



New York Edition

The day Belfrage was taken away

That was Fight-Back Friday, May 15, and this is how the Guardian's editor looked as he left 17 Murray St. His new temporary address (and he'd be happy to have mail from all Guardian readers) is: Cedric Belfrage, Room 146, Ellis Island, N. Y. Harbor 4, N. Y. c/o U. S. Immigration Service.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN the progressive newsweekly

10 cents

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NEW YORK, N. Y., MAY 25, 1953

Fight to free Belfrage from Ellis Island — Arrest riles Britain; U. S. press silent

FROM Ellis Island last week came a simple request for pipe cleaners, a thesaurus, dictionary, carbon paper, eraser—and the song score of Jay Gorney's "Meet the People." The requester, GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage, explained the last item:

"I feel our boys [his nine fellow political detainees] might have fun learning the chorus of the Bill of Rights to sing to their visitors as the ferry back to Manhattan pulls out of the Ellis Island slip."

Belfrage was seized by Immigration Dept. officers on May 15 at the GUARDIAN office, less than 24 hours after he and executive editor James Aronson had returned from a two-day grilling before the McCarthy subcommittee on government operations in Washington.

They were at their desks, surrounded by a staff which had placed two vases of lilacs near their typewriters as a home-coming token, telling the "Washington Story," when the Immigration men marched in.

Belfrage was given time to call his lawyer, then was escorted to Ellis Island. He is allowed visitors for only two hours each week, but can receive all mail.

QUESTION OF BAIL: While he wrote behind bars in New York harbor (see his story p. 4), his lawyers, Nathan Dambroff and Blanche Freedman, obtained a writ of habeas corpus from Judge Edward Weinfeld in Federal District Court ordering Belfrage to be "produced in court" May 21, when the

question of bail is to be argued. The deportation warrant prohibited bail by order of Atty. Gen. Brownell. Among the complaints against Belfrage which marked him as "subversive," according to Brownell, was that he had once been research director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion.

If the bail ruling (unlikely to be made immediately) is adverse, the lawyers were prepared to argue in the higher courts. No hearing date has as yet been set on the deportation order. If

THE MEANING OF THE NEW JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF

U. S. held ready to risk global atom war

By Tabitha Petran

RECENT developments show that Washington is preparing to "win the war in Asia" (Gen. Van Fleet, Life, 5/18) although it knows it risks launching global atomic war. This drive to total bankruptcy can still be halted—but only if the American people join the world peace movement.

These events exposed Washington's plans:

● **Rejection of the Chinese-N. Korean proposal for POW repatriation.** This plan is based on the Indian resolution adopted by the UN Assembly last winter, and "made a large concession to the Americans," (New Statesman, London 5/16). Washington's counter-proposal seemed calculated to disrupt or stall the talks. Over the open protests of India, Canada, Britain, and other UN Members, who noted the wide divergence from the UN resolution, Washington said the plan stood—but

indicated it might offer "compromises" to blunt mounting allied criticism.

● **The "clean sweep" of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.** This comes months ahead of schedule to bring in a new team distinguished chiefly for its aggressive-mindedness and advocacy of all-out war on China. Intl. News Service (5/18) suggested the new chiefs were named now to prepare "the Pentagon blueprint for K-Day." This would "throw the works at the Reds. . . Everything that MacArthur and Van Fleet pleaded for and more" in August or September.

● **Reorganization of the military establishment.** This gives unprecedented power to the Secy. of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The setup centralizes military power along lines similar to the Prussian General Staff system.

● **Increased military spending.** This occurs behind a juggling of budget fig-

ures designed to give an appearance of keeping campaign economy promises.

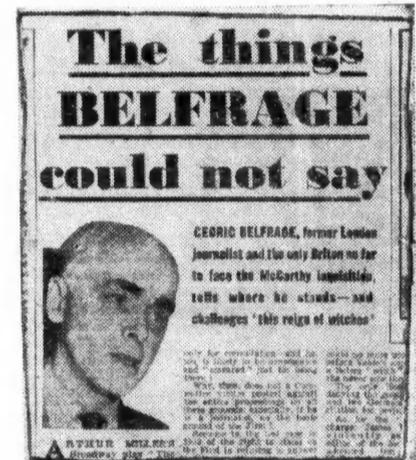
● **Intensification of "an alarmed and excited anti-communism,"** as former Ambassador to Moscow George Kennan called it (5/15), to silence opposition to the war drive.

NEW WARLORDS: Defense Secy. Wilson, former General Motors president, under the new plan which goes into effect in 60 days unless blocked by Congress, becomes virtually Commander in Chief of the nation's armed forces with his own military staff. (This is only one of several unconstitutional provisions of the reorganization plan.)

Wilson personally picked the new Joint Chiefs. Even under the present system, said Walter Millis, (N. Y. Herald Tribune 11/5/52) they are

"... the real center of gravity of the whole system . . . the top military planning agency . . . [whose] military plans are bound to have command-

(Continued on Page 5)



This is the headline of a two-column story written by Cedric Belfrage for the London "News Chronicle," May 15. It points up sharply the silence of the U. S. press on the attack against the GUARDIAN.

the hearing decision is adverse, it may be appealed through the Immigration Dept., then through the higher courts.

FIGHT-BACK FUND: Almost as soon as the news broke, letters, wires, cables, phone calls and money began to come in to the GUARDIAN office for a spontaneously-organized Belfrage Fight-Back Fund.

A Guardian of Freedom Rally, scheduled by the GUARDIAN and the N. Y. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions for June 5 at Manhattan's Palm Gardens, took new impetus from Belfrage's seizure.

The Natl. Committee of the Progressive Party, meeting in Washington May 16-19, sent messages to Pres. Eisenhower and Atty-Gen. Brownell urging that Belfrage be released, deportation proceedings dropped. The message said:

"After an attack on [Belfrage] and the GUARDIAN by Sen. McCarthy the Dept. of Justice immigration officials obediently jump to hold Belfrage without bail for deportation. The American people have not elected Sen. McCarthy to run this country. On the contrary, they detest his principles and his methods. The Administration, by carrying out every McCarthy command, is betraying the American electorate. This is not only an attack on an individual who has served this nation with distinction.

(Continued on Page 4)



SECRETARY WILSON
The power



SENATOR MCCARTHY
The terror



ADMIRAL RADFORD
The bomb



Have
YOU
pledged?

Join Our

Buck-of-the-Month

Sustaining Fund for 1953

I pledge \$1 every month for the rest of 1953.
 \$....

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY..... ZONE..... STATE.....

The GUARDIAN will send you a monthly reminder and a postage-paid reply envelope for your convenience.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.



A part of the mail on Cedric Belfrage

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
Dear Mr. Belfrage: Congratulations to you on the stand you have taken against the Inquisitors—and more power to you. M. G. Wallop

HELENA, ALA.
I am sure C.B. considers it a privilege to be in the forefront of the fight, since a fight it must be. What a light the GUARDIAN is; what a black hole there would be without it. . . . Let there be light; and there was light. And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness, and called the light Day and the darkness He called Night. . . . And men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. . . . No collection.
(Rev.) Claude C. Williams

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Mr. Belfrage's seizure and detention at Ellis Island are so unspeakable there are no words. Herewith is check for \$25 as initial token of my desire to help.
Marcella M. Bostwick

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.
We heard over the radio of the imprisonment of Cedric Belfrage. You have our pledge of complete support. This sinister deed will not kill the GUARDIAN. Instead, its circulation will be benefitted. We will do our best to double it here.
A. M. Stevens
Ind. Progressive Party

NEW YORK, N. Y.
Planned to buy records with the enclosed, but the latest news about the GUARDIAN, Belfrage, and your excerpt from "Behind the Kojie screen" make it apparent that unless I do something now, I won't have much of a chance to enjoy these records later on.
It would appear that a well-trained bunch of Nazi-type torturers is being trained in Korea, and with some assistance from McCarthy and cohorts, they should be able to do a thorough job on the people of this country, unless we all holler loudly now, and don't save it for a better, later, safer occasion, which may never come.
V. F.

WATERBURY, CONN.
Enclosed find check for \$10 to help support your fight against the inquisition that you have faced and may have to continue to face.
We admire the courage you have displayed and know that you are fighting humanity's cause. The GUARDIAN is so important in the present time it is no wonder it is being attacked. We believe in freedom of the press.
Mrs. Christina Staneslow

How crazy can you get dept.
"The British trade union congress is more communistic than the Communists. They have an understanding with the Russians. They know that Eisenhower is with the people who put him in the White House. We do not know who they are, but the English do. There is a great conspiracy between the Russian Communists and the Truman Republicans."
Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chicago Tribune, in reply to an attack on Sen. McCarthy and him by Tom O'Brien, Labor M.P. and head of the TUC. Quoted in the Chicago Tribune, May 15, 1953.
Winner of each item printed under this heading gets one-year free sub to the GUARDIAN. Winner this week: Mandel Terman, Chicago, Ill.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
The enclosed check is my answer to the news heard five minutes ago over the radio. We are springing into action here to form an immediate-action committee. I can hear those telephones ringing over this land.
Pauline G. Schindler

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.
Here is our \$100 check toward Cedric's defense. We'll get busy and send in whatever may be gathered in our corner of the woods. Convey our support to Cedric—for his loved ones and all he stands for. If we can be of any service in this coming struggle, let us know at once.
Bert and Paula MacLeech

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
Herewith a small token of esteem for you and of indignation at the jailing of Cedric Belfrage. Perhaps it may be used in whatever action is being taken in his behalf.
From another subpoenaee

The un-welcome mat
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
Am sorry that our editor had to face the witch hunters, the modern interpretation of the Spanish Inquisition of the Middle Ages. These creatures are a horrible travesty on human beings. Real human beings repudiate such bestial, nameless creations. The UN-WELCOME mat was out for them here and there was much opposition to them from the crucified ones.
W. P. C.

100% with Chaplin
LONDON, ENGLAND
Has the United States gone mad—or doesn't it want peace? Last week I listened to our returned prisoners on the radio saying that they had been adequately, though not lavishly, fed—that they had had an easy time.
Yet, yesterday I read in the Sunday Pictorial that your Gen. Mark Clark says that the American press will be allowed to interview only those former prisoners who are "reliably anti-Chinese." The paper said:
"One thing is certain. Compared with the way the Japs treated our men in their hell camps, the Communists of China and North Korea have behaved like perfect gentlemen. Can it be that the Americans are anxious to suppress this contrast now that the 'yellow

bastards' have become their most favored allies?"
The Chief British Liaison Officer said last Thursday: "Information to hand is that no ill-treatment has been reported by the Commonwealth prisoners so far returned."
I should love to earn my living in the U.S.A.—but I'm 100% with Charlie Chaplin in not wanting to live there.
D. W.

