

ON-THE-SPOT REPORT

The day jimcrow left the schools to the kids in the nation's capital

By Eugene Gordon

Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JOHN PAUL COLLINS taught in Washington's Eastern Junior High School before World War II. U. S. Marine officer in the South Pacific, he's now principal of Eastern. He stood in the corridor beside his office Monday forenoon, Sept. 13, with me and a news-weekly magazine reporter. The long main hallway was noisy with student talk and the sound of their tramping. Teen-aged girls and boys, singly, in pairs and in clusters, seeking their rooms, their new teachers, all kinds of information, crowded the passage and pressed upon us. Until today all white, Eastern now is "integrated," so scores of these youngsters were Negroes. Collins said a total of about 500 were being transferred from formerly all-Negro schools.

School had opened at 9 and would close at noon on this beginning day. It was now 11:30. Reporters had selected Eastern as "a good place" to observe the behavior of Negro and white adolescents in this completely new situation. The time suggested was the school let-out, following hours of close contact in classrooms. By now, however, I expected only the most natural behavior, and, I feel sure, so did my white colleague. The reason was that we had already seen the children—and their parents—at the Raymond Elementary and McKinley High Schools.

GRIM MOTHERS: The Raymond School stands in the Spring Rd. and 13th St., N.W., area, formerly a "white" neighborhood. Negro families moved in

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Guardian photo by Gordon

IF IT WERE LEFT TO THE KIDS

Up to 9 a.m. last Monday the Raymond Elementary School, Washington, D. C., had been lily-white. At the 10:30 recess the children, as above, had achieved integration.

EDITOR'S FIGHT TO STAY IN AMERICA

Gov't. rests in Belfrage deportation case; informers' tales hit; defense opens Sept. 27

By Lawrence Emery

THE government on Sept. 13 rested its deportation case against GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage and adjourned the hearings until Monday, Sept. 27, when the defense will present its side. The government's witnesses were an FBI agent, a movie writer concerned with preserving his \$750-a-week income, a man who testified that he was an undercover police agent in the Communist Party for 11 years, a newspaperman whom Belfrage befriended in the '30s when he was in financial

straits, and an FBI handwriting expert.

In a case in which the government had opened by "asking" Belfrage (who declined to take the stand as a government witness) questions covering some two decades, the testimony presented by all except the first witness was concerned with the years 1937-38, when Belfrage was in Hollywood. (The FBI agent merely identified a document Belfrage signed in his presence in 1947, concerning matters which were thoroughly investigated later that year in a two-day appearance by Belfrage before a federal grand jury.)

THEIR MASTER'S VOICE: But the chief oddity of the oddity-stuffed case was the government's time-table of action as

it came out in testimony. None of the witnesses produced any material which had not been in the government's possession for over three years. Action was only taken to make a case for deporting Belfrage after he declined to answer questions before the McCarthy Committee last year.

During Belfrage's appearance before McCarthy on May 13 and 14, 1953, Roy Cohn, then committee counsel, announced that on McCarthy's orders an

immigration official was present "to do something about this immediately." Belfrage was arrested on a deportation warrant the day after his appearance. In last week's proceedings it was revealed that the government waited until June 2, 1953, to submit to the FBI for examination a document it had in its possession for years. Two other documents admitted into evidence last week were submitted to the FBI on July 8, 1953, and

on Aug. 3 this year, only a few days before the current series of hearings began.

EASY LYING: Martin Berkeley, the well-paid screenwriter who seemed to enjoy the witness chair as a stage for his own histrionics, concluded his testimony Sept. 9 after freely admitting that lying was easy for him. Berkeley had earlier testified that he knew Belfrage to be a Communist because actor Lionel Stander had introduced Belfrage to him as "trustworthy"—a word Berkeley defined as meaning "we were both members of the Communist Party."

Under cross-examination by defense attorney Nathan Dambroff, Berkeley admitted that when he himself had been identified as a Communist by his colleague Richard Collins, he denied it to his friends, beginning with his agent. Dambroff asked:

"You lied to him?"

"Yes."

Berkeley named others to whom "I told the same lie" and added "there probably were others." This colloquy followed:

"You had no compunction about lying at that time, did you?"

"No, sir."

"It was a matter of saving your own neck?"

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Fritzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch "Another waterfront gorilla."

