

"OPEN SKY" PLAN A HINDRANCE

# West split in UN on disarmament; progress is slight

By Kumar Goshal

**A**FTER TWO WEEKS of verbal fireworks the UN Disarmament Commission (UN Security Council members plus Canada), meeting in New York, showed some faint signs of progress.

The meeting opened with the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. holding on to their previously fixed positions: the U. S. insisting upon progressive disarmament simultaneous with settlement of such political questions as unification of Germany and an "open sky" system of aerial inspection; the U. S. S. R. proposing cuts in conventional armed forces with an adequate inspection system.

**WEST DIVIDED:** It soon became apparent, however, that the Western powers not only disagreed with the Soviet Union but could not agree among themselves. On July 10 French representative Jules Moch, who has been trying for the past five years to reach an East-West compromise on disarmament, made a "searching criticism of American policy" (*Christian Science Monitor*, 7/10). CMS characterized the Moch speech as an "open acknowledgment of a deep and serious split which has existed between Paris and Washington ever since last August and which very nearly

came to the surface at the 1956 spring sessions of the five-nation UN disarmament conference in London."

At the London conference Moch was determined to specify a 1,500,000 manpower ceiling for the U. S., the U. S. S. R. and China as the final goal in a disarmament process. This figure was originally proposed by the West but withdrawn after Moscow accepted it. The U. S. now feels it cannot reduce its armed forces to 1,500,000 men even after the unification of Germany and Korea and settlement of all other major political problems. According to CSM, Washington feels that to do so "would help produce a climate of relaxation and encourage the distintegration of Western armed strength now." In London, U. S. representative Harold Stassen persuaded Moch not to specify the 1,500,000-man force level.

**STICKS TO HIS POINT:** In his July 10 speech Moch said his decision to eliminate the above figure at the London conference was a "mistake," and he still supported the 1,500,000-man goal. He also broke with the U. S. publicly on the "open sky" plan, which, he said, "has neither all the good qualities nor all the shortcomings attributed to it."

Moch pointed out that aerial photography could detect nuclear factories but not nuclear weapon stockpiles already produced and guided missiles buried underground or otherwise camouflaged. Therefore, he said, insistence upon the "open sky" plan is not so essential that all else should be allowed to break down on the point.

**SOVIET FORMULA:** On July 12 Soviet representative Andrei Gromyko agreed to the armed forces level proposed by the U. S. This would limit the armed forces of the U. S., the U. S. S. R. and China to 2,500,000 men and of France and Britain to 750,000 as a "first step" toward conventional disarmament. Gromyko also proposed limiting the armed forces of other states to a maximum of

(Continued on Page 3)

## IN THIS ISSUE

### The Reappraisal

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Moscow dateline .....p. 5

GEORGE WHEELER

Prague dateline .....p. 4

also

TABITHA PETRAN

Soviet education .....p. 4



#### FAMILY UNDER AN AXE

The Paschalidis family album has this snapshot of a happy Christmas. Polyronis and his wife Barbara are shown with their son, Andy, aged 5. Paschalidis, an official of an outlawed Greek seamen's union, narrowly escaped being rushed by immigration authorities to Greece where he faces imprisonment or death. While legal steps are taken, he is being held in New York's West St. jail.

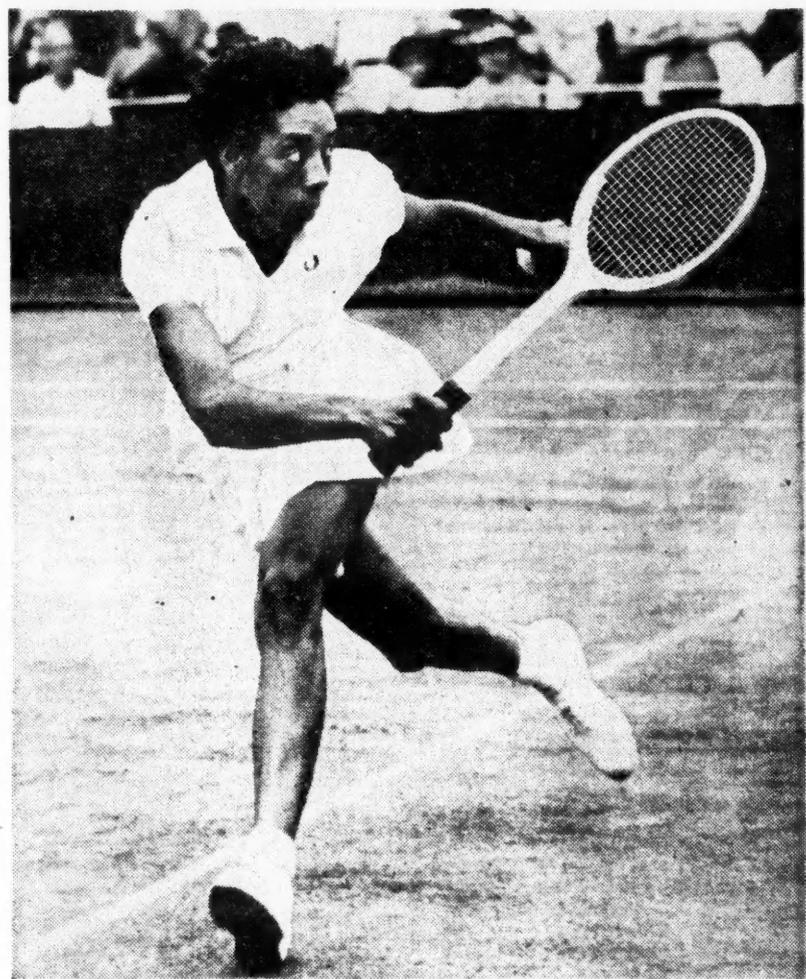
# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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#### TENNIS, EVERYONE?

Althea Gibson aims to do in tennis what Jackie Robinson did in baseball. Her next try is for the U.S. National Women's Championship late this summer.

## AS OF NOW, IT'S IKE AND NIXON

# GOP puts issues under rug as it tunes up bandwagon

By Elmer Bendiner

**O**N JULY 9, when the satisfied grin of Presidential press secy. Hagerty was still the nation's only clue to the President's second-term intentions, David Lawrence wrote a column for the *N. Y. Herald Tribune* in which he raved four years ahead of everybody: "... there has been lately some discussion as to whether or not the Constitution should be amended to permit him [the President] to run for a third term."

Lawrence thought the President's age of 70 in 1960 would not make him ineligible in the "era of vitamins."

It was brave whistling in the dark while most GOP sympathizers hoped only that the President could last through the campaign without another trip to the hospital. At the Gettysburg farm, meanwhile, the President was eating steaks for breakfast, walking around his big green barn, putting and chipping on his golf green, napping every afternoon, and conferring on the nation's business for an hour or two each day to keep his hand in.

**DOCTOR HAGERTY:** Ignoring all medical opinions that spoke of the recurrence of ileitis, Hagerty stuck to his own original diagnosis of a bellyache. He told newsmen on July 7 that the President was convalescing "from an operation just like many of you people have had, from appendicitis or a stomach operation or anything else like that."