Let Ike know
NEW YORK, N. Y.
I wish to appeal to readers to demand of President Eisenhower to show to the entire world, by just ONE deed, that he is truly for peace—by giving consideration to the appeals by Prime Minister Churchill and the Pope that heads of government confer on ways and means for easing world tensions.
A. Garcia Diaz

2d look at Sholom
NEW YORK, N. Y.
I hate to take exception to one of my favorite—and necessary—publications, but why such a lukewarm review for "The World of Sholom Aleichem"? I found it a beautiful production throughout: warm, rich, amusing, and in the final section very deeply meaningful for our times. The performances are all as good—and better, to my thinking—than in any super-million dollar Broadway production. The lighting, the costumes, the music: all blend perfectly.
Why not have your reviewer take a second look?
Eve Merriam



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Old ashes—strange new fire

"Vet's Voice" protest
BROOKLYN, N. Y.
I am a vet who has been subscribing to the monthly newsletter, Vet's Voice. This paper, the official journal of the Veterans for Peace, has for many years been the one and only veterans' paper speaking out for peace and decency.
It was with great shock that I learned the Post Office had suppressed the April issue and, when asked why, gave as an answer that they didn't like its "general tenor."
They can say anything they want to. They won't get away with it. Not for one moment will they, or anyone else, tell me what I may or may not read. We will make sure that there is a Free Press. I'm sure it is because Vet's Voice talks up loudly for peace that this happened. Just as they shut up at Valley Forge the POWs who they were afraid might say something for peace.
It's of a piece with the arrest of Mr. Belfrage.
The Vet's Voice editors are having a hearing soon on the action against their April issue, and they are asking that letters be sent to the Solicitor, P.O. Dept., Wash., D.C., demanding the paper be mailed out to its subscribers. Vet's Voice address is P. O. Box 282, Forest Hills, N. Y. Calman Aronson

Bolander's decision
BALTIMORE, MD.
I wanted to take a vacation this year, but how in the world can I do so with those at GUARDIAN headquarters taking a 25% cut and some working free, to put out The Indispensable Publication?
No, I think I'll have to stay home and see if I can't do more for Liberalism, Progressivism, Peace and Love for My Fellow Man!
H. G. Bolander

Our schools today
WASHINGTON, D. C.
I am 16 and a senior in a high school. I want to express my deep appreciation for what your paper has heroically done for me and others like me. It is very difficult and sometimes even unwise to express yourself freely in a classroom today, but it is even more

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JAMES ARONSON Executive Editor

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"Our liberty depends on the freedom of the press, and that cannot be limited without being lost."—THOMAS JEFFERSON.

difficult to have a teacher spout ideas in which he doesn't believe and have to listen to your classmates repeat them like a group of well-trained parrots. Your paper has served as an inspiration to me and has made me feel that my ideas aren't as ridiculous as they're made out to be. For that I cannot thank you enough.
If we are to guard our precious liberties we must constantly be on the watch for men who would destroy them: who would investigate newspaper editors in an effort to frighten them from printing the truths as they see it; who would dare to enter our schools and make freedom of expression and thought a hypocrisy; who would take away our right to a fair and impartial trial; and who, worst of all, would crush our labor movement.
It is up to us, the American youth, to stand up and fight against these tyrants—for we have everything to gain if we do and everything to lose if we don't!
College-bound

contracts rolling for big business. Johnny wants to know the score before the Wall Street moguls try to ship him to Indo-China or some other place where we have no business.
John T. Gajack

Christians in Canada
MONTREAL, QUEBEC
Enclosed is a gift from a group of interested Christians who find your paper valuable and hope you will be able to continue publishing the type of news and analysis which is so needed.
Muriel Anderson

Let's make it soon!
RED BANK, N. J.
I am firmly convinced the American people are more progressive than they are saying at this point, and when they find out that keeping quiet and giving in is a "sucker's game" they'll start to speak out.
Bess Strashburger

Sow love
RANSOMVILLE, N. C.
As you sow, so shall you reap. Sow hate, reap hate. Sow love, reap love. The atomization of Russia reaps the atomization of America. The threat of preventive war invites preventive war. Let us excise the cancerous cells that threaten us before we are destroyed altogether.
Vernon Ward

For Johnny
FORT WAYNE, IND.
Enclosed is a subscription for my 16-year-old son, Johnny is burned up because his close relative and pal was slaughtered on Old Baldy to keep the juicy war

BULLETIN
of the
Belfrage Fight-Back Fund

Yes, indeed—GUARDIAN people are wonderful people. But this time you've hung up a record. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FIGHT-BACK FUND STARTED COMING IN BEFORE THE FUND WAS ORGANIZED.

Now everybody starts fighting back.

FILL OUT THE COUPON BELOW	Address Cedric Belfrage, Editor National Guardian Ellis Island New York Harbor 4, N.Y.	WRITE TO CEDRIC BELFRAGE NOW!
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Send Cedric Belfrage your best wishes today. Write him a personal note. Get each member of your family to write personal notes.

FLOOD ELLIS ISLAND WITH LETTERS TO CEDRIC.

Show the Immigration people we're going to fight back. Show them we've just BEGUN to fight back.

And fill out the coupon below and mail it back to us today.

JOHN T. McMANUS, Treasurer
Belfrage Fight-Back Fund
17 Murray Street, New York 7

Dear John McManus: Count me in on the Belfrage FIGHT-BACK FUND. Enclosed is my fighting contribution of \$.....

I and members of my family and friends have written Cedric.
Name

Address

THE MALMEDY MASSACRE

McCarthy: the German record

By Lawrence Emery

WHEN Sen. Joe McCarthy grilled GUARDIAN editors Belfrage and Arosen about their activities for the U.S. government in helping to set up a free and democratic press in Germany directly after the war, it was for him—in addition to his current general attack on the opposition press in the U.S.—another chapter in his continuing defense of German fascism. McCarthy, with powerful backing from pro-Nazi German groups in Wisconsin, has long been a front man for the German nationalist lobby in the U.S. (GUARDIAN, May 3, 1950).

In 1949, a full year before McCarthy achieved his present national notoriety and power, the Senator muscled in on a Senate committee and, with material supplied him from sources in Germany, bullied the U.S. government into sparing from execution a group of Hitler's Elite Guard convicted of murdering 150 unarmed American prisoners of war.

GREAT SPORT: At Christmas time in 1944 during the Battle of the Bulge—Marine Capt. Joe McCarthy at that moment was busily signing papers resigning from the armed services at the height of the war—an SS panzer regiment commanded by Col. Joachim Peiper, once an adjutant to Heinrich Himmler, lined up in a Malmédy wheat field 150 U.S. POW's and 100 Belgian civilians and cut them down with machine guns in a spirit of high hilarity.

One of Peiper's outfits was known as the Blowtorch Battalion—it had burned two villages and murdered all the inhabitants. The Malmédy Massacre was one of the horrors of the war. Eventually 73 of Peiper's men, himself included, were brought to trial; 43 were sentenced to die.

OUTRAGED NAZIS: Many months later affidavits began to flow out of the death cells; the condemned men

charged they had been beaten and tortured into confessing; they described burning matches under their fingernails and other outrages. The charges were sensationalized in Germany by Nazi and neo-Nazi forces. Gen. Lucius



Herblock in Washington Post "You wouldn't criticize me, would you, pal?"

Clay, then U.S. Military Governor, reviewed the sentences.

By April 8, 1949, only six of the Malmédy defendants remained under death sentences. Twenty were given life and 34 others shorter terms. Thirteen convictions were quashed.

But clamor in Germany continued and eventually the convicted were granted a review by the U.S. Supreme Court, which upheld the sentences. The clamor grew louder and Sen. Raymond E. Baldwin (R-Conn.) set up a three-man subcommittee of the Senate Armed

Forces Committee to hold hearings on the case. The other members were Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) and Lester C. Hunt (D-Wyo.).

JOE TAKES OVER: Sen. McCarthy was not a member of the committee but he received permission to sit in. From that moment he practically took over the proceedings. He compiled his own list of witnesses, demanded and got the right of cross-examination. He went to work at once with his brass-kauckle, billy-club tactics.

He repeated all the charges of torture by the U.S. prosecution, called U.S. judges in the case "morons," at one point demanded that U.S. officers who obtained the confessions be subjected to lie-detector tests. Knowing that his performance would provide new sensations to be exploited by Nazis in Germany, he offered them a heady chunk of raw meat with the charge that the prosecution included Jews:

"Many members of the interrogation team... were American citizens of very recent origin—German political refugees from Hitlerian Germany—employed by the Army because of their hatred of the defendants."

JOE UEBER ALLES: This choice bit of anti-Semitism—coming from a U.S. Senator—created a furor in Nazi circles in Germany; there were threats of mass riots in many cities. McCarthy praised the "German race" and described the Nazi war criminal Baron von Weizsaecker (once Hitler's representative to the Vatican) as "the most valuable man we had."

Witness Kenneth Ahrens, who survived the massacre by feigning death, was asked by a committee member:

"As I understand your statement, during the killing the SS troops seemed to be in a hilarious mood and seemed to be enjoying their work?" Ahrens replied; "Very much so."

McCarthy leaped to his feet to charge Ahrens with trying to "inflamm the public" and set off a "roman holiday."

HARNISCHFEGER: To another witness McCarthy said:

"I think you are lying. You may be

able to fool us. I have been told you are very, very smart. I am convinced you cannot fool a lie-detector."

During the hearings McCarthy was aided by Tom Korb, attorney for the Harnischfeger Corp. of Milwaukee. Wealthy Walter Harnischfeger is an old friend and backer of McCarthy; he has even bailed him out of financial difficulties. (In 1942 Harnischfeger was cited for violation of fair employment practices; he used to advertise for "gentile, white and Protestant help").

After the war he made several trips to Germany, returned to criticize loudly the Nuremberg war crimes trials, to demand the return of German pre-war colonies, and to fight against dismantling German factories. His opinions have been broadcast by Upton Close, and McCarthy has inserted them in the Congressional Record. Before Harnischfeger's lawyer Korb returned to Milwaukee, he helped McCarthy write a speech about the Malmédy case which was delivered on the Senate floor on July 26, 1949.

THE OUTCOME: When the full Senate committee rejected as ridiculous McCarthy's demand for lie-detector tests, the Senator stalked out of the hearings; he called them "a shameful farce" and a "deliberate and clever attempt to whitewash the American military." Sen. Baldwin, he charged, was "criminally responsible."

But McCarthy had already won his victory for German fascism; the remaining death sentences in the Malmédy Massacre were eventually commuted.

The subcommittee, in its final report, recommended that both the Defense Dept. and the Justice Dept. investigate the "possibility of the existence of a plan to revive the German nationalist spirit by discrediting the American Military Government." No action has ever been taken on the recommendation. In the middle of his term Sen. Baldwin resigned his Senate seat and withdrew from politics.

