



**THE OUTSTRETCHED HAND: SYMBOL OF THE MORAL CRUSADE**  
Air Force Secy. Talbott giving a lecture on ethics in government

#### HAROLD'S \$60,000 CRUSADE

## Talbott scandal new blow to the 'Cadillac Cabinet'

By Lawrence Emery

**A**IR FORCE SECY. Harold E. Talbott, in private life quite a big businessman, is one of Gen. Eisenhower's moral crusaders. Last week the public, through no fault of Talbott's, got another glimpse of the crusade in operation. It seems that Talbott, busy as he must be in the Defense Dept., finds time regularly to throw lucrative business to a New York industrial engineering firm of which he is one of two partners and draws half the profits. His share currently runs about \$60,000 a year; his government salary is \$18,000.

The Senate Investigations subcommittee headed by John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) had been quietly looking into this state of affairs and were studying documents and letters from the files

of the Talbott firm, Paul B. Mulligan & Co. The letters, signed by Talbott, many of them written on Air Force stationery, were to top industrialists drumming up business for Mulligan & Co. The committee apparently intended not to make the matter public, but the N. Y. Times acquired a few of the letters and reproduced three of them on July 20.

Next afternoon the Senate committee hastily assembled in public session with Talbott on the stand. He was fairly certain he hadn't done anything illegal or unethical and declared he hadn't used his official influence for his own benefit. In fact, he said, he had made great sacrifices to become a crusader. Several Senators commiserated with him. Joe McCarthy was par-

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#### THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY — I

## The new mythology: A nation with endless prosperity

By Tabitha Petran  
(First of five articles)

**T**HREE CARS in every garage . . . a doubling of the American standard of living . . . the passing of what Henry Ford II has called "the primitive, relatively unstable capitalism of the past" to make way for a "people's capitalism," "depression-free," and "consumer-dominated." Such projections are legion today when, in the words of business writer Donald Rogers (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 5/8), "the greatest boom of all time is upon the land."

These visions are part of a new mythology growing out of America's long war- and post-war boom. This mythology resembles the "new era" optimism of the 1920's, but goes beyond it. In addition to the endless-prosperity dream, today's myths are:

- That the New Deal reforms—employment insurance, insured savings deposits, farm price supports, etc.—have produced "built-in stabilizers" which will prevent a deep depression from setting in.

- That the business cycle is a mechanism that can be regulated through credit controls, public works spending, taxation policies, etc., in such a way as to prevent depressions.

- That the government plays so big and important a role in business today that it can, and will, control the course of economic affairs.

This last myth appears in the popular assumption that no Administration—Republican or Democrat—can afford a depression; hence it will undertake, or can be influenced to undertake, measures to prevent one. A variant of this myth is the belief that continuous large "defense" spending automatically prevents a depression.

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#### WAR & PEACE

## The results of Geneva: new international climate and relaxing of tensions

**T**HE GENEVA CONFERENCE, held "in response to the universal urge . . . that political leaders . . . find a path to peace," as President Eisenhower put it, ended on a relatively friendly note. Its key achievement was to confirm a new international atmosphere and a visible relaxation of tension. For Americans, its most notable fact perhaps was the public acknowledgement by an American President that the Soviet Government "sincerely desires peace."

This acknowledgement—emphasized in State Dept. briefings to Congress—in fact undercut the basis for Washington's cold war policy; American correspondents were already predicting it "may cause trouble in the future" (N. Y. Times, 7/24).

To understand what Geneva did and did not accomplish it is necessary to recall how it came about. Three factors—ratification of W. German rearmament last winter, NATO's decision to rely on nuclear war and Congress' preventive war resolution (on Formosa)—heightened tension and worldwide fears that Washington was moving toward war.

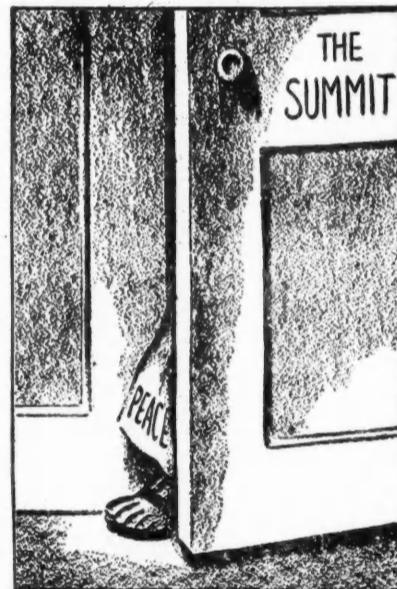
**THE WORLD SPEAKS:** The U. S. S. R. and the great powers of Asia counteracted with intensified peace efforts and created the opportunity for worldwide popular opposition to express itself. So great was the popular demand for peaceful settlement that it threatened to undermine Western policy. In this situation, Britain's Prime Minister Eden made his election-maneuver proposal for four-power talks; after much pressure Washington reluctantly agreed.

Pre-conference statements and actions of the three Western governments made clear that they intended to use the conference to try to allay worldwide misgivings about their policies—without changing these policies.

The disarmament question illustrates their approach: The Soviet May 10 proposals accepted the Western position on nearly all key questions. As weeks went by without any Western reply, U. S. correspondents abroad wrote with increasing urgency of the need for some U. S. gesture to convince the world of its "sincerity." Washington's dilemma was not an easy one since, as Joseph Alsop wrote (7/18):

"The Pentagon . . . is undyingly opposed to a serious disarmament effort. The disarmament talks that have taken place have aroused no

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Nashville Tennessee  
ALL THAT WAS HOPED FOR

**POPULAR CONFUSION:** These illusions reflect lack of understanding of how our economy works and, in particular, of the nature of depression. As later articles in this series will attempt to show, the basic factors making for a depression have been maturing for some time.

Although the present boom is not yet as long-lived as that of the 1920's, this popular mythology has influenced even some progressives. These progressives advance the belief that government action—prompted and forced by the people—can "delay a depression." The assumption is that the economy can be manipulated to control the business cycle.

The terms "avoid" or "delay" a depression are, in fact, used interchangeably. And the logical implication is, if depressions can at all times be delayed, that they can in fact be eliminated.

But a planless capitalist economy (capitalism is by its very nature planless) cannot prevent depression because it cannot control the course of the basic factors determining its working. When conditions for depression mature, the depression will inevitably follow. During the current post-war period, American capitalism has aggressively exploited, for the maximum of profits, first, the accumulated resources and demands inherited from World War II and, second, renewed military expenditures.

**GOVERNMENT AID:** It has also harnessed government operations and aid for this purpose. Governmental initiative and intervention of this kind has always been enlisted by capitalists, while at the same time governmental measures in behalf of the people are opposed.