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Inquisitorial torture BROOKLYN, N. Y. It seems to me that refusal to answer questions asked by a congressman might properly be based on the constitutional amendment which prohibits the use of torture.

This means that gangsters and ammunition manufacturers could also refuse to answer questions, but isn't it about time we learned not to be opportunists about fundamentals?

Sen. Kefauver's sweating of ex-Mayor O'Dwyer, which some applauded, showed us less than we already knew, and the applause lost us valuable moral ground.

No. 1: Conservation LOS ANGELES, CALIF. I have just read your front-page editorial calling for the creation of a great, broad, decent American third party.

My hunch is that the No. 1 program relating to the threat of unemployment is: CONSERVATION AND EXPANSION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

Lesser-evil dope NEW YORK, N. Y. Your editorial of Aug. 30 on the Outlaw Act showed real understanding: "There are more of us than we think."

Here with a halo NEWARK, N. J. I see by the papers that Herr Joseph McCarthy is howling that one of the members of the Senate's Committee is not strictly impartial at his "hearing."

How crazy can you get dept. WASHINGTON, Sept. 2—Official copies of the new law outlawing the Communist Party reached distribution points today after long delay.

Oklahoma schools OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA. Here is SOMETHING from away out west, in Dixie. The Catholic Church, not always first in cultural or educational advances, is opening all its Oklahoma schools this month, desegregated.

Enclosed is an extra buck for doing a job which all the money on God's earth couldn't pay for. Bless you. New Jersey former Republican Is Joe a blessing? LOS ANGELES, CALIF. McCarthy is a blessing in disguise for the workers, as he spells the death knell of the Rep-poo-likan party.

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New Jersey former Republican Is Joe a blessing?

McCarthy is a blessing in disguise for the workers, as he spells the death knell of the Rep-poo-likan party. The bombastic balloon of conceit, McCarthy, has been pricked and loud has been the noise.

The Christian Brothers NEW YORK, N. Y. Allen's Project X Bombs and wrecks; Big Brother John Just yeags 'em on.

Walter Irvin's life BUFFALO, N. Y. This is the copy of a letter I sent to Florida's governor: Governor Charley Johns Executive Offices Tallahassee, Florida Honorable Sir:

The unequal struggle between a lone young Negro, Walter Irvin, and the powerful state of Florida will continue to demand my concern until it is resolved.

The lady would weep SMYRNA BEACH, FLA. Enclosed find \$5.00 for renewing sub and \$2.00 for donation. We wish we could do more. But I am past 80, my wife 73.

East Bay: Save Oct. 11 SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. Pete Seeger's GUARDIAN concert for the East Bay, Friday evening, Oct. 1, at Washington School Aud., will be presented by the Four Cylinder Theater, a project of the East Bay Guardian Committee.

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farmers: why not have SOMETHING in a great while, about SOIL CONSERVATION? This is a matter of half the area of the U.S.: Ike's tier of states, the Grain Belt, with proper irrigation, could feed ALL of North America!

Prospect for 1965? PLUMSTEADVILLE, PA. Greed and vice are in the seat of power and their victims suffer endlessly. Back in 1938 I received a pamphlet that said: "Four million Jews will be destroyed in the next nine years."

Rev. William D. Betts LOS ANGELES, CALIF. Labor Day week-end marked the passing of a veteran progressive known throughout California and the country. Congregationalist Rev. William Welker Betts died at Sawtelle Sept. 6, at the age of 78.

ORDER ONE OF CARRIGG'S MONUMENTS AND FORGET ABOUT THE H-BOMB THOS. CARRIGG & SONS CORNER OF LAGRANGE ST. AND VETERANS HIGHWAY, WEST ROXBURY BOSTON GLOBE

The Vatican DETROIT, MICH. The GUARDIAN is probably the only U.S. paper which dares to write what role the Vatican plays in world affairs and in this case in Guatemala.

Edwards and the "founder" SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. I'm glad you told us about the Frank Edwards story (Aug. 30 issue). I've been trying for weeks to find out why he left the air.

How they feel BROOKLYN HEIGHTS, N. Y. Our renewal is long overdue mainly because we were so undecided about whether or not to renew it.