McCarthy's latest expedition into post-war German affairs is part of an old pattern.

N.Y. Post silent on threat to Guardian

"If American newspaperdom had any fighting faith in its own purpose and traditions, if it had any real dignity and pride, the next time McCarthy hit a newspaperman from behind... every paper from New York to San Francisco and back would let him have it with such a deafening blast of condemnation that he wouldn't know what hit him. It hasn't happened yet."

N. Y. Post, Sept., 1951.

BY LAST week it still hadn't happened. GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage had been hit from behind, but it brought no editorial comment from the N.Y. Post. The news story was buried, the free-press issue ignored. Post editor James Wechsler, victimized by McCarthy's attack on the press, appealed to the American Society of Newspaper Editors but refused to acknowledge the attack on the GUARDIAN.

KROCK-EYED VIEW: The Post received a little of the treatment it gave the GUARDIAN. The New York Times' Arthur Krock (5/19) agreed with a TV "Meet the Press" panel of Washington newsmen that in Wechsler's case the

"... constitutional guarantee of press freedom was not in substance invaded by McCarthy and that the issue should not be raised except in instances where there is a clear violation of the guarantee."

Krock said that as long as the Post continued to publish there was no free press issue. His theory seemed to be that assault was a crime only if the victim died.

VET'S VOICE STILLED: Even by Krock's standard press rights were being trampled last week. Neither Krock

nor any other newsman took note of another victim: a 4-page monthly bulletin, Vet's Voice, published by the American Veterans For Peace, Forest Hills, N.Y.

Last April 14 the Long Island City Post Office wrote Vet's Voice that the P.O. Solicitor in Washington, D.C., had ordered the April issue held up from mailing, directed the editors to show cause why the copies should not be "disposed of as matter non-mailable."

Vet's Voice lawyers pressed for particulars, were told the action was based on "the general tenor of the April issue."

The hearing was set for May 30. The law cited dealt with "attempts to cause insubordination in the military or naval forces" but there was no indication of any article, word or phrase that might do it.

Vet's Voice editors saw in the attack bigger targets than their four pages: a confiscation on the basis of "general tenor" held deadly possibilities. Others saw it too. The CIO United Auto Workers and the American Civil Liberties Union said they would send observers to the May 30 hearing. Dr. Guy Emery Shieler, editor of The Churchman, Protestant Episcopal bi-monthly, took it as the sounding of an alarm.

(Vet's Voice last week called for protest letters to the Solicitor, P.O. Dept., Wash., 25, D.C.)

Court again delays Rosenberg decision

THE Supreme Court, which announces its decisions each Monday, failed again last week to act on an appeal for a new trial for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, under sentence of death on charges of "conspiring to commit espionage." The Court is expected to recess for the summer the first week



Newsday, Hempstead, N. Y. Snake in the grass

in June but may extend its session for another week.

With a Court decision in the case imminent, the Dept. of Justice through an unidentified "source" last week announced that "no new credible evidence had been presented that warranted action..." The announcement was in reference to a document in the handwriting of David Greenglass, chief prosecution witness, which contradicted testimony he gave at the trial. On May 4 O. John Rogge, attorney for Greenglass, had issued a press statement which did not challenge the authenticity of the document.

THE PERL TRIAL: The government also, after a two-year delay, brought to trial William Perl on a charge that he perjured himself before a grand jury by denying he knew the Rosenbergs or Morton Sobell, a co-defendant,

now serving a 30-year sentence. The Perl indictment during the Rosenberg trial was so timed and handled to prejudice the case that the Circuit Court of Appeals roundly castigated the prosecution and held that a new trial was warranted at the time.

In Chicago Malcolm Sharp, professor of law at the University of Chicago, said in a statement to the press:

"The report of new evidence must shake the confidence of many who, like me, have been willing to assume that the verdict of 'guilty' was fairly reached."

Referring to a table which figured prominently in the trial and was unearthed by this paper (GUARDIAN, Apr. 13), he said:

"If defense witnesses establish the identity of the newly-discovered table, it will cast serious doubt on the credibility of key witnesses for the prosecution and the fairness of the trial as a whole. If the defense is not given a chance to establish the identity of the table, it will be a denial of justice."

VOLUNTEERS NEEDED: In New York the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (1050 Sixth Av.) called for volunteers "day and night" to help publicize the existence of the new evidence.

In Paris the right-wing newspaper Aurore had a novel idea: it urged the U.S. government to pardon the Rosenbergs in return for the release by the Czechs of William Oatis, sentenced to 10 years on a charge of espionage.

Hollywood's Kathleen Hughes, a bathing-suit wearer, offers her company, for an evening to the first Chinese traitor who delivers a MIG to Gen. Mark Clark.

From "The World Today," Washington Star, May 14, 1953

THE FIRST DISPATCH FROM ELLIS ISLAND

Belfrage tells what McCarthy wouldnt listen to

By Cedric Belfrage

In a 25x25 ft. room overlooking the Statue of Liberty through bars, I have joined a group of nine males already resident here from one week (a 72-year-old, Russian-born traveling salesman) to 6½ months (a gentle Cantonese laundryman, who objects to being sent back to Formosa since it is NOT where he came from).

This is Ellis Island's segregated enclosure for implementation of the McCarran Act, outward bound. The stated reason why these nine have been parked in a cage behind Lady Liberty, as exhibit B for your European tourist arriving to inspect the marvels of democracy, is that otherwise they would immediately go forth and overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence. Their original crime, however, is that they omitted to alert their respective mothers, while in the womb, that they'd better hurry to America for the confinement. Having started out so badly, I suppose there never was much hope for these "aliens."

IN COMMON: The accommodations and food may not be top resort quality; but the company is excellent, and varied except for the common denominator of poverty and background of hard work for food and lodging. This is important when nine—now ten—persons spend 12 daytime hours together in one small room and yard and the other 12 locked in a dirty criminals' dormitory with a single doorless toilet. For so desperate a company of men, their choice of books (mainly educational and classics), of conversation topics (philosophy, travel, politics), and of radio music (symphony programs) is noteworthy. Said the 72-year-old patriarch to me the first evening in his deep, dignified voice:

"It does seem to me that if the U.S. government is about to be overthrown by these people here, then it is indeed in a hell of a fix."

Passing from the ridiculous to the extravagant as I consider why these nine are here, there comes to my mind another group of nine men, of an average age not much above this group. I refer to the Justices of the Supreme Court who, you might say, started the whole business two years ago by ruling constitutional the Smith Act, which discarded Jefferson, Webster and other authorities and declared as a new article of faith that all persons in or anywhere near the periphery of one American political party "advocated forcible overthrow."

MAKE IT ELEVEN?: I seem to recall that two of the Justices dissented at that time, and said in rather strong language that it was the Smith Act, not its intended victims, that subverted the Constitution. So my nine new

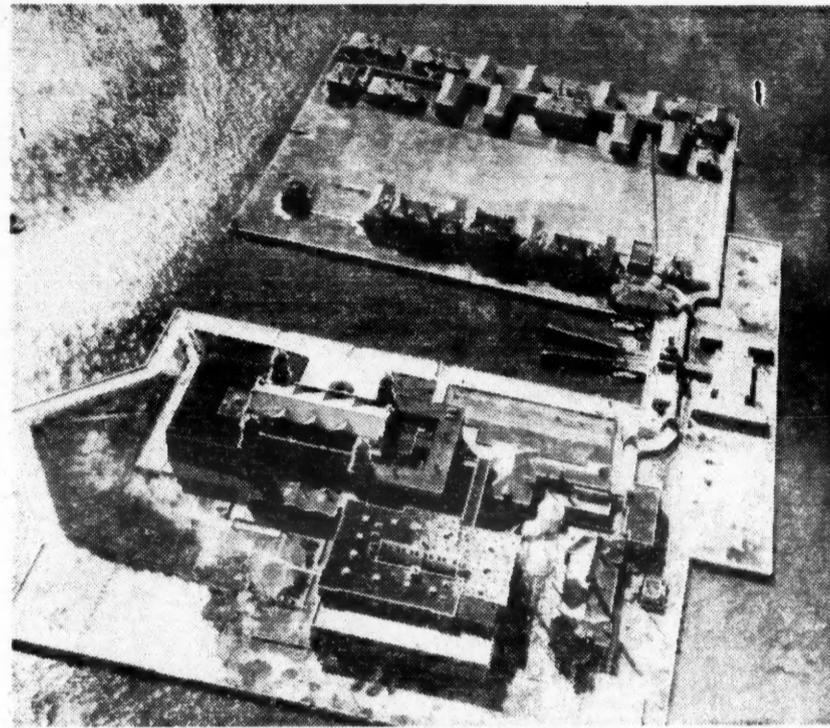
friends are here for the crime of agreeing with Mr. Douglas and Mr. Black. Which leads me to wonder why those two equally dissident characters are not here with us enjoying the view of Lady Liberty's rear end, making a total of 12 here and only seven there.

Now I am not putting that forward as a proposal: the folk we have here now get along nicely, and the intrusion of two High Court Justices might not

many."

In other words: The Roosevelt-Truman State Dept. allowed "reds" to "infiltrate" into the work of de-nazifying Germany in 1945; these "reds" appointed "red" editors of post-Nazi German newspapers, and "admit" it; and the State Dept. continued to subsidize these Communist-edited sheets.

NOT MUCH GOT IN: Some of what Jim and I tried to tell Senator Joe got



THIS IS ELLIS ISLAND

Where the Guardian's editor has a rear-view of Lady Liberty

add to the camaraderie (if I may even in French use so scarlet a word without risking another invite from Joe McCarthy). But while on the subject of people who really ought to be here, I should add another name: President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

THE HEADLINE: For let us face it. I myself am apparently here because McCarthy "unmasked" me as having failed to disobey Ike's orders in Germany in 1945, when he was a general and Jim Aronson and I were insignificant "press control officers" working under his command.

Senator Joe, of course, knew just what he wanted out of summoning Jim and myself to his inquisition. He wanted a certain headline in the press—and got it: to the general effect, "While U.S. Pays—Editors, Silent on Red Ties, Admit Appointing Commies in Ger-

into the papers, but not much. These were the essential points:

1. Whatever charges anyone might have that we are "reds," "spies," overthrow-advocates or the like must, under the constitution, be brought in a proper court of law where they will be properly answered.

2. The total number of Communists licensed in 1945 as German editors on the scores of publications started was four: two on a board of seven, one on a board of five, and one on a board of three. In the latter case, one of the other two editors was Theodore Heuss, now President of the West German Republic, who accepted the arrangement contentedly.

3. Jim and I were among a number of men, including Army intelligence as well as press teams, who made recommendations and reports on press licensees. Being under Army orders, we had

no more power to grant a license than a buck private has to confine a general to barracks. All power resided in our outfit's higher-echelon brass headed by Brig. Gen. Robert A. McClure (now chief of psychological warfare, special staff, U.S. Army), and Col. William S. Paley (now head of the war Production Board).

