.

In his statement Dr. Scheele said 5 million children had been inoculated with the Salk vaccine this year, of whom 50 had contracted paralytic polio and two others non-paralytic polio. He said the postponement of vaccination shots was decided on to make possible a "double-check" of the safety steps taken by the manufacturers.

**SOME GOING AHEAD:** Most states either halted their vaccinations or said they would complete first-shots. Some authorities, as in Florida, said the decision was not in their hands since they had no supplies with which to continue the program.

Michigan, pointing out that 100,000 children in the state had been vaccinated with no bad results, said it would continue the inoculations despite Scheele's recommendation. Canada sent a representative to Washington to hear the Advisory Committee's report. He left before it was issued and announced that Canada saw no reason to hold up inoculations.

Health officials in other countries expressed dismay at the U.S. ballyhoo and chaos. All greeted the Salk vaccine as a great step forward but British doctors announced they would continue to study the problem. (The U.S. suffers more from polio than any other country.) Writing in *France-Observateur* (4/21) Dr. George Schapira of the Paris Faculty of Medicine said polio had not yet been finally conquered. He said the Salk vaccine might provide only a temporary immunity, that this would prevent the build-up of a natural immunity and might make possible a severe attack in adulthood. He foresaw modifications of the vaccine, perhaps a new one using live virus instead of Salk's dead one. Schapira concluded: "Perhaps in a number of years, impossible to determine how many, the progress of vaccination will use up all the supply of virus; vaccination will then be useless and the disease at last conquered."

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**Onward and upward with the arts**

Actress Ruth Roman sailed for England yesterday to star in a strictly Hollywood version of Shakespeare's "Macbeth." [She] will portray Lady Macbeth as a gun moll named Lily Macbeth. Paul Douglas will be her husband, gangster Joe Macbeth. A card-reading fortune teller will be the three witches rolled into one character and King Duncan emerges as "Big Duncan" . . .

"We're doing Macbeth on a sex basis," Miss Roman said. "I'm playing a slut. Our boy Joe is egged on by Lily to get ahead as a gangster and become king of the gang. But when he is king, he turns yellow and leaves all the killing to Lily. I'll do all my killing with a revolver. We thought a knife would be too bloody. . . . We're going to shoot some of the scenes in Scotland. We could have done it in Hollywood, but we want that touch of authenticity."

—N. Y. Herald Tribune, May 5.

**Peace theme for ASP concert**

**A** theater concert of Jewish culture through the centuries will be presented by the N. Y. Arts, Sciences, Professions Council at 8 p.m., Sun. May 15, at Palm Gardens, 306 W. 52d St.

Taking its theme from Isaiah: "They shall beat their swords into plowshares . . ." and stressing "the fight for survival" as one of the driving forces of Jewish life, the narration by actor Gil Green will weave together choral selections by the Jewish Young Folksingers and dramatic works. These include readings from Sholom Aleichem by Howard Da Silva; a selection of literary works inspired by the Rosenbergs, read by Ossie Davis; Bertholt Brecht's "The

Jewish Wife" read by Sarah Cunningham; songs by Robert and Louise De Cormier and Lucille Blackton; and the Amir Dance Group.

This event is the third in an ASP series on the cultural expression of America's many ethnic groups. Others were a Latin American festival and a Negro History Week program.

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**FRANK WILKINSON**—"What YOU can DO About the Witch Hunt."

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ELECTION EVE IN BRITAIN

People pushing for real peace policy repudiate some key Labour rightists

By Gordon Schaffer  
Guardian special correspondent

**B**ECAUSE the peace issue dominates all others for Britain's 35 million voters, both Conservative and Labour Party leaders talk peace and proclaim their desire to abolish the A- and H-bombs. But neither party has a policy of peace: both accept the nuclear warfare strategy of the NATO generals, both agree to Britain's manufacture of the H-bomb, both support the rearmament of W. Germany.

