

Sobell new trial plea denied; ruling will be appealed

JUDGE IRVING R. KAUFMAN last week denied Morton Sobell's plea for a hearing on the question of a new trial. Sobell is now in Alcatraz serving a 30-year term to which Judge Kaufman sentenced him at the same time he condemned Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to die for allegedly conspiring to transmit defense data to the Soviet Union.

In bitter, scathing terms that went far beyond the legal issues, the judge's ruling assailed Sobell, his lawyers and those who have rallied to his support.

Declaring the petition for a hearing "entirely devoid of merit," Judge Kaufman said his ruling was designed "to lay to rest with finality baseless contentions and accusations which have been repeated not primarily to aid the petitioner but rather to embarrass and injure our courts and our country."

He attacked "extra-judicial utterances and actions . . . designed to influence judicial determination in a way that is alien to our judicial process—and in some instances they constituted a subtle attack upon it."

LAWYERS LECTURED: Concerning Sobell, himself, the judge showed a withering personal hostility which many observers thought almost unprecedented in a judicial decision. The Judge said: "As was recently said of another pris-

oner. . . . 'He is smart, shrewd and resourceful. . . . Thus he knows how to make charges so wild . . . as to induce a concern for their refutation that otherwise he would not command. . . . it is obvious that he believes in the broadside attack, painting with broad stroke and recklessly maligning all who participated in the process of bringing him to justice.'

He lectured Sobell's lawyers for spending "an inordinate amount of time, money, effort and ingenuity . . . on petitioner's behalf. If Sobell were an unlettered prisoner, friendless and without funds attempting to cry out 'unfair,' his lengthy and utterly meritless petition might not be such a gross misuse of the judicial process."

Though Sobell's brief asked only for a rehearing on a charge of knowingly perjured evidence, it did not argue the question of Sobell's innocence. (That legally can only be done in the course of a new trial.) Yet Judge Kaufman went far afield from the matter before him to say that even if all of Sobell's contentions were true "it would not follow that he is innocent." In a footnote the Judge said:

"Although the question of a petitioner's guilt or innocence is almost never material in a motion [like Sobell's] . . . I feel constrained to make this point clear in light of the publicity which has been attendant upon the case over the years."

THE "DEPORTATION": Sobell in his brief had sought to demonstrate that the prosecution had knowingly used false testimony to the effect that Sobell had been "deported" from Mexico when in fact he had been kidnaped with the connivance of the FBI, the U. S. Embassy in Mexico City and the U. S. Immigration Service. The brief charged also that the prosecution had knowingly suppressed the evidence that Sobell traveled under a Mexican tourist card made out properly in his own name and carried other documents in proper legal order.

The points were crucial because much of the case rested on the evidence that Sobell and his family were in flight.

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NATIONAL **10 cents**
GUARDIAN
 the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 8, No. 37 NEW YORK, N. Y., JULY 2, 1956



DR. HAGERTY, WE PRESUME
The President's press secretary rewrites ileitis into a bellyache.

DULLES' HOUSE OF GLASS

Washington still bars all appeals for coexistence

By Kumar Goshal

NEWS DISPATCHES every day indicate rapid changes all over the world. More and more nations are accepting the idea of coexistence; governments are increasingly advocating an independent foreign policy (Washington calls this "neutrality") geared to their national interests; greater opposition is developing in countries where the U. S. maintains military bases; more U. S. allies are breaking away from Washington-imposed restrictions on trade with socialist countries; the elaborate U. S.-built military alliance is falling to pieces. And the Eis-

enhower administration's response to all this has been confusion or inflexibility.

French Foreign Minister Pineau was the latest to advocate coexistence. During his Washington visit last week—following his trip to Moscow—Pineau pleaded with an unresponsive Secy. Dulles to meet Soviet overtures for wider contacts half-way, to place less emphasis on the Baghdad Pact; not to make German reunification on U. S. terms a precondition for relaxation of tension; and to channel at least a minute percentage of U. S. foreign aid through the UN.

In a speech before the Natl. Press Club, Pineau said his proposals had the merit of avoiding "international immobilism of which the only possible result is to maintain in the world mistrust, distress and want."

As a prisoner of France's contradictory desire for peace and economic stability while trying to hold on to the remnants of an empire, Pineau also pleaded for U.S. aid in keeping the Algerian issue out of the UN. Dulles granted Pineau's last request.

TITO IN MOSCOW: Coexistence, independent foreign policy and political action, greater economic aid through the UN, restoration of Formosa to China and UN recognition of Peking—these things were emphasized in the Soviet-Yugoslav communique after Yugoslav President Tito's Moscow visit last month. Endorsing the five principles of coexistence first enunciated in the India-China friendship treaty, the communique also called for UN action to promote freedom for colonial peoples and gradual disarmament as initiated by the U.S.S.R. without waiting for German reunification. It urged direct negotiation between East and West Germany as the most promising way to achieve a united Germany.

Washington responded coldly. Especially regarding Germany, Dulles' position remained as rigid as ever.

In mid-June W. German Chancellor Adenauer visited Washington to make sure that U. S. policy on German re-

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"O. K., MacElroy—let's not get too many jumps ahead with this co-existence."
 Giles in Daily Express, London



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Veterans need help

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I was born and went to school in the farming community of Askov, Minn. I am 25. During my life I have worked hard at farming and in industry. I now live and work in Minneapolis and am a member of the AFL-CIO.

In 1951 I was drafted into the Army. Of my 23 months in the Army, I served nearly 17 in Korea, some of it in the front lines. I was a security guard for President Eisenhower when he came to Korea and also for Gens. Clark, Taylor and Van Fleet.

Now I am faced with an undesirable discharge, because of alleged association with organizations listed as "subversive" by the U. S. Attorney General. All of these charges by the Army refer to a period after my active service terminated.

It was by my service in Korea that I earned the right to various G. I. benefits. These proceedings against me are illegal because the military never has been authorized to interfere with civilian ideas and political beliefs. I ask, has the Army the right to determine and decide who my associates can or cannot be, and what my ideas can or cannot be for the rest of my life?

I would appreciate it if you would write to the Adjutant General, Dept. of the Army, and to Sec. of Defense Charles Wilson, Washington 25, D. C., asking that they stop these proceedings against me and all other veterans.

A number of veterans who are interested in my case have formed a committee known as "Defend Veterans' Constitutional Rights Committee." James Brown, Secy.-Treas., 2820 E. 25th St., Minneapolis, Minn.

Alfred Jensen

TRENTON, N. J.

Your paper has carried several articles on the case of the eight Ft. Dix soldiers who are being threatened with less than honorable discharges, although their service ratings are "excellent."

A less-than-honorable discharge usually means not only a loss of all veterans benefits and mustering-out pay. Worse, the men must carry with them for their entire lives the taint of disloyalty that a "bad discharge" implies. It becomes nearly impossible to find employment.

Historically, the Army has always given discharges based on the service rendered. Thus an honorable discharge has always been given for honorable service. Now they take to themselves the right to judge not only the man's entire life but that of his parents and relatives as well.