QUALIFICATIONS: 4. The entire job of seeking and screening editors was carried out under a precise directive which laid down no rule whatsoever as to the politics of a candidate except that he be able to prove active resistance to the Nazis. His editorial, executive and/or writing experience, and his apparently genuine undertaking to keep his paper factual and politically non-partisan, were the other top considerations.

5. If a Communist was found who met all three specifications, he was recommended for licensing. Invariably he was recommended as a Communist, and knowingly accepted (or rejected) as such by the top brass, in a period when—as McCarthy & Co. purport to forget—no special prejudice against Communists was being officially expressed.

6. Had any press-control or intelligence officer allowed political prejudice to keep him from recommending a competent Communist—or Social Democrat, or Catholic Centrist—he would have been disobeying Army orders.

NONE LEFT: 7. No subsidies were paid to any newspapers in the U.S. Zone of Germany when they had Communist editors. Three of the four Communist editors were kicked out at least seven years ago. The fourth broke with the CP at that time and his paper does now receive a U.S. subsidy.

8. The signer of the directive covering the whole operation and meticulously followed by the insignificants was Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In the Alice-in-Wonderland world in which Sen. McCarthy moves, it is perfectly rational that I who carried out the orders (and left Germany with a letter from my immediate C.O., a West Point Lt.-Col., imploring me to return) should be here in the cage, while Ike, who gave the orders that produced such subversive results, is left undisturbed to improve his golf stroke.

DOWN THE FAIRWAY: Sen. McCarthy is right, of course. For after all, Ike did remember to jog his mother from inside the womb and have her be in Kansas for the most blessed of all events. So he really doesn't belong with us babies who uttered our first yells in such jungles as China, Jamaica, Ecuador, Russia and Britain.

It's really too bad: Ike would love the view. But then, too, if instead of ten elderly gentlemen we were 13 elderly gentlemen, maybe we really could burst through the bars, storm the mainland and overthrow the government by force and violence. So leave it as it is—and good luck, Ike; try to get that score down below 90 or Bobby Jones is going to be awful embarrassed.

Free Belfrage fight

(Continued from Page 1)

It is also an undisguised attack on the freedom of the press—on one of the few independent, progressive papers fighting for peace, for justice, for freedom and truth for all Americans.

While the big press looked the other way, editors of many of the little press rallied to Belfrage's support.

BRITAIN AROUSED: In Britain Belfrage's arrest matched McCarthy's "declaration of war on England" as front page news. The *News Chronicle*, a big London daily, ran an article by Belfrage, headed: "The Things Belfrage Could Not Say." In it Belfrage brought Britons up to date on the witch-hunt technique. He wrote:

"The outlook for me was not as bad as for most. As author of pro-socialist books, and as editor of a left-wing publication (the NATIONAL GUAR-

DIAN newsweekly—not communist but standing up for communists' rights, which is just as bad), I was already in the open politically, with nothing to lose but the overdraft that accompanies such a venture. . . .

"What may happen to me personally as a result of my defiance of the Committee is my own problem. What is happening to the freedom to oppose and protest by the printed word—and there is precious little opposition left on which to debate and decide American policy intelligently—is a problem for all Americans."

Recalling the Alien and Sedition Laws of Jefferson's time, Belfrage said:

"This 'reign of witches' too will surely be drowned in ignominy by an aroused American people."

STAR CHAMBER: The ordeal to which Belfrage and Aronson had been subjected earlier in the week in Washington was marked by threats of perjury and contempt and questions which could not possibly have any bearing on "government operations." Clearly the

intent of the hearings, in addition to a smear of the opposition press, was a headline-hunting expedition by Sen. McCarthy with the scalp of the *Acheson State Dept.* as a trophy.

The crux of the questioning was the two editors' experience in post-war Germany, where they served as press control officers.

Both editors were continued under subpoena; both were subjected to lectures on "Americanism" which cast the Bill of Rights into oblivion. The television lights were turned off at the request of both, but the proceedings were televised anyway. Questions which Belfrage and Aronson answered in private session on May 14 were not repeated on May 15, because they did not serve the headline-hunting—although they helped explain how the new German press was licensed.

WHY THEY REFUSED: After the hearing, Aronson explained to newspapermen why they had refused to

answer questions as to their association with the *GUARDIAN*. Only the *N.Y. Times* carried the explanation:

"We felt that if we had put in the record our identification with the *GUARDIAN*, that would lead to demands for lists of our subscribers and contributors and possibly result in the destruction of the *GUARDIAN*'s effectiveness. Our weekly has been cited in Congressional committee comment as being a communist 'front' and as being an 'instrument of the Soviet Union.' Our publication is an independent progressive weekly affiliated with no party."



Liberals go shopping, Halley's star wanes, New York City Mayoralty contest hots up

By Elmer Bendiner

FOUR companies were preparing estimates last week on the time and money it would take to make up 50,000,000 tokens which New Yorkers might drop into subway turnstiles when and if the dime fare becomes obsolete.

Another token seemed to be the City Hall opposition to the fare rise, now slated to go through by July 1 unless resistance grows.

On Wednesday the City Council voted for the Mayor's budget, in effect a vote for the fare boost. ALP's Vito Marcantonio earlier had urged that voters judge every councilman by his vote. This was the score: 22 for it; against it were minority leader Stanley Isaacs (R-Lib.), Earl Brown (D), Samuel Davis (D) abstained. Council Pres. Halley had no vote but spoke against it from the floor, said: "The entire point here is Costelloism." The resistance to the budget had two more deadlines:

• By June 1, unless the Board of Estimate members are stiffened to more than token resistance, the city's transit lines will be handed over to the new Transit Authority, already set up and running. (First week's running showed signs of friction between City Hall and Albany appointees, but even the friction seemed token. A fare rise is built into the authority.)

• Before summer the State Legislature is to meet in special session. Its agenda is still Gov. Dewey's secret, but the city's fare and rent boosts will not be on it unless public clamor writes it on.

JOSEPH'S PLAN: Among the City Hall protests against the fare rise, the loudest last week seemed to come from Controller Lazarus Joseph. Like most figures at City Hall, Joseph, a Democrat has long been running for Mayor. He promised to cast his three votes on the Board of Estimate against final approval of the Transit Authority plan, but allowed himself an out. He urged a study. The Authority has since announced plans for a study before a fare boost; but while it studies, bids are being taken on tokens.

City Hall dopesters saw this as Joseph's strategy: if Impellitteri does not get the Democratic nomination, Democrats can point to Joseph and claim the party regulars held out against a fare rise to the bitter end. If Joseph, who now stands only an outside chance, were to get the nomination, his stand now would make good campaign material.

ANGRY CITIZENS: City Council Pres. Rudolph Halley also makes hay out of opposition to the fare boost (though his alternative would strangle most city services). Mayor Impellitteri himself has sought desperately to pin the blame on Albany.

But still the turnstiles last week were being measured for a fare boost and voters were angry enough to demand a candidate cleared of all responsibility for the boost, failure to resist it, or any complicity with the Dewey machine that favors it openly.

That was one of the problems



JACOB R. JAVITS
Ike smiled



RUDOLPH HALLEY
Left at the post?

facing the city's bosses, who are the first worry of the candidates. They have to be considered ahead of the voters.

The Mayor last week journeyed to the Bronx's Concourse Plaza Hotel to vie with Joseph for the nod from Bronx boss Edward J. Flynn. At the annual dinner of the Bronx County Committee of the Democratic Party the Mayor spoke only of Boss Flynn and his "philosophy that shines with a healthy luster." Openly running against LaGuardia's memory he said: "The self-styled 'fusion' groups who bestir themselves every decade or so, have made no lasting contribution to the commonweal."

Joseph called for a special session of the Legislature to take up the rent and fare issues. Flynn spoke briefly, nodded in nobody's direction.

BIG JIM'S BACK: The Mayor was mustering strength from other quarters, notably Coca Cola's James Farley, who has been conspicuous in recent

weeks at City Hall posing pointedly with the Mayor. His reappearance in New York politics is thought by some observers to indicate a 1954 bid for the governorship. The Mayor, like Farley, is likely to have the support of much of the city's press and elements within the Catholic Church hierarchy; he awaits only the machine's blessing.

Neck and neck with him in that contest is Manhattan's Dist. Atty. Frank Hogan, undistinguished for any opposition to city scandals on the waterfront or police brutality. An outside runner-up is Rep. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., with a distinguished record of absenteeism in Congress, who continues to decline appealingly.

UP JAVITS: The most determined independent candidate is Halley, who began running against the mayor as soon as he was sworn into the Council presidency. His only hope for machine support lies in an independent race in the Democratic primaries, or the nomination from the Liberal Party.

The party has been shopping vigorously for a candidate, trying on both Halley and Rep. Jacob Javits (R-N. Y.) for size. Murray Baron, N. Y. County chairman of the Liberal Party, spoke at a Javits testimonial dinner last week at the Waldorf Astoria, called him a friend of Ireland, Israel, the immigrant, the Marshall Plan and organized labor. He termed Javits a "great liberal" and a "benign politician," said he had earned "the envenomed and continued opposition of the lunatic right and the subversive Communist left."

Billed plainly as a campaign send-off for Javits, the meeting heard a tribute from President Eisenhower, gave Javits a silver bowl.

ALP PROSPECTS: The American Labor Party, which plans to touch off its campaign with a Randall's Island festival on June 28, was lining up its choices for a full slate, while scouting all horizons for allies in its fight for peace, labor and civil rights, and against the fare and rent boosts. Coalitions were widely talked of and hoped for, but the maneuverings of City Hall politicians offered little promise.

Primary campaigns may turn up more hope. On June 2 each party must file the positions it will seek to fill. Petition-signing time: June 30-Aug. 11. Primary day: Sept. 15. Election day: Nov. 3.



SLUM CLEARANCE—OR TENANT CLEARANCE?

On New York's lower East Side 6,000 persons were forced out of their homes to make way for new public low-rent housing. The new projects may now be scrapped by Congressional action and the city's crazy-quilt housing situation made more desperate.

NO HOMES FOR THOUSANDS

Housing mess grows worse as politicians make useless surveys

THE MADNESS of the city's housing scramble was summed up last week by a desperate Congressman, Arthur G. Klein (D-N. Y.), who told 200 angry members of the Mothers Club of the Educational Alliance, 197 E. Broadway, that the only solution he had for housing slashes was to vote against all farm-support measures. He added helplessly:

"It is foolish to do that because our economy is interrelated, but we have no other solution."

The mothers, all from the lower East Side, were outraged because 6,000 persons in the area had been forced out of their homes to make way for new low-income housing projects. But these projects now seem doomed as a result of Congressional budget slashing and determined opposition to low-rent public housing as verging on socialism. (On Apr. 17, the House Appropriation Comm. voted to axe the housing budget.)