Consider the spectacle made by 40-odd Democratic Senators on bended knees before McCarthy, begging—"Please, kind sir, you will not call us traitors any more, will you?"—instead of standing up like men and saying unanimously and courageously—"let us throw the bum out."

How to defend our freedom? Don't nullify our Bill of Rights; repeal the Smith Act; repeal the McCarran Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Security Order, with its whole bugaboo of so-called subversive lists; repeal the Outlaw the C.P. Act.

For the rest, have faith in the American people. Loyalty is a natural, an inevitable product. It cannot be artificially produced. As long as our democratic society reasonably meets the expectations of our people, they will support it.

Such freedom is risky? Far less than nullification of our Bill of Rights; far less than suppression; far less than government by terrorization. Our Constitution, our tradition, our heritage, all bet on freedom and they all say: Thumbs Down on McCarthyism!

Yours very truly, (signed) Frank Serri



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"Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves."—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

REPORT TO READERS

The fundamental error: No faith in the people

Attorney Frank Serri, a lifelong Democrat, former president of the Kings County Criminal Courts Bar Assn., a defense counsel in the second Foley Square trial of CP leaders, wrote the following letter as a comment on ADA's "explanation" of the votes of "liberal" members of Congress for the so-called anti-subversive measures now signed into law by President Eisenhower.

Americans for Democratic Action, 1341 Washington Av., N.W. Washington, D.C. Att: Mr. Ed. D. Hollander

Dear Mr. Hollander: The fundamental error, I think, stems from the very concept of "subversion." There is no such animal. It can't be defined nor measured nor seen nor caught. It is like the concept in physics of absolute motion.

But without implying any comparison to that great man, I say in the political field, there is no such thing as general subversion. There are such matters as specific acts of espionage and of sabotage. And it is to such specific criminal acts that the FBI should be restricted.

The trouble begins when you let loose with an army of informers, together with so-called "anti-American" committees in Congress, in the political field. That field, the field of thought and advocacy, should be absolutely free.

I repeat: our liberal Senators have made what seems to me a serious blunder. They have done more damage to our Constitution by one vote than the C.P. could do in 1,000 years even if the C.P. actually advocated what they are falsely charged with, namely, the advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States Government.

Consider the spectacle made by 40-odd Democratic Senators on bended knees before McCarthy, begging—"Please, kind sir, you will not call us traitors any more, will you?"—instead of standing up like men and saying unanimously and courageously—"let us throw the bum out."

How to defend our freedom? Don't nullify our Bill of Rights; repeal the Smith Act; repeal the McCarran Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, the Security Order, with its whole bugaboo of so-called subversive lists; repeal the Outlaw the C.P. Act.

For the rest, have faith in the American people. Loyalty is a natural, an inevitable product. It cannot be artificially produced. As long as our democratic society reasonably meets the expectations of our people, they will support it.

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Yours very truly, (signed) Frank Serri

Washington schools

(Continued from Page 1)

and white moved to the suburbs. Negro children had to go 15-20 blocks to the nearest jinncrow school—the Park View. This community now is largely Negro. The Raymond School until this morning was about half empty, there being hardly enough white children to keep it going.

It stands on a cleanly-shaven green lawn sloping from a knoll; handsome in its dark-red brick surfacing with trimmings, it has been well preserved. I was there by 8:30, on the stone steps rising from the sidewalk—just a jump ahead of several mothers with their children. That the mothers were grim was obvious even at a block's distance. They came trooping down the sidewalk, each hand gripping a child's, two or three kids in front. Parents' apprehension was reflected in some instances in children's anxious faces.

"BE FRIENDLY & KIND": A door opened behind me and somebody has-teased down the steps to head parents



and children off, directing them to the rear yard. I followed, overtaking and querying a young Negro mother on what she thought about all this flurry about "integration." Was she nervous for her two little girls? Her spontaneous answer was emphatic.

"What they need to do is integrate these parents, not the kids. This school yard is also the Raymond Playground, and most of these white children here this morning have already integrated themselves with these colored children by playing together after school."

In the assembly hall Miss Mildred Green, Raymond principal for years, was having her first experience with Negro pupils. Standing before the 100 or more children and their solemn parents—Negro outnumbered white perhaps three to one—she talked directly to the children:

"You speak of this big red brick building as the Raymond School. It isn't a school until you, the children, come here. It is you—each one of you little boys and girls—that make it a school. What kind of school it will be depends on each one of you. You want it to be a happy school. You can make it happy by being friendly and kind to one another."