Sen. Hennings is currently in-

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Norfolk is a "horrible example" as to what can happen when socialized housing gets big enough to swing the whole city in the way of politics and control. Norfolk has 7,900 families (imagine it—nearly eight thousand families, or about 24,000 people) who are actually tenants of the Federal landlord in socialized housing. Isn't that fact standing alone a shocking commentary on what can happen when the program gets out of control?

Randall J. Hicks, president of the Alexandria-Fairfax Real Estate Board, in the Alexandria (Va.) Journal, June 14.

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Anonymous, Washington, D.C. Be sure to send original clipping with entry.

investigating these procedures. It is important that he feels that he has the support in these investigations of the thousands of people who resent this attempt. Sen. Hennings may be written to at the Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

(Mrs.) Ted Bernstein

Wants junior edition

BRONX, N. Y.

At the age of eight, I read the newspapers quite a lot. And the GUARDIAN is the clearest picture of all. It is very interesting. I would like it even more, though, if you would make a special paper for children. You could call it Junior Edition of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, with things special for children. You can have a vote about it in the paper.

A. M. Z.

What's good for GM

PITTSBURGH, PA.

Lawrence Emery, writing in your June 11 issue, discusses the plight of the auto manufacturing employees laid off in Detroit and elsewhere.

On April 23, 1956, Sen. Joseph C. O'Mahoney's subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly, released "A Case Study of General Motors Corporation." I believe a good part of the explanation for Detroit auto unemployment may be found in this publication.

General Motors Acceptance Corp., wholly owned by General Motors, is the only automobile finance company so held by an automobile manufacturer. In 1940, the Dept. of Justice filed a suit seeking to divorce GMAC from General Motors. This suit was settled, without divorce, in 1952. Previous litigation had previously divorced Ford and Chrysler from the finance business.

Under General Motors control, GMAC loosened credit terms: between June, 1954, and October, 1955, car down payments of less than one-third increased from 17% of total transactions to 30%. At the same time, average financing time went from 24.4 to 28.5 months.

General Motors establishes

dealers' capital requirements, requires uniform accounting and regular reports from dealers. A dealer's books and records are subject to inspection by GM, and his place of business and employees must satisfy GM. Should he fail in any way, GM has simply to cancel his franchise to put him out of business. Under these conditions it is easy to see why independent finance companies are practically frozen out of the GM market, as are independent insurance companies and repairmen.

In 1955, General Motors built over 80% of the buses in the country. Between 1936 and 1948, GM was the largest stockholder in Greyhound Bus. In 1947, a federal grand jury indicted Natl. City Lines, Inc., and General Motors, among others, charging them with conspiracy to monopolize manufacture of buses, tires and petroleum products. The indictment recited that GM and other suppliers furnished capital to Natl. City Lines to buy local city bus systems. General Motors supplied \$3 million of the 89 million turned over to Natl. City. Incidentally, Natl. City has been the butt of some of the Southern anti-segregation boycotts.

The recitation may be continued indefinitely. Do Detroit's auto employes now agree with Defense Secretary Wilson that what's good for GM is good for the country? Name Withheld



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"I know they are anxious to sell new cars, but I wish he'd stop following us."

Consent of governed?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Secy. Dulles advises the Soviet peoples that "the only cure for the evils of the imposed Soviet dictatorship is a switch to a Russian government which derives its powers from the consent of the governed."

Since Dulles was speaking as a leading official of our government and since we Americans are deeply concerned as to the degree of freedom and democracy enjoyed by others, I should like to ask:

Does Mr. Dulles present Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, Texas or some of our other Southern states as examples of democratic government worthy of emulation by the Soviet peoples, millions of whom are colored?

William L. Patterson.

Ardent, urgent

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Referring to your recent article on the abominable, inhuman treatment of Greek political prisoners, I put the ardent and urgent question: Is the UN Commission on Human Rights not able to take some efficient steps which could force the Greek authorities to open their prisons and concentration camps to international inspection committees that they may see for themselves what is going on?

Magnolia.

Equine paradox

CHICAGO, ILL.

Congressional investigation criticizes the Army for having more veterinarians than animals.

Asses?

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley.



Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

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Vol. 8, No. 37



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July 2, 1956

REPORT TO READERS

Two big victories

A MINISTER in Berkeley, Calif., saw in the GUARDIAN pictures of Rebecca and Jacob Mindel, Communist Party members whose old age security pensions had been terminated on the contention that Mr. Mindel, as a paid employe of the CP, was thus an employe of the Soviet Union and a member of a worldwide communist conspiracy. The minister wrote us:

"I was impressed with the picture of Jacob and Rebecca Mindel. They look like God's Chosen People, radiating kindness, patience, long suffering, and courage of their convictions.

"A righteous government would never revoke their meager pensions . . . I am writing to the Social Security Administration."

This is to inform the author of the above letter, and all others to whom the good news may not have come by other means, that the pensions of the Mindels, William Z. Foster, Alexander Bittelman, Charles A. Dirba, Alfred Wagenknecht and Sadie V. Amter have been ordered restored by decision of a government referee, Peter J. Hoegen. Attorney Harry Sacher for the appellants called Hoegen's decision "a triumph for the constitutional freedom of Americans to think as they will and a triumph for the principle of the inviolability of social security."

Referee Hoegen's decision covered only the social security cases, but it can hardly fail to have impact in the fight for the well-earned veterans' pensions of Robert Thompson and others, terminated on a similar contention by the Veterans' Administration. Legless veteran James Kutcher won a fight for his pension, denied because he was a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and now has regained his government job with back pay (see p. 4). A righteous government should lose no time in restoring the rights of every other veteran victimized by witch-hunting minds.

GUARDIAN READERS who helped so much to publicize the Braden Case in Louisville, Ky., and to raise a great share of \$43,000 in bail money to free Carl Braden and I. O. Ford, should take special satisfaction in the decision of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, throwing out the "sedition" charges against Braden and his wife, Ann; I. O. Ford and four other defendants. Their crime, all recall, was helping a Negro family, the Andrew Wades, purchase a house in a "white" neighborhood, and standing guard to forestall violence. When violence did occur, a bombing of the house by night riders, the Bradens and the others were arrested and Braden convicted under the Kentucky Sedition Law.

The recent Supreme Court decision declaring all state sedition laws to have been superseded by the Smith Act was the determining factor in the Braden decision and there is little likelihood that the prosecution will try to win a reversal.

Both the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union interceded in the Braden case. The ECLC arranged speaking tours for the defendants, issued national literature on the case, raised some \$27,000 of the bail money and sent an attorney to Louisville to help prepare the case. ACLU, perhaps the first time in its history, intervened at the trial court level, assigning Louisville attorney Louis Lusky to the defense. When the Appeals Court decision came down, Lusky called for immediate prosecution of the real bombers of the Wade home.

For ECLC director Clark Foreman termed the whole proceeding "a Ku Klux Klan prosecution, essentially aimed to prevent effectuation of the Supreme Court decision on integration."