UPSIDE DOWN: Crowning touch is that the Federal gov-

ernment may have to spend more money to cancel projects than it would cost to build and run them. Notes now out on one project alone (LaGuardia Houses), total \$4,631,000. Washington will have to redeem the notes if the projects are abandoned. To run all nine proposed Manhattan housing projects would cost only \$4,000,000 a year.

Concern for N. Y. housing gripped many officials. Not all thought in terms of attacking farmers.

State Housing Commissioner Stichman led a tour into what passed for a room at 26 W. 132d St. It was a curtained-off section of an apartment hallway, with no windows. It held a bed, table with cooking utensils stacked on it, a dresser on which rested a volume of Turner's "Introduction to Economics." On the bare wall was a picture of the Sistine Madonna.

Part of a seven-room cold-water flat normally renting for \$25, the room was occupied by so many tenants that they slept in "hot beds," used in re-lays. Tenants paid a total rental of \$200 a month. The common kitchen showed leaky plumbing and obvious ratholes.

HOW TO LIVE: At 30 W. 128th St., Commissioner of Health John F. Mahoney commented not on the houses but the tenants: "You need an army here, not just to inspect but to show people how to live." A housewife, needing no lessons in living, when told her building might have to come down, asked: "Where else could we go?"

Commissioner Stichman has been slumming for two months to demonstrate his plan to convert "near slums" to "adequate

(Continued on Page N. Y. 4)

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

ALP COMMUNITY CENTER, 220 W. 80th St., presents Sat., May 23, 9 p.m. Entertainment and Dance featuring **EARL ROBINSON**. Candle lit tables. Refreshments. Don: \$1. **SAT., MAY 30:** Movie and Dance. W. C. Fields "Never Give A Sucker An Even Break." Don: \$1.

"LOVE AFFAIR"—SAT., MAY 23—Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St. Dance to Otis McRae's All Stars. Stage show 8:30 p.m. Sponsor: Jewish Young Fraternalists.

TIMELY DISCUSSION, "Peace and Jobs: Can We Have Both?" Speakers: Thomas Richardson, Clifford Cameron, Sidney Gluck. Discussion from the floor. Wed., June 3, 7:30 p.m. Cornish Arms Hotel, 311 W. 23d St. Adm: 60c. Auspices: American Peace Crusade.

AN EVENT FOR THE ALERT! Hear "THE RED SPY SCARE AS A LITERARY RACKET." Special talk by William A. Reuben, noted reporter, first to expose the Trenton Six and Rosenberg Case frame-ups, in an eye-opening expose of how the literary racketeers are cashing in on the hoax of "Red Spy Plots." Sun., May 24, 8:30 p.m. at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: 75c, refreshments included.

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Tell the advertiser you saw it in the NATIONAL GUARDIAN

Editors of fighting press back Belfrage

NONE of the big city press commented editorially on the detention of GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage. Editors of the city's little press, reached by telephone, saw in it a threat to all the press. Many promised editorials; some said they wanted time to consider it; none was unsympathetic. Here are sample comments:

ZOLTAN DEAK, editor of Magyar Jovo (Hungarian Daily Journal), piqued by a N. Y. Times reference to a "small weekly" said in an editorial (5/20):

"If perchance the Apostle Matthew had been subpoenaed before the McCarthy Committee, the Times no doubt would have reported it this way: 'The Apostle Matthew, the author of a small Gospel, was cited before the Senate investigating committee.' These spiritual yardgoods merchants are convinced that the truth can only be measured by the yard. . . . The would-be Fuehrer of Wisconsin fears truth even when small papers advocate it. . . ."

CAREY McWILLIAMS, editorial director of The Nation: "Another example of harassment of the anti-McCarthy press and no contribution to British-American relations."

CHRIS NICOLOPOLOUS, editor of the Greek-American Tribune: "We stand by the side of the GUARDIAN and its editor and we'll fight together for the freedom of the press."

B. Z. GOLDBERG, columnist of the Jewish Day-Journal: "The arrest and detention without bail of an editor of an American publication on the mere say-so of two professional informers, and before he had his day in court, will not enhance the reputation of our democracy in the eyes of the world. Now we assume a man is guilty until he proves himself innocent. The administration of the McCarran Act is becoming as repugnant to the American tradition of freedom and fair play as the act itself."

EUGENE MOY, editor-president of the China Daily News, whose own paper has been singled out for attack by Kuomintang lobbyists and U. S. government agencies, said of the attack on Belfrage and Wechsler:

"[It] reveals the pattern of certain reactionary forces to destroy freedom of the press for those who will not conform. . . . The American people and the entire American press must be aroused to the seriousness of this threat which, if permitted to continue unchecked, could result in the loss of one of our fundamental freedoms."

JOSE DAVILLA RICCI, editor of the Spanish-language El Diario de Nueva York, reaffirmed his paper's hearty opposition to McCarthyism, any time, any victim.



If We Die

You shall know, my sons, shall know
Why we leave the song unsung,
The book unread, the work undone,
To lie beneath the sod.

Mourn no more, my sons, no more,
Why the lies and smears were framed,
The tears we shed, the hurt we bore,
To all shall be proclaimed.

Earth shall smile, my sons, shall smile—
And green above our resting place,
The killing end, the world rejoice
In brotherhood and peace.

Work and build, my sons, and build
A monument to love and joy,
To human worth, to faith we kept
For you, my sons, for you!

Ethel Rosenberg

Singing Commercial for the Pentagon

The prisoners in the Kojie island zone
Are killed or fed on bags of sand and stone
So they love us and won't leave us
And to force them home would grieve us
In the land of Coca-Cola, Blue Sunoco, Odorono,
In the land of Alka-Seltzer, Al Capone.

Every bomb or missile we have thrown
Makes our love for peace and people better known
And it's just a Russian slander
That the wars we plan are grander
In the land of Alka-Seltzer, Al Capone.

Between ourselves we plan to make the world our own
But we don't intend to do the job alone
We'll make Asians slaughter Asians
And Caucasians kill Caucasians
For the land of Alka-Seltzer, Al Capone.

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W. E. B. DuBois: On the right to express and hear unpopular opinion

By W. E. B. DuBois

QUITE honestly, I would like to know the inner working of the minds of what we call the "average American." Let us assume that he is neither a Communist nor a member of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce; that he is just an ordinary citizen who wants to earn enough to live decently, educate his children and provide something for his old age. He is confronted today by a number of serious questions such as citizen, taxpayer and voter he must help decide. There is first and foremost the question of war, then the question of civil rights, the right to vote and the right to work.

Now in order to decide these questions he must know facts; and for the facts he depends on the newspapers, the radio, public meetings, and general gossip. The last, of course, he does not rate highly, but it may have more influence than he realizes.

His chief dependence is upon the newspaper; and lately he is quite aware that in collecting facts, omitting information and slanting interpretation, most of the newspapers he reads are not giving him the full and fair picture of the world. Their reports need not necessarily be altogether wrong, but they certainly are not complete.

THE OTHER SIDE: Now I have been brought up with the idea that in any controversy or question I should, as a matter of duty, read the other side; that is, read the newspaper with whose general attitude I do not agree, and listen to the speaker whose position on the whole I believe is wrong. That I must do this is because otherwise I may possibly, and even

probably, get a one-sided view of the facts—or at any rate not know and not give due weight to certain facts which I do not know or have not considered.

I have been taught to believe and have convinced myself therefore that any system of spreading infor-



mation, in any country which denies the intelligent citizen and voter certain facts or groups of facts, is fundamentally and dangerously wrong. Yet it is just this situation that I see developing in the U. S. today.

The facts which the ruling powers of this country want known can easily be learned. There is no way of escaping their revelation and repeated statement by most of the newspapers. On the other hand, certain groups of facts, particularly concerning socialism and communism, concerning Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa, are not easily obtained nor fully reported. For additional facts and dissident opinions the intelligent reader must depend upon newspapers like the **GUARDIAN**, the **Daily Worker**, the **People's World**, the defunct **PM** and **Compass**.

SLAVERY OF THE MIND: It is not a question as to whether these facts and opinions are right or wrong, true or false. It is the more basic question

as to who is going to be the judge of this, and as to how far honest people can remain intelligent if they refuse to listen to unpopular opinions or to facts which they do not want to believe.

There is a determined effort today to put papers like these out of existence, to harass and harry them, to make readers afraid to subscribe to them or to buy them on news stands; to keep newspaper distributors from handling them; and in these and other ways to make their continued existence impossible. Quite outside of all questions as to what is true or false, as to what our aims or ideals should be, this program seems to me the most vicious and indefensible attack upon the fundamentals of American democracy that can be imagined. It makes impartial judgment impossible. It is precisely the kind of procedure that made reasonable opposition to Negro slavery find voice only in civil war.

FIGHT OR BE SHAMED: It should be the duty of every honest citizen, whether he be reactionary or radical, rich or poor, capitalist or laborer, to fight this attack on the freedom of the press in every way possible; because unless this is done we are headed toward an intellectual dark age of which all of our descendants, physical and spiritual, will be thoroughly ashamed and will ask what on earth we who live today were thinking of when we permitted this program to triumph!

I would like, then, quite honestly to know what the average American citizen really thinks of the present inquisition into men's thoughts and into their right to seek information where they will.

Last-ditch Parkchester fight fails to halt Decatur eviction

WITH no legal recourse left, Bronx residents made a valiant last stand to break jim-crow rental policies in Parkchester, the world's largest housing project. On the morning of May 18 Mr. and Mrs. Michael Decatur, Parkchester's only Negro family, living there a subplot, received their final eviction notice from landlord Metropolitan Life.

On Tuesday morning seven women from Parkchester, including Mrs. Decatur, appeared in the office of Met. Life vice-pres. Douglas Lowe for one

final request that the Decatur family be permitted to rent their own apartment in the project and Parkchester rent to Negroes hereafter.

UNMOVED: Lowe's office offered a lawyer. The women didn't want a lawyer, they wanted an end to jim-crow in Parkchester, declared they would sit tight until Lowe announced it. At closing time, when Lowe left without seeing them, the women refused to be moved, chained themselves to the furniture for the night. They left the next morning

only in time to get uptown to the Decatur's apartment, where the eviction was scheduled to take place. They met hundreds of neighbors jamming the apartment, picketing the building.

By noon a strong detachment of police escorted the neighbors to the street. The Marshal's men took out the furniture.

Parkchester's jimcrow policy still held but the Decatur's last stand had its impact. The Bronx Comm. Against Discrimination announced that 28 trade union and civic organizations had taken action, were mobilizing delegations to Metropolitan. Most recent reinforcement in the fight was the Interracial Nurses' Assn., headed by Miss Matilda Hall.