IT WILL WORK: Parents sitting beside their children or standing against the rear wall seemed for the first time to relax a little. I caught covert smiles between Negro and white parents. Miss Green read, from the 24th Psalm, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein," and asked all to repeat the Lord's Prayer after her. She said the words to "Salute to the Flag," the children following; and the Negro father beside me near the door whispered—when the principal intoned, "... with liberty and justice for all"—"They have a long way to go yet."

Resistance in Dixie

Some 270-odd of White Sulphur Springs' (W. Va.) 430 high school students reportedly went on strike on opening day against integration of Negro students. The fact that "delegations of parents" (AP) met with school officials seemed to indicate adult influence behind the "strike." Mississippi's Senate voted to abolish public schools in order to keep jinncrow. In most of the other 17 states directly affected by the Supreme Court decision officials are waiting for "directives" before acting one way or another.

By 10:45 the children had been assigned and were playing in the yard. Negro and white reporters, looking on and comparing notes, agreed that "integration" would work wherever children and young people were allowed to tackle and solve their problems themselves. A white mother who grew up in Virginia confessed she was "a little worried." I asked her why—"and try to be as frank with me as if you were talking to a white person." She said:

"Well, I'm not against integration. It had to come. It's morally—and constitutionally—right. And I'm not really worried, except about some of these larger boys—these Negro boys, I mean. They are, some of them, rather rough. But most boys of that age are, of course. Only, it's—" She hesitated a moment. "My daughter is nine; she'll be growing up and there'll be the question of boy-friends and—"

THE CHILDREN: She conceded, in the end, that her worries probably were baseless, and she nodded to my suggestion that these young people would solve such questions in their own ways.

A strapping, handsome, 25-year-old Negro man faced the 5th grade class on the 3rd floor. There were at the moment two Negro boys and two Negro girls sitting among three white girls and three white boys. Two white girls and three Negro boys sat together elsewhere. They all, shiny clean and quite proper, were big-eyed over this new experience. The Virginian mother was at the door when I left the room. There, she told me—pointing to a girl in our direction—was her daughter.

Four Negro teachers are on the Raymond staff.

"How do you like being integrated?" I asked a Negro youth, somewhat later, at McKinley High. When I went to Howard University years ago that whole area was practically off limits to Negro youth. "How'll you make out with your white classmates?" He said:

"It's nice for me. I used to have to ride the street car to get to school. Now I just walk across the street." He added quietly: "We'll do all right."

Many Negro youths at McKinley will have their old teachers from Armstrong Mechanical High. The four Negro teachers thus transferred will instruct in English, physics, mechanical drawing and printing. The 6-foot-3 physical education director and football coach is a Negro, "and will be the most popular guy around here," a white teacher told us.

"FINE TEACHERS": Principal Collins, of Eastern, said the rapid changes of neighborhoods from white to Negro had often created lack of facilities. School enrollments in Division I (white) had been declining, while those in Division II (Negro) increased, thus causing what an official report called "serious imbalance between the two divisions in numbers of teachers and schoolhouse facilities." Collins agreed that the worst "imbalance" was that, in 1950-51, \$273.21 was expended for each white student; \$212.02 for each Negro. He was glad all that was ended. I asked him:

"Have the white parents met your Negro teachers yet?"

"I'm going to call a PTA meeting and present the Negro teachers to the parents. I'm going to show them how fortunate they are to have such fine teachers."

My colleague and I strolled out with Eastern High teen-agers when the noonday gong sounded. Negro and white students held more or less closely to their old patterns of aloofness. They stood separately at the curbstone awaiting streetcars and buses. But if there was no sign of getting together at that time, neither was there, as my companion pointed out, "a single sign of that hostility" the assignment of so many policemen had forecast.