WHAT REMAINS now is "The Wade Case", the right of Andrew Wade to live in a home of his own choosing in the city of Louisville. We would like to see the Louisville Courier-Journal rehire Carl Braden to the editing job he held there when the case broke (he was kept on the payroll through the trial but fired when convicted); and then do a job in its old tradition, of bringing the bombers of the Wade home to justice and breaking once and for all the Ku Klux pattern of racial segregation in Louisville housing.

— THE GUARDIAN

Take another look

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF.

If you don't give Kefauver a cover picture as you did Stevenson, we will cancel our subscrip-

tion—and there are 31 of us who think just that.

Angered

Kefauver got p.1 picture play on Sept. 19, 1955, and on Dec. 26, 1955. EDITOR.

WERE THE ERRORS ALL STALIN'S?

Western CP's ask Moscow to explain more fully

By Elmer Bendiner

ALEXANDER FADEYEV, one of the Soviet Union's foremost novelists and a leader of the Soviet Writers Union said a few days before he shot himself last May: "For us writers ideology should have been a helpmate and an inspiration. By our excesses and our stiffness we made her a cross-grained shrew."

In Peking Liu Ting-yi, head of the propaganda department of the Chinese Communist Party, gently proclaimed: "Let flowers of all seasons blossom together and let diverse schools of thought contend."

Fadeyev's bitter epitaph and Liu's call to a new springtime summed up the stirrings around the world which were shaking some encrusted radicals and alarming some right-wing forces who feared a new vitality on the Left.

Nikita Khrushchev, first secy. of the Soviet CP, formally launched the new day in his celebrated secret speech re-writing the history of the Stalin era. What he said shocked many. What he left unsaid shocked them even more. Some Communists, brushing aside Khrushchev's warning against washing the family linen in public, last month demanded fuller explanations from Moscow.

A LITTLE PRUDENCE: In a 34-page article in *Nuovi Argomenti* Italian CP secy. Palmiro Togliatti paid tribute to the "enormous contribution" of the Soviet CP's 20th Congress but balked at the picture of Stalin as presented by Khrushchev, the explanations of how the horrors happened and why the present Soviet leaders apparently participated in the Stalinist "errors."

On Stalin Togliatti wrote: "It seems to me far more accurate to acknowledge that, despite the errors that he committed, Stalin had the support of a very great part of the country and, particularly, of the ruling cadres and of the masses."

Of the present Soviet leaders: "We can only think to ourselves that, seeing



PALMIRO TOGLIATTI
Information, please



Szpilki, Warsaw
Crown of the bureaucrat

how things stood . . . they could at least have been more prudent in the public and solemn exaltation of the qualities of this man. It is true that today they criticize themselves, and it is their great merit, but in this criticism there is no doubt that some of their prestige has fallen."

PERILS OF BUREAUCRACY: Instead of blaming all on Stalin Togliatti suggested that the Soviet leaders see whether or not there might have been "errors of a general order against which the whole world of socialism should be put on guard." He indicated what those general errors might be when he warned all Communist movements of "the perils of bureaucratic degeneration, of the smothering of the democratic movement, of confusion between the constructive revolutionary force and the destruction of revolutionary legality, of the detachment of economic and political direction from life, initiative, criticism and the creative activity of the masses."

Togliatti put it up to the Italian CP to develop "clear guarantees against the perils of stagnation and bureaucratization" in its own country, but he made it clear he favored no swing to Western-type democracy which he called "limited, imperfect and in many ways false, requiring to be developed and perfected by a series of economic and political reforms."

A CAREFUL ANALYSIS: The French CP followed Togliatti with a blistering criticism of its own: "Today it is not right to attribute to Stalin alone all that was negative in the activity of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union . . . The explanations given up to now on the faults of Stalin, their origin, the conditions in which they were produced, are not satisfactory. A careful Marxist analysis is indispensable to determine the combination of circumstances in which Stalin came to exercise personal power."

The French CP leaders were critical of the Soviet Union's failure to issue the

Khrushchev speech so that Communists around the world had to rely on the version circulated through the press by the U.S. State Dept.

The Togliatti call for further Soviet explanation was swiftly reprinted in the *Trybuna Ludu*, organ of the Polish Communist Party and Warsaw radio broadcast the news. Of all East European countries Poland has been the foremost in cleaning house of its bureaucrats, developing constitutional practices, releasing prisoners and speaking out against past sins. The Polish paper *Folkshtimme* was the first CP source to charge the destruction of Jewish culture and the framing of Jewish writers in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union made no mention of anti-Semitism until Ekaterina Furtseva, a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet CP in an exclusive interview with the *GUARDIAN's* Tabitha Petran (6/25) denied the charge but gave no explanation as to the fate of Jewish literary figures listed as executed.

CZECHOSLOVAK IRON: There was no immediate official comment from Moscow on the Italian and French statements. Asked to comment at a reception given by visiting President Tito of Yugoslavia, Khrushchev said he had not read Togliatti's statement but since he knew Togliatti it was probably all right. First Deputy Premier Mikoyan said he had read the statement and said it showed that "Togliatti is Togliatti."

In Czechoslovakia the mood had more of the old iron in it. In May students had clamored for more freedom, lampooning the regime in the time-honored collegiate way. Writers too had demanded a freer hand and a newsier press. In mid-June though, Vice Premier Vaclav Kopecky declared that literary protests had been stirred by "former bourgeois writers who have engaged in anarchistic strivings . . . in a spirit of purest liberalism." Criticizing student protests as tendentious and provocative Kopecky said:

"Our enemies hope by provocation and threats to shove us back into the past. They misuse the word freedom. When we hear this word we grow suspicious. It begins with a demand for freedom of the press and ends with freedom for capitalism."

The Prague newspaper *Rude Provo* reported that four persons who had helped the student demonstrations in May had been arrested; one was released.

NO WIDE CRITICISM: In a startling report on the Czechoslovak CP Natl. Conference last month, the *London Daily Worker* correspondent Armour Milne wrote:

"With certain exceptions, disappointing lack of wide criticism has been a marked feature . . . Perhaps the biggest disappointment was the fact that, in the main, those responsible for the mistakes and shortcomings made no attempt, in their self-criticism, to say exactly what their errors were . . . Perhaps the Czechoslovak public expected too much. There was a tendency to expect it to act like a full-scale congress which represents the rank-and-file of the party."

In the U.S. the *Daily Worker* called the Czech minister's statement "a horrible example" and raised questions in the French-Italian-British manner. In this respect the paper seemed considerably more free-wheeling than some

Featuring Zsa Zsa Gabor as Stalin's second wife?

IN HOLLYWOOD Darryl F. Zanuck announced last week that he would shortly make a semi-documentary in CinemaScope and color entitled "The Secret Crimes of Joseph Stalin." It will be based on "the documented facts released by [Soviet C.P.] Secy. Khrushchev in his denunciatory speech before the recent International Assembly [sic] in Moscow." The film will also include episodes depicting Stalin as a paid assassin and bank robber and take up the charges that he murdered his second wife. The studio announcement said that Zanuck "has been in communication with Nikolai A. Mikhallov, Minister of Culture for the U.S.S.R."