Mr. and Mrs. Michael Decatur, Michael, Jr., 1, and Michaelle, 5,

RESORTS

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Ridgefield RESORT — Interracial — FAMILY SUMMER SEASON RATES FOR PARENTS AND CHILDREN Swimming, Pool, Boating, Sports, Day Camp with Experienced Counsellors. COME OUT NOW AND CHOOSE YOUR FAVORITE ROOM New York City Office: 80 5th Av., Rm. 801 AL 5-6268 or call Ridgefield (Conn.) 6-6548

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TIMBERLINE Parent-Child Camp JEWETT, N. Y. 12th unrivalled year as progressive farm-centered camp. 260 acres. Cool all summer. 2300 ft. elevation; lowest pollen count. CHILDREN'S PROGRAM: Gardening, nature study, care of farm animals; music, swimming; arts & crafts. Ages 2 to 12. Outstanding trained personnel. 10-12 year group sleep out. PARENT PROGRAM: All sports; painting, crafts, square & folk dancing, forums; golf & fishing nearby. Info: DR. SARAH R. RIEDMAN, Director. PR. 2-0325.

It's A Family Affair At **TWIN PINES CAMP CO-OP** On Mile-Long Lake Only 50 miles from N. Y. C. Progressive Day Camp for Children. Swimming, Boating, Arts & Crafts, Folk & Square Dancing, Tennis. Rustic Atmosphere, Congenial Informality. A non-profit organization. Reasonable Weekly Rates Helen Wisot, Registrar 179-11 69th Av., Flushing OL 8-7523

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CAMP MIDVALE Midvale, N. J. TERHUNE 5-2160 Cooperative, interracial camp. Only 35 miles from N. Y. C. Reserve Now For **Gala Decoration Day W'kend** • Meet our new social staff • Folk and social dancing • Sports activities • Good food—reasonable rates Drop us a card — we'll send you directions.

DECORATION DAY WEEK-END at Arrowhead Lodge Ellenville, N. Y. Tennis Tournament — FREE WEEKEND TO WINNER. Entertainment, Folk and Square Dancing. Low June Rates. Chartered Bus Leaves Fort Authority Bldg. Fri., May 29, 6:30 P.M. GR 7-1267 or JE 6-2394 Ellenville 302

Save Friday, June 5, for **GUARDIAN Rally**

Housing mess grows in city

(Continued from Page 1)

housing" by "minor repairs." He would go easy on landlords, allow them to correct violations without penalties—with the aid of "cooperating banks" and perhaps rent rises.

HOUSE OF HORRORS: Last week Stichman led another tour through what the Brooklyn Eagle called "horror housing." With him were City Housing and Buildings Commissioner Bernard J. Gilroy, a group of ministers and rabbis, a judge, two bankers and a large number of newsmen.

Acting as guide, Stichman stopped at 897 Dean St., Bklyn. and said: "When you look at this area I'm afraid you'll realize that Edna Ferber did not exaggerate. [She called New York one of the world's dirtiest cities.] This building may collapse at any time."

WELL, YES AND NO: Commissioner Gilroy, who has accused Stichman of publicity hunting, argued: "I say this is a bad building but I say it is not likely to collapse." The Brooklyn Eagle reported: "The argument continued with each official calling on his aides for support. The aides agreed with their superiors."

Stichman pointed to the rotting cornerpost and broken masonry, asked Gilbert Barrett, pres. of the Bklyn Savings Bank what could be done. Barrett said he had come along to look around, declined to commit the bank on spending money.

The eight families at 897 Dean St. had no comment on the sightseers.

MAN OF MUSIC
in MAGNACOLOR
7th Ave. bet 42 & 43 Sts.

MAY 22-24: PAISAN
Roberto Rossellini directs a realistic film of the Allied advance from Sicily to the Po Valley, showing the impact of war on Italian people.

MAY 29-30:
THE FALL OF BERLIN
FRID. SAT., SUN., CONTINUOUS SHOWS FROM 8:30
FOOD FUN FILM
CLUB CINEMA
430 Sixth Ave. (Nr. 9th St.)

NEW OPENING! NEW ADDRESS!
Starting Fri. Eve., May 22
GREENWICH MEWS THEATRE
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MONDAY'S HEROES
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CONCERT and RALLY
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RESTORE OUR SCHOOLS TO FREEDOM
Speakers:
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• JEWISH YOUNG FOLKSINGERS
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CARNEGIE HALL, 57 St. at 7 Av.
FRIDAY, MAY 29—at 8:15 P.M.
TICKETS: 50c, \$1, \$1.50, \$1.80, \$2
Auspices:
Teachers Union of New York
206 W. 15th St. WA 4-5524

PEACE with JOBS!



THEY SAID BRIBES WERE NAUGHTY

Ryan union offers a cleanup to AFL which ends shape-up

THE AFL's executive council at Miami Beach last Feb. 3 ordered the Intl. Longshoremen Assn., New York affiliate., to clean itself of racketeers and gangsters by April 30 or get out. ILA by April 30 was still dirty and still in. However, two weeks later—May 14—in Baltimore, ILA's 20-man executive council sent AFL Pres. George Meany a 16-page answer to the charges, made these points:

• ILA would abolish the shape-up method of hiring and would include its new system (unexplained in the document) in its next contract with the N.Y. Shipping Assn. next Fall.

• ILA agreed that acceptance of bribes by officials was grounds for removal; said receiving gifts was no crime, for gift-taking was common inside and outside the labor movement, especially around holidays. "We invite and request the AFL to cooperate with us in setting up trial machinery for ILA members and officers accused of wrong-doing," the answer said, proposing that ILA supply one judge and AFL one for any bribery trial.

• ILA agreed in principle that union officials with criminal records should be removed, but pointed out that AFL as a

whole had no rule barring such persons. When and if such a rule was adopted to cover all affiliates, ILA would honor it.

• ILA had begun to democratize administration of local unions even before the N.Y. State Crime Commission started investigating; had adopted these minimum standards for all ILA locals: (1) admission of all new members on written application only, thus limiting pier-bosses' power to issue membership cards at will; (2) minimum financial procedures, including deposit of all income in a bank account, making all payments by check, showing sources of all income by book-keeping, and revealing the financial position and status of each individual member as well as destination of all expenditures.

• ILA promised that each local's books and records will be checked annually by a certified public accountant, audit being submitted to membership; that regular membership meetings will be held at least once every three months, with minutes taken.

• ILA pledged that officials will not hold office longer than four years without reelection, their salaries and fixed expenses being determined by membership and recorded in the minutes. It opposes the holding of office by one person in more than one local.

An ILA official told **GUARDIAN** that Pres. Joseph Ryan was subject to the four-year and salary rules: "Of course he is. Everybody is." Ryan has been "elected" for life as both district and national president at \$20,000 a year and "expenses."

MEANY TALKS: In Chicago AFL Pres. Meany, attending the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union convention, indicated the ILA was still in the dog house and in no position to make its clean-up conditional on a clean AFL.

10 Beautiful Rascally Dalmatian Pups

Descendants of two long lines of champions. Will be six weeks old and raring to go home with you June 1. Can deliver in N. Y. area. Inquire quickly.

JOHN T. McMANUS,
Dutch St., Montrose, N. Y.
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GUARDIAN ANGELS WANTED. Volunteers to help with office work. With or without typing. Half days, whole days, hours, regularly each week. Angels please call **GUARDIAN, Worth 4-3960.**

Events for Children

MAY 23-30

Films

- FILM STRIPS:** Mapleton Library, 6105 18th Av., B'klyn. Sat., May 23, 11 a.m. Free.
- ADVENTURE WITH ANDY:** Walt Whitman Library, 93 St. Edwards, B'klyn. Tues., May 26, 3:30 p.m. Free.
- SQUEAK THE SQUIRREL & ADVENTURE WITH ANDY:** New Lots Library, 847 New Lots Av., B'klyn. Tues., May 26, 10:30 a.m. Pre-school children. Free.
- TRAVEL FILMS & COMEDIES FOR CHILDREN:** B'klyn. Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Sat., 2 p.m. Free.
- TRAVEL FILMS:** N. Y. Historical Society, 170 Central Park W. at 77th St. Sat., 2 p.m. Free.
- CARTOON FESTIVAL:** Trans-Lux 85th St. Theatre. Sat., May 30. Children 35c, adults 50c.
- LAND OF OUR FOREFATHERS:** N. Y. Historical Society, Central Park W. & 79th St. Tues., May 26, 4 p.m. Free.
- SIAM & WONDER HOUSE:** Amer. Museum of Natural History, Central Park W. & 79th St. Tues., May 26, 4 p.m. Free.
- B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, ANCIENT WORLD INHERITANCE,** Tues., May 26, 4:30 p.m.; **MIRACLE OF THE MESA & NEWSPAPER STORY,** Wed., May 27, 3:45 p.m.; **PIONEERS OF THE PLAINS,** Thursday, May 28, 4:30 p.m.; **THE LITTLEST ANGEL,** Fri., May 29, 4:30 p.m.

Miscellaneous

FARM-IN-THE-ZOO: stocked with domestic animals. Baby chicks out of the incubator on Saturdays. Poultry exhibit features eggs of all sizes from bantam to goose. Milking demonstrations by milking machine and by hand. Bronx Park Zoo, at Bronx River

Parkway. Admission 18c. Children under 6 yrs. and organized groups with an adult admitted free.

CASTING POOL: for anglers to practice bait and skish casting. Pool will not contain fish. Casting with hooks not permitted. Bring own equipment. Bronx Park at Bronx River Parkway. 25c per 1/2 hr. of practice.

BEACHES: N. Y. C. open May Jones Beach: children's play area now open at Central Mall, accessible from Fields 4 and 5. Equipped with tricycles, merry-go-rounds, see-saws and slides. Roller skating rink, 10c. Skates may be rented for 25c.

DANCE: annual recital, adults & children's YM & YWHA classes. Kaufman Auditorium, 92d St. & Lexington Av. Sun., May 24, 2:40 p.m. Free.

DANCE: Playhouse Dance Company, Henry St. Playhouse, 466 Grand St. Sat., May 23, 8:40 p.m. & Sun., May 24, 3 p.m.

NAT'L AMATEUR ART FESTIVAL: demonstrations, live models, art movies, door prizes. Bring your cameras. 69th Regiment Armory, Lexington Av. & 25th St. Sat., May 23, 2-10 p.m. & Sun., May 24, 2-7 p.m. Children 60c, adults \$1.

WASHINGTON SQ. OUTDOOR EXHIBIT: semi-annual art exhibit, Greenwich Village. Daily thru June 14.

MARINE EXHIBITION: ship models, naval instruments, flags, pictures, etc., illustrate city's maritime history. Museum of the City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Free.