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### A worried citizen

GLENDALE, CALIF.

As a native-born American, a veteran, a taxpayer, an active citizen, a father, a former practicing professional and a believer in liberty, equality and democracy, I'm worried.

Why, in a democracy, can the FBI or any other agency photograph each private citizen entering a public hearing or a public trial?

Why, in a democracy, at Un-American hearings, are witnesses constantly confronted with the accusation: "You signed a petition . . ." or "You attended a meeting . . ."

Why, in a democracy, is there such a gimmick as "subversiveness"? Either an organization or a newspaper is legal or it is illegal. If it is legal, then it is NOT subversive. This subversive gimmick is a plot to have our cake and eat it, too; to label the can "democracy" while the contents are in reality that of the police state.

Q: When is democracy not democracy?  
A: When it is native American fascism.

### Canada loves us

TORONTO, CANADA

I get a stack of papers weekly, but the GUARDIAN is read always, and clipped shaggy. There never has been anything like your paper, and I think tomorrow's scholars—I mean the academic researchers and the children in grade school—will read what you are publishing today.

Special thanks to Belfrage. Up here, you can understand, we take very unkindly to most things American. But reasonable Canadians always finish up an outburst by saying: "Then, of course, there are the others, like Robeson and Past and Belfrage. . . ." Dyson Carter

TORONTO, CANADA

It would be hard to express how much we value your paper here, not just because it is a fine paper, but because it helps us to remember that there are many, many fine U.S. citizens who are putting up a wonderful fight for peace and against fascism. Your government should really give you some kind of a medal because, as one person here put it, "I don't hate the U.S. quite so much on the day the GUARDIAN comes."

(Mrs.) W. Hurley

### The Cutter story

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I wonder if your position in joining those who have been looking for a scapegoat in the polio situation can be justified by either the scientific facts that have been released so far, or by Cutter's past record? No one yet is in possession of enough information to say with any certainty that Cutter was negligent, or that Cutter's past record has been as clear as any of the other five producers of polio vaccine.

Your article of July 4 speaks at length of all the violations of which Cutter has been guilty, but you fail to compare these violations to the similar violations which the other five manufacturers have been guilty. You mentioned that Cutter did not produce any vaccine used in the tests last year,

### How crazy can you get dept.

DENVER (UP)—Marco Liang, owner of an import store here, plans to establish a rickshaw taxi service in Denver, using "husky football type" young men for manpower instead of Chinese coolies.

Liang said his rickshaw drivers would use bicycles instead of simple leg power, but he thought motor-driven bicycles would be out of the question because "that would remove the Oriental motif."

Pueblo (Colo.)  
Star-Journal, 7/19.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Paul Stewart, Pueblo.

but you failed to mention that only two of the six producers had vaccine in last year's tests. You insinuate that Cutter was selected only because of political pressures, but you fail to evaluate the reasons why Cutter would have been a logical choice as a producer. (For just one reason, Cutter was the first and only producer of a vaccine cultivated from live tissue cultures in test tubes.)

I hold no brief whatsoever for Cutter's action in the Doris Walker case—you are quite justified in attacking them on that issue. Vindictively, we might feel satisfaction that Dr. Cutter is the victim of the same kind of emotional and prejudiced judgement as Doris Walker, but I feel that we shouldn't be too hasty to judge Dr. Cutter before the facts are all in, and let's encourage him to follow his own new found resolve and not continue to persecute Doris Walker.

Name withheld

### Books to spare?

GEORGETOWN, BR. GUIANA

Here, our people are book starved, especially for books of a progressive kind. There is one public library in Georgetown and one little library in New Amsterdam. Besides that there are two private libraries in the Colony. It would not be hard to understand that they do not touch many of the vital subjects the people wish to read about.

There has been a request that we open a library of progressive literature. Currency restrictions (and low funds) prevent the importation of books from the U.S.A. If any of your readers have books, pamphlets, magazines or newspapers which they have no more use for, I can assure them that we would be most grateful to receive them. They can be sent to me at the address below.

Janet Jagan  
199 Charlotte St.

### 2 items wanted

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am in need of the following two items:

1. A brochure by Evans Clark, published in the 1920's, entitled Facts and Fabrications About Soviet Russia.

2. A U.S. Senate document entitled Hearings on a Treaty of Peace, published about 1918, containing confidential reports of their visit to the U.S.S.R. by Capt. Pettit, Lincoln Steffens, and William C. Bullitt.

If any of your readers have these items, I would appreciate their writing me. They are needed for a research and writing project soon to be started. Morris Kominsky  
1171 No. Miller Av.

### Call to youth

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

We with small means sure are

spreading our defense means out plenty thin these days. I am hoping to contribute a bit more to the GUARDIAN next month and hope we can have a get-together sometime soon.

I am hoping more of the younger set will help us 80-year-olds on the job.  
Val S. Ware

### Debt of gratitude

CUMBERLAND, MD.

I'm retired and don't have a lot of money, but I realize that anyone who is interested in liberty, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and last but not least, freedom of thought, owes the GUARDIAN and Cedric Belfrage a debt of gratitude.  
Jean N. Bourckel

### Poets of Progress

CHICAGO, ILL.

Poets of progress! Choose the simple word.

And speak directly. Be no longer vague.

Speak plainly to the people and be heard.

Fear not to say what powers it is that plague

Us with all evil, turning men away From unity as brothers. Oh, be clear!

Avoid the dreary symbols of decay And point your finger at the cause of fear —

The monster greed, the greed that rules our land.

The greed that runs the diplomatic dance

Of puppets by the strings held in its hand.

Cry out the truth and make the monster blanch

And hesitate to cast our world in hell;

Oh, let your rhymes ring out — a warning bell!

Fred Adams

### Minneapolis party

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The Le Sueur Memorial Committee thought it would be nice to observe Marlan's birthday anniversary.



Arthur & Marlan Le Sueur

sary, Aug. 2, with a benefit party for the GUARDIAN, since keeping up the support of the GUARDIAN was one of her pet projects. The affair will do double duty, as we will also offer for sale at \$1 copies of Meridel Le Sueur's memorial book on her late parents, The Crusaders.

The party will be in the form of an afternoon and evening openhouse at 2415 Garfield St., N.E., Tues., Aug. 2. Contributions and orders for The Crusaders may be sent to me at the above address.  
Emma Carlson

### A Swedish view

APELVIKSSTRAND, SWEDEN

In America you've never had a politically important labor movement, never a nation-wide united labor group openly socialist, never a strong party with the direct purpose of fighting for labor's interests. In Sweden, as in Europe generally, it is self-evident that the labor movement has its own party, that the trade unions support this party (or rather the two parties—Social Democrat and Communist) and vice versa.