U.S. CP leaders who criticized the *Daily Worker's* more vigorously questioning editorials.

Right-wing comment in the U.S. belittled the uproar as a hoax; a subtle agreement to disagree. The *N. Y. Herald Tribune* (6/20) said editorially: "At best, it means that those in the Communist strait-jacket can wiggle their fingers." But the paper followed this with a warning:

"If Western peoples and political parties should be deluded into believing that the superficial frictions within international Communism mean that the Reds are now eligible for inclusion within popular front governments or have become a party rather than a conspiracy, much mischief could ensue."

"HOPEFUL RELATIONSHIP": In a special Post-Stalin issue the *New Republic* (6/11) summed up: "The Russians may no longer be their own worst enemy . . . Soviet bad behavior helped to keep the anti-Communist coalition together . . . the task of the anti-Communist has been made more difficult." In this issue ex-Ambassador George Kennan said he saw in the Soviet Union a "mellowing", a "lifting" of the iron curtain and "exciting possibilities." He concluded:

"If . . . we keep our distance and concede to them the privilege of their privacy and their differentness, as we would like to have it conceded to us, being prepared to reserve judgment on that which we cannot understand and which need not concern us, I can see no reason why a satisfactory and hopeful relationship should not be established between the U.S. and Russia, even though the respective social systems and political philosophies remain theoretically in conflict."

Last week-end three fresh views of the post-Stalin world came from Pietro Nenni in Italy, the *New Statesman* and *Nation* in Britain and the *Monthly Review* in the U. S. Next week the *GUARDIAN* will analyse these and other late developments in the continuing story.



Sobell to appeal

(Continued from Page 1)

Sobell contends that though he had toyed with the idea of going to Europe, and in making inquiries had used a pseudonym, he had given up the idea. His lawyers contend that the illegal kidnaping from Mexico did not give him a chance to return voluntarily. Sobell further charged that the case had not been properly before the original trial court because he was seized in violation of a treaty with Mexico.

"TWICE-TOLD TALE": The Judge in his ruling said that the prosecution had not lied when it said that Sobell had no visa because what he held was a tourist card.

He said the word "deported" was used loosely by the prosecution and might cover the manner in which Sobell was seized though admittedly there was no legal deportation.

Other questions, he said, had been raised earlier though in other forms. The question of jurisdiction in the light of the treaty with Mexico the Judge dismissed as "a twice-told tale in new semantic guise." Actually the point of the court's jurisdiction over Sobell personally had been raised but not the legal question of the court's jurisdiction over the case itself.

Judge Kaufman's decision surprised few observers who watched him during the brief oral arguments on the appeal for a hearing. He repeatedly interrupted

Sobell's attorney Marshall Perlin to defend the conduct of the trial point by point, to defend the prosecution rather than to hear both sides with judicial impartiality.

Over the courtroom hung the shadow of the dead Rosenbergs. It was plain that to admit the possibility of Sobell's innocence would also weaken the case against the Rosenbergs and admit the possibility of fatal judicial miscarriage. One observer commented that Judge Kaufman was a prisoner of the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

THE FIGHT GOES ON: The press generally acclaimed the Judge as it did when he sentenced the Rosenbergs to die. The *Newark Star-Ledger* editorial was typical: "We, along with Judge Kaufman, hope this shuts up the Sobells for a while."

That hope was quickly shattered as Sobell's attorneys—Frank Donner, Arthur Kinoy and Benjamin Dreyfus, in addition to Perlin—prepared to take the ruling to the Circuit Court of Appeals. Mrs. Helen Sobell, wife of the prisoner, said:

"We will continue our attempts to secure justice and a full and fair hearing as provided for by our courts by appealing this decision to the highest courts of our land if need be. Certainly evil men may not be permitted to use their high office to convict and keep imprisoned innocent people. In August, 1950, my husband declared his innocence. He has maintained his innocence through six full years of imprisonment. We have the facts now to prove his innocence. We must be heard."

CHOU EN-LAI ON BANDUNG, FORMOSA AND UN

A forthright interview with China's premier

On May 24 Hugo Latore Cabal, editor of the newspaper Excelsior of Mexico City, interviewed Chou En-lai, the Prime Minister of China, in Peking. He was the first newspaperman from the Western Hemisphere to speak at length to Chou about China's internal and external problems. The interview appeared in Excelsior on May 25. Following are excerpts.

By Hugo Latore Cabal

CHOU EN-LAI, Prime Minister of 600 million Chinese who make up one-quarter of the population of the earth, received me in his office in the ancient Imperial Palace of Peking. He told me:

1. After the Bandung Conference, the world is trying to shake off colonialism in the Philippines, Japan, Indonesia, Singapore, Cambodia, Thailand, Ceylon, Pakistan, the Arab countries, North Africa and Cyprus.

2. Formosa is an internal problem of China. China is trying to avoid its resolution by force and is seeking peaceful methods of solving it.

3. Being outside the UN is not prejudicial to China but it is to the UN not to have one-quarter of the population of the planet represented within it.

4. We desire friendly relations with the U.S. and have proposed a conference of foreign ministers to take up the differences between the two countries. [The proposal was turned down in Washington last week.]

On the internal situation of his country, he said:

"It is not very long since we have been liberated. Our country is backward, economically as well as culturally. Our people wish to build a better land and to shake off this backwardness. But that takes time and an atmosphere of peace since it will be a long task."

RESPECT AND RIGHTS: I asked him about the relations of China with other countries and he told me:

"Since the first day of its foundation, the government of New China has shown itself always ready to establish relations with any state that wanted them, on the basis of mutual respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity and the recognition of equal rights.

"We hope to establish diplomatic relations with the Latin American countries in general and with Mexico in particular. But the establishment of such relations does not depend upon one side wishing them but upon a reciprocal effort. Nor is it possible to wait about with arms crossed. Measures should be taken to give impetus to this desire. We regret that there have been so few opportunities in the past to do this."

ON BANDUNG: About the effects of Bandung he said: "The essence of the Conference was the colonialism that had

is provoking tension in the Far East with its claims on Formosa. He answered:

"It is without foundation to say that China provokes wars in the Far East. In



A FAMILY ENJOYS THE SPRING FESTIVAL IN PEKING

Yang Shih Ching, a member of a foodstuff producers' cooperative, with his wife and four children, on their way home after an outing.

come to all countries and exercised influence in them. Although there were different interpretations of the meaning of colonialism, the delegates on returning to their countries faced anti-colonial movements which had arisen from deep within. The demand for an independent policy is an expression of the influence of Bandung. The desire to fight against colonialism is common to the 29 countries present there. This was not forced but has been the fruit of national initiative itself. As to the influence of Bandung in the past year, we can quote three outstanding personalities:

"The Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, said that the Asian and African countries are awakening and that the Western countries cannot but see and recognize this fact.