You can get hundreds of listings of children's activities — many free, many listed nowhere else — for every day of the month, in advance! For one year subscription (12 Monthly Issues) just send \$2 with name and address to Box MC, Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

Movie Suggestions

Midtown

- FANFAN THE TULIP**—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philippe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.
- I BELIEVE IN YOU**—(Br.) on juvenile delinquency. Baronet, 3d Av. & 59th St.
- MAN OF MUSH**—(Russ.) Life of composed Mikhail Glinka. Stanley, 42d St. & 7th Av.
- MOULIN ROUGE**—Capitol, B'way & 51st St.
- SEVEN DEADLY SINS**—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per six. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.
- BELLISSIMA**—with Anna Magnani, the Italian movie industry satirizes itself. Trans-Lux, 60th St. & Madison Av.

Manhattan

- AMERICAN,** 236 E. 3d St. We Will Come Back (Russ., on World War II) & Frolics in Ice (musical), May 29-29.
- ART,** 36 E. 8th St. Blue Angel (Ger.—M. Dietrich) and Adventures (Br.), thru May 29; Guinness in The Promoter from May 27.
- APOLLO,** 223 W. 42d St. Gigi (Fr.) & Ghost and Mrs. Muir (Br.), thru May 27.
- BEEKMAN,** 2d Av. bet. 65-66. Magic Box & Another Shore, thru May 26; Guinness in The Promoter, from May 27.
- BEVERLY,** 3d Av. at 50th. Young and the Damned (Mexican) & The Strange One, 2 films on children, thru May 23.
- COLONY,** 1519 2d Av. Bette Davis in The Star & Taxi, May 24-26.
- 5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE,** 5th Av. & 13th St. Peter Pan, thru May 28.
- 8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE,** 52 W. 8th St. The Star, thru May 23; Come Back Little Sheba, May 24-27.
- 55TH ST.,** 154 W. 55th. De Maupassant's Bel Ami & Masquerade in Vienna (both Ger.), continuing.
- GRAMERCY,** 23d & Lexington, Davis in The Star, thru May 23.
- GRANDE,** 86th near Lexington. Detective Story & Brave Bulls, May 23-25; Laura & This Above All (Br.), May 26-28; Scaramouche & Colbert in Cleopatra (reissue) May 29-30.
- HEIGHTS,** 150 Wadsworth Av. Anna (It.) & Man on the Run (Br.), thru May 27.
- PLAZA,** 58th & Madison. Come Back Little Sheba, thru May 26.
- 68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE,** 1164 3d Av. I Confess (Br. Hitchcock thriller), May 22-26.
- STUYVESANT,** 189 2d Av. The Big Sky & Story of Will Rogers, May

24-25; African Queen & H. Noon, May 28-29.
THALIA, 95th & B'way. Leslie Howard in Pygmalion & Major Barbara (both Br.—Shaw), May 22-28.

Bronx

- ASCOT,** 2313 Gr. Concourse. Anna & Singing Angels (Ger.), thru May 26; The Promoter from May 27.
- CREST,** 1145 Ogden Av. Davis in The Star & Taxi, May 19-22.
- VALENTINE,** 237 E. Fordham Rd. Same as Crest, to May 23.

Special

- ALP MANHATTAN COMMUNITY CENTER,** 220 W. 80th St. W. C. Fields in Never Give a Sucker an Even Break, Sat., May 23, 8:30 p.m. 75c.
- CLUB CINEMA,** 430 6th Av. Paisan (It.), May 22-24, from 8:30 p.m.
- MUS. OF MODERN ART,** 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.
- Wm. Powell, Myrna Loy in The Thin Man (1934),** May 18-24.
- Fred Astaire & Ginger Rogers in Top Hat (1935),** May 25-31.

Where to Go

CONCERT AND RALLY—"Restore Our Schools to Freedom." Teachers Union fights back. Harriet Wingreen, concert pianist with Bach, Brahms, Debussy; Jewish Young Folksingers directed by Bob DeCormier & Madeline Horowitz; Leon Bibb, soloist in "Ballad for Americans." Speakers: Justice Hubert T. Delaney, court of domestic relations; Barrows Dunham, author of Giant in Chains, former Temple U. prof. Rose Russell, TU Legislative Representative. Carnegie Hall, 57th St. & 7th Av. Fri., May 29, 8:15 p.m. Tickets at Teacher's Center, 206 W. 15th St. WA 4-5524.

30TH ANNIV. CONCERT, Jewish People's Philharmonic Chorus, directed by Eugene Malek. Handel's Judas Maccabeus and folk songs. Sat., May 23, Town Hall, 113 W. 43d St.

FOREIGN PHOTOGRAPHERS—show of outstanding prints of recent years opens May 27 at Museum of Modern Art, 11 W. 53d St. Thru July 27.

JEWISH FOLK DANCING—YMHA, Lexington Av. at 92d. Wed., May 27, 8:15 p.m.

Risk of global war

(Continued from Page 1)

ing influence on nearly everything else—the size and shape of the budget, efficiency of manpower uses and weapons systems, the course of diplomacy and even the ends of national policy.”

EAGER RIDER: The present Chairman Gen. Omar Bradley has been termed “an unofficial Super-Chief of Staff, a reluctant man on horseback” (Shannon Baldwin, N. Y. Times 5/3). The new setup “very considerably increases the powers” of the Chairman (who will control the 210-man Joint Staff, whose director is appointed by the Defense Secy.).

The new “man on horseback”—Adm. Arthur Radford—will not be “reluctant.” He belongs (Joseph & Stewart Alsop, 4/29)

“... to the school of American officers who have little or no patience with mere containment... has strongly advocated a blockade of Communist China as part of a larger program to make the Peking government regret its intervention in Korea... has shown a strong preference, in many other ways, for bringing the cold war contest to a rapid and complete showdown... [His appointment] is almost certain to mark a major turning point whether or not this is the intention.”

AGGRESSIVE WAR: A geopolitical admiral, Radford “believes war with Red China is virtually inevitable,” thinks it may last for 50 years (William Shannon, N. Y. Post, 5/17). He has important political friendships in the Taft-Knowland “Formosa First” group, and in the MacArthur clique which served together in the Pacific.

Sen. Taft, who led the attack on the present Joint Chiefs (especially Bradley) because they vetoed war against China, commented: “I am glad to have for chairman of the Joint Chiefs a man who has said we are capable of fighting an aggressive war in the Pacific.” Bradley had said Radford’s proposed blockade of China would be an act of war. Radford, said the N. Y. World-Telegram (5/16), may call MacArthur to Washington as consultant.

THE DYNAMIC ONES: New Army Chief of Staff Gen. Matthew Ridgway, who succeeded MacArthur in the Far East Command, also subscribes to the MacArthur war program in Asia (N. Y.



Drawing by Gabriel, London

RED MIST

Herald Tribune, 5/10). Widely known in Europe and Asia as “the germ general,” Ridgway has been strongly criticized by U. S. allies in his NATO leadership.

Gen. Nathan Twining, new air chief, also served under MacArthur. With Radford he is “regarded as the most ‘dynamic’ of the new military leaders in Washington” (Intl. News Service, 5/13). New naval chief Adm. Robert Carney fought in the Pacific in World War II, lately has commanded U. S. and allied naval forces in Southern Europe and the Mediterranean. Like Radford, he wants the Navy to have an atomic air role.

ATOMIC STRATEGY: Militarily, the appointments underline the dominance of air-atomic strategy, with naval air assured a role. Much has been made of Radford’s opposition to strategic atomic bombing during the 1949 “revolt of the admirals.” But, as the N. Y. World-Telegram pointed out (5/14), it would be “foolish and futile [to dig up] Adm. Radford’s 1949 attitude toward heavy bombers as a measure of his 1953-54 attitude.” Radford was then fighting for a naval air role against the Air Force which was trying to squeeze the Navy out completely. The new Joint Chiefs will continue to build up strategic atomic air power, will also promote both tactical-atomic and naval-atomic air power.

Politically, the appointments show

the Administration is deadly serious about trying to fulfill what Radford has called “the principal U. S. objective” (U. S. News, 5/22): the destruction of China. Two months ago Washington sources predicted that the U. S. would follow a buildup in the Far East (to be carried on during the resumed truce talks) and replacement of the Joint Chiefs by more “vigorous” men, with an all-out war in Asia this fall.

WAR SPENDING UP: Wilson’s budget decisions also point in this direction. Actual military spending has gone up from \$3.6 billion in January (Wilson said this would be the ceiling, then reversed himself) to over \$4 billion a month today. The Eisenhower ‘54 budget increases spending for “hard goods”—weapons, munitions, military equipment—over Truman’s proposed ‘54 budget. It will also increase the actual flow of guns, tanks, planes, etc., to allied nations—from \$3.8 billion this fiscal year to \$5 billion in fiscal ‘54.

The much publicized budget cuts are piddling: a \$2 billion cut in military spending for overhead, pay, subsidies, soft goods; a \$5 billion cut in buying authority for the Air Force. But the Air Force will enter the new fiscal year with \$29 billion of unspent funds (from previous years’ authorizations) as compared to \$17 billion each for the Army and Navy.

Treasury Secy. Humphrey told Congress the policy is to achieve “a runoff

of the large carryover of unspent authorizations.” Actual Air Force spending will not be affected. Current wave of Air Force cutbacks reflect standardization and consolidation of aircraft orders—not a reduction. A new “crisis,” a move to expand the war, would permit huge new authorizations.

McCARTHYISM: A necessary part of the Administration’s war preparations is the mounting terror spread by the McCarthyites. Chief power behind McCarthy in the Cabinet is Wilson. The former president of duPont’s General Motors has backed the Wisconsin Senator in a series of disputes with high Administration officials. John O’Donnell (N. Y. Daily News, 5/13) said:

“It was Wilson and his pals in the Cabinet who swung their powerful weight a few weeks back with the result that Eisenhower backed up Sen. Joe McCarthy in his head-on collision with Ike’s personally-appointed Mutual Security Director Stassen.”

Wilson’s backing of McCarthy is in line with long-established duPont policy of fostering extreme right groups in America. In the 1930’s the duPonts financed anti-Semitic outfits; during and after World War II, its money elected many of the reactionary Congressmen now running the show on Capitol Hill.

Election of Sen. Karl Mundt (R-S.D.), for example, was financed by Lamot and Irene duPont, Alfred P. Sloan, a Morgan director of GM, and the Mellons, who took over the British Imperial Chemical interests in GM some years ago. McCarthy, as the Alsops reported (4/15), “has plenty of financial backing.” Lamot duPont was behind him as early as 1946.

HOW MUCH LONGER? The Wilson-Radford-McCarthy axis is intensifying the drive toward war in the U. S. In the rest of the world the demand for peace is becoming more powerful. U. S. News (5/22) said:

“It’s a question how much longer governments and politicians of West Europe can resist the popular pressure for peace, for an end to the ‘cold war.’ Winston Churchill’s speech has really opened the floodgates... This is the mood in Europe... Officials who buck it or ignore it probably can’t stay in power very long.”

