

White House joins pressure drive for tough anti-labor bill

By Robert E. Light

IF THE 86TH CONGRESS does nothing else, it seems hell-bent on passing legislation to "reform" labor. Teamed with anti-union stalwarts are liberals who seem convinced the public is persuaded that unions must be controlled. Together they make a steamroller that may hit labor harder than the Taft-Hartley law.

On August 11 the House is to begin debate on three proposals: (1) the Elliot bill, voted by the House Labor Committee, described as "moderate" and endorsed by House Speaker Rayburn; (2) the Landrum-Griffin bill, endorsed by Southern Democrats and Republicans, described as "strong;" (3) the Shelley bill, endorsed by liberals, described as "mild."

All three start from the premise that existing criminal laws are not enough to cover corruption in labor and that the Federal government must oversee union affairs. The labels describe to what degree unions will be hamstrung. In the extreme it could mean sharp curtailment of present union functions under supervision of the Secretary of Labor.

HIGH PRESSURE: In advance of the debate, Congress was subjected to what one Washington reporter said was "some of the greatest lobbying . . . we will ever see." The N.Y. *Herald Tribune* said: "The Chamber of Commerce is hurling its influence against the AFL-CIO, the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers against James Hoffa's Teamsters Union." Some Congressmen reported they were receiving hundreds of letters a day demanding anti-labor legislation.

Senate rackets committee counsel Robert Kennedy appeared on two nationally televised shows to charge that Hoffa had made deals with employers, sold out his union's membership and "put gangsters



and racketeers in important positions within the Teamsters union."

On Aug. 4 and 5 chairman John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) released the Senate rackets committee's report charging cor-
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THE HEADLINE THAT BROUGHT SMILES OF RELIEF AROUND THE WORLD
Two Canadian visitors, Donna Coe (left) of Toronto and Dianne Symonds of Scarborough, get the news in front of the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology and Culture at New York Coliseum. Behind them are the flags of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Most people preferred an exchange of visits to an exchange of nuclear missiles.

REPORT TO READERS

Ike, K visits lift world peace hopes

THE STOCK MARKET SAGGED, but world hopes rose high at the big news of the month and the decade, that Premier Khrushchev and President Eisenhower are to exchange visits to explore the possibilities for a durable peace.

It was President Eisenhower's initiative which brought about the exchange of invitations, but it was a turn of events long sought by the Soviet premier. When reporters asked him, during an inspection of Vice President Nixon's plane in Moscow before the big news broke, whether he would like to go to America in this plane, Khrushchev replied readily: "This one or some other one."

There were immediate adverse reactions—the New York *Daily News*, David Lawrence in his *Herald Tribune* column and in his magazine *U.S. News and World Report*; Cardinal Cushing in Boston and

faithful John W. McCormack from his bailiwick; Sen. Styles Bridges of New Hampshire and the Minnesota Congressman known as Chiang Kai Judd (Khrushchev remarked in a press conference that "it's a small herd that has no black sheep")—but everywhere else informed opinion approved and hailed the remarkable turn of events, and a Gallup poll, conducted before the invitation was official, showed 50% of Americans wanting Khrushchev invited, as against 38% opposed and 14% undecided.

ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, the New York *Times* announced the exchange of visits with three rows of "box car" type across the top of Page One on Aug. 4. Columnist Walter Lippmann called it "a diplomatic break-through" and the *Washington Post* noted with editorial satisfaction that "the thaw has certainly

been turned on full blast." I. F. Stone in his *Weekly* called the exchange "good news for mankind."

How did it come about?
Washington columnist Joseph Alsop disclosed on Aug. 7 that President Eisenhower issued the invitation on the advice of Secy. of State Christian Herter prior to Herter's departure July 11 for the second round of foreign ministers' talks at Geneva. When the President approved the idea, Herter transmitted the invitation verbally to Soviet Vice Premier Frol Kozlov during a farewell talk at the conclusion of Kozlov's visit here, with Ambassador Mikhail Menshikov present. Both men were delighted, if astonished, Alsop reported. The invitation apparently reached Khrushchev during his tour in Poland, resulting in an immediate letter accepting the invitation and in turn in-
(Continued on Page 2)

ARE BIG LANDOWNERS BEHIND ANTI-CASTRO VIOLENCE?

What Cuba's revolutionary land reform law will do

By Kumar Goshal

HAVANA
ON THE EVE of the Latin American foreign ministers' conference scheduled to open Aug. 12 in Santiago de Chile, violence against Premier Fidel Castro's government erupted in several sections of Cuba.