For the first time since he began his second convalescence at the Gettysburg farm, newsmen were allowed to take pictures of him on the morning of July 10 as he entered a conference with Congressional GOP leaders at Gettysburg College. Reporters noted that he walked more deliberately than usual, that his collar fitted his neck loosely, his face was thinner and less ruddy than before the operation.

As Sen. Knowland (R.-Cal.) later told newsmen, the announcement came with elaborate casualness. The subject "naturally" came up and the President said he would run a "vigorous" campaign.

(Continued on Page 5)



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### Shell game

NEW YORK, N.Y.  
Methinks Ike they're fixin',  
To usher in Nixon.

L. G.

### Reappraisal

YORK, PA.  
What Communists around the world have suddenly lost complete sight of is that socialism, in the Marxist system, was never meant to be a particularly moral or good society. Under extreme conditions (those Stalin faced couldn't have been more so), Marxism does not rule out any manner of evils under socialism. Evil, indeed, is just the word Lenin used to describe any state, the socialist one not excluded. In the Marxist system socialism is visualized as a necessary evil for the forcible establishment of the material conditions leading to the stateless, decentralized society of communism. The Soviets have never pretended that the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" is reconcilable with political democracy.

Hence, the only real question for non-Soviet Marxists (Khrushchev, in his extremist method of shifting from Stalinism, clearly had a number of purely domestic objectives in view) is whether Stalin was, and B. and K. are now, developing Soviet socialism toward the eventual transformation to communism—a matter mainly of developing economic abundance. But this question apparently hasn't arisen in the CPUSA. American Communists naturally reflect their own environment, where the exclusive emphasis on materialist values has all but rid the society of people who think.

David Wesley

### WESTFIELD, MASS.

The recent squabbles among progressives could have been avoided if there was greater Marxist study and understanding among those involved. Most progressives who consider themselves socialist in one degree or another have the loftiest of shining principles but do not always clearly see how to apply these principles in a practical way. That is the greatest value of Marxian Socialism and Marxism-Leninism specifically, for it not only provides the highest of principles, but also their practical, scientific application, not leaving its advocates to Utopian dreaming and grandiose speculation which under adverse conditions can give way to black defeatism and despair. To unite all left groups more closely than they are at present would strengthen the Left as a whole tremendously and could also lead

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

During the past two years the real secret weapon of the communists has been revealed in all its devilish might and efficiency. It's the peace conference.

Bankers Bulletin, June 1956.  
One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: C. Spatz, New York City.

to a pooling of resources, lending such strength to the movement that we could set up an independent Socialist Party in some places and elect our own Congressmen and state legislators, particularly by concentrating the national strength at one given spot to knock out the enemy at the grass roots.

Young Mill Worker

### JOPLIN, MO.

Lenin and Stalin had the most backward country in the world and built the second strongest country in the world. They did it without begging capitalists for their friendship. They stood up there on two feet, using force whenever it was necessary for the benefit of the workers. Since Stalin's death I have noticed a great deal of begging and crawling for capitalist friendship. Lenin and Stalin will be remembered in the minds and hearts of the people long after Khrushchev and his crowd have gone down the drain.

N. T.

### HAVERHILL, MASS.

Readers will remember that the United States was paying members of the CIA to do anything to disrupt the Stalin Govt. Congress voted millions (and is still collecting money) to finance schemes to "get the voice of the free world behind the iron curtain." At the time the money was voted for this purpose it was openly stated that any group within Russia that was working against Stalin and his government would receive financial support and every other form of help from the USA.

With the Russian land riddled with saboteurs whose mission was the promotion of murder, arson and the payment of Russians for committing acts of treason against their government—all enemy acts—was it strange that Stalin did execute some innocent people and he probably did? I don't suppose that sort of thing has ever happened in the USA?

M.I.L.

### BROOKLYN, N.Y.

What does the acceptance of "Khrushchevism" mean? It means the rejection of Stalin first by personally characterizing him as twisted and evil; this being "established," we "cast grave doubts" on everything he has accomplished and ultimately reject even his theoretical works. (This has already begun.) When Stalinism has been dumped, the new Khrushchev road to socialism will proclaim more gloriously than it does now: Socialism

through Diplomacy! Revolution through Reconciliation! No longer will the class struggle become more acute as the capitalists grow more panicky. Instead, they will understand the steady, kind and patient prodding of the combined might of a communist and anti-communist world coalition, will yield to the overwhelming majority and relinquish their dictatorship at the ballot box.

Because Stalin taught that the capitalist class is irrational and will never accept or understand its own demise; because he taught that the clash between classes will sharpen as more of the world becomes socialist and that a violent revolution and the destruction of bourgeois apparatus is necessary for establishing socialism, he is being smashed to bits.

If Stalin is junked, can Lenin be far behind?  
Mel Albaum

### Still in business

SEBASTOPOL, CALIF.  
Any undiscouraged progressives please write us if you are interested in continuing the progressive movement. Our club still meets regularly and is active.

Sebastopol I.P.P. Club  
P.O. Box 145

### In memory

CHICAGO, ILL.  
The enclosed \$10 has been donated in memory of Guy B. Phillips, a charter GUARDIAN subscriber, by a group of his friends.

Bernard J. Phillip



Lancaster in Daily Express, London  
"Darling, do tell me—is Togliatti a racing driver or that new soprano at Glyndebourne?"

### For Rae Kaufman

NEW YORK, N.Y.  
She was a grandmother of 73—a woman who had little schooling, but plenty of hard work from early childhood on. In spite of this handicap and almost complete submission to the custom of women of her generation ("Woman's place is in the home, her range the kitchen range") she strove to keep up with the world. In her latter years, widowed and with her children grown and independent, she undertook as much as she could shoulder of the work of setting the world to rights. Sometimes the news dismayed her, and her confidence in the inevitability of a happier planet wavered. But she relied on the GUARDIAN for truth and encouragement. Small in stature, she was great in soul, and she will be remembered by all as a beautiful little, bustling, busy spirit.

Daughter

### Welcome, H.H.!

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
For your information and our dear friends, an announcement of great importance:

Sarah Cunningham gave birth to a son—Harrison Henry Randolph—in San Francisco, at the Stanford University Hospital! She, Martha (3 years, 9 months), Harrison and myself now proceed to L.A. for seven weeks with "Inherit the Wind" starring Melvyn Douglas at the Hartford Theater, 1245 No. Vine.

We're very happy that Harrison decided to be born in a town that is almost 100% union!  
Johnny Randolph



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July 23, 1956

### REPORT TO READERS

## 'Vin spoke briefly'

THE CHEERS are still resounding for Vincent Hallinan's call for a united front of progressive and Left organizations by 1958 and "a national liberal Presidential ticket in 1960." The 1952 Progressive Presidential candidate spoke out at the GUARDIAN picnic at the Hallinan place in Ross, Calif., on Sunday, July 8.

We are sorry we don't have the text, or even a set of hand-notes, of what Hallinan had to say. The diffident Mrs. Hallinan, writing us of the success of the picnic, merely noted that "Vin spoke briefly"—as if that were a newsworthy matter in itself. We got the gist of what he said from the front page of the Marin County Daily Independent Journal for Mon., July 9.