COPS WITHOUT TROUBLE: We approached a police car opposite, where it waited for the traffic light to change. Had the two officers had much work to do? "Absolutely none," the driver declared. I asked two Negro men—whom I took to be parents—what they

The General was not so silent

"ONE MUST fight all American attempts of aggression; one must also fight SEATO." This was among the startling statements attributed to French Gen. Christian de Castries, "the hero of Dienbienphu," by Dr. Fritz Jensen who interviewed him while he was a prisoner of the Vietminh for the East Berlin paper *Neues Deutschland*. AP summarized the interview in a report from Berlin which was largely suppressed in the U.S. but appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* (9/8). De Castries was also quoted as saying:

- Viet Minh leader Ho Chi Minh is "one of the greatest men of our epoch."
- "I have never believed the people's democracies were planning aggression, because they need peace."
- Morale of Viet Minh troops was "immensely superior" to that of the French forces because the Viet Minh were fighting for their country's liberation;
- "The Americans have lots of war materials which they want to sell and 80% of their economy works for war. This means they want the guns to go off. If they cannot produce more war material, a crisis breaks out and they are lost. This is the true face of American aid. The so-called defense of western culture is only a propagandanda trick."

Talking briefly with reporters as he left the hospital where he received a check-up in Hanoi, de Castries said he thought the Viet Minh was independent of China and "animated by nationalism." French authorities promptly clamped down on all requests for interviews; the general remained silent on his return to France.

thought of "integration," now that they had seen its beginning. One said nothing; the other was cautious. Then, admitting that they were cops and not supposed to comment to the press, the spokesman said, with guarded enthusiasm:

"It's great! It'll work, too, if these kids' parents just let 'em handle it themselves."

He told this story. A Negro boy and his white classmate were waiting on the sidewalk. The white boy said: "You coming over to my house to study tonight?" The Negro boy seemed somewhat "uncertain and careful." He said he didn't have a notebook. "Well, my mother bought me three," the white boy said. "I don't need three. Come on over and let's study together. I'll give you one of my notebooks." The other said, "OK," and they set the time.

THE STUFF ON THE SHELVES: I stopped in at one of the two NAACP offices before I caught the train.

"Integration?" The official smiled. "Listen. The median income of Washington Negroes, according to latest figures, is \$1,909; that of whites, \$2,439. Most Negroes have to earn

their living as laborers, domestics and service-trades workers. We have no Negro bus or trolley operators, no salesgirls in retail department stores, no phone operators. There's bitter opposition to integrating Negro members of the fire department; practically no upgrading in the police department. Craft unions in the building industry exclude Negroes from apprenticeship and, therefore, almost entirely from union membership.

"When these negative features of the democratic processes in Washington have been resolved in the Negro's favor, I'll say integration here is doing all right. Positive features? Sure, there's some. But other voices, including the Voice of America, are better at selling that line. The President wanted Washington to be the nation's showcase in this school integration exhibit. We're interested in what's inside the shop, on the shelves. I've given you a hint of some of the shoddy stuff back there. The Corning plan? It's intended to delay real integration in the schools—even to prevent it. On those grounds we fought it. But now that it's the only plan, we'll make it work."

'Seeds of Destruction'

A new book by CEDRIC BELFRAGE

The inside story behind Sen. McCarthy's determination to deport *Guardian's* Editor, a "man who knows too much."

CEDRIC BELFRAGE went to post-war Germany with the first team under American command to clean up Hitler's mess in a key sector, the press. This is his account of what he and his associates did and of how their work began to be sabotaged before the end of 1945.

Last year McCarthy summoned Belfrage to answer what amounted to charges that he was a Russian agent in following Gen. Eisenhower's directives to democratize the German press. McCarthy refused to permit Belfrage to tell the real story; instead demanded his immediate deportation.

BELFRAGE and the *GUARDIAN* are now fighting the deportation attempt. The story McCarthy sought to suppress is now told in this newest of Belfrage's many noted books, written on a Guggenheim Fellowship, published by Cameron & Kahn. This is a book you will want not to miss, an "inside story" you can and should pass on to your friends. It lays bare the starting point of the intrigues for a new war, so recently exposed by Dr. Otto John, West Germany's former "J. Edgar Hoover." All proceeds go to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund. Off the press this month.

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17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Send me postpaid copies of "Seeds of Destruction," by Cedric Belfrage (Cameron & Kahn; 256 pp.; \$1.50). Books will be sent as soon as they are off the press.

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Your additional contribution to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund is needed now and will be deeply appreciated. (\$ enclosed.)