A hit and run attack was made on Castro's residence across Havana Bay on Aug. 9. At the same time men in an automobile fired on the American-owned Cuban Electric Co. and on guards at the San Ambrose army supply headquarters next door. The attackers escaped. Reports of an invasion from the Dominican Republic of the Isle of Pines south of Havana province was denied by Armed Forces Chief Raul Castro, brother of Premier Fidel Castro. The government immediately began a roundup of suspects throughout the country.

The attacks were not unexpected. The revolutionary government has for some time believed that Batista supporters in the Dominican Republic were preparing an invasion force of 20,000. The recent attacks were apparently timed to prevent Castro from personally appearing at the conference in Chile and exhorting dictatorships like that of Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. They were also perhaps meant as a warning against putting into effect the May 17 Agrarian Law.

THE WAY IT WAS: Under the pre-revolutionary set-up, a few hundred families and a handful of foreign investors owned more than three-fourths of the farmland. Castro noted that (1) 85% of the small farmers paid rent and lived "under the constant threat of being dispossessed from the land they cultivated;"

(2) 200,000 peasant families owned no land at all, and were squatters, tenants, sharecroppers or migratory laborers; (3) "more than half the best cultivated land belongs to foreigners [and] in Oriente, the largest province, the lands of the United Fruit Co. and West Indian Co. join the north coast to the southern one."

Here are some conditions of peasant life in pre-revolutionary days:

- The average rural Cuban worked less than 100 days a year, from January through May when the sugar crop was harvested, earning from \$90 to \$150 during the period. He had to stretch this income through the rest of the year which was "tiempo muerto" (the dead season).
- Among Cuba's rural families, 60% lived in thatched roof huts with dirt floors and without running water or any sanitary facilities; 85% of these "homes" had only two rooms; 90% of those with

artificial light used kerosene; 30% had no artificial light of any kind.

- No schools were available nearby to 44% of the rural population; 43% were illiterate.
- Only one out of ten ever tasted milk, and one out of 25 had meat regularly.

RADICAL CHANGE: The Agrarian Law
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Special Offer

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Readers of NATIONAL GUARDIAN have revealed such extensive interest in Jewish Currents since the GUARDIAN carried a partial summary of Dr. Louis Harap's article in our July-August issue, "Karl Marx and the Jewish Question," that our Management Committee has decided to make the following special offer to GUARDIAN readers:

We are willing to give you a special free three-month trial subscription if you will send your name and address immediately to Dept. G, Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St., New York City 3.

Morris U. Schappes, Editor

See Cuba first

MIAMI, FLA.

I have just returned from Havana, where we celebrated the July 26 movement anniversary. Sorry I didn't see our NATIONAL GUARDIAN reporter, Kumar Goshal.

I saw thousands of farmers with machetes come in on flat cars from all over Cuba. They looked like they were starving. They used stones for pillows and were thin and poorly dressed, young and old (you couldn't tell the difference). I talked to a soldier of the Castro movement in the crowd with me. He was in civilian clothes and with his sweetheart, planning to get married when the country gets in better shape.

The spirit of the people and the Castro system will improve their condition slowly but surely, if we keep our hands off. I would like to advise our people that when they go on vacation, to see Cuba first. The people of Cuba are very happy and generous to visitors. People with small income should do what I did, go to the Policia Nacional Turista. You get the best advice on everything, according to your finances.

Long live Cuba's new government!

Joe Zielinski

Righting the wrong

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

John G. Moore suggests that since we cannot reclaim the "corpses" of Sacco and Vanzetti from the "beneficent atmosphere... where their elements mingle," the only real justification for their exoneration would be the award of "very substantial" damages to their heirs.

Mr. Moore should be apprised that "righting the wrong" done Sacco and Vanzetti is not only justified but actually demanded by several important and practical considerations. First, as loyal Americans we cannot tolerate this blot on the record of American justice.

Second, a healthy, resilient, dynamic society is both able and willing to examine its past and

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

John T. Blackmore, 27-year-old leader of a prospective Tibetan Brigade, is on his way to Asia on a slow freighter loaded with sesame seed, the Chronicle learned yesterday.

The University of California graduate student booked second-class passage on the Chinese craft as a one-man advance force for his band of fighting college students.

Blackmore left Stockton about a month ago and expects to reach Formosa in another four weeks.

Once there, he plans to check the possibilities of getting his prospective brigade into Tibet, where the group of 50 college students hopes to attack the Chinese Red Army.

If that proves impracticable, his mother said, Blackmore plans to enroll as a student at the University of Bangkok.

— San Francisco Chronicle, 7/26/59

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to admit its mistakes. America deserves these adjectives and we, as loyal Americans, must work to make her worthy of them.