The newspaper said Hallinan "cited the growing liberality of thought throughout the world. He termed the recent election of Robert Briscoe, a Jew, as Lord Mayor of Dublin, as revolutionary as naming longshoreman Harry Bridges to head the Republican ticket." We hope to hear further from himself on these matters.

The story said 1,600 people enjoyed the picnic. Mrs. Hallinan's letter, again diffident to a fault, said 1,400 came, but she probably didn't count her own rambunctious Wild Irish Rogues and the huge committee which worked so hard to make the event click.

The rest of Vivian Hallinan's letter said "Bob Robertson was M. C. . . . The LaPaz Singers were the only entertainment. Our Danny sang two popular songs from the mike—his first such experience—so it was a big thrill for him. Sarah Cunningham [actress wife of actor John Randolph] was out for the first time since the birth of her baby . . . Pauline Taylor of Youngstown was scheduled to return home on July 4 but stayed purposely for the picnic. We sold all the food we had—having started running out of various items about 4 p.m. The last stragglers left at 6:30. The picnickers weren't too interested in doing anything besides talking, sitting in the sun, swimming, eating. Some of the more exuberant ones did some ball playing. One and all said they had a wonderful day."

Our Malvina Reynolds, who had to leave at 3 o'clock, reported as of that moment that "the joint was jumping and people still coming, a beautiful day and everybody happy."

WE HERE are immeasurably grateful to the Hallinans for their hospitality and to the Bay Area-and-points-North-East-and-South people for turning out in such joyous numbers—and for the big financial boost which resulted for our needful summer.

We wish somehow that the effete East would reappraise its policy of picnics, which used to taste pretty wonderful before the cocktail party era set in. We have a personal stake in such a hoped-for shift in policy, because we'd like to dig into some of that home-cooked provender ourselves; and also because we can use all boasts possible to help pay the printer et al.

Matter of fact we have sent out a letter to most of you in "key" areas, as they say, proposing some such summer benefit for the GUARDIAN, even if it is only gathering a few friends around the air-conditioner for an evening.

THE ANSWERS to that letter have been few, and summer is already a-waiting. Also, there are a lot of other unanswered letters from us out among you—we don't think we overlooked anyone in our effort to keep the kitty fed this summer. Liberty Book Club enabled us to make you an extra-special "double-bonus" offer late last month which we think you should grab at not only to help the GUARDIAN (which will benefit from your response) but because of the unfailingly fine, meaningful books that Liberty alone brings its subscribers.

And last but not least, some of you "Buck a Month" pledgers are so far behind, despite so many reminders and reminders of reminders, that last month alone we failed to receive almost \$1,800 in promised income. We must say quickly that this income usually comes through eventually, but the summer is the time it is so sorely needed.

WE KEEP USING the word "gratitude" for all your help, but perhaps the word "respect" applies better to the men and women of all corners and crannies of our society who dig down so faithfully to keep percolating the ideas and inter-communication and campaigning for political decency which are the GUARDIAN's reason for existence.

There—if that doesn't get a response from you, tell us what will!  
—THE GUARDIAN

## A 'REAPPRAISAL' THAT MISFIRES

## Stone forces us to set Sobell record straight

THE JULY 2 ISSUE of I. F. Stone's Weekly contains an article entitled "Time for New Tactics on Rosenberg-Sobell, Too" which compels this reply.

It is an inexcusable effort to involve those who fought to the point of tears and collapse for the Rosenbergs' lives with the editor's current personal campaign of taunting the Communist Parties of the world for their tactics during the Stalin years.

Thus "the Rosenberg cult" conducted its "agitation" in "so shrill, hysterical and mendacious a way as to offend many who might have been won over by sober presentation."

"The false cry of anti-Semitism . . . the wild cries of frame-up, sacrificed calm consideration . . . to the needs of world Communist propaganda . . . Slansky was executed overnight without an appeal in Prague. How the same people could excuse Slansky and the 'doctor's plot' and at the same time carry on the Rosenberg campaign as they did calls for political psychiatry."

THE RECORD SHOULD SHOW that during the campaign that I. F. Stone now decries, one of his contributions to "calm consideration" and "sober presentation" was a column in the *Daily Compass* of Oct. 15, 1952, in which he recommended 30 years' imprisonment for the Rosenbergs, after saying: "I have never been persuaded that the case was a frame-up." This judgment was not based on analysis of the evidence, for Stone conceded after the Rosenbergs had been executed that he had never read the trial record. Thus his conviction of their guilt was a matter of personal divination.

It was the NATIONAL GUARDIAN which opened up the campaign in behalf of the Rosenbergs, not because of a Communist decision to conduct such a campaign, but precisely because not the Communist Party, nor the *Daily Compass*, for which I. F. Stone then wrote, nor any other agency or individual except the stricken couple's lawyers and family, had taken steps toward examination of the trial record, public weighing of the evidence or rooting out the perjuries, criminal misrepresentations and uneven-handed justice by

which their convictions and unprecedented sentences were obtained.

To state now, as Stone does, that "the Rosenbergs were treated a good deal more fairly here than Slansky and other Jewish victims of Stalin justice" is demagogic word-slinging at the meanest level. To calumniate the world outcry in behalf of the Rosenbergs, yet lament the lack of such in behalf of Slansky and victims of possible injustice elsewhere, does indeed call for political psychiatry.

ON THE SOBELL campaign, Stone says that the "letter of Bertrand Russell's . . . with its comparison of Nazi and FBI 'atrocities' is in the strident and hysterical tradition of the Rosenberg campaign. Jean-Paul Sartre's . . . was not much better." In the current motion for a new trial, now going up to a higher court on appeal from trial Judge Kaufman's first-round denial, "false hopes were stimulated, false impressions given . . ." Stone finds himself "afraid that Judge Kaufman has the better of the argument."

In that argument Sobell's attorneys asked only for a new trial which can be held in an atmosphere less charged with the passions which surely Stone must recognize made justice unlikely if not impossible. Most people, it seems, would applaud such an objective and cheer every move in that direction. If Stone or others wish to play the lawyer, though, there are solid points of law to consider. For example, the Sobell brief demonstrates something that could not have been presented during the original trial: a governmental intent to offer evidence it knew to be false.

The government and Judge Kaufman now admit that Sobell was kidnaped from Mexico and that the jury was told that he was "deported." Yet Judge Kaufman has ruled—and Stone apparently concurs—that the meaning of "deported" can be stretched to include a kidnaping, and therefore the jury was not misled.

SOBELL'S CASE does not hang on even that legal point. But in American law it is enough to find one point on which the jury could be wrongly informed to warrant a new trial. At that

new trial the guilt or innocence of Sobell could be properly argued.

Stone concedes that in the Rosenberg case "the discovery of the console table [which the GUARDIAN discovered, by the way] merited a new trial." Indeed, in a new trial the true origin and physical details of the table would have demonstrated a skein of perjury and misrepresentation which was among the most damaging and false evidence against the Rosenbergs.