"The President of Indonesia, Sukarno, before the U.S. Congress, declared that one of the characteristics of Asia and of Africa is the common clamor of the anti-colonial nationalists demanding liberty and independence. I must say that in these countries mentioned, the communist parties do not yet occupy a predominant place. It is the nationalist movements that do. This fact gives evidence that the wave against colonialism has not been provoked by communism but by colonial conduct itself.

"The Prime Minister of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser, in the recognition by his government of China, reaffirmed his decision to apply an independent policy in his country.

"This spirit of Bandung, which takes in 29 countries, cannot but exercise its influence in the swell of anti-colonial spirit in other continents. We Chinese Communists, having suffered the shameful consequences of colonialism in our own flesh, we wish to cooperate with the Asian and African countries. The colonialists must give up their policy if they wish to collaborate with the nationalists of Asia and Africa. That is the nub of the problem."

FORMOSA SITUATION: On the question of Formosa, Chou-En-lai answered:

"At Bandung we proposed that the U.S. and we try together to alleviate the tension between China and the U.S. on Formosa through peaceful conversations. Precisely as a result of this declaration, the Geneva conversations were begun between the Ambassadors Johnson and Wang, which still continue."

I told Chou it is contended that China

the Korean War it was China that proposed its termination and, in order to achieve peace in Indo-China, China took part in the Geneva Conference. At Geneva the U.S. demanded a joint U.S.-China declaration legalizing the occupation of Formosa, which we could not, of course, accept.

"We feel that in order to resolve the U.S.-China dispute in Formosa without recourse to arms it is necessary to call a meeting of foreign ministers oriented toward a peaceful solution, but the U.S. government does not accept this.

"As to Formosa itself, the problem of the relations between the government of New China and the Chiang Kai-shek

group is an internal affair of China. Formosa is Chinese territory. Not even Chiang himself disputes that.

"In the present Geneva conversations, the U.S. cannot represent the Chiang group, but only the U.S. government. The problem of the relations between the government of New China and the Chiang Kai-shek group, which is an internal Chinese affair, might be resolved by the use of arms as well as by peaceful means.

"During the past year we have repeatedly shown ourselves disposed to achieve the peaceful liberation of Formosa and to cooperate with all the Chinese on that island, including Chiang himself."

ON UNITED NATIONS: On the admission of China to the UN, he said: "New China is now almost seven years old. Nevertheless, the Security Council representative continues to be the representative of the Chiang group and not of New China. It is a most unjust situation, keeping New China with its 600 million inhabitants outside the UN. Now, it is not a matter of New China entering the UN, but of the restoration of the legitimate rights of the authentic representatives of China.

"The selection of a government and of a system is the internal affair of each country. The UN cannot interfere in these affairs nor assume faculties that do not belong to it. The absence of China from the UN is prejudicial only to the latter because it points up the fact that it is not an organization of a true universal character, since one-quarter of humanity, which is China, is outside. And without the participation of China how can the discussion of the most important international problems be efficacious, and in particular those problems related to the Far East? Without its participation how can it reflect the spirit of universal collaboration contained in the UN Charter?"

Chou En-lai paused and smiled: "We have to go on telling the truth. But when we do, it displeases the U.S. That is our difficulty.

"We are not against the people of the U.S. nor do we refuse to recognize their government.

"We have invited U.S. theatrical groups to come to China and also have declared our wish to send Chinese theatrical groups to the U.S., but it has been impossible to realize this because of lack of approval on the part of the government in Washington."

THE SPY HOAX

Brownell challenged to try Bentley

ATTY. GEN. Herbert Brownell was challenged last week to prosecute "spy queen" Elizabeth Bentley for perjury. The challenge was made by Edward Fitzgerald, one of 37 former government employees named by Miss Bentley as members of "spy rings" during the New Deal.

Fitzgerald, who has refused to answer questions of a grand jury despite an immunity order under the Compulsory Testimony Law, said Miss Bentley was a paid liar, that all the known facts indicated that she herself was never a spy.

Fitzgerald noted that no one had ever corroborated any phase of her alleged espionage career in the decade since she is said to have "confessed" to the FBI, and that the government has never identified any "secret" which she ever revealed to anybody. Fitzgerald said that it was significant that not one of her alleged "spies" has ever been convicted of espionage or tried or even indicted for espionage, although numerous grand juries have apparently sifted her charges for ten years. He added:

"William Henry Taylor, testifying under oath, has flatly denied all of Miss Bentley's accusations, and he has received loyalty clearance despite her. William L. Ullmann, testifying under oath before a grand jury, has thrown the lie in Miss Bentley's teeth, and he was cleared by U. S. Judge Edward Weinfeld. Frank Coe swore before the Senate Internal Security sub-committee that there was no truth in Miss Bentley's charges against

him.

"The spy hoax was the lever by which Brownell procured the Compulsory Testimony Law from Congress, and it was used again to deceive the Supreme Court into believing that the law had the purpose of defending national security. It is clearly the intention of Brownell, [Sen.] Eastland and [Rep.] Walter to make vindictive use of the law, not to get information but to 'get' the witnesses themselves."

TIMES FIRING UPHELD: These other developments took place on the civil liberties front last week:

● An arbitrator ruled that the N. Y. Times was justified in firing copy editor Jack Shafer because it felt his past membership in the CP had made him unfit to hold a "sensitive" job on the foreign desk. Shafer was dismissed after he received a subpoena from the Eastland Internal Security Subcommittee. The N. Y. Newspaper Guild contested the dismissal. Arbitrator Edward Corsi, who was himself fired by the State Dept. last year in a case widely regarded as one of political persecution, said the Times had assured him that Shafer would not have been fired if "his job had been on the sports desk."

● James Kutcher, legless World War II veteran, was restored to his \$42-a-week clerical job with the Veterans Administration after a victory in the Court of Appeals. Kutcher had been fired in 1948 for his membership in the Socialist Workers Party.



CHOU EN-LAI
China recognizes Washington

PUBLIC POWER IN NEBRASKA—II

Dust and depression: point of no return

By Reuben W. Borough
(Second of three articles)

NEBRASKA WAS CATAPULTED into public ownership of power by a combination of catastrophes: drouth, wind, the depression of the early 1930's and the obstructionism of the private power companies. Once before—in the decade following 1886—Nebraska (and Kansas) had been hit by the drouth. In the ruin of fodder, small grain and corn crops and the devastation of the cattle ranges, the heavily-mortgaged farmer pioneers, livestock speculators and boom-town realtors and investors fled the plains, in the greatest reverse ("back-East-to-the-wife's-folks") migration in American history.

"In the single year of 1891," relates Hicks in his monumental *Populist Revolt*, "no less than 18,000 prairie schooners crossed from the Nebraska side to the Iowa side of the Missouri River."

But in the 1930's, there was no going back. For better or worse Nebraska was the homeland. Rooted by investment and love of the earth, the farmers and small-town folk stayed and writhed in social misery. The prayed-for rain never came. The hot winds blew, this time not only scorching the crops but, due to the persistent "soil mining" of a half century of repetitive-crop agriculture, picking up the very earth into clouds of devastating dust. Simultaneously the most frightening financial and industrial break-down on record struck the nation.