Too, the exoneration of Sacco and Vanzetti is required to reassure those of us who believe in and are fighting for the rights of the individual that eventually justice will triumph.

If America remains a democracy, the exoneration of Sacco and Vanzetti is inevitable. And their exoneration at this time might do much to guarantee that America will remain a democratic nation.

Ned K. Hopkins

Safety belts

WHEATFIELD, IND.

I was just reflecting—or thinking—how deeply we are indebted to Russia for our post-war prosperity. No words of gratitude could fully cover the immense benefit we have indirectly received from Russian stimulation to our prosperity. I shudder to think of the wretched paralysis our country would be in today were it not for the 40 billions and more dollars for defense per year that so beautifully nourishes and oils our unrivaled economic machine. But tighten your safety belts folks—and start to pray—for when Uncle Sam 'sobers up'—there will be hell to pay.

Clarence Speyer

Freethinkers, unite

CLANTON, ALA.

If about 20 Freethinkers can put in about \$500 apiece, we can buy a small farm with a fair size house to start. Lots of these small farms of 20 to 30 acres, sometimes with fruit trees, springs and branches, are sometimes advertised here in Alabama, at very reasonable prices.

We have very mild winters here, compared with the North, and it is an ideal climate for an old folks home.

We could incorporate under

the laws of the State of Alabama, as a non-profit institution, thus safeguarding the capital invested. We could admit those who have a pension (even small pensions) who could pay a specified amount each month, thus insuring successful operation. We could gradually increase our operations and possibly spread out into a very large institution in time.

I have followed construction, repairing and remodeling work practically all of my life. I do carpenter work, concrete work, paint and lay blocks. I will donate practically all of my time for the next two or three years to such a project.

All Freethinkers, Rationalists, Secularists, Materialists, Humanists or Whatnots who are interested in such a project write to me at once.

Wes Gletty, Route 2



Eccles, London Daily Worker

What to expect

FREMONT, O.

I want to thank you for being the one great truth paper left. I also want to thank you for telling the great truth in the GUARDIAN about China, by W.E.B. Du Bois. This should prove to any thinking American what will happen here in America in the next few years ahead.

C. Gerhardtstein

Good (?) old times

ST. PAUL, MINN.

It's true that George Washington threw a silver dollar across the wide river. It is also true that a dollar went further those days. Right? But when Hoover came along in 1928-29 our dollar bought three times as much as it buys now. But, again, who in hell had a dollar those days? Twenty million family heads were unemployed here. Then Hoover took off after his political defeat and went to Duck Island with his good friend, John Foster Dulles, on Lake Ontario for a "well needed rest" while we, the unemployed, were on breadlines. Nuff said.

A B.

To all young people

WESTFIELD, N.J.

After 50 years of being a socialist I finally got at it last winter to read Karl Marx's Capital. I see now that if I had the time and money to read these books while I was young, I would have been much more valuable to the cause of labor.

W. S. Bennett

Giddyap

KALISPELL, MONT.

The Republicans say we are going socialist. What's holding up the caravan? R. A. Mather

The quibblers

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

A horde of lawyers, judges and legislators have evolved, over hundreds of years, a system of quibbling and constitutionalisms intended, primarily, to guarantee to the very big thieves the secured possession of their loot and to make change difficult if not wholly impossible.

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August 17, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Ike, K visits

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visiting President Eisenhower to visit the U.S.S.R. this fall. (This development was probably the major reason for Khrushchev's cancellation of his scheduled Scandinavian visit.)

What prompted Herter to suggest the invitation to the President was undoubtedly the impasse at Geneva, and the hope of stalling off a crisis over Berlin. Herter and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko both knew of the impending visits during the last weeks at Geneva; a fact on which both relied in bringing the sessions to a close without agreements.

WHATEVER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, the developments demonstrate dramatically the changing atmosphere in world relations since the departure of John Foster Dulles from the scene. Opposed to Summit meetings and other deterrents to the Cold War, Dulles destroyed the good effects of the 1955 Summit meeting, scuttled the efforts of the President's emissary Harold Stassen for disarmament, and opposed not only a Khrushchev visit here, but Vice President Nixon's visit to the U.S.S.R.

Walter Lippmann views the events since Dulles' resignation as "a deliberate change of diplomatic strategy by the Eisenhower Administration;" and says that "what we have backed into is a round of popular diplomacy which draws its energy from the popular feeling everywhere that a nuclear war must be avoided."

Lippmann, however, warns against expectations that Khrushchev in his talks with the President "would or could detach the Soviet Union from its interest in and its support of the great revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America."