Yet the evidence of willful misrepresentation in the Sobell case is insufficient, says Stone, to warrant a new trial and the Sobell defense "will have to do better if it is to free him."

Painful as it is to write this editorial, we think it necessary to offset possible disaffection and discouragement among people who find themselves the target in a blind and spleenful buckshot "reappraisal."

WE RECOMMEND in the Sobell matter that you string along with Elmer Davis, Waldo Frank, Dr. Harold C. Urey and 58 others who recently wrote in a letter to President Eisenhower:

"We do not press upon you, Mr. President, the question of Morton Sobell's innocence or guilt—for we ourselves are not of one mind on that issue. Our faith in our democratic system of justice assures us that the truth will ultimately be established.

"We believe it is vital that our nation safeguard its security, but it is important that we do not permit this concern to lead us astray from our traditions of justice and humanity. In this light we further believe that Morton Sobell's continued imprisonment does not serve our nation's interest or security.

"Therefore, most respectfully and earnestly, Mr. President, we look to you to exercise your executive authority either by asking the Attorney General to consent to a new trial for Morton Sobell or by the granting of Executive Pardon or Commutation. We take the liberty of urging your personal attention to this matter."

If you concur, won't you let President Eisenhower know your feelings?

The GUARDIAN

## Disarmament talk

(Continued from Page 1)

150,000-200,000 men; accepted a UN ground inspection plan to verify cuts; called for prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons and cessation of tests.

The Western powers immediately opposed limitation of the armed forces of smaller powers. This would obviously nullify Washington's plan to build much larger forces in W. Germany and Japan, a move very unpopular in both these countries. Britain opposed any restrictions placed upon nuclear weapons tests until it has built its own stockpile of nuclear weapons in its desperate attempt to remain a great power. But such an attempt, as the *London Times* said, "implies a clinging to the belief that it is possible to win a thermo-nuclear war; and here is the ultimate fallacy."

VOICE OF INDIA: On July 12, India's Krishna Menon, invited to speak although India is not a member of the Commission, documented his proposal for suspension of nuclear weapon tests as harmful to humanity. While Gromyko supported Menon, U. S. delegate James Wadsworth and Britain's Anthony Cutting quoted other scientists to support continuance of such tests.

As the Commission continued its meeting, there was evidence that Moscow's concessions and earlier unilateral armed forces reduction were having some effect.

At the Commonwealth Conference in London last month Prime Minister Eden said that Soviet leaders "were sincerely eager to avoid" a nuclear war and "intended to devote their nation's colossal resources to fighting the West economically for the world's main market" (N. Y.



Los Angeles Examiner

"Listen, they're playing our song."

Times, 6/28). India's Premier Nehru endorsed Eden's viewpoint.

ROOTED IN PEACE: After a four-week trip to the Soviet Union, during which he had an unusual opportunity to talk freely to Soviet leaders and top foreign diplomats, *Progressive* magazine editor Morris Rubin reported (N. Y. Post, 7/5):

"In the field of disarmament the Russians means business, according to the virtually unanimous judgment of foreign experts."

Rubin was convinced that "the Soviet Union needs—and wants—peace. Its people insist on it; its government is committed to it, and its world strategy and domestic planning are rooted in the continuing relaxation of world tensions."

## BLACKLISTERS AT WORK

## Un-Americans grill Fund for Republic; AWARE Inc. sued for \$500,000 damages

INTENT MORE ON "retaliation than information," according to the *Washington Post & Times-Herald*, the House Committee on Un-American Activities went right to work on the Fund for the Republic's recently-published *Report on Blacklisting* in the entertainment field and its compiler, John Cogley, a former editor of the Catholic publication, *Commonweal*.

Backed by Fund chairman Robert Hutchins, *Commonweal* and an overwhelming number of show-business people, Cogley stood his ground and refused to list his sources except for Arnold Forster, chief counsel of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, an intermediary for some blacklisted people seeking re-employment. Members of the Committee showed no disposition to hold Cogley in contempt (although the same day they voted unanimously to cite playwright Arthur Miller for refusing to name members of a writers' study group he once joined 17 years ago).

As if to prove the *Washington Post's* comment on retaliation, the Committee then heard a succession of pro-blacklist witnesses to get a "more precise focus" on whether the Fund for the Republic "stands as friend or foe in America's struggle against communism."

OTHER ACTIONS: On other fronts, the blacklisters were having a rougher time:

● AWARE Inc., self-appointed guardian of showbusiness from Communism, faced a \$500,000 damage suit by radio-

TV actor John Henry Faulk for circulating false information which he says cost him 19 sponsors and considerable employment. Sued with AWARE were Vincent W. Hartnett, a director, and AWARE backer Laurence A. Johnson, Syracuse super-market patriot.

● In Philadelphia the City Solicitor rejected Legion attempts to force cancellation of participation by Gale Sondergaard, Albert Dekker, Lee Grant and director David Pressman in the summer program of the city-run Playhouse-in-the-Park.

● The producers and distributors of the film *Salt of the Earth* sued in federal court to collect \$7,500,000 damages from all Hollywood's major studios and trade associations as well as producer Howard Hughes and labor chieftains Richard S. Walsh and Roy Brewer—all charged with conspiracy to boycott and blacklist the film and personnel associated with it. Of *Salt of the Earth* the *Report on Blacklisting* states that Rep. Donald L. Jackson (R-Calif.), a member of the House Un-American Activities Committee, sent telegrams to key film industry figures asking: "Is there any action that industry and labor in motion picture field can take to stop completion and release of picture here and abroad?" Brewer offered the services of his Hollywood AFL Film Council. Distribution of the film was ultimately halted when "motion picture projectionists (members of Brewer's union) and theater owners across the country refused to show it."

## EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UNION—I.

## Direction now is toward factory-university tie-up

By Tabitha Petran  
(First of two articles)

MOSCOW

"WE ARE SURE the day is not far off when institutions of higher learning will enroll their students through the factories, the building sites, the collective farms, the machine tractor stations and the state farms. Until recently, it was the case with us for nearly every secondary school leaver to enter a higher school . . . [But today] the best road to a higher education lies through the industrial establishments and job sites . . . We could not do this before because we didn't have enough people trained for entrance to higher schools . . ." N. S. Khrushchev to young volunteers leaving for Siberia, June 2.

Khrushchev's remarks point up—as do current discussions among Soviet educators and new programs being drawn up for Soviet schools—the fact that Soviet education is entering a new stage.

To the West, Soviet education has appeared "tough and formidable" (Dorothy Thompson, *Ladies Home Journal*, 2/56). Ten-year school, now being made compulsory throughout the U.S.S.R., is equivalent in time to our eight grades plus junior high. But graduates of Soviet ten-year schools have had five years of physics; four of chemistry; six of a second language (usually English, French or German); ten of arithmetic and mathematics including geometry and trigonometry; five of biology and botany in addition to ten years of Russian language and literature; five of geography, and seven of history, etc.