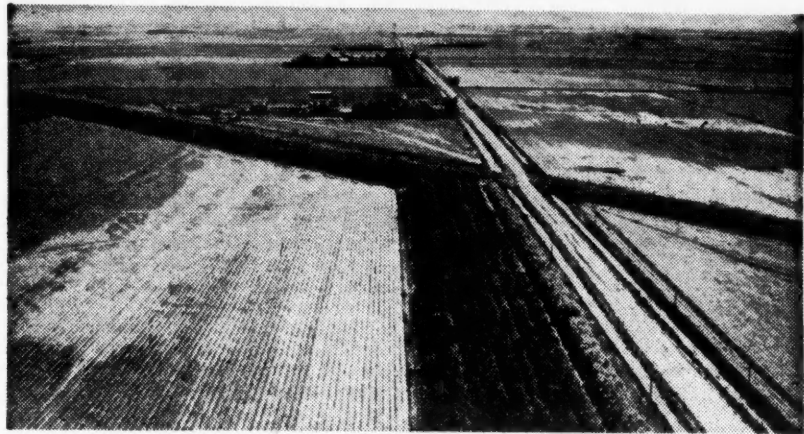
"The people of Nebraska," reports John

B. Dawson, investment analyst, in a sober journal, *The Daily Bond Broker*, "stood helplessly in the center of the dustbowl area, in the midst of a terrific depression, watching the life-giving rich soil of their state being blown to the four corners of the world for lack of water on the land."

WHY THE WASTE? "Stood helplessly?" Yes, but not for long! For these Nebraska farmers, desperate for remedies, reached out and found them in their shallow but swiftly flowing rivers emptying into the Missouri to the east. Rising among the mile-high plateaus of the snow-capped Rocky Mountains, the Niobrara and the Platte rolled down out of Wyoming upon the great slope of western Nebraska, cutting deep channels in their bluff-marked courses. Between the Niobrara and the Platte ran the three-branched Loup feeding the Platte. The seasonal rains and ice melt swelled these streams into menacing torrents.

Why this waste of water into the Missouri, the Mississippi, and the Gulf? Why not dams to hold it back for the irrigation of parched farms? Why not the same dams for power generation? What better work for the depression's unemployed than building these dams?

Three public power and irrigation districts were formed, two in the Loup Valley and one in the Platte, and the projects (the Three Hydros) were built, over the opposition of the private power companies with loans from the Works Progress Administration. To provide a market for the



A GREEN BARRIER AGAINST A FUTURE DUST BOWL
A shelterbelt (10 rows, 1/2-mile long) on a Nebraska farm

power the Three Hydros sponsored the creation of a distributing agency, the Consumers Public Power District, which, by negotiation and purchase between 1940 and 1942, took over the 16 recalcitrant private power companies. Thus began the complex but persistent job of reorganization and expansion which rooted out all private power interests and today leaves Consumers Public Power District, with its seven popularly-elected non-partisan directors, in complete control of two systems (the consolidated "Eastern" and the consolidated "Western") generating and distributing power and light at cost to the people.

NO GRAVY PEDDLING: What have been the results? Substantially the same as with the Tennessee Valley Authority, the California Central Valley Project, or any of the other honestly and efficiently managed publicly-owned utilities of city, state or nation. This is precisely what might

be realistically expected when any mechanism dedicated to debt-elimination and non-profit operation replaces an over-capitalized structure which is under necessity of perpetual dividend and bond interest payments, in addition to peddling "gravy" to construction contractors and corporate subsidiaries and allies.

The direct and immediate gains are lowered rates, increase of area purchasing power, expanded consumption of the product both through increased purchases from existing customers and the attraction of new customers—the complete repudiation of monopoly theory and practice! It all spells the building and strengthening of a regional economy, which is becoming increasingly one of the major objectives of progressives in their war upon the "domestic colonialism" of Big Business.

SAVINGS ARE HIGH: The 1954 Annual Report of Consumers Public Power District shows that in the 15 years following the organization of the district in 1939 the average cost per kilowatt hour to the customer has been reduced more than 27 per cent, effecting total savings of \$17,356,939 to the power and light users of the state. Revenue bonds totaling \$15,450,000 had been redeemed from earnings—not a cent from "taxes." The additions and improvements to the district's plants, substations, lines and other facilities totaled \$23,036,079. Thus the total benefits to Nebraskans for the 15-year period were \$55,943,018 as against the investment of \$44,425,000 for acquiring the initial properties. The kilowatt-hour sales in 1954 totaled 682,740,321, which was triple the total for 1942.

It should be noted here that Consumers Public Power District, like other important publicly owned power and light projects, pays state and local community taxes. It should be further noted that the federal corporation income taxes, which it does not pay, (25 per cent of the net income up to \$25,000, plus a surtax of 22 per cent above \$25,000) would amount to less than half the net surplus which it applies annually to the ownership of its "people's property" through debt reduction and plant expansion.

NEXT WEEK: Power from the atom.

THE N. Y. SMITH ACT TRIAL

Charney for peaceful road to socialism

THE N.Y. SMITH ACT trial of Communist leaders went into its 12th week June 25 with George Blake Charney, chairman of the N.Y. County CP from 1945 to 1950 and now N.Y. State chairman, undergoing cross-examination as the first of six remaining defendants to take the stand. A seventh defendant, Mrs. Marion Bachrach, was acquitted by direction of Judge Alexander Bicks when the prosecution finished presenting the case.

Mrs. Bachrach, whose alleged overt act was that she "did mail 50 letters," had been severed from the 1952 Foley Square prosecutions because she had cancer. She was included in the 1956 trial over protests from medical authorities and leading citizens throughout the country.

The prosecution is seeking to prove that a Communist Party constitution clause adopted in 1945, ordering expulsion for advocacy of force and violence, is "just window dressing" and that the current defendants did so advocate.

THE WITNESSES: Charney and Alexander Trachtenberg, head of International Publishers, were convicted in the 1952 trial but ordered freed after four months by Federal Judge Dimock when the chief witness against them, Harvey Matusow, recanted his testimony. The other defendants were indicted with the 1952 defendants but became "fugitives from injustice" and did not stand trial.

The current trial has heard 27 govern-



Herblock in Washington Post
"HAVE FUN, KIDS"

ment witnesses, 15 now or formerly on the government payroll. Ten admitted to being FBI plants. Senior stoolpigeon in point of service was John Lautner, expelled CP functionary who has testified in 15 Communist trials and numerous hearings of legislative committees, the Immigration Dept. and the like. Lautner admitted earning \$22,000 as a professional witness since 1951.

The other principal witness was Barbara Hartle, Washington State Communist who turned on her comrades after being convicted in the Seattle Smith Act trial. The only "surprise" witness was 30-year old Marlene MacLane, daughter of screen actor Barton MacLane, who said she joined the CP in New York in 1948 after making contact with the FBI. She identified Charney as a speaker at two meetings she attended:

Charney, defended by well-known attorney and satirist Newman Levy, has spent a week on the stand presenting the

Communist Party's program for peaceful transition to socialism.