If these reservations are kept in mind, the world may indeed benefit from the exchange of visits between the U.S. President who has always declared himself a man of peace, and the rival statesman whom he calls "Nikito Krok-chef."

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV announced his acceptance and that of President Eisenhower of the exchange visit at a lively press conference, the third since he became premier 16 months ago.

He said, as expected, that the question of Germany would have top priority in his approaching talks with President Eisenhower. Bringing about a German peace treaty was, he said, "the question of questions, the problem of problems." He declared there would be no change in his country's proposal that there should be a treaty between two German states, and that West Berlin should be converted into a free city. But he does not intend to come here "with one rocket in one pocket and another rocket in the other."

Rather, he is prepared "to turn out my pockets to show that I am harmless. In the old times, people used to leave their weapons in the hall when they went in to talk peace. We should do that now, and there should be no saber-rattling."

To a correspondent's question as to whether he intended to show President Eisenhower a rocket site, he replied in the negative. Where rockets stand, the talk cannot be about peace, but about preparing for war, he said. He would decline to visit military installations in the U.S. if invited, he said.

This response created more of a stir here than anything else the Premier said, producing an immediate statement from Secy. of Defense Neil H. McElroy expressing hope that K. would be shown secret military bases in this country, to ease the danger of war through Soviet "miscalculations" of American strength.

THE KHRUSHCHEV VISIT poses acute problems for a nation which has consistently sought to poison the minds of its people against any and all leaders of the Soviet Union. The New York Daily News greeted the announcement of his visit with a cartoon depicting K. with a bloody dagger behind his back and a bloody hand thrust forth, and an editorial caption "CLASP HANDS WITH MURDER, MR. PRESIDENT?" Vice President Nixon, returning from his tour of the Soviet Union and Poland, where he met with unalloyed hospitality and even mass demonstrations as a harbinger of peace, made a special point of warning Hungarian refugees in this country against unpleasantness toward the Soviet Premier.

It is sad but true that nowhere in the U.S. at the present time are masses of people prepared, as they were at the conclusion of World War II, to greet an emissary of the Soviet Union with open arms. But it is noteworthy that 14 years of official drum-beating in the ears of America has not deafened the nation to the hope for peace.

Mr. Khrushchev may not be greeted by mass demonstrations; but in hearts and homes all over the nation, his coming presages the beginning of the end of the Cold War.

—THE GUARDIAN

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

FOUR YEARS AFTER winning history's bloodiest war, the U.S., which controls half the world, has this to show:

● In Germany, Japan and elsewhere, rapid revival in the name of "democracy" of the forces which brought on the holocaust.

● In America, callous disregard in that same "democracy's" name of civil injustices so many and grievous the GUARDIAN cannot find space to list them all.

● In Washington, the flowering of a "defense" pork-barrel beside which Harding corruption pales to lily-white.

As an oil worker writes us from Highlands, Texas: "IS THAT WHAT WE FIGHT WARS FOR?"

—NATIONAL GUARDIAN, August 15, 1949

IN HENDERSON., N.C.

Dixie frame-up convicts textile strike leaders

IT TOOK A JURY in Henderson, N.C., only two and a half hours on July 23 to decide that eight textile union leaders were guilty of conspiracy to blow up installations at the struck Harriet-Henderson cotton mills. It took Judge Raymond B. Mallard even less time to sentence the men to prison terms ranging from two to ten years.

The convictions were the latest in a series of blows against the AFL-CIO Textile Workers which has been fighting for its life in Henderson since Nov. 17, 1958. At that time it struck the mills when its offer to renew its contract without change was countered by management insistence on eliminating a 14-year-old arbitration clause. The mills remained closed until February when one shift reopened with non-union help. Later another shift was brought in under protection of 400 National Guardsmen who were sent by Gov. Luther Hodges to "keep peace" in the town. The two shifts have



worked ever since under military protection and the strike has continued, discouraged but unbroken.

ROUGH STUFF: Violence marked the strike from the beginning. Non-strikers' homes and cars were stoned; strike leaders were beaten. There were some dynamitings of mill property which caused small damage, but union leaders maintained they were deliberate provocations by management.

On June 13 four strikers were arrested by the State Bureau of Investigation for conspiracy to blow up three mill buildings. Two days later a grand jury indicted them along with four others, including three top union leaders.

In court the prosecution (which by a quirk in state law included three lawyers employed by the mill owners) presented 14 witnesses. Of these, 13 were SBI agents. They reported on "oral confessions" they said some of the defendants had made. One tried to play a recording made secretly at an alleged planning meeting of the defendants, but defense objection kept it out of the record.