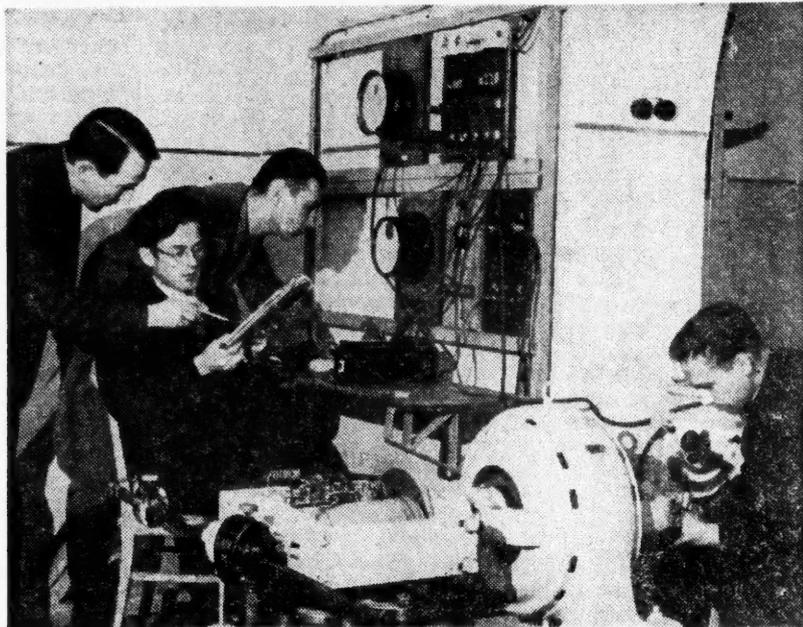
**NEW PROBLEMS:** All subjects are compulsory, the principle being that all citizens must be given a minimum equal education. The student must complete the program even though he requires more than ten years. The main difference between the U.S. and Soviet systems, Moscow U. Prof. of Education Leontyev told the *GUARDIAN* recently, is "that the U.S. does not give to all enough of a minimum general education. This minimum general education for all is the characteristic feature of the Soviet school."

Today, however, partly as a result of raising compulsory school from seven to ten years, Soviet education faces new problems. In the early days of Soviet power, the job was to educate some 200,000,000 largely illiterate people; it required an army of teachers, preparation of textbooks, organization of a textbook publishing industry, solving a host of other tough problems. Throughout the first and subsequently five-year plans the task was to create an intelligentsia, including a technical intelligentsia.

Now, Soviet educators point out, a new situation exists. The intelligentsia has been created; there are enough higher educational and technical institutions, and students prepared to enter them, to insure its necessary growth and development. Hence this problem has been solved. The new problem is that with ten-year schooling compulsory only a small proportion of graduates will go on directly to higher education. Most will go to work. Hence Soviet schools now have an additional task: to prepare students for the practical side of life. "The school has fulfilled one task," Prof. Leontyev declared, "but it hasn't yet learned to do the second."

**NEW SUBJECTS:** In an effort to put greater emphasis on the practical side, new subjects have been introduced step by step over the last three years. These include: basis of production, machine science, electric technique, agronomy, workshop, and work on a plot of land. This year for the first time production practice in industry and agriculture will be included in the curriculum. Not all, or perhaps even most, schools have been able to carry out the new program successfully. And at the 20th Congress of the CPSU, Voroshilov sharply criticized both the program and its implementation.

Furthermore, introduction of new sub-



ENGINEERING SENIORS AT LVOV POLYTECH  
Russia leads in the rate of training technicians

jects brought a major difficulty: students were overburdened with work. Currently this problem is receiving much attention from educational and medical authorities

and the press. Educators attribute the situation to three factors: 1) introduction of new courses without sufficient reduction in other programs because spe-

cialists resisted shortening of courses; 2) the fact that many programs and textbooks are too broad, the latter particularly being too often like higher educational textbooks; and 3) failure of teachers to carry out directives to reduce homework.

**COEDUCATION:** A great development of evening and correspondence courses is one answer. Another is that higher educational institutes give preference to those applicants who work in industry or agriculture. Still another is the increasing effort to bring branches of higher educational institutes close to industrial enterprises. And already many who don't go directly into higher educational institutes do get a higher education while working. At the Automatic Ball-Bearing Plant in Moscow, for example, there are courses in specialized and higher technical education, as well as courses to complete ten-year schooling given for those workers who came to the plant before ten-year education became compulsory.

A western impression that educators here are anxious to correct is that Soviet schools abandoned coeducation over a long period of time. According to Prof. Leontyev, differentiated education was introduced during the war only in large cities, and involved not more than 5 percent of the schools. A few years ago these differentiated schools went back to a coeducation basis, which most Soviet educators believe is preferable.

NEXT WEEK: Higher Education.

## THE GREAT REAPPRAISAL

## Czech critics run into official impatience

By George S. Wheeler  
(Special to the *GUARDIAN*)

PRAGUE

**C**HARACTERIZING the current situation in any of the socialist countries of E. Europe carries with it the risk of being inaccurate shortly afterward. At the time I wrote for the *GUARDIAN* (June 11) an account of Prime Minister Siroky's press conference, the picture seemed clear, in view of his forthright statements coming soon after the Czechoslovak Writers' Conference which had been important for its open forum for widely divergent ideas.



Now, after the June Conference of the Communist Party, it is apparent that the matter is more complicated, that counter-currents of impatience with criticism, an atmosphere of "getting down to production matters" and belittling the "intellectuals' eternal proneness to complain" also enter the scene.

**NAME NAMES:** Delegates to the CP conference report that criticism was more free and thoroughgoing than at any time they can remember—in the words of one, it was "stormy." There was full approval of the party's program as expressed in the Second Five-Year Plan and in the Party resolutions. But there was sharp and detailed criticism of the manner in which some of the ministries were carrying it out.

The criticism was aimed not at the program of industrialization and of building socialism, but at its shortcomings. The chief target was bureaucracy which had lost touch with the problems of the workers, which ignored or rejected suggestions from below, and hence retarded the growth of socialism. The criticism included not only particular ministers, but trade union, youth movement and party officials.

**CHANGES MADE:** In some cases the officials admitted errors and the confer-

ence adopted a number of resolutions and suggestions for change, among the most important being:

- Approval of directives for implementing the Second Five-Year Plan which will increase the standard of living by 30%.

- An admission of errors "linked with dogmatic application of Stalin's incorrect thesis that in the course of socialist construction the class struggle sharpened as successes in the building of socialism increased."

- An announcement by Minister of Interior R. Barák that 25,988 persons had been released on the basis of the Amnesty and that, although third degree methods had been used in the past, investigations were now carried on in conformity with "socialist legality," also that the Slánsky trial and all political cases were being reviewed.

- A declaration that "changes in legal procedure would be made . . . to ensure the principle that the accused shall be considered innocent until his guilt is proved."

- Announcement of steps taken to decentralize not only planning, but also in granting more autonomy to Slovakia.

- Removal of certain ministers most severely criticized and the reorganization of several ministries.

**HEAVY DEMANDS:** These and other decisions might seem like more than enough for one conference to accomplish. But the criticism arose because the conference was meeting in extraordinary times and heavy demands were made on it—some of these were only partially met and some were rejected. These relate particularly to the demand for more specific self-criticism and to the conduct of the political trials and the speed with which they are being reviewed.