WAR & PEACE

Fortress America: Washington's new policy

By Tabitha Petran

THE WORLD-WIDE CRISIS of Washington's policy was highlighted last week by the unprecedented Denver meeting of the National Security Council, Sept. 12, called to review the continuing frustration of U.S. diplomacy in Europe and Asia. Its decisions, "which can affect every citizen of the U.S. and ultimately the whole world" (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 9/12), remain secret. But the trend of Washington's policy is clear.

• In Asia, undeclared war off the South China coast may indicate that for Washington, as for Chiang Kai-shek, the now-or-never time has come, if it has not passed (see p. 6).

• In Europe, EDC's collapse, the flood of alternative proposals pouring out of Western foreign offices, the bitterness between allies emphasize that Germany remains the chief apple of discord among the Western powers; and a common front is impossible if present policies are maintained.

HOW COULD IT BE? Washington was caught flat-footed by EDC's failure; it never considered it possible. The N.Y. Times (9/9) reported:

"U.S. officials abroad, among them many diplomats of experience and ability, were forbidden to raise the prospect of [EDC's] defeat in the French Assembly in their reports to the State Dept."

That Washington is still deliberately binding itself is apparent in (1) its continuing maneuvers—reportedly inspired by former French Foreign Minister Bidault's assurances that it can be done—to overthrow the Mendes-France government; (2) its efforts to block a French-British entente; (3) its attempt to get its allies to meet Bonn's heightened price for "cooperation": complete sovereignty and the right to rearm as it pleases. If Washington succeeds, it will torpedo the Atlantic alliance and most likely insure revival of the French-Soviet alliance.

The Churchill government, while clearly trying to take leadership from the U.S. on the continent, was fighting to save the coalition cold-war policy at home. Last week it was desperately seeking an agreed formula on German rearmament before the Labour Party Conference late this month.

ADENAUER SETBACK: A motion opposing all forms of German rearmament was defeated at the annual Trades Union Congress last week by a narrow margin (4 million to 3.6 million). This led the London Times to predict that the Labour Party will reverse itself to oppose German rearmament. If it does, Churchill will seriously risk toppling his government if he continues to support rearmament. A Gallup Poll last week gave the Labour Party a 6% edge in the popular vote over the Tories. In any case, Labour Party opposition could be the decisive blow to German rearmament, and would strengthen opposition in France and W. Germany.

Adenauer's Christian Democratic Party was defeated unexpectedly in the state elections of Schleswig-Holstein—a conservative, agrarian area where Adenauer won by a 2 to 1 majority a year ago. This was "almost as sharp a blow for the U.S.



THE SITUATION IN THE WORLD TODAY
France's Premier Mendès-France and Secy Dulles in communication

as for Dr. Adenauer" (NYT, 9/13), and a triumph for the Social Democrats who increased their vote from 26.5% to 33.2%. In an election waged as a plebiscite for or against Adenauer's foreign policy, the Social Democrats—who are urging talks with Moscow to reunify Germany—confirmed a trend apparent since last spring. In this situation, the Western Three's rejection of Moscow's proposals for four-power talks on German unity could only compound Western difficulties.

ATOMIC STALEMATE: But for Washington, after almost a decade of "cold war," the underlying crisis is, in the words of Joseph C. Harsch (Christian Science Monitor, 9/9),

"... the hard fact that the decisive position which the U.S. held in the military balance of power from the days of Hiroshima has come to an end and most probably is not going to be regained."

For Washington this change in the military power balance came with startling speed. The turning point was marked by Soviet acquisition of the lithium type H-bomb (easily and cheaply produced) before the U.S. and the now-acknowledged fact that it has caught up in development of intercontinental bombers. The "cold war" launched by Washington in 1945 has now boomeranged against the U.S.—as those Americans who held to Roosevelt's policy of coexistence predicted it would. Atomic development, wrote Hanson Baldwin (NYT, 9/10),

"... has meant less security not

more. Yet this lesson does not seem to have been grasped fully by our strategists. There are already evidences that tactically and politically we have entered upon a vicious circle and are developing and equipping our armed forces with more and more atomic arms which in time are bound to produce less and less security."

BIG BLUSTER: There is little evidence that Washington understands either that its air-atomic power has been canceled out or the implications of this fact. But the fact is beginning to be discussed. (Former Air Secy. Finletter, Atlantic Monthly, 10/54; Gen. Carl Spaatz, Newsweek, 8/23). And Atomic Energy Commissioner Strauss' refusal last week to say whether the U.S. "margin" over the U.S.S.R. is increasing or decreasing was "disturbing to many in Washington" (CSM, 9/10).