With this "coalition" of both major parties on all questions of foreign policy, the elections have started off in a general atmosphere of apathy and an air of disillusionment with the Labour Party. Since that party is traditionally on the offensive at election time, the Tories stand to gain from the present situation; but in spite of the efforts of both party machines the real issues are be-



ZILLIACUS

ginning to break through.

**REJECTED RIGHT-WINGERS:** A number of local Labour parties have already repudiated right-wing candidates. In Gorton, a suburb of the great manufacturing center of Manchester, Konni Zilliacus—once expelled from the Labour Party by Clement Attlee—handily defeated Sir Frank Sostice whose standing is such that he is regarded by many as a future Prime Minister. Edith Summerskill, the Labour Party's right-wing chairman, was rejected in Fulham in a contest with a candidate who has opposed German rearmament; she was saved by running in another constituency where she won with a majority of three votes over a left-wing nominee. Woodrow Wyatt, former Undersecy. for War and ardent supporter of German rearmament, was rejected by Birmingham Labour Party members and was forced to stand in another district with a safe Tory majority. Bessie Braddock, one of the most bitter opponents of progressives in the last Parliament, was rejected by Liverpool Labour Party members and was rescued only when Labour leaders threatened to expel all her opponents.

These incidents do not alter the fact

that most Labour candidates are far more reactionary than most Labour supporters, but they do indicate the rising tide of opposition to the coalition policy. That is the new factor in the situation; the people are forcing the issues of peace or war into the forefront of the election battle. Some left-wing candidates are determined to fight their own campaign in opposition to the H-bomb and the cold war in defiance of party headquarters; recently one candidate threw away the official Labour campaign literature and ordered his own declaring his support of a peace policy.

**OTHER PEACE CANDIDATES:** There are 17 Communist Party candidates in the field; their difficulty is that though vast numbers of people support their policies of opposition to the cold war, friendship with the socialist world and an end to U. S. domination, they cannot offer an alternative government; and it is very difficult to ask the workers to vote Communist in a handful of con-



Union Pressedienst, Berlin  
GERMAN UNITY

stituencies and Labour everywhere else, even where the Labour candidate is a known reactionary. In addition, there are a number of pacifist candidates.

Sir Richard Acland, who resigned from the Labour Party to wage a campaign in opposition to the cold war, is waging his fight at Gravesend which currently is the most active center of opposition to the two-party coalition.

If Labour had answered its membership's demand for a genuine peace policy, if it had sought to unite the working class instead of pursuing an anti-communist vendetta, it would be set for a resounding election victory. Instead, the most we can hope is that the progressive elements in the Labour movement will be able to persuade electors that they can be strong enough to impose their policy on reluctant leaders; and that on balance a Labour government can be pushed into action by these peace forces more effectually than a Tory government.

Spring price cuts

In the last week of April the prices of meat (10-15%), fruit (18-23%), cotton materials (10-20%), woollens & leather footwear (10-30%) and nylon stockings (30%) were cut in Bulgaria. Restaurant and tavern price cuts in Rumania would save consumers about \$106,000,000 a year, it was announced. Savings of over \$1 billion a year were promised to Polish consumers with cuts of 5% on cigarettes, 10% on coal, leather footwear and farm tools, 30% on cosmetics, vacuum cleaners.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

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FIRST-HAND REPORT  
BY NOTED BRITISH JOURNALIST

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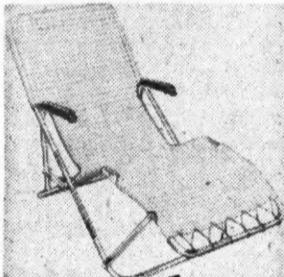
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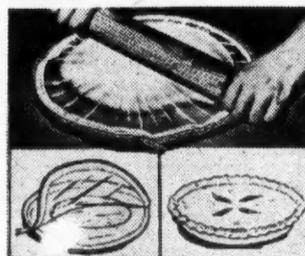
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# the SPECTATOR