What your parties are supposed to represent is quite impossible for a European to understand. To 99% of European workers it would seem quite preposterous to vote for one of the two big party machines known to represent two competing business and racketeering outfits.

Where's the party representing the workers? Is it true, as they say over here, that an American worker doesn't regard himself as a worker, because he thinks he's going to be the boss some day himself? Where's the Agrarian party? Where is the Liberal party? How can any big group of Americans, except Big Business, influence your government at all?

We're rather concerned about these things over here, because we never know if maybe some day Gruenther or Carney will push the



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AUGUST 1, 1955

### REPORT TO READERS

## Dear Mr. President . . .

THE WORLD IS IN AGREEMENT that you have just made the biggest contribution to world peace and understanding of any American in high official place in the years since the end of World War II.

You met and talked with men from whose ideas you dissent; and you found with them a basis for mutual respect and straightforward dealing "to transform this century of recurring conflict into a century of enduring and invigorating peace."

You said, too, that "in America, the fervent belief in freedom of thought, of expression, and of movement is a vital part of our heritage"; that it is time "that all curtains, whether of guns or laws or regulations, should begin to come down."

MR. PRESIDENT, in the spirit of Geneva, we ask you to consider a case which we think you may find to be an immediate and most appropriate point at which to begin brushing aside the curtains in our own country.

The case is that of Cedric Belfrage, the editor of an American newspaper who is now being held in jail for deportation to England on unproved allegations of Communism dating back 18 years. But, in fact, Mr. President, the real reason Cedric Belfrage faces deportation is that he is a dissenter. Through his publication, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, and in his personal statements and writings, he has dissented vigorously from your predecessors who have opposed the peace-seeking measures which you yourself have now taken; and he has dissented as well from those in your own administration who preach war and repression of liberties.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE of the Supreme Court, Mr. Warren, has termed dissent an indispensable force in a working democracy. "We must test all of our public actions by dissent," he said. "The majority does not always discover the right answer until they are so tested."

We most respectfully ask you to consider the case of this dissenting editor. We ask that you affirm his right to citizenship in our country and his right to dissent. As the Chief Justice has said: "The acid test of dissent is the ability to get itself accepted finally as the truth."

The stubborn truth of today is that the nations of the world can and must reach agreements without war. Cedric Belfrage has dissented from those who would deny this truth; you yourself have made a most historic contribution to the establishment of this truth.

We ask that you make it possible for Cedric Belfrage to make his contribution, as an American editor, toward the enduring and invigorating peace which we with you so devoutly desire.

WE HAVE PURPOSELY left the signature off the above letter because we earnestly hope that you, the reader, will today send a letter along these lines to President Eisenhower on the Belfrage Case. As this is written, our request for bail is before Supreme Court Justice John M. Harlan. Presidential intervention would make the question of bail academic.

Won't you ask President Eisenhower to intervene, TODAY?

John T. McManus,  
For the GUARDIAN Staff

button to liberate us—when there isn't any more room for their "quite conventional" H-bombs and improvements.

So, just in self-defense, I'm sending you \$10.  
Gunnar Svantesson

### Morse for President

MANTON, MICH.

The Democratic Party under FDR was much better for the common people than they had a right to expect from the effort and study that they put into it. If all liberals will study party machinery and quit holding themselves aloof on a high shelf, the Democrats will become progressively better. The people themselves let FDR down by sending him a weak Congress in 1938. Again in 1944 the people took a lazy "let George do it" attitude instead of putting up a good, intelligent fight for Henry Wallace for Vice-President. Let us in other

northern states get into the fight to nominate good men on the Democratic ticket and nominate a man like Sen. Wayne Morse for President and perhaps we can return this country to peace and security.  
Loren N. O'Brien

### Insult to humanity

SAN ANSELMO, CALIF.

If socialism vs. capitalism is not THE issue today, then there is no issue. In 1955, to go on whining that no reliable section of our own people has brains enough to see, or heart enough to stand up for the truth to which a whole world is turning before its eyes . . . this is an insult to the working class, to humanity, to Marxism. Shades of Lenin, Stalin, Gene Debs, Joe Hill and the Abraham Lincoln Brigade . . . and lots more ("No-body who was anybody believed it. . .")  
Edward Torr

# American economy

(Continued from Page 1)

No doubt the post-war booms would have been lesser, and the recessions more severe and longer, in the absence of governmental intervention. But it is self-delusion, and therefore a mistake, to regard the government measures which helped to maximize profits as measures which can delay a depression.

**HOUSING SITUATION:** Take, for example, the current housing boom, a major factor in the recovery from the 1953-54 recession. This boom has been stimulated by a succession of ever more liberal credit and payment terms. These stimulants, however, have not "postponed a depression." Rather they have served to squeeze more profits out of a limited market, enabling business to get the most profits out of the situation before a major depression develops.

In order to "delay" a depression it becomes important to perpetuate this situation. But the financial community much more realistically recognizes that the more the situation is exploited the harder it must fall.

The significant fact about the housing boom now is that it cannot long continue since there is no more room for liberalization of mortgage terms. Even the present terms—so-called "no down payment contracts"—are below standards acceptable to money lenders. The government, acting in behalf of the real estate lobby, has done just about all it can to help builders squeeze the last dollar of profits out of a narrowing market. To stimulate the boom

further in its late stages means only to deepen and prolong the depression that will develop. Why? Because the greater the surplus of houses, (compared with demand), the greater the curtailment of new construction when the downturn comes.

**NOT THE KEY:** Progressives who advance the theory that a "depression can be delayed" argue that "if war or economic crisis is to be avoided, it is necessary to compel a major change in the policies of the Eisenhower Administration." Here the assumption is that a



crisis can be "avoided." They put forward an "anti-depression program" consisting of steps to raise the income of the people, to substitute welfare for war spending, shift the tax burden to big business, expand foreign trade with the socialist world. This program, they assert, will "avoid" or "delay" a depression.

These steps—and all steps to protect and raise living standards—are necessary and good in themselves. But they are not keys to controlling a depression. It is always necessary for progressives to fight to raise living standards, whatever the phase of the business cycle, with or without a depression. In a country as rich as ours, there is no need for sophisticated arguments to support demands that people get the

food, clothes, homes and education they require. It is only common sense to demand that these needs be met, and to back up the demands with political action.

**CONTRADICTION GOALS:** The confusion lies in thinking that the effort to achieve these goals, even their achievement, constitutes a means of controlling the business cycle. This leads to the formulation of a political program on a false premise—that progressives can do the impossible: control the business cycle to delay a depression. This, in turn, leads to a situation in which progressives are fostering existing delusions, rather than helping people to understand the implications of the reality they face.