Party Secretary Novotny said: "We regard the development of criticism as the most valuable of all contributions to the discussions and shall make every effort in order that Party criticism may further develop." Yet there was little specific self-criticism. In fact, some persons criticized were allowed to "reply" by

characterizing critics as enemies of socialism. Deputy Prime Minister V. Kopecky argued that "an insignificant minority" was attacking "the general line of the party" and that these were "petty-bourgeois elements and often even inspired by enemies."

**THE ANSWER:** Jan Bures of the Academy of Science replied: "It is necessary that this conference declare clearly that not agreeing with the view of a minister or member of the Central Committee in the solution of a certain problem need not mean disagreement with the general line of the Party. It is necessary to fight against incorrect views in the Party, but take care that we do not smother the vigorous young growth of bold criticism by exaggerated suspicion and bad temper. Take care that we do not artificially revive old conflicts between workers and intelligentsia, benefitting only our enemies."



Criticism of the review of the Slánsky trial lies not so much in the role of the main defendants, but concerns those who were arrested, including lesser party functionaries, on charges of Zionism in the "atmosphere of wide suspicion" Barák referred to, during and after the trial.

There has been progress in the last few months and this will undoubtedly be reflected in further enthusiasm for the development of the new Five-Year Plan. At the same time there is continued criticism, not of socialism, but from those anxious to speed up the building of socialism, to remove the defects of the transition period and to safeguard its justice along with its economic gains.

RUSSIANS TAKE REAPPRAISAL CALMLY

# First shock in Moscow gives way to forward look

By Cedric Belgrave

MOSCOW

**A FEW WEEKS AGO** a Moscow citizen returned to his family and office and told what had happened to him since he was taken at night to the Lubyanka prison by the political police. The police had had his "confession" ready, and had kept him from sleeping and put him for 1-to-3-day periods naked in a freezing cell until he signed it. He felt sure the authorities had made a mistake, or that someone was pursuing a personal vendetta against him, and that when the truth came out it would be put right. Later he realized it was much more than that, but by then was toiling in a remote camp where conditions were bad but tolerable.

Suddenly after eight years he was brought back to the Lubyanka where there was another paper to sign: an exoneration and total rehabilitation. The warden shook his hand and asked if he wouldn't like a shave, and half-an-hour later he found himself on a downtown Moscow street with 13 rubles in his pocket. (Later he got two months' back pay from his office.)

**NOTHING TO BE DONE:** What had happened in his Moscow circle? His wife had stuck by him, finding out only after two desperate years that he was still alive. When on the morning after his arrest he failed to show up at the office, someone phoned his home and got the news. Some of his colleagues went to wondering why they had never realized he was an enemy of the people, and sifting through their memories of him for "suspicious" actions and remarks. Others were sure it was a mistake, but nobody did anything. Nobody felt there was anything to be done.

Such stories are being exchanged today everywhere in Moscow—except that in what seems to have been a minority of the camps the conditions were quite intolerable, and many of the stories don't have happy endings. Some people hazard wild guesses, such as 3,000,000, as the number of innocent citizens thus shanghaied by a police that had become an autonomous empire.

It is no wonder that progressives the world over are suffering from acute shock at the realization that so much truth was interwoven with the cold-war propagandists' lies. No wonder that many foreign Communists are reacting with unaccustomed emotion and still groping for a means to put the past in proper perspective with the present and future.

**LOOK TO THE FUTURE:** The reaction of Soviet citizens is not quite the same—for one thing because few could help knowing that something of the kind was going on, although they dared not discuss it and could get no details. A Muscovite described to me the evening when his party group met to hear a report on

"The Cult of Personality and Its Effects." The group settled down for the usual learned theoretical treatise, but the stunning effect of Khrushchev's secret 20th congress report was soon apparent.

When the letter from the imprisoned comrade Kedrov was read—"Let my cry of horror reach your ears, I am an Old Bolshevik free of any stain"—there were terrible groans; before the end, comrades old and young were weeping, especially those whose near ones had likewise "disappeared" in the Stalin era. There was a long silence, and only one question, "What action



LARGE AND SMALL GROUPS HEARD THE KHRUSHCHEV REPORT

"Ever since there has been endless discussion . . ."

was taken on this report?", to which the answer was: "They accepted it." But ever since there has been endless discussion in the group of how to prevent such horrors recurring; eyes turned at first backward now look ahead, and the predominant emotion is one of intense relief.

**THE CONTEXT:** The feeling I get here is that the inhibited "Russian soul" reaction to such revelations is much harder to find in Russia than in Western countries. It is one thing to have mentally accepted, as millions in the West did, that capitalism was prepared to act with total ruthlessness to defeat the socialist revolution; it is another to have been on the receiving end of the indescribable and incalculable savageries perpetrated here by capitalist powers in the past 40 years. People are bound to think relatively, and to the Russians the revelations of the Stalin-era crimes against the innocent are grievous and horrible but of small dimensions compared with what they saw and experienced

in the civil war and World War II years.

They see a process of action and reaction in all this bloodshed and do not much care for being lectured by kindly Westerners, whose countries have been guilty of almost everything but have experienced almost nothing. The past cannot be mended and the question of establishing a regime of justice, peace and abundance for all humanity remains. If one seeks to pin guilt one can consider the historic lack of civil-liberties standards in Russia, or the activities of many "quiet Americans" in Washington; but most of all it must be seen in the context of the cold-war hysteria which has gripped both East and West.

**MORE THAN PAPER:** Police power to act independently has already been stopped, the Lubyanka prison is empty, and the drastic overhaul now being made of the penal system may be ready for outlining to the current Supreme Soviet session. With windows now open to the world, the revolutionary Soviet government seems to be seriously studying for the first time what it should and must borrow from the West's basic guarantees against injustice, for which generations of Western progressives have fought.

But the \$64 question is not so much a change of code as of practice—not what will be written on paper, but how much it is going to be implemented. None know better than Americans to what tatters a paper guarantee can be reduced. Democrats everywhere know that there is never any more implementation than the citizens are ready and willing to insist on.

**THE CONTEST:** The question that has to be answered in the ferment of criticism and stock-taking that is the U.S.S.R. today is thus put by Italian Socialist leader Nenni: "Now the whole problem is reduced to the necessity for internal democratization, for the circulation of ideas, in a word for political liberty, a necessity which has lain below the surface of Soviet society for many years. It is substantially a question . . . of creating means and instruments for the formation of the free political initiative of the citizen, without there hanging over his head the accusation of being an enemy of the people, a deviationist, a saboteur." Many would add that the same cap fits not only Communist parties, but the whole political apparatus, of plenty of Western countries.

The operative words are "free initiative of the citizen," and this is surely the main battleground on which East and West must fight out the peaceful contest of co-existence. For it is the most efficient democracy that will win, and the citizen's free initiative, not the kind or quality of leadership, is the main key to that efficiency. Is it capitalism, or is it socialism, that can best stimulate it?