ONE QUESTION: Charney's cross-examination was interrupted Mon., June 25, to permit testimony by James E. Jackson, pharmacist of Richmond, Va., father of the only Negro defendant, James E. Jackson Jr., chairman of the CP's southern regional committee and a member of its national committee. The father testified to knowledge of his son's socialist leanings and of conversations in which the son described transition to socialism by the ballot. The prosecution asked him one question in cross-examination, "Are you now or have you ever been a Communist?" The dignified, 70-year-old witness answered: "No."

In Boston, the seven top Massachusetts Communists arrested May 29 were to be arraigned June 28 before Judge Bailey Aldrich. They are sculptor Otis Archer Hood, Anne Burlak Timpson, known as the "Red Flame" in textile strikes of the 30's; Daniel Boone Schirmer, Michael A. Russo, Sidney S. Lipshires, Edward E. Strong and Geoffrey W. White.

Mack Sennett used to do this routine

EARLY TODAY the subcommittee released testimony of the former Soviet aviator, Peter Pirogov, who defected to the West. In the testimony, Mr. Pirogov said United States agents had blocked an attempt to kidnap him from a hallway in a restaurant only a block from the White House.

Several hours later, the subcommittee issued a statement that said the pistol-waving struggle in the hallway, which wound up with a handcuff on one of Pirogov's wrists, had taken place between two groups of United States agents who did not recognize each other.

"A scuffle ensued before the persons engaged in the encounter realized that no Soviet agents were participating," the subcommittee reported.

— N. Y. Times, June 16

Billings on Sobell

MORTON SOBELL is no more guilty than I was. The District Attorney threatened me that if I didn't testify against Tom Mooney he would hang Mooney and me too. They let Morton Sobell know that if he didn't testify against the Rosenbergs, he would rot in Alcatraz. But Sobell didn't have anything to testify any more than I had.

Warren K. Billings at a meeting in San Francisco June 22.

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(Continued from Page 1)

unification would not change. He found, as Walter Lippmann pointed out (6/19), "Mr. Dulles was more than willing" to accommodate him, still "insisting on terms for the reunification of Germany which nobody expects Moscow to accept, terms which a very large mass of Germans themselves do not think it reasonable to ask Moscow to accept."

THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS: In fact, within Germany, Lippmann said, Adenauer "is under mounting attack from the Social Democrats on the left, from his former allies the Free Democrats on the right, and from important elements in his own Christian Democratic Party." On the same day (6/14) that the Adenauer-Dulles statement announced full agreement of their views, the Social Democratic Party made public in Bonn the draft of its foreign policy program for next year's general elections.

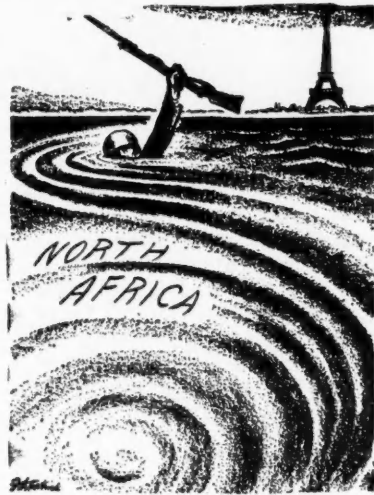
The program called for withdrawal of W. Germany from NATO and of E. Germany from the Warsaw Pact; the establishment of a national state guaranteed by the great powers; transforming Germany into a socialist society that would conserve the economic and social reforms already introduced in E. Germany; incorporation of a reunified Germany into a European security system (previously proposed by Moscow); W. German government support of all efforts to reduce armaments and to prohibit the use of atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons; immediate E. and W. German direct discussions as "an indispensable prerequisite for the reunification of Germany."

What brought Adenauer to Washington was growing opposition at home and fear of losing next year's elections if Washington became attracted by Moscow's overtures. Lippmann said: "The hope that inspired the Adenauer-Dulles talk was not that they could reunify Germany. It was that the old routines might still be good to see Dr. Adenauer through the German elections of 1957."

IKE, YES; DULLES, NO: Perhaps impressed by the explanation of "neutrality" given by Indonesian President Soekarno during his recent visit here, President Eisenhower at a press conference early in June spoke understandingly of neutral nations, pointing out that the U. S. had followed a similar policy in its formative years. He defended the right of any nation to keep out of military alliances.

There was immediate protest from some Baghdad, SEATO and NATO members and alarm in the Pentagon. The State Dept. hurriedly issued a "clarifying" statement, implying that the President did not mean what he said. Three days later Dulles flatly contradicted Mr. Eisenhower. He said that "except under very exceptional circumstances, [neutrality] is an immoral and shortsighted conception."

Lippmann (6/12) called this "a rather sweeping generalization in view of the fact that in Europe it covers Sweden, Switzerland, Ireland, not to speak of Austria and Finland; and in Asia it covers India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia; that in the Middle East it covers all the Arab states except Iraq; and that if one looks into the facts it would cover a lot of Latin America." One reason for Dulles' "untimely and dangerous utterances," Lippmann said, was "the fear that if any concessions like the President's are made to



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post Dispatch
Plight of France

neutrality, the whole fragile structure of [U. S. military] alliances will crumble."

A HOUSE OF GLASS: Dulles was oblivious of the glass house from which he threw stones for, as the Indians have pointed out, the U. S. itself has professed to be neutral in the conflicts between Britain and Greece on Cyprus, India and Portugal on Goa, the Netherlands and Indonesia on W. New Guinea, and between France and Algeria, and the Arab nations and Israel.

To add to Dulles' woes, Morocco's Sultan has demanded reconsideration of U.S. bases there. Iceland has come to look upon Moscow as a "good neighbor" and

has demanded withdrawal of U. S. forces from the big Keflavik air base (AP, 6/21). The Okinawans, ruled by the U. S., have petitioned through Japanese Foreign Minister Shigemitsu for limiting U. S. land tenure, and on June 21 a fifth of the 800,000 Okinawans attended 55 meetings protesting U. S. policy (AP, 6/21). Four days after the arrival of a "goodwill mission" from Chiang Kai-shek, the Thailand radio announced the lifting of the ban on exports to China. Indicating the present status of NATO, British Prime Minister Eden announced early in June that "the immediate threat to Britain's existence is the competition for world export markets rather than another world war" (N. Y. Times, 6/12).

THE TRAIN GOES BY: The thawing process that started in Geneva seemed to have profoundly affected the cold as well as a possible hot war. Since the Moscow Congress, even the East European socialist countries, for whose "freedom" Washington has shown much solicitude, seem to be displaying unmistakable signs of genuine independence. Dulles, nevertheless, still calls for "deeds, not words" from the socialist countries, although, as Roscoe Drummond has pointed out (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 6/20), "the Soviet Union has in the past two years taken a whole series of actions which have impressed many favorably—all in the directions of non-aggressive coexistence. They are deeds, not words alone."