Linking a progressive program to the business cycle can only lead to hopeless confusion because it (1) sets impossible and contradictory goals and (2) imposes responsibilities which are in conflict with progressive aims. For example:

- In a capitalist economy, continuing prosperity means continuing speculative boom. The longer the speculative boom lasts, the greater the excess capacity that will be produced. In other words, the extension of the boom is not going to solve the problem of major depression or soften the blow when the depression comes.

- Within a capitalist framework, raising of living standards does not prevent over-production and excess capacity. Even with higher living standards, business investment reaches relative saturation and decline. Ironically, depressions are always preceded

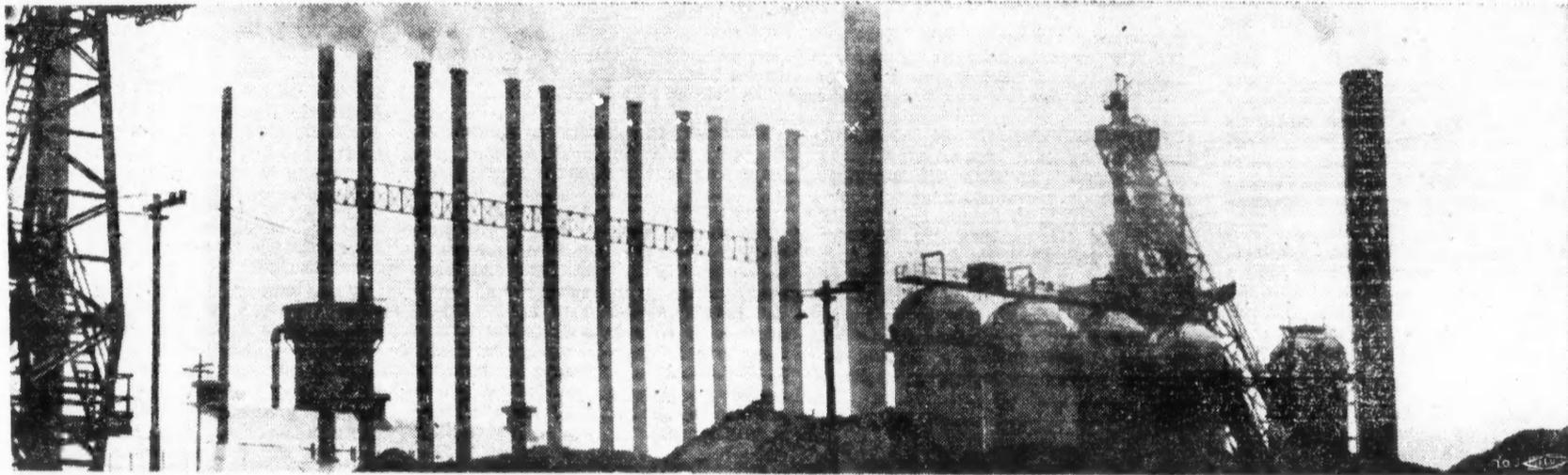
by a period of rising living standards. But raising living standards must always be a progressive goal.

- If a progressive movement sets out to regulate the business cycle to "delay" or "avoid" a depression, in a sense it assumes responsibility for the cycle, and may find it necessary by this logic to support wage freezes and other sacrifices by labor and consumers in the interest of trying to maintain economic activity. Thus, the post-World War II British Labor Government effectively froze wages on the grounds that labor "restraint" and "moderation" would permit it to "stabilize the position"—that is, prevent economic crisis. If economic activity is to be maintained, the argument goes, labor must show restraint so capitalists can make good profits.

**ROOSEVELT IN 1944:** In direct contrast to this approach is President Roosevelt's 1944 Economic Bill of Rights. Roosevelt proclaimed that everyone had "the right to a useful and remunerative job in the industries or shops or farms or mines of the nation." Period. He did not tie this demand to the business cycle. The demand was made because this is what people need. Roosevelt, it is true, did not explore the implications of this demand. If these are explored, the demand is revealed as a new social concept, even a revolutionary one, a demand that can be achieved only if it is imposed in a class manner.

\* Political Affairs, June, 1955.

**NEXT WEEK:** Why a depression cannot be prevented.



# Talbott scandal

(Continued from Page 1)

ticularly insistent that Talbott had done no wrong.

The Times was declared to be the real culprit for having reproduced the letters; Talbott called it "outrageous," Sens. McClellan and George Bender (D-O.) both said it was "reprehensible." They all pledged a thorough search for the "leak."

**VERY SPECIAL:** Before Talbott was confirmed by the Senate, he had agreed to sever all business relations except with the Mulligan firm. He said that he was having himself made a "special partner" which, he explained, meant that he would share in no profits deriving from work done for a corporation engaged in defense production. But one of the big contracts Talbott landed since becoming Air Force Secretary was with the Avco Manufacturing Co., controlled by Victor Emanuel, which has a backlog of \$200,000,000 in defense contracts with the Air Force and the Navy. Talbott's "special partnership" rule has never been applied; he still shares equally in all profits.

In spite of this, Talbott insisted that his conduct was quite proper and that he was being abused:

"Now this is a shocking thing to point a finger of suspicion at a man that does not deserve it. Now, maybe I am wrong, but I do not think I deserve it."

**WANTS TO BE TOLD:** He had a proposal for getting himself off the hook: he would give, not sell, his interest in the Mulligan Co. to his partner and henceforth receive no gain from it whatsoever, directly or indirectly. But he had two conditions for this generous offer. First, he wanted the committee to tell him to do it. Second, he would do it only if the committee agreed

"... that I have not violated any statute nor acted in a manner inconsistent with the declaration of intent I made to the Senate at the time of my confirmation."

He was willing to buy back his innocence at the rate of \$60,000 a year.

Toward the end of the public hearing, committee counsel Robert Kennedy began to ask Talbott some questions. The Radio Corp. of America had refused to renew a contract with the Mulligan Co. unless it got a specific ruling from Atty. Gen. Brownell that it was proper to do business with a firm having as a partner the Secretary of the Air Force.

Kennedy wanted to know if Talbott had done anything to change the company's mind. He absolutely hadn't. Under further questioning he couldn't remember. Still further questioning and maybe he had. When Kennedy began to develop that Talbott had caused the Air Force general counsel to call an RCA lawyer and had himself participated in the conversation through a third phone, the hearing was adjourned.

**\$131,032 PROFITS:** By Monday, July 25, reaction to the disclosures had forced full-scale public hearings, but it didn't look as though they'd last long; the story was too clear. Mulligan himself took the stand, identified scores of company documents showing the Talbott role in the Mulligan Co.'s prosperity. Talbott, he said, has received a total of \$131,032 from company profits since he was installed in the Pentagon.