## Ike and Nixon

(Continued from Page 1)

**BETTER THAN EVER:** According to Sen. Styles Bridges (R-N.H.), the President asked "Why shouldn't I run?" Other audiences might have yielded another answer, but hearing none, the President reportedly went on: ". . . I have had a condition that has bothered me from time to time for years and my doctors say I am better now than I have been before."

The President then went back to the farm, watched the All-Star baseball game on TV, putted on the green and walked three-quarters of a mile.

Less than ten hours later in New York's Madison Square Garden, GOP managers were previewing campaign paraphernalia: a 32-foot-long truck and trailer, labeled the Eisenhower bandwagon; a jeep with loudspeaker broadcasting noisy records of "Mamie" and "The Dwight D. Eisenhower March." There were rehearsals of "Ike girls" wearing "Ike dresses" and "Bike-for Ike" boys with "Ike sweat-shirts."

N. Y. Post reporter Oliver Pilat observed: "I don't see a word about Nixon, or for that matter, about anybody except Eisenhower. Suppose, just suppose. . . ." A GOP publicity man said: "Don't think about it. Do you know there are about a million Ike buttons in that one Ike bandwagon alone!"

**NEW PHILOSOPHY:** Though the Congressmen said the President had not mentioned Nixon to them, on July 12, GOP Natl. Chairman Leonard W. Hall, after a chat with the President, said it was "absolutely" clear that Nixon was still on the ticket.

Barring a further relapse the Repub-

licans had their ticket and were preparing a philosophy. Asst. Secy. of Labor Arthur Larson summed it up in a campaign book: **A Republican Looks at His Party**, reportedly to be used as a guide to stump-speakers. The GOP of the Economic Royalists is dressed up as the dead-center party harmonizing labor, big and little business, and big and little agriculture. The Democrats, the Republican ideologists say, are torn between reactionary Southerners and radical New Dealers. The GOP will harmonize until November with the Candidate already wearing an aura of other-worldliness, beyond all partisan attack, with only his physical health vulnerable to those opponents so low as to mention it.

**ISSUES UNDER THE RUG:** Larson credits the "genius of the Eisenhower administration" with merging all the positive elements of the nation: "It is not against any of them. It realizes that they sometimes conflict, but it has found a way to encourage them and to work together to a common benefit."

It was soothing, unreal music, an escape from all issues: unemployment in auto; the rise of automation; the fight to implement the Supreme Court's desegregation decision; the staggering problems of converting U. S. foreign policy from cold war to a hot peacetime trade competition; the depression on the farms; the growing need for public power; the prospect of atomic development under free enterprise.

Typical of the Democratic rejoinder in the great debate was Averell Harriman's claim to be the only prominent candidate who couldn't be called "soft" on communism. He called the President "naive" for saying last summer that Soviet policy was guided "by a sincere desire to be friends

with the United States."

**A U. S. 'CULT':** Though the low road would be heavily traveled by Republicans and Democrats alike, the GOP's biggest asset was the fact that it had the Eisenhower symbol to head its ticket. It could

present the Eisenhower of the Geneva spirit to the voters while Vice-President Nixon vigorously assailed all neutrals in the cold war. The President who talked of world peace has coat-tails broad enough to give all manner of political hitchhikers a ride to Washington.

## NO CHOICE FOR PRESIDENT IN '56

### ILWU sees need for a third party

The Executive Board of the independent Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union on July 9-10 outlined its view of the coming elections. Here are some excerpts from its policy statement:

**VIEWING THE CANDIDATES** from the fundamental position of their attitude toward reducing world and national tensions and building peace, we have so far seen or heard nothing from any of the Presidential aspirants of either party which holds out the promise of moving our country more resolutely along the road toward world peace.

Turning to the key domestic concerns today—civil rights, civil liberties, jobs and wages and union rights, the cost of living—the fact is that neither party has a good enough record in this Congress to recommend it to labor . . .

Any political party delivers less to labor when the national labor movement becomes tied lock, stock and barrel to any one party, thus weakening its independence and destroying its bargaining power. When any such political party is convinced that labor has no other alternative, that it has nowhere to go, it feels free to promise plenty at election time and delivers little after elections. It takes

labor support for granted, and seeks to woo support of anti-labor elements, especially including Dixiecrats.

**A UNION SERIOUSLY** concerned about advancing the political interests of the American working people should recognize that this will come about only when we have an independent political party composed of labor, small farmers and small business people. Such a party would run on a progressive people's platform and elect working men and women off the job into political office. But such a party is still in the distant future in the United States.

Meanwhile in 1956 the quickest way to get some laws in the interest of labor—to get some concern about the issues that affect the common people—is to elect congressmen and senators who understand the problems of the working people, who pledge to do something about them, and who are elected into office because of the votes and the support of the working people.

In seeking to accomplish this, party labels are not the main test. Democrat or Republican—the party affiliation is less important than the man, his program and his commitments.

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# The Nation's Conscience

Last week the House of Representatives killed the \$1.6 billion school construction bill rather than pass it with an anti-segregation amendment. We are reminded of the man who in 1950 introduced the first amendment to prohibit segregation in schools and in 1940 introduced the first F.E.P.C. bill in the history of Congress—Vito Marcantonio.

Recently a 500-page book of Marc's history in Congress was published, called "I Vote My Conscience." (It costs \$5 from the Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 247 E. 116 St., N. Y.) We are reprinting below excerpts from Marc's speech in Congress on Feb. 21, 1950, during a debate on an F.E.P.C. bill. It is to Marc's greatness that he took the lead when others remained silent. But it is to this nation's shame that his remarks should remain pertinent six years later.

**THE GENTLEMAN** (Mr. Keefe) infers that it is communism to insist, as I have been insisting, that there must be an end to Jim Crow; that you can never solve this problem by degrees, by gradualism. The Negro people have waited too long and have suffered too much under Jim Crow to wait for the success of gradualistic solutions. He implies that I am intolerant. I am intolerant. I am intolerant of any one who would tolerate conditions of segregation and Jim Crow. I am intolerant of inequality. I am intolerant of those Jim Crow conditions, and I shall continue to do all that I can in my limited capacity to destroy them. So, if that is intolerance, if it is communistic, as the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Keefe) would call it, then all I can say about it is that I accept that charge. I do it with pride.

I am not for 50 percent equality. I am not for 90 percent equality, because anything less than 100 percent equality is not equality. There is only one kind of equality, I say to the gentleman from Wisconsin, and that is 100 percent full equality. Call it communism, call it what you please, but that is the only solution to this problem. . . .

Is F. E. P. C. extraneous to Jim Crow and segregation? Are we not dealing with Jim Crow and segregation when we are dealing with the problem of discrimination in employment? The two are simply different phases of the same problem: One is the phase in the industrial life of the Nation—Jim Crow and segregation exist in the industrial life, and F.E.P.C. is aimed at that—so, Jim Crow and segregation are not ex-

traneous to this problem. . . . This issue goes back to the days of the thirteenth amendment. When the thirteenth amendment was under consideration that issue was raised in the House by a man whose memory has been done violence here, and by Hollywood—Thaddeus Stevens; and it was raised by Republicans, by real Republicans, the anniversary of whose leader you have just been celebrating this last week. Those real Republicans stated right here in this House that emancipation meant nothing if there was no economic implementation; in other words you did not free the Negro if you did not give him full equality and the wherewithal with which to live.