STAR WITNESS: The other witness



Coak, AFL-CIO News

was Harold E. Aaron, an unemployed mill hand from a nearby town, who testified that union leaders had asked him to help with the dynamitings. Under cross-examination the defense brought out that Aaron had a record of convictions for assault with a deadly weapon, stealing a police car, impersonating an officer of the law and several arrests for drunkenness. He also admitted receiving \$300 from the SBI.

Defense counsel also pointed out that Aaron had brought an unfair labor practice charge recently against the union and one of its leaders for failure to arbitrate his case after he was fired from a job. But on the stand Aaron said it was the leader against whom he had brought the charge who had solicited his help in the alleged dynamitings.

Considering the atmosphere Judge Mallard maintained in the court room, the verdict was no surprise. To the spectators he said: "Anyone who shuffles his feet so the court may hear it will be held in contempt." The order, he added, applied to "gentlemen and ladies, boys and girls and children."

CASE APPEALED: Judge Mallard handed out the following sentences: Boyd E. Payton, union regional director, Lawrence Gore and Charles Auslander, union organizers, six to ten years; Warren Walker, Robert Edward Abbott, Calvin Ray Pegram and John Martin, five to seven years; Malcolm Jarrell, two to three years.

Mallard gave Payton the stiffest sentence, he said, because the union leader's speeches during the strike had been "inflammatory." To Auslander, Mallard said: "Even though you came from New York [ten years ago] and even though the union sent you, you are not above the law. The people of the State of North Carolina are not ready to destroy this country."

After the sentencing, chief defense counsel Hugo Black Jr., son of the Supreme Court Justice, announced that he would appeal to the state Supreme Court. The defendants were released on bail ranging from \$10,000 to \$25,000.

INDUSTRY SHOWS RECORD PROFITS

No end to steel strike seen until stockpiles are depleted

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST statistics, American industry never had it so good. A Business Week survey based on the first six months of 1959 indicates that corporate profits this year may reach \$50 billion—\$5.1 billion more than in the record 1955. But if industrial employees and technologically unemployed expected to share the prosperity, they were quickly sobered by the current steel dispute.

The steel industry reported \$694,200,000 profits for the first half of the year; \$163.4% more than during the same period last year. U.S. Steel, the industry leader, showed \$255,000,000 in after-tax profits, an all-time record, and also established records in sales, production and shipments. By union statistics the company was earning an annual profit of \$4,345 per employe. But to Roger M. Blough, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel, "the earnings of the steel industry are not in any way excessive." In fact, he said, they support the industry's contention that striking steel workers' wages must be frozen for a year to halt an "inflationary spiral."

THE TIME-TABLE: If Blough's poker face was covering a smile to some, others could see him following a well-timed industry script. The timetable called for

earned during the past three years" was rejected.

Negotiations have continued sporadically with the help of U.S. Mediation chief Joseph F. Finnegan, but no progress has been made. Eisenhower appointed Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell as a one-man fact-finder, but he has made no report.

With no score of its own, the union has danced to industry's tune from the beginning. But all the union's steps have been backward. In addition to paring demands for more money, McDonald quickly dropped all work-sharing proposals and agreed to write into a new contract that local working conditions "are not intended to prevent the company from continuing to make progress." In addition he offered to publish a letter declaring that the union's position is not opposed to technological change or automation of plants.

DIM PROSPECTS: McDonald's main strategy has been to call for help from Washington. Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) with 31 other Senators was to introduce a resolution on Aug. 11 asking President Eisenhower to set up a fact-finding board to recommend settlement terms after he set a time limit for a voluntary settlement.

Few thought the President would take to the scheme. Blough had already promised to hold steel prices for a year if the government kept out of the dispute. White House action was likely only if the strike remained unsettled when inventories are depleted. Then Eisenhower can declare a national emergency and under the Taft-Hartley Act, order the strikers back for an 80-day cooling off period.

For the technologically unemployed steel workers, the situation did not look good. There was little likelihood they would go back to mills. It seemed more likely others would join them after the contract is signed. And that will be when management is good and ready.



Herblock, Washington Post
Fact for today

the strike to continue until the end of September when steel inventories will be nearly depleted. At that point the industry will begin real negotiations with the weakened union.

From the course of the dispute thus far, industry's script seemed to be running right on schedule. Negotiations with the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers began on May 5. The union pointed to the industry's record profits and presented a list of 250 demands. They included work-sharing proposals to help the unemployed who had been replaced by new machines, and substantial wage increases. Management countered with a proposal for a wage-freeze to "combat inflation."