Samuel Ewing, an RCA attorney at Camden, N.J., took the stand and confirmed that Talbott had indeed sought a new Mulligan contract with RCA in spite of that firm's belief that it might be improper and illegal. Ewing said that in a phone call to him Talbott had used a "forceful" tone of voice and "wanted some action." He also testified that Talbott said Air Force general counsel John A. Johnson represented him in the matter.

**TOP-LEVEL HUDDLE:** Other evidence showed that following a phone call from Talbott to the head of the Union Oil Co. in California, the Mulligan Co. got a contract with the firm. Union Oil has done an \$85,000,000 business with the Defense Dept. since 1953.

Unconfirmed reports had it that top White House aides, including Vice-President Nixon and Atty. Gen. Brownell, were huddling over the Talbott affair and preparing to brief the President on it.

In the Senate Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) rose to "pay my disrespects" to Talbott

and said that "government will not be clean until we clean out such men."

**AN OLD HAND:** Actually, none of this was really new to Harold E. Talbott. Back in World War I he had been president of the Dayton Wright Aircraft Co. and vice-president and general manager of the Dayton Metal Products Co. One of the founders of both companies had been Edward Deeds, who got himself appointed a colonel in charge of the government's equipment division for aviation. His two companies, with Talbott running things, got push government contracts, made huge profits and produced faulty goods or none at all. The situation called for two investigations, one by a House committee and one conducted by Charles Evans Hughes. The latter recommended that Deeds be court-martialed, but nothing ever happened.

All this was known and considered by the Senate when it confirmed Talbott by a vote of 76 to 6 on Feb. 4, 1953. As Dwight Eisenhower himself said on Nov. 1, 1952:

"The new Administration will not tolerate any deviation from an uncompromising code of honesty and ethics in government service."

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## War & peace

(Continued from Page 1)

Pentagon opposition because they were thought to be meaningless. But the Pentagon is up in arms now because serious disarmament talks seem to be a possibility."

**BULL'S EYE STUNT:** Washington's solution, concocted in the Pentagon (NYT, 7/22), was the President's "legal espionage" proposal at Geneva, calling for a U.S.-U.S.S.R. exchange of military blueprints and aerial reconnaissance. As a propaganda stunt, it "hit the bull's eye," said Joseph C. Harsch (Christian Science Monitor, 7/22) but it was

"... not diplomacy since one of the rules of diplomacy is . . . to avoid putting the opponent in a position where he is hurt regardless of whether he says yes or no."

CSM (7/22) thought the President's proposal would hinder rather than help "the slow but noticeable advance in world relations which the conference had so far produced." An American delegation source told publisher William Randolph Hearst Jr. (N.Y. Journal American, 7/22) that the plan was "a gimmick . . . typically Stassen . . . a tricky plan with little chance of working out." Hearst quoted "a veteran political correspondent" as saying:

"It was just a little too slick. It wasn't meant to be acceptable to the Russians and when we make a proposal which is essentially phony, I think it is bound to hurt us in the long run."

However, the Western press generally hailed the plan because "it put the Russians on the spot."

Washington's real attitude on disarmament was made clear in its refusal to include a study of a ban on nuclear weapons in the conference directives to the October Foreign Ministers meeting (which will discuss European security and Germany). The President's plan was referred, along with other disarmament proposals, to the UN.

**GERMANY:** On the German question, the Western governments both before and during Geneva engaged in an elaborate sleight of hand designed to make it appear that they were making concessions to the U.S.S.R. while, in fact, they had upped their demands. The core of their plans, including the Eden "guarantees" and "reassurances" to the U.S.S.R., was inclusion of a united Germany in NATO—and no final acceptance of Germany's present frontiers. The President's dramatic personal

assurance of NATO's "peaceful" intent was also designed to make this demand palatable to public opinion. But, as Soviet Premier Bulganin pointed out, the fact that the U.S.S.R. had been denied admission to NATO adequately revealed its nature.

The West knew in advance, as Kingsbury Smith reported (N.Y. Journal American, 7/20) that the U.S.S.R. could not, and would not, accept its plan for Germany. In insisting upon it,



THE SHIRT OFF HIS BACK

Two members of the visiting Soviet farm delegation in Iowa are impressed as host Tom Cooper takes his shirt off so his wife can demonstrate the ease of automatic washing. Mrs. Cooper is operating the mangle. The exchange of delegations is doing more to mangle the cold war than tons of high-level oratory.

the West faithfully followed the line of Bonn Chancellor Adenauer, who wants no four-power agreement on Germany. His policy is geared to keeping Germany divided until he can back up its claims for its pre-war frontiers by force. In following the Adenauer line, the West may be dealing itself out of any eventual German settlement. A settlement is more likely to be made in Moscow with a post-Adenauer W. German government, as influential W. German papers are beginning to point out.

**BARREN OF IDEAS:** The West's rigidity on Germany could not be wholly concealed by what Wisconsin's Capital Times (7/20) called the President's

"old college try" approach to Soviet Defense Minister Zhukov and the Russians. It wrote:

"It seems obvious that the President is resorting to these cheerleading tactics because he has gone to the conference with no constructive proposals to offer. As some of the correspondents have candidly reported, there are many shortages of things at Geneva but none so apparent as the shortage of ideas on the part of the American delegation."

many would remain divided during the first stage; after a step-by-step drawing together of its two parts, it would achieve unity in the second. (The U.S.S.R. again advanced its proposals on disarmament; it announced that as a beginning it would demobilize its troops withdrawn from Austria. The West did not reply to its suggestion of a similar Western move.)

**NOT SO UNITED:** France's Premier Faure angered both the British and U.S. delegations by giving some support to the Soviet security proposal. He said: "There is no reason to suppose that these two security systems might not merge into a single one." There were other instances of what the NYT (7/19) called "marked signs of divergent views within the western coalition." British irritation over the Eisenhower approach was particularly plain.

**SICK OF WAR:** But in the new climate of opinion, and in the plans for increasing East-West contacts, Geneva may register lasting successes. The warmth shown by Iowa farmers to the visiting Soviet farm delegation shows how much such contacts can achieve. American reporters, astounded by the Iowa reception, tried to find an explanation. An AP reporter concluded (7/23) that Iowans "harbor little animosity to Russians as Russians despite the strains of the cold war years." He quoted an Iowa businessman as saying:

"People out here, and probably in the rest of the country too, are sick and tired of talk about war and international tension. We are willing to do just about anything to get rid of it."

Dr. W. V. Lambert, chairman of the U.S. farm delegation visiting the U.S.S.R., describing his impressions for the Hearst press (NYJA, 7/23), emphasized the "great friendliness and cordiality" of the Soviet people and said:

"As a teacher and farm specialist two things stand out in my mind . . . the great interest I have seen in higher education and the progress being made in agriculture. Both are substantial."