## How iron is my curtain

IT IS such a privilege to be alive just now that the N. Y. Times and Pravda are in a constant hassle as to whether Americans or Russians invented the various gadgets which make it so. Now they are at it again, with a piece in NYT (5/7) under the headline: "Moscow Sets Stage for Drive to Prove That the U.S. Invented the 'Iron Curtain.'" The writer is Harrison E. Salisbury, who returned last year from a spell in Moscow to engage in a hassle about the facts of Soviet life with Harrison E. Salisbury, and who had last been heard of covering the New York garbage-disposal situation. Normally such an analysis would have been performed by the paper's Pravda expert Harry Schwartz; but Harry being off on a junket to Bonn to freshen up his inside track on Moscow's intentions in talks with "European observers," Harrison got his chance to climb out of whatever garbage can he was in at the time.



ABE LINCOLN Pravda-eye view

ORIENTAL LOGIC: What Harrison is analyzing for us is a Pravda cartoon in which the FBI is fingerprinting Abe Lincoln, "secret" Iowa corn is fenced with barbed wire, books are being burned, and a Pentagon man is standing by an A- and H-bomb tree to welcome Hitler's (now Adenauer's) Gen. von Manteuffel. All this is going on behind an iron curtain marked:

"Prohibited to cultural and agricultural delegations, war veterans and editors of student newspapers of countries of the socialist camp."

The reference is to Washington's recent refusal to admit such visitors from the U. S. S. R. unless they are fingerprinted. The Russians want to study the American way of life but, for some baffling reason, refuse to go along with this trifling formality which is now one of its ingredients. After all, they seem to say in their irrational oriental way, now that we have rebuilt our smashed transport and hotel systems, anyone can come to our country who wants to and whose government will let him. We didn't fingerprint William Randolph Hearst Jr., and we won't fingerprint Supreme Court Justice Douglas when he comes to explore our central Asian areas with his knapsack-full of ball-point pens to make the natives friendly.

TRY IT FOR SIZE: Now this debate on who invented iron curtains, iron lungs, smoothing-irons or mere irony is an angry one, destined perhaps never to be resolved. But by way of supporting U. S. claims to eminence in the curtain field, I can throw into the pot a few fragments of data on the only curtain of which I have been permitted personal experience.

The curtain I know about comes in several sizes. There is the large family size which keeps not only practically all Americans from visiting socialist countries, but hundreds of thousands even from visiting their widowed mothers in Munich or County Mayo. This is the one that has driven the quiet little professor Otto Nathan, closest friend of Einstein and sole executor of his estate, to sue the government for denying him a passport (though NYT is too embarrassed to mention it). There is the special one for Russians at the United Nations, which is so complicated that the Russians have been studying maps ever since the curtain rang down on them and still don't know where they can go and where they can't.

There is the vest-pocket one which confines to one part of Manhattan certain especially violent characters. One of these desperadoes is the Rev. Michael Scott, who speaks for S. W. African tribes at UN. His Desperate Reverence may walk around most of Central Park, but he may not cross Eighth Avenue to the Natural History Museum to study the ape-man ancestors who, over hundreds of centuries, have slowly evolved such human masterpieces as John Foster Dulles and Herbert Brownell.

KNOW-HOW TRIUMPHANT: Finally there is the Connecticut Curtain, the one for which the U. S. government fitted me two years ago when it began proceedings to deport me as a violent overthrewer, and which I am still wearing. I am allowed to roam at will over half the states of New York and New Jersey; but I may not enter Connecticut—presumably on the theory that if I did I would immediately overthrow it, but that New York and New Jersey are not worth overthrowing.

When arguments start on which particular country invented what, I have always lined up with that naive group who question whether any particular country, in these days, ever "invents" anything. But I insist that the U. S. has nothing to be ashamed of when it comes to production and maintenance of iron curtains, and that American know-how has once again triumphed in the variety of models we offer to the customers.

As for the hassle between the Times and Pravda, I submit that an obvious first step toward agreement would be a resolution of the hassle between Harrison E. Salisbury and Harrison E. Salisbury.

—Cedric Belfrage

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