As the negotiations continued the union pared its demands, but management added to what it wanted. President Eisenhower said he was neutral but asked for a "non-inflationary" settlement. As the June 30 deadline neared, union president David J. McDonald agreed to extend negotiations for two weeks. He also called for a fact-finding board made up of the industry's and the union's "elder statesmen."

UNMOVED: Management rejected the idea and gave its "final offer" from which it has not moved: a one-year wage freeze; end of cost-of-living increases; and an eight-point program to give it greater control of working conditions in the mills.

On July 15 the union struck after its offer to extend "the same rate of economic progress as steel workers have

Highlander Folk School raided, teachers arrested

THREE TEACHERS and the Negro educational director of Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, were arrested in a police raid July 31 and charged with drunkenness and illegal possession of liquor. The raid, the four contend, is part of a campaign of harassment to shut down the school, for the past 27 years dedicated to training students to improve interracial and union-management relations in the South.

Septima Clark, 61-year-old director of the school, was released on \$500 bail and her case turned over to a grand jury. Bail was set at \$250 for the three men—Brent Barksdale and Guy Carawan of Los Angeles, and Perry Sturges of New York—who were ordered to appear before the Altamont Peace Court Aug. 12.

Attorneys Cecil Branstetter and George Barrett of Nashville, who represented the defendants, argued that the arrests and charges are mere pretexts to satisfy local foes of the school who resent its interracial character. Earlier this year Highlander was the subject of an investigation by a committee of the Tennessee Legislature which recommended that the school's charter be revoked, but no action has been taken.

District Attorney Gen. Ab Sloan told reporters that he had "had a person watching the school for me" ever since the legislature directed him to file a suit to revoke the school's charter. "But they gave me information mostly on integration and communism," said Sloan, "and I wasn't satisfied I could be successful at that. I thought maybe this was the best shot and I think now I'll be successful."

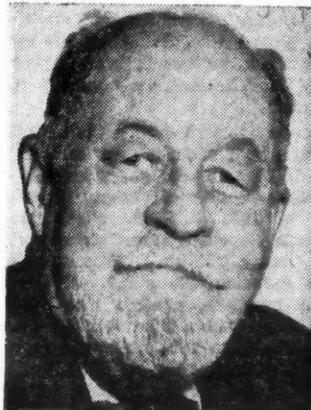
Charles Stewart dies, 65

CHARLES STEWART, the teacher, scholar, author and lecturer who ran for President of the New York City Council in 1953 on the American Labor Party ticket, died Aug. 9 in New York of a heart ailment. He was 65 years old.

Of early American stock (one of his ancestors helped finance the Mayflower's voyage), he was a descendant of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and was active most of his life in the fight for civil rights and liberties.

He served for 20 years as headmaster of a private school, then during the New Deal years worked in educational radio, dramatizing the Bill of Rights in a program starring Fredric March and Florence Eldredge. He was for a time director of the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League.

A close friend of Cedric Belfrage, he headed a defense committee when the GUARDIAN editor was fighting deportation. He was also active in mobilizing U.S. clergymen in behalf of the Rosen-



berg-Sobell case. He leaves his wife, Rodney, and three daughters, Josephine, Kate and Anne (Mrs. Byron M. Baer.) Memorial services were held at St. Paul's chapel in downtown Manhattan, Wed., Aug. 12.

From *The Rosenberg Story*

BOOKS

'Rosenberg Story' is again timely

A CHANCE READING recently into Virginia Gardner's *The Rosenberg Story* (1954), based on her poignant series of articles in *The Worker* on the neighborhood lives of the martyred East Side New York couple, evoked new meaning in this passage:

"... husband and wife looked at each other, absently, deep in reminiscence.

"If you hadn't been crazy enough to burn all those old programs and things in your Memory Book—" he said. And added, "Just because they had Ethel's name and yours on them."

"Stung by the reproach, his wife answered, 'Don't—you're just as responsible as I am. I would give anything in the world to have them back. That was a time of panic, and everyone lost their heads..."

"So I have nothing to show for all those years of association with her, nothing."

It may indeed be the case that many of the thousands who fought to save the lives of the Rosenbergs, and win new trials and vindication for them, similarly have "nothing to show" for the fervent weeks and months of that association. Not because of having burned personal souvenirs; but because in the anguish which followed the executions, many could not bear to look back over the lives of the tormented couple, nor vicariously endure the travail which their Death House letters to one another, to their children and their counsel, brought to light.

NOW, SIX YEARS after, the details of those harrowing days and years are becoming freshly relevant. New figures and forces are turning toward the Sobell Case, the living opportunity to reveal the dreadful injustices which the Rosenbergs

suffered to death, and which have kept Morton Sobell in prison for nine years. There is new discussion of the case, less readiness to declare it "closed."