These contacts could become a potent force. That Washington fears this force was underscored by a Dept. of Justice announcement last week that a "three-way drive" against American Reds, "held up or watered down in the four months preceding the Geneva talks" at State Dept. and White House request, was now about to get under way.

—Tabitha Petran

### THE PASSPORT FIGHT

## Robeson wins limited right to travel, seeks full right without signing oath

FOR THE FIRST time in five years the U.S. State Dept. last week granted permission to Paul Robeson to leave the country—but only to Canada. His right to travel elsewhere in the

Americas and to Europe was still under consideration. The State Dept. has repeatedly refused to allow Robeson to travel to any country, though Robeson has been offered extensive concert and stage bookings.

The borders were closed down to Robeson on July 28, 1950, when the Department demanded Robeson's passport. Robeson refused to surrender it and the Department canceled it, ordered border guards to prevent his leaving. Robeson was told he could regain his passport (he had held one since 1922) by promising to make no speeches abroad. He refused and petitioned the Federal District Court in Washington, D.C., to correct "this violation" of his rights.

**LOT TO DO:** The court in effect upheld the Department by ruling that it had no jurisdiction in the matter. While awaiting the decision on his appeal, Robeson was prevented from crossing the border into Canada where no passport is required. The Court of Appeals denied the appeal, said the question was "moot" since Robeson's passport had expired by then.

In Jan., 1953, and again in June, after a bid from Leslie Linder Productions to play Othello in London,

Robeson reapplied, was turned down. Last week, heartened by recent court decisions in passport cases, Robeson went to Washington to reapply. He told newsmen later:

"I've got a lot of traveling to do—Othello in a new production to be staged in London where I first played the part 25 years ago, and a film version of the Shakespearean classic to be made in Moscow, and concert tours of Great Britain, France, the Scandinavian countries, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, China, India, Israel—and I must get started right away."

**ONLY CANADA?** Robeson said he told State Dept. officials that his passport had been canceled because he opposed "the government's policy" and because they did not want him "to talk about the rights of Negroes here and the rights of colonial peoples."

The Department promptly said he could go to Canada at any time and as often as he chose. Confusion arose on whether the permission extended to other countries in the Americas which require no passports.

**SLIGHT ERROR:** News services sent out a story indicating that Robeson told officials he was "willing" to sign a non-communist affidavit but later corrected the word to "unwilling." At a news conference Robeson said:

"I contend now, as I did at the State Dept. hearing, that even Communists have the right now to travel, according to recent court decisions; and I further contend that signing an affidavit has nothing to do with a passport."

## Hallinan rallies Calif. progressives

SOME 500 cheering IPP members gathered at Park Manor, Los Angeles, July 21, to hear Vincent Hallinan, 1952 Progressive Party candidate for President, and begin reorganization for 1956 campaigns.

Hallinan called on his state's progressives to work in all ways with all groups in the fight for public power and conservation programs such as TVA, for repeal of the Smith and Taft-Hartley laws, for social, economic and political equality for the Negro people and other minorities.

Reuben W. Borough, IPP vice-chairman, hailed the recent defense of the right to dissent by Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme Court, and called for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which recently renewed its witch-hunting among California progressives. Borough arraigned the Committee on a ten-point indictment.

"Freedom bleeds wherever this Committee goes," he declared. "It is time to end its career."

The meeting was chaired by Horace V. Alexander, state IPP chairman and 1954 candidate for Secretary of State. Jack Bernan, executive director of L. A. Co. IPP, announced plans for an independent progressive newspaper and a series of forums.



Herblock, Washington Post  
TRAVELING PAPERS

1,000 WOMEN FROM 66 COUNTRIES

# The First World Congress of Mothers

By Ione Kramer  
Special to the Guardian

LAUSANNE, SWITZERLAND

**A** SLIGHT, white-haired housewife from Florence, Italy, mounted the speakers platform. "I have never taken part in any congress before," she began haltingly, "but I want to tell of the joy I never dreamed I would discover." She went on:

"I have seen reflected in so many different faces my own identity as a mother—costumes and races I have never seen before, Indian, Korean and Russian mothers—here a Negro woman with her little baby—thousands of mothers of all races, of all countries, but with one heart... where people say 'Let us discuss, but let us not kill.' That is where we belong."

That is how Mrs. Clotilde Cassigoli summed up the feelings of more than 1,000 women (826 mothers) from 66 countries. These women, under the slogan "Mothers who give life wish to defend it," met here in the Swiss Exhibition Hall July 7-10 in the first World Congress of Mothers. The Congress was called by a committee from women's organizations, trade unions and political parties in many lands, under sponsorship of the Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn. and other groups. Delegations were chosen at meetings held in each country. Some delegations numbered 100; single delegates from Greece, Turkey and South Africa congratulated themselves on being in Lausanne.

**FROM EXPERIENCE:** Overcoming wide differences of opinion, religion and language, the delegates were united in declaring: "We do not want our sons to fight each other."

Speaker after speaker vividly related how her own family had suffered through war. They brought new understanding to women from countries which had not directly experienced war. A U.S. observer said: "It makes us feel very humble."

"Can anything be more miserable than a mother who has lost even the dead body of her child?" asked Mrs. Pak Den Ai, deputy from North Korea. War was not yet a memory for Mme.



**HE CAME WRAPPED IN A SHAWL ON HIS MOTHER'S BACK**  
He's Cherif Sidibe, with his Senegalese mother, Mrs. Brnton Sidibe

Bui Thi Cam, a lawyer of South Viet Nam, who cited 10,000 dead and 100,000 homeless in last April's fighting near Saigon. Baya Allatouchiche, an Algerian, described the poverty and terrorism in her country; in the town of Constantine, French troops rounded up 6,000 persons June 23 and 3,000 July 1. Hailing the declaration of the Natl. Council of French Women protesting sending troops there, Mme. Allatouchiche said:

"Everyone should be able to eat his fill. We could grow corn enough for everyone instead of growing vines, for Muslims do not drink wine."

**THE HUMAN WALL:** Mme. Natsu Ka-

wasaki, a tiny grandmother who is a member of the Japanese parliament, spoke with fire of

"... our sorrowful appeal to abolish war and the use of atomic bombs. From the depths of our hearts we want to work with the women of the whole world to together lay one by one the foundation stones of peace."

She described a meeting of 300,000 women against the H-bomb; of women, many with babies in their arms, maintaining a human wall in shifts of 100 a day over several months, protesting extension of a shooting range in the coast village of Uchinada.

Mrs. Ruth Lubitz of Israel said 43% of the adult population of her country signed a peace movement appeal for direct negotiations, without foreign interference, between Israel and the Arab countries. Women of the two groups set the example by meeting together here.