If that policy had been adopted, if there had been no betrayal of the ideals for which men died in the Civil War, we would not be having this problem here today. You would not be having for instance, the so-called Black Belt of the South with 5,000,000 Negroes exploited and subjected to the vilest form of fascism, with 180 counties in which the Negro people constitute a majority ranging from 50 to 85 percent, subjected to the Bourbon rule of a minority.

What is this business you are perpetuating? You have perpetuated a political and social and economic scheme to deprive the Negro people of the democracy to which they are entitled, to deprive them of that political power with which they can protect themselves from economic slavery. So this system has been solidified, it has been perpetuated. Do you want to deal with that system gradually?

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**STARLIGHT FORUM**—Sun. Eve., July 22 8 p.m. SIMON FEDERMAN, Pres. Amer. Fed. for Polish Jews, reports on recent 8-week visit to Poland and developments there. Aup.: JEWISH LIFE, at Dr. Annette Rubinstein's, Penthouse 10A—59 W. 71 St., N.Y. Contr. \$1.

**ELECTION RALLY** "America's Road to Socialism"—class struggle or class collaboration? Hear Myra Tanner Weiss, Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice-Pres. of the U.S., Fri. night, July 20, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. (near 14th St.), N.Y.C.

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**"JUSTICE IN ATHENS"**

From Lorain Labor Leader 6/21/56: "Let's Be Human: Centuries ago an old Greek philosopher was asked how justice could be secured in Athens. He replied: 'If those who are not injured feel as indignant as those who are.' Emile Zola, who sparked the whole of democratic France into a state of indignation over the Dreyfus affair, declared that thru that whole period of struggle he was 'in a perpetual state of indignation.' And yet the Dreyfus affair, which brought France to the verge of civil war revolved around only one man!

But what about thousands of inmates of Greek concentration camps who, ever since the end of the war vs fascism, have suffered Nazi-style tortures? Did victory in that war plus the unprecedented cost of gaining that victory mean no more than that 'our side' won and 'their side' lost?

If such is the answer, and there is considerable evidence thus far (1) to indicate that such indeed is the answer, then no wonder it is that the future of the race now stands in the gravest jeopardy owing to radio-active fallout from past, present & future nuclear bomb tests.

Dr. Ralph Lapp, most honest of all U.S. atomic scientists, has just exposed the criminal dishonesty of the recent report of the Nat. Academy of Sciences on the dangers of radioactivity. Their report, he said, referred only to the dangerous effects of "external" radiation, while ignoring altogether the immeasurably greater danger of an "internal" radiation "resulting from the human in-take of contaminated air, food, water."

He added that the maximum safe rate may already have been passed. I.N.S. July 5th: I wrote an ad "A Generation of Vipers" (N.G. 6/25) calling attention to the 3rd article in 8 months detailing the incredible sufferings endured for years by thousands of Greek political prisoners. I re-quoted an accusation made by one of the prisoners—a "famous Greek author."

"Of all the beasts, only the viper refrains from coming to the aid of its fellow creatures threatened by danger or extermination. Those of you who remain indifferent while your fellow beings are slowly murdered carry the stink of the viper."

Now then, let us pay a visit to our earliest ancestors, Adam & Eve, back in the Garden of Eden. It was Eve who, acting on the suggestion of the serpent (viper), and therefore, acting like a viper—plucked the forbidden fruit. Eve, thus, by her sin of commission, broke the first law. Eve later had two sons. One, the murderer of the other. This first son of the first woman broke the second law and his rhetorical question "Am I my brother's keeper?" expresses the sentiment of all murderers, and their accomplices, down thru the ages.

Now let's shuttle back to the present, to the rock island concentration camps of fascist Greece. And let those of us with ears that hear, hearken to the anguished cry of the tortured, the dying, the murdered. For we either heed that cry for help or, like vipers, ignore it, echoing ever so softly to ourselves those words of the 1st murderer: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Thoughts, words & actions—all are born sluff "on the wings of the wind." So also, in our day, are countless particles of H-Bomb matter. If the reaction of the U.S. people—and notably of its progressive vanguard—continues to be negative before this cry for help from Greece, for "justice in Athens," then, rest assured this Cain-like reaction, added to the cumulative effect wrought by billions upon billions of similar Cain-like reactions since the time of the first Cain, will be dialectical in nature. That is to say, it will serve as the culminating increment of gradual, swelling change (specifically of murder) to produce a qualitative transformation in the human species.

Murder, beginning with that of one individual by another, developing into that of one group by another, finally the opposing groups have swelled to such proportions—as have also the murder weapons—to have merged into ONE group of killers & killed the human species itself.

This culminating increment of change will thus fuse with those countless particles of H-Bomb matter in the upper

reaches of the atmosphere to create an umbrella over the whole of humanity—an umbrella of death! That is to say, a 20th century version of the sword of Damocles.

In my ad of June 25, written before these latest reports on the dangers of radioactivity, I declared it was on the order of necessity that all Greek concentration camp victims be freed before the arrival of winter. This, because another winter of such incredible exposure as they have suffered in the past would kill off most of them.

For should they die, we have but to recall the words of John Donne: "Send not then to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee!"

What YOU can do now: Before the U.S. people can be alerted to their paramount responsibility in this "Greek affair," its progressive vanguard can arouse the ed to ITS paramount responsibility. For only the few thousands comprising the progressive vanguard can arouse the people as a whole. If you agree that the people must be aroused, then you must necessarily agree that this vanguard must first be aroused. YOU, by helping finance this series of ads, can do just that. The state of general lethargy is patently obvious, is it not? Thus, EXTRAORDINARY efforts are required. The people must be constantly bombarded with a comprehensive outline of the facts—plus a philosophical analysis of them. Half-way measures are no damn good. Time is running out!

This ad must be paid for before another can be inserted—'Nuff said! (Please make out all checks or money orders to National Guardian—but mail to: R. GRANT, 311 10th St., Lorain, Ohio. Thank you!

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Pauline Boyer passed away July 17, 1955. Sleep well beloved comrade.  
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**Boat ride July 27 to honor Bradens**  
CARL and Anne Braden will be guests of honor on a boatripe around Manhattan Island and up the Hudson Friday evening, July 27, in celebration of the reversal of Braden's conviction for "sedition" for helping a Negro family find a home in Louisville, Ky. The event is under the auspices of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which first intervened in the arrest of Braden, his wife and five others on the sedition charge. Braden alone was tried, and sentenced to 15 years in prison. The state of Kentucky has indicated that it will not challenge the reversal nor try the others.  
The celebration boatripe leaves Pier 83 at West 43rd St. at 8 p.m. Make arrangements thru ECLC, 421 Seventh Av., tel. OX-ford 5-2863.

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Why don't you unmask Humphrey and the other "liberals" on their concentration camp amendment to the McCarran Act? The Russians say they are closing their camps: Shouldn't Humphrey be called upon to do something about reciprocating?  
**Farmer Jim**