In England scientist Klaus Fuchs, allegedly the inside man at Los Alamos who delivered supposed secrets to the "ring" the Rosenbergs were accused of aiding, has been released from prison and has gone to East Germany. Curiously, the N.Y. Times printed nearly two full columns on Fuchs' release, including detailed background of his case, without once mentioning the Rosenbergs or Harry Gold, the self-styled courier to whom Fuchs was said to have passed some of his secrets.

This circumstance gives significant new support to the contentions of both William A. Reuben and John Wexley, in their books on the case—*The Atom Spy Hoax* and *The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg*—that Gold lied about his alleged contacts with Fuchs; and indeed that Fuchs never laid eyes on Harry Gold despite all the fulminations on the case by J. Edgar Hoover and subsequent FBI apologists.

THESE PARAGRAPHS were not intended to reargue the

case, but rather to call to readers' attention the fact that two books are still available which reveal all we may ever know of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg from their own words; and the esteem and love in which their old friends held them when, after their deaths, a most competent reporter, Virginia Gardner, retraced the paths of their childhoods and maturing.

The letters you can read in an hour, but you may not forget them for a lifetime: Ethel's letter to her boys, after their visit when both she and they knew that all hope was gone:

"Maybe you thought that I didn't feel like crying, too, when we were hugging and kissing goodbye, huh, even though I'm slightly older than ten? ..."

"Darlings, that would have been so easy, far too easy on myself... But it would not have been any kindness, at all. So I took the hard way instead of the easy, because I love you more than myself, and because I knew you needed that love far more than I needed the relief of crying."

Too, the appalling callousness and lack of knowledge of the case on the part of those from whom the world sought clemency, revealed in the letters of both Ethel and Julius on the visit to Sing Sing of Federal Prison Director James V. Bennett, should be made clear to all who can be reached, in the new re-thinking of the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

Both the letters—*The Testament of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg* (222 pp.)—and Virginia Gardner's *The Rosenberg Story* (126 pp.) are now available at \$1 each, postage-paid. *The Rosenberg Story* in paper covers can be had three copies for \$1.

Order through Guardian Buying Service (blank on p. 8).

—John T. McManus

A peace proposal

Nobel Laureate Linus Pauling concludes his book, *No More War*, with a chapter headed: "A Proposal: Research for Peace." Following is a summary of Dr. Pauling's proposal, excerpted with permission of Liberty Book Club from its *Prometheus Paperback* edition issued this summer. The *Prometheus Paperback* edition is \$1.85 at bookstores, \$1 to members of Liberty Book Club, 100 W. 23rd St., New York 11.

HOW IS PEACE in the world to be achieved? How are the great world problems to be solved, without resort to war, war that would now lead to catastrophe, to world suicide?

I propose that the great world problems be solved in the way that other problems are solved—by working hard to find their solution—by carrying on research for peace. . . .

It has been estimated that applied research is being carried out in the U.S. at a rate corresponding to an expenditure of about 4 billion dollars per year. It accordingly constitutes about 1% of our national effort.

During recent decades greater and greater use has been made of research and of the services of scientists and other scholars in the conduct of war and the preparation for war.

The Second World War was fought almost entirely with weapons and by methods developed by scientists.

THE TIME has now come for the greatest of all problems facing the world, the problem of peace, to be attacked in an effective way.

I propose that there be set up a great research organization, the World Peace Research Organization, within the structure of the UN.

The duty of the World Peace Research Organization would be to attack the problem of preserving the peace, to carry out research on preserving peace in the world, to carry out research on peace. This would mean, of course, carrying out research on how to solve great world problems, problems of the kind that have in the past led to war. It would also involve attacking the problem of how to prevent the outbreak of a nuclear war by design or by accident. . . .

The World Peace Research Organization should be a large one. It should include many scientists, representing all fields of science, and many other specialists—economists, geographers, specialists in all fields of knowledge. . . .

THE COST of supporting the World Peace Research Organization within the UN on the scale described, with at first 2,000 specialists and many auxiliary members of the staff, increasing to 10,000 specialists in ten years, would be of the order of magnitude of 25 million dollars per year at the beginning and 100 million dollars per year ultimately. . . .

We may estimate the total cost to the world of the military machines at the present time as about 100,000 million dollars per year. The cost of the proposed World Peace Research Organization within the UN would be only about one-tenth of one percent of this sum. . . .