**NO BOMBED CELLARS:** Mme. Klara-Marie Fassbinder, a prominent Catholic leader and former Sorbonne professor, now heading the West German Women's Peace Movement, urged Catholics to take more action for peace "because nobody can be isolated today." She said she didn't want "everybody to think the Vatican is an antechamber of the White House."

A typical German delegate was Mrs. Maria Haffner, leader of the Hesse delegation, whose only son was killed in World War II. She said:

"I would like to tell the mothers of America that we don't want them to suffer the way we suffered, living in bombed cellars for five years, or like the mothers of Hiroshima."

The Assembly rose to its feet cheering a speech on U.S. peace activities by Mrs. Mary Taylor, who said:

"Ours is a crusade for peace, love and understanding, and we meet the challenge squarely."

A Midwestern churchwoman regretted that more church leaders from her country had not participated, because "if Christ were here, I'm sure he'd give this meeting his blessing."

**A MANIFESTO:** The Congress voted to establish a permanent committee of mothers, with all countries represented, to provide information and find ways of working together for peace.

Unanimously adopted were resolutions to the Big Four urging further negotiation, and for collective security based on the Bandoeng principles. Another, to the UN expressed the hope that it "will fully realize the objective it set itself when it was founded—to safeguard new generations from war." A Manifesto to women of all countries said:

"We have discovered how insignificant are the things which divide us compared to the things which unite us... Let us say to all those who are still unaware of the danger that it is not enough to cherish their children; we must also save them from war."

**UAW INDICTMENT**

## Brownell moves to bar unions from political activity

**L**AST MARCH Michigan GOP chairman John Feikens called for an investigation of the CIO United Auto Workers' part in the last election campaign which saw the defeat of several GOP stalwarts including Sen. Homer Ferguson. On July 5 a federal grand jury in Detroit obligingly began such a probe, subpoenaed UAW secy-treas. Emil Mazey and the union's financial records for the period June 1- Nov. 30, 1954. On July 18 Mazey predicted the grand jury would find against the union:

"We have information that Atty. Gen. Brownell has been instructed by the White House to issue an indictment against the union."

**NO INDIVIDUALS:** Two days later the indictment was handed up; the union was charged on four counts of violating a 1947 amendment to the Corrupt Practices Act which made it illegal for unions to use their general funds for political purposes. Conviction could bring a maximum fine of \$5,000 on each count. The indictment was against the union as such, named no individuals.

Labor's Daily, which exclusively published Mazey's forecast, called the grand jury action "a GOP-inspired move to smash political activity by labor unions."

**TEST WELCOMED:** Specifically, the

UAW is charged with spending a total of \$5,985 from its general funds for television broadcasts during the campaign in support of Democratic candidates. The union denied that general funds were used, but nevertheless welcomed a court test of the issue. Said Mazey:

"The UAW deplores the fact that Republican politicians have been able to use the federal courts in a frantic effort to save face following their sound trouncing at the hands of the voters of Michigan last fall."

**FREE SPEECH ISSUE:** UAW president Walter Reuther said:

"The UAW-CIO welcomes a test on the constitutional right of a labor union to express its point of view on political issues and other matters of broad public policy through the purchase and use of radio and television time."

There have been two earlier tests of the law, both won by the unions concerned. One involved endorsement of a candidate by the CIO News and the other the placement of newspaper and radio advertising by an AFL union. But the constitutional issues of free speech and free press were not ruled upon in either case.

**Never-never Land**

Lawrence D. Kellogg, president of Southern Hardwood Producers, Inc., of Memphis, testifying against the minimum wage in House hearings:

"... We have a lot of people in our area who do not make much money. They don't want to, they never have, and they never will. And with our welfare programs and all the rest of it they definitely never will make it."

## Roman's candle splutters out

**R**OMAN REUTER, restaurateur and mink-ranch farmer of Sauk City, Wisc., has for years burned with the ambition to become the head of his state's American Legion. He thought he had it made when he got some national attention as the man largely responsible for causing Editor Leroy Gore to leave Sauk City.

When Gore began his now-famous Joe-Must-Go recall move against Sen. McCarthy, Reuter made himself Joe's little helper and formed what he called the Door-for-Gore club. Things got rough in the town for a time; eventually Gore was forced to sell his Sauk-Prairie Star and settle elsewhere. Reuter boasted of this accomplishment and had some words of advice for the new proprietors of the Star. If they kept "their noses clean," he said, they would get along fine, but they'd best not raise any controversial issues in Reuter's territory. He campaigned vigorously as McCarthy's protector; wherever he turned up, the drinks and cigars were on him. Now the votes have been counted.

**A VERY ALSO RAN:** The first were in his own Legion post in Sauk City late in May. Reuter stood for re-election as service officer. Somebody nominated an opposition candidate from the floor. The first ballot was a tie, whereupon Reuter got up and made a campaign speech for himself. On the second ballot he was defeated.

In mid-June the Town of Burke Le-

gion post met to elect delegates to the state convention. When a motion was made to instruct the delegates not to vote for Reuter, the members got on their feet and applauded; the motion carried unanimously.

On July 16 at the state convention in Milwaukee Reuter found himself running in a field of four for state commander. He ran last and was counted out on the first balloting.

McCarthy, anyone?

Have you written to Atty. Gen. Brownell on the Belfrage Case?

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HAVE YOU WRITTEN THAT LETTER?

# Rosa Ingram seeks freedom on parole after 8 years in Georgia State Prison

MRS. ROSA LEE INGRAM, Negro mother of 14 children, 12 living, has written her own mother, Mrs. Amy Hunt, in Philadelphia:

"I will go up for parole the first of August. . . . I hope I will make it so I can be with my little children. . . . Mother, I want to come home so bad. Mother, you do all you can for your child. Tell all the people pray for me and you must pray."

Mrs. Ingram, 40, has been away from her "little children" in the Georgia State Prison since Nov. 4, 1947. Court-appointed white Georgia lawyer S. Hawkins Dykes, after investigating the charge of murder against the Ingrams, said evidence "showed clearly" that the white man Mrs. Ingram and her boys Wallace and Sammie were accused of murdering "assaulted the mother with a rifle and died from a blow on the head when the Ingram boys came to her defense." Dykes added:

"Everyone around here knows the

Ingrams would be free today had they been white."

Wallace, 16, and Sammie, 14, are serving a life sentence in the same prison.