Washington has responded to these world-wide changes like a punch-drunk prizefighter, placing the U. S., as The Nation said (6/16), "in danger once again of being left alone at the station as Lenin's locomotive of history goes racing toward the future."

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- Fiddle Breakdown

#72. CATSKILL MOUNTAIN FOLK SONGS sung by Bob and Louise DeCormier with guitar accompaniment.

A delightful collection of songs produced in cooperation with the Camp Woodland Collection of Music from the Catskills and Norman Cazden, author of "A Catskill Songster."

- I Walked the Road Again
- My Love Is Like A Dewdrop
- The Knickerbocker Line
- The Bonny Laboring Boy
- Will You Go Out West
- The Rock Island Line
- The Foggy Dew
- The Cordwood Cutter
- Last Winter Was A Hard One
- Friends and Neighbors

#73. TEXAS FOLK SONGS sung by Hally Wood with guitar and banjo accompaniment.

Some of the best Negro and white folk songs from Texas sung by an exciting female folk singer.

- Sugar Babe
- O' Freedom
- Worried Blues
- When I Was Single
- Believe I'll Call the Captain
- Farther Along
- St. James Hospital
- Courting Case
- Come and Go With Me
- Love Henry
- Amazing Grace
- Santa Claus Blues
- Red Apple Juice
- Glory Hallelujah

#71. I SING OF CANADA with Milt Okun and guitar and banjo accompaniment.

Sixteen delightful English and French songs.

- Donkey Riding
- Trinity Cake
- She's Like the Swallow
- J'al Perdu Le Do
- The Shantymen's Life
- La Poulette Grise
- Smoky Mountain Bill
- A-Rishima, Tishima, Tee
- Un Canadien Errant
- A Gay Spanish Maid
- Catch A Hold This One
- Vive La Canadienne

JAZZ



#23. JAZZ AT THE PHILHARMONIC, VOL. 1 presented by Norman Granz.

Here is an album of true improvisation. It was recorded at a jam session at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. The musicians were unaware that a record was being made. The artists include: Illinois Jacquet, Willie Smith, Charlie Ventura, saxophones; Joe Guy, Howard McGhee, trumpets; Garland Finney, piano; Red Callendar, bass; Ulysses Livingston, guitar, The Chicago Flash, drums.

#24. MARY LOU WILLIAMS

Mary Lou Williams on piano assisted by Claude Green, trumpet, Jack Parker, drums, Al Lucas, bass, Vic Dickenson, trombone, Don Byas, tenor sax, Dick Vance, trumpet.

- Gjon Mill Jam Session
- Man O'Mine
- Lady Be Good
- Carolina
- Stardust

the **SPECTATOR**

O, Canada...

"CUT OUT THIS NONSENSE," said the Toronto Globe and Mail in an editorial castigating the strange behavior of Canada's Immigration Dept. The comment came after local immigration officials at Windsor, Ontario, excluded me from Canada on Tuesday, May 8, as an "undesirable visitor," and then on Wednesday, May 9, (after I had lodged an appeal with the Minister of Immigration at Ottawa) suddenly reversed the decision and permitted me to enter the country.

The Globe and Mail criticism was typical of the Canadian press. Several other editorials appeared, as well as cartoons, attacking the Government; and news reports and columnists gave sympathetic accounts of my case and of my statements ridiculing the position of the Immigration Dept. The American press also gave my case remarkably good coverage.

The "nonsense" started on May 8, on the morning train from Detroit to Toronto. One minute I was quietly reading *The Readers Digest*; the next minute immigration authorities at Windsor escorted me from the train and, after detaining me for two hours, sent me back to Detroit. I had planned my trip to Toronto to fill two evening lectures at the First Unitarian Church under the auspices of the Toronto Humanist Assn. My topics were "Humanism and Civil Liberties" and "Humanism versus the Traditional Religions." I was also to have appeared May 8 on CBC-TV, which is run by the Canadian Government. This broadcast had to be canceled. However, at the church meeting that night, the Rev. W. P. Jenkins of the Unitarian Church spoke in my stead, assailing my deportation as a sign that Canada was suffering "a backlash of American McCarthyism."

IT TOOK 12 HOURS: The prospects of a quickly moving appeal seemed hopeless, since the officials at Windsor told me no action would be taken for weeks. However, after I consulted counsel and filed an appeal late Tuesday night, the Canadian Minister of Immigration, John W. Pickersgill, reversed the deportation within 12 hours. I got the news at the Hotel Statler in Detroit about noon on May 9.

My second lecture was due to be given in Toronto at 8 p.m. Could I make it? There were no afternoon trains from Detroit that would get me there in time, and I was reluctant to fly because it was raining pitchforks. Finally I hired a Drive-Your-Own car. Starting about 1:30, I drove the 250 miles to Toronto, eating sandwiches for lunch and supper while steering with one hand. It was a tough, fast trip on an unfamiliar route through the rain, and I lost my way several times. At 7:45 p.m. I arrived at my hotel in Toronto, had two cups of coffee, was interviewed by a N. Y. Times correspondent on the phone and got to my meeting at the Unitarian Church only 20 minutes late.

In spite of the heavy rain, there was a good attendance; perhaps, because of the publicity, the audience was considerably larger than it otherwise would have been.

EMBARRASSING QUESTIONS: Meanwhile, furor had broken out in the press and in Parliament. M. J. Coldwell, leader of the socialist C.C.F. (Cooperative Commonwealth Fedn.) and other M.P.'s raised questions on the floor of Commons about my being barred from Canada. Mr. Pickersgill reacted like the typical bureaucrat on a hot tin roof. He said I myself was to blame for the entire incident because I had informed the press of my proposed lectures in Canada. This had led the UP to ask embarrassing questions.

Actually my Toronto lectures had been well advertised by the Humanist group; and since I was on a general speaking tour, including engagements in Los Angeles and San Francisco, I had released my itinerary to the press. This procedure is routine for me.

Mr. Pickersgill suggested that the whole affair "was a deliberate attempt on the part of a Communist front organization to portray this country as a country in which we are afraid to allow free speech." He said the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship was the group responsible, in spite of the fact that the Council had had nothing whatsoever to do with my tour. My reply to Mr. Pickersgill's canard of a Communist conspiracy was that his own immigration inspectors must have been in on the plot, since they had made the original decision against me.

THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL: I do believe that my Canadian experience finally added up to a significant victory and precedent for civil liberties and the right to travel. The original decision to bar me out quickly boomeranged against the Canadian Government under the pressure of public opinion. As an editorial in the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle put it, Canada quickly became "pink in its official ears."

For the first time in my memory New York's Daily News and Daily Mirror attacked me editorially. The best explanation I can give for this phenomenon is that these two newspapers thought the Canadian fiasco had redounded so much in my favor, and as a civil liberties victory, that they felt it necessary to try to discredit me. This explanation suggests itself because a decided majority of editorial and news accounts in both countries was either outspokenly sympathetic to me, or at least fair and neutral.

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