The damage that would be done to the world by a nuclear war is inestimable. What, in dollars, would be the loss to the U.S. if half of our people were killed? What, in dollars, would be the property damage to the U.S. if New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, and scores of other cities were destroyed? We might say that the property damage would amount to several million million dollars. If there were a chance of one in one hundred thousand of preventing this damage, it would be well worth while to do so. It would be well worth while to pay the corresponding sum, 100 million dollars, to prevent the loss. The World Peace Research Organization would be a cheap insurance policy.

WE LIVE NOW in a period of rapid change—a period of revolution, of nuclear revolution. Everything in the world has been changed as a result of scientific discoveries. I think that the greatest change of all is that in the ways of waging war—the change from old-fashioned molecular explosives, the one-ton TNT bomb, to the great nuclear weapon, the superbomb that is twenty million times as powerful.

This change, from molecular explosives to superbombs, has caused war to rule itself out. . . .

The time has now come for war to be abandoned, for diplomacy to move out of the nineteenth century into the real world of the twentieth century, a world in which war and the threat of war no longer have a rightful place as the instrument of national policy. We must move towards a world governed by justice, by international law, and not by force.

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*Starlight Forums, Sunday evenings, on the Terrace, Penthouse 10A, 59 W. 71 St. Watch this column for details.

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IN MEMORIAM

The many friends of
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mourn his untimely death.



STEAM CURLING FROM a second floor window over a dry cleaning shop in Washington brought Fire Capt. Alvin E. Hazard running last week. As he stepped through the second floor window from his ladder, three men asleep on the floor jumped up and ran out. Hazard made his way downstairs and began to trace the source of the steam. He found it came from a leaky pipe in the basement. The pipe furnished steam for the pants presser, but Hazard noticed it also led elsewhere. He traced it through the building to a Rube Goldberg contraption which served as a corn whiskey still. Upstairs police found the store owner asleep; beside his bed were two empty bottles of home brew. They arrested him. . . . In Stafford, England, police arrested Leslie Thompson because he got a bank loan to "expand his business." Thompson, they said, was a burglar and he used the loan to buy a van for hauling his loot. . . . Two Chicago attorneys paid a private detective \$40 to find out who stole the cigar butts they left in the corridor when they went into the courtroom. . . . A customer in a Washington grocery bought a 50-foot clothesline and left. He came back an hour later, tied up the grocer with the line and cleaned out the cash register.

MRS. MARTIN MULAC of Madcap Farm, near The Plains, Va., appeared unexpectedly at the offices of the Washington Post to announce that she was offering a \$500 reward for the return of her two chihuahuas, Baby-Baby and Chiclet. In her arms she bore her three other chihuahuas, Midnight Snack, Reginald and Buster Brown. "They were such dears," she said, "Baby-Baby danced with Dan Dailey in a night club in Las Vegas. And Chiclet used to ride the hounds with me on my mule, Charley." She said the dogs "just disappeared" from their air-conditioned room (furnished with beds, leather chairs and chaise longue.) They were so much fun, she said, "the darlings used to get dressed up in cocktail jackets and fancy little hats." Mrs. Mulac adores animals. She once drove her fox-hunting mule, Charley, into the dining room of the Oak Brook Polo Club. Mrs. Mulac has lots of money. . . . The Whitney Museum in New York will exhibit the contemporary American art included in the current American Exhibition in Moscow from Oct. 21 through Nov. 8. . . . Los Angeles artist Max Cossak is riding to Moscow from Helsinki where he hopes to be able to exhibit his work. In a tour of Scandinavian countries Cossak's work was well received and he sold four paintings.



WALL STREET JOURNAL
schreffly

"And then one day company policy started to make sense to me."

IN OAKLAND, CALIF., the East Bay Labor Journal says: "Whether it's Commies or not who said it, the statement [about witch-hunts in California schools] is true, just the same. That is what is so unfortunate—the House Un-American Activities Committee acts in such a way that the things the Commies say about them are true." . . . After John Kasper (who is serving a term for inciting to riot during the integration at Clinton, Tenn. High School), was punched in the face by a Negro prisoner in a Federal prison in Tallahassee, Fla., Warden Eugene R. Goodwyn said he did not know what provoked the attack. . . . Perfumed water ran from the taps in homes in Holzminden, W. Germany, after perfume from local factories got into the city's water pipes. . . . Sheriff Bruce Barber in Celina, Ohio, closed down his jail last month and released four prisoners: "My budget is inadequate to run the jail in a proper manner." A judge later fined him \$100 for contempt of court. . . . During an operation in Milan, Italy, an anesthetist passed out for an hour after a light fixture fell and hit him on the head. —Robert E. Light

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