**WHAT'S BEEN DONE:** Scholar-historian W. E. B. DuBois's brief on the Ingram case was presented as a petition to the United Nations Sept. 21, 1949, by the late Dr. Mary Church Terrell, then chairman of the Natl. Committee to Free the Ingram Family. A member of the Sudanese delegation at the Bandoeng Asia-Africa Conference asked the GUARDIAN correspondent about the Ingram case and promised to mention it during the closed-meeting discussion of racism. The NAACP convention last month declared:

"This committee reaffirms its previous resolutions condemning the illegal and unjust convictions of Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram and her two sons who were convicted in Georgia for exercising their right of self-defense. Mrs. Ingram and her sons are eligible

for parole in August, 1955. We pledge that the NAACP will continue its fight to free the Ingrams. We will support with vigor all efforts of our Georgia State Conference and our Atlanta branch to secure the release of the Ingrams this year."

**STILL TO BE DONE:** The Provisional Committee to Free the Ingrams (Mrs. Maude White Katz, 750 Riverside Dr., N. Y. C., chairman), supported by Georgia Ingram Club, Los Angeles Committee to Free the Ingrams, and Philadelphia Women's Committee for Equal Justice, offers this list of "What You and Your Organization Can Do Now":

- Send your own letter, or resolution from your organization or congregation, to Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles, Atlanta.
- Send letters and telegrams to President Eisenhower, White House, Washington, D. C., to intercede for the Ingrams' freedom; also, to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Dept. of Justice, Washington, D. C.
- Write Chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Committee Walter F. George that freedom for the Ingrams is indispensable for U.S. prestige abroad, particularly in Asia and Africa.
- Urge persons and organizations in religious, civic, social and fraternal



MRS. INGRAM AND SONS  
"Tell all the people pray. . . ."

fields to act for the Ingrams' freedom.  
• Urge your clergyman to observe Ingram Sunday.

## CALENDAR

### Los Angeles

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### In Memoriam

Friends of the GUARDIAN mourn the loss of **PAULINE BOYER**, July 17, 1955. She fought for the Rosenbergs and until her death was Chairman of the Baltimore Sobell Committee. Her love of justice inspired all. To her husband and two children, our deepest sympathy. Baltimore Sobell Committee, 2454 Callow Av.

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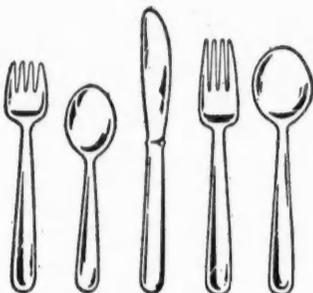
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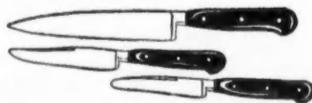
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TOKYO

**S**OVIET CULTURE, everything from Russian lullabies and Siberian love poetry to Marxist dialectics, is reaching a fast-growing and enthusiastic audience in a Japan dedicated for the past seven years to baseball, Hollywood cosmetics and hot dogs.

When Soviet violinist David Oistrakh arrived here recently, tickets for his concert were sold out within 15 minutes after the box office opened. His American counterpart, Jascha Heifetz, received a polite but hardly an enthusiastic reception when he toured Japan.

Even the nocturnal street singers who wander through the traditional "geisha" district of Tokyo admit they receive their biggest tips for strumming Russian folk songs on their guitars.

A number of Tokyo bookshops are now crammed with well-illustrated Soviet books and the selection they offer receptive clients includes the Marxist standbys as well as the masterpieces of Russian literature and contemporary novels.

**"SICK OF ENGLISH":** The low price of Soviet books has helped to make them popular with students. A dozen average Russian books can be bought for less than a dollar, but the equivalent amount of American books here would run to \$18.

Interest in all things Soviet shows up in the classroom, too. The director of Tokyo's Japan-Soviet Academy reports that 500 are now enrolled in Russian-language courses as compared to 150 only one year ago.

"Some of them," he explained, "are just plain sick of English. But others tell me they wish to read Soviet newspapers and magazines because the Japanese press does not tell them the truth."

Workers in some Osaka factories are now high-stepping Russian folk dances during their lunch recess. American barn dancing, once the craze after World War II, is now a thing of the past.

**THE FRIENDLY SAMOVAR:** In place of names like "Texas" and "Friendly Eddie's," the newer night spots and restaurants are switching to "Little Moscow," "Samovar" and "Volga." Many of them now are offering Russian cherry tea and "piroschkas" (meat-filled pastries) while background music often is from Prokofiev, Shostakovich and Khatchaturian.

Vodka is becoming a well-known drink in urban Japan and there is even a domestically produced brand, called "Troika," which is cheap enough to ensure its popularity. A Tokyo cooking school dedicated to the art of properly preparing "borscht" and other Russian specialties is now garnering handsome profits.

Meanwhile, Japan's sports-conscious youth is acclaiming Soviet prowess in such fields as soccer, wrestling, table tennis and track. Teams returning from international tournaments in the Soviet Union report on the real "feeling of comradeship" they experienced. And plans are now being laid for further sporting events with Russian teams.

**STANISLAVSKY REIGNS:** In the theatrical world the deceased Russian dramatic master, Stanislavsky, remains the idol of Japanese actors and directors. It has become almost part of the Tokyo landscape to see eager drama students and hopeful stage aspirants trudging along with a Stanislavsky book tucked under their arms.

Only in the movie field has the current Soviet cultural offensive bogged down. A mere seven Russian films have flickered across Japan's silver screen so far and they have been too propagandistic and ponderous for all but staunch party members.

There is no doubt that Soviet culture is sweeping this country with all the force and speed of a raging forest fire. Paradoxically, it is being aided not only by fellow travelers but also by Japan's fanatically anti-Communist White Russian colony. Though they bear no love for the Soviet Union, they are only too glad to spread the wonders of Russian cookery and the beauties of Russian music and literature to which they remain attached with the fervor that only an exile can muster.

To most observers here the end of the current vogue for Soviet culture is nowhere in sight. Perhaps, they reason, it is only a temporary reaction from a long American occupation. On the other hand, they say, perhaps it reflects something deeper and more durable.

PAUL BURGUNDY, Worldover Press Service  
 The Gazette & Daily, York, Pa.

**Hiroshima memorial at Carnegie Hall Aug. 10**

**A** PUBLIC meeting to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima will be held at Carnegie Hall Wed. eve., Aug. 10, it was announced by Rev. Guy Shipler, chairman of the newly-formed Hiroshima Commemorative Committee. The list of sponsors is long and distinguished.

The meeting will dramatize the necessity of applying the atom to peaceful purposes, or controlling tests of nuclear explosions, East and West, and of exerting unrelenting effort to secure international agreement to avoid new Hiroshimas.

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 We appreciate your weekly very much. As long as it remains the true defender of all the non-conformists, anarchists, communists, socialists, we will keep on reading it without fail. We shall back you to the limit as long as you fight for the rights of the foreign-born, for the working people and for the oppressed.  
 John Adjani