The American people can, if they will, decide the issue for peace. Their failure to act has enormously increased the war danger.

The Fifth Amendment: ‘No person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself ...’

THE FIFTH AMENDMENT to the U. S. Constitution provides that “no person... shall be compelled... to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law.”

In a scholarly analysis of the origin and application of this Constitutional privilege to remain silent, Leonard B. Boudin, noted Constitutional lawyer, points out that “the privilege had its origins in persecutions for political and religious dissidence. Its spiritual and legal sources may be found in the Inquisition of the thirteenth century and in the sixteenth century persecution of the Puritans in England. The privilege is the antithesis of compulsory testimony or forced confession.”

THE HERETICS: He quote Lea’s “A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages”:

In the absence of overt acts it was difficult to reach the secret thoughts of the sectary (dissenters from the established church)... Confession of heresy thus became a matter of vital importance, and no effort was deemed too great, no means too repulsive, to secure it. Boudin points out:

The heart of the confession was the oath required of the accused: to support the mandates of the church, to answer truly all questions, to betray all heretics, and to perform all penance imposed.

POLITICAL LIBERTY: The Fifth Amendment was specifically designed as protection against such inquisitions directed at unorthodoxy and has been fairly consistently upheld as a bulwark of personal freedom. Boudin writes:

Repeatedly, the Supreme Court has emphasized the importance of the privilege ‘to political liberty.’ It referred to the “three protective rights of the individual—that against compulsory self-accusation, that against unlawful searches and seizures, and that against unlawful inquisitorial investigations.” The most critical student of the Supreme Court must concede that throughout its

history it gave protection to persons claiming the privilege against self-incrimination.

In recent years, however, the executive and legislative branches of the government have engaged in a determined effort to compel persons to bear witness against themselves, notwithstanding the liberal judicial interpretation of the constitutional privilege. [These efforts] significance lies in the return of the oath *ex officio* to its original function: exposure and repression of political views and associations. The oath is again being used as a weapon of the inquisitorial method.

THE INNOCENT: In addition to these efforts, Congressional probers themselves have so interpreted the Fifth Amendment that its very use by an “unfriendly” witness is held to be proof of guilt of some kind. Boudin makes this point:

... History reminds us that the privilege is for the protection of the innocent as well as the guilty. An admission of guilt is not the price required for the constitutional privilege.

A person appearing before a Congressional investigating committee under subpoena and testifying under oath has little choice if he wishes not to cooperate with the aims of the committee to stifle all political dissent and to punish political heretics. He may be willing to talk freely of his own beliefs and activities, but if he does he is compelled, under pain of fine and imprisonment for contempt, to name others and thus become an informer. If he answers truthfully to what seems an innocent question, he may be confronted by one of the committee’s own professional informers with a concocted story that could send him to prison for perjury. His sole protection against such hazards is in the right to remain silent and refuse to talk.

THE 14TH CENTURY: But this course has its hazards, too, and incurs extra-legal punishments:

The individual today, very much like the medieval man, has become extraordinarily dependent upon his status in the community; his

relations with his employer, landlord, bank, trade union, and the like are the sinews of his existence. His testimony before a congressional committee may result in the loss of all jobs, all apartments, all community support to himself and his family... The blacklisting in the entertainment field, whether in Hollywood or radio, is too notorious



N. Y. Times Magazine

to merit further discussion here. The Natl. Labor Relations Board’s General Counsel has approved an employer’s discharge of persons expelled from a union because they were believed to be Communists; a bill pending in Congress would give such discharges legislative approval. The Displaced Persons Commission compelled employes to resign from a union on pain of official discontinuance of relations with their employers, which in turn would have resulted in total loss of employment. Judges in some cases have approved the separation of child from parent because of the latter’s political beliefs. Is it any wonder that the first volume of Lea’s History of the Inquisition, has so contemporary a flavor?

WAR & PEACE U.S. stirs S. E. Asia mess; Dulles finds Middle East balks at harness

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER's "peace offensive" was dead. Washington sources conceded Churchill's proposal for unconditional big power talks had knocked it into a cocked hat. The N. Y. World-Telegram (5/18) explained:

"... There is a powerful grass roots desire in West Europe to have 'just one more try' with the Russians. Churchill gave it voice."

Even in W. Germany there was "a gradual almost imperceptible change of attitude . . . toward the Soviet Union" (N. Y. Times, 5/19), with Chancellor Adenauer admitting there might have to be negotiations.

U. S. News (5/22) conceded that "it is the man in the street all over Europe who is responding enthusiastically to the Churchill proposal," predicted Anglo-American differences would "deepen, grow more serious."

JOE vs. CLEM: Prime Minister Churchill, apparently alarmed by the warlike pronouncements against Britain emanating from Capitol Hill, asked Britons to quit "nagging" the U. S. Former Prime Minister Attlee, after a snarling attack by Sen. McCarthy, said he meant no offense against the U. S., asserted he was anti-Communist long before McCarthy had been heard of. But all important British journals, except the Economist, continued to be critical of U. S. policy.

Strongest U. S.-British differences were over U. S. policy in Asia and the growing danger of U. S. involvement in further adventures against China. The Wall St. Journal's Ray Cromley reported (5/9) that Secy. Dulles and U. S. diplomats consider S. E. Asia the key battleground, more important than Korea and W. Europe, that they want



Drawing by Walter Her

a S. E. Asia treaty alliance, similar to NATO, with a network of air and supply bases, a common reserve of supplies and mobile troops. Some diplomats, he said, want huge U. S. aid for "a big, hard, fast campaign to clean the Communists out of Indo-China."

TIGERS IN BOXCARS: Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.) said he hoped the U. S. would "not foreclose the use of air and naval power . . . in Southeast Asia" (N. Y. Times 5/7). Members of the former Flying Tigers of China fame, now

employed by Gen. Chennault's Civil Air Transport line, began ferrying supplies in Flying Boxcars to besieged French outposts in Laos (NYT, 5/11).

Dulles' contention that the war in Laos was a "straight military aggression" (NYT, 5/7) threatening "sovereign" Thailand and the rest of S. E. Asia, and belying Moscow's "peace offensive" (NYT, 5/8), was vigorously denied abroad:

● Former French Premier Daladier called the Indo-China War "a revolution" which France was "vainly trying to crush," asked for a reversal of French policy to allow the Indo-Chinese people to "choose their own regime" (L'Information, Paris, 5/7).

● The Indonesian Parliament's Foreign Affairs expert Mohammed Yamia said the success of Ho Chi Minh's war of Indo-Chinese independence would in no way threaten or endanger Indonesia (NYT, 5/9).

● Churchill warned against being "too hasty" in concluding that the Viet Minh advance into Laos "was a Soviet-

(Continued on Page 7)

CALENDAR

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"Guardians of Freedom" rally June 5 in New York

U. S. stirs a mess

(Continued from Page 6)

inspired move inconsistent with the new attitude of the Soviet Government."

WELL, NOW, MAYBE: It became doubtful if even Dulles believed his own words: James Reston disclosed (NYT, 5/12) that, although the U. S. officials publicly implied that "the whole Communist world dances to the Kremlin's tune," they privately concede that "they are not at all sure" the war in Laos "proves the hypocrisy of the Kremlin's peace offensive."

THE TWO SIDES: London's New Statesman & Nation editorialized (5/9):

"By the end of 1950, the Resistance Movements in Laos, Cambodia and Viet Nam were well coordinated. . . . In the villages . . . well-organized groups of men and women belonging to the Nationalist Movement . . . welcome the Viet Minh troops as comrades in the struggle against French colonialism. . . . Thailand is an American satellite, its government weak, corrupt and subservient to Washington. . . . To attempt to elevate the Laotian campaign into a 'war of aggression' would inevitably divide the UN into the Americans and their satellites, on the one side, and, on the other, all the Asian and 'colonial' peoples, whose champion the U. S. not so long ago claimed to be."

Secy. Dulles, on an 11-day whirlwind tour of the Middle and Far East, listened "intently to what I am told" (NYT, 5/10), heard and saw unvarnished truths in the anti-U. S. demonstrations which greeted him in every country.

Dulles arrived in Cairo just as the Anglo-Egyptian dispute over Egypt's demand for immediate and total evacuation of the Suez Canal Zone reached a crisis. (Le Monde (5/10) suggested London broke off the Cairo talks in order to prevent a direct accord between the U. S. and the Arab world.

SUEZ TROUBLE: As Dulles left for Israel, to all appearances empty-handed, British Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd startled Commons by disclosing that a new conflict loomed in the Suez Canal Zone as a result of recent violent clashes between British forces and their unwilling Egyptian hosts.

Although Britain already has 80,000 troops in Suez (the 1936 treaty allows only 10,000) the British War Office announced that as "a precautionary measure," Royal Marine Commando units had left Malta for Suez on tank-laden ships. Cairo retaliated by barring all sales of food, building material and other supplies to the British in the Canal Zone.

DOLLARS & BIBLES: In Israel Dulles was presented with a newly published "Jerusalem Bible" and a govern-

ment request for a \$75 million loan—to be guaranteed by the Mutual Security Agency—to pay off its most extensive debts. It was reported that Israel was willing to join a Middle East defense organization, provide bases for regional defense, request U. S. development of Israeli ports, roads and communications for possible military use (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 5/12; NYT, 5/13).

In Jordan, Syria and Lebanon Dulles was told the U. S. must "remove from its mind any possibility of [Arab] peace with Israel"; influence Israel to halt further Jewish immigration; grant greater help to Arab refugees; accept the Arab League alone as the defender of the Middle East; support Arab nationalism and persuade Britain and France to "heed the march of time and progress."

As Dulles wound his way to India with offers of wheat and other U. S. aid—if Nehru would challenge the leadership of China's Mao Tse-tung (Drew Pearson, 5/13)—the streets of New Delhi were plastered with slogans such as: "Dulles, No. 1 Warmonger."

Peace? British Quaker lands on Ellis Island

STUART MORRIS, prominent Quaker, leader of the British Peace Pledge Union and an editor of the pacifist weekly *Peace News*, was to open a lecture tour at a New York dinner May 16. This was to be followed by two meetings in New York May 17, then lectures in Virginia and an appearance at the U. of Alabama.

Morris arrived by plane from London May 16, but he has appeared at none of his engagements. The reason: he was picked up at Idlewild Airport by immigration agents and whisked off to Ellis Island. Airport immigration officials became suspicious when he said that he was being paid only expenses for his lectures on peace.

At a May 18 hearing on Ellis Island he was sworn, then asked what he was going to speak about; would he be critical of U. S. foreign policy? Yes, he said, he would be — and about British and Soviet foreign policy too.

His answers were forwarded to Washington and he was told he would be advised May 20 whether he would be admitted to the U. S. to speak on peace.

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