However, the President and other public figures continue to boast of a decisive U.S. "lead" and to base policy on the assumption that the U.S. can win a military decision. This claim is made even as one defeat for their stated goal (rollback of Soviet power) follows upon another, and is producing a confusion of recrimination, demagoguery and hysteria.

THE NEW LINE: The American generals, like the generals who alibied Germany's defeat in World War I, have evolved their own "stab in the back" theory. They preach endlessly before eager Congressional committees the "we were required to lose the Korean War" line, and increasingly use the "stab" as an argument for all-out war, even if the U.S. must fight alone.

GOP politicians have adopted a "peace and prosperity" campaign slo-

gan to win votes, even as top spokesmen demand severance of all trade and diplomatic relations with the socialist world. The Democrats are demanding more war spending; deny coexistence; try in turn to capture the "peace" vote by criticizing GOP policy as "reckless," advocate a return to containment which, they claim, "worked." Top labor spokesmen echo this line, while the American Legion warns the Administration against "massive appeasement," demanding it stick to "massive retaliation."

FORTRESS AMERICA: The common denominator of this shrill babble is its complete divorce from reality. Its basic assumption—that the U.S. can achieve a military decision over the socialist world—is now shown to be false even in Washington's own terms and definitions of power. The defeats inflicted on Washington's policy in the past year are unprecedented for a major power outside total defeat in war.

This collapse of a policy shows the urgent need to re-identify U.S. national interests with peaceful coexistence. In the absence of such a re-identification (and the intelligent containment advocates are almost as far from it as the increasingly dominant know-nothings), Washington will inevitably move, already moving, toward a Fortress America policy.

Fortress America does not, at this stage at least, mean an America withdrawn within its own frontiers or even the western hemisphere. It does mean that American finance capital (which more than doubled U.S. investments abroad since 1947 and won commanding positions in many countries throughout the capitalist world) is compelled to move from covert to overt controls at home and abroad.

TOTALITARIAN STATE: Business Week (8/21) called it the "hard core" policy—based on building up "the super anti-red states." Challenged by the movement toward national independence in such countries as Britain and France, Washington is fighting to maintain its position by this buildup. On the one hand it is directed against its one-time closest allies; on the other, toward broadening the present atomic base network abroad.

Fortress America, as the Alsop Bros. pointed out (8/25), means "a totalitarian America." It looks to a big increase in air power and a kick-up in arms spending—after recession has shaken down the economy sufficiently to slash labor costs, eliminate competition, raise the rate of profit. The Herald Tribune (8/29) said arms spending would start up within two



Carrefour, Paris
"It isn't that I won't sing with her.
I want a different song."

years with a decision to step up air power, "the best possible insurance against an economic slump."

THE NEW BIBLE: Fortress America, basing itself on a false assumption of a military "lead," intensification of the arms race, a constant threat to use atomic and hydrogen weapons, points in the end to the conclusion stated by Sir John Slessor in Strategy for the West, which seems to be becoming the new bible of western militarism:

"In the last resort we should not even shrink from striking the first blow as an alternative to bloodless defeat."



Mittelberg in Humanite, Paris
"Give us a few divisions and we'll
embrace France..."

BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK RALLY
City Center Casino
135 W. 55th St., N. Y. C.
THURSDAY EVE., SEPT 30

FROM NEW ORLEANS, 1895, TO WASHINGTON, 1954

The day Homer Plessy refused to go to the 'cullud' car

Guardian staff correspondence

WASHINGTON, D. C.

HOMER ADOLPH PLESSY, 7/8 white and 1/8 Negro, took a seat in a "white" railroad coach at New Orleans, 59 years ago. That action started a train of events which may have reached a stopping point in Washington this week.

Plessy's well-calculated plan to test Louisiana's Jimcrow travel law as counter to the 13th and 14th Amendments was fulfilled: he was arrested for refusing to retreat to the "cullud" car. He sued and lost—right up through the state's highest tribunal. Appealing to the U.S. Supreme Court, he was told, in a 7 to 1 decision:

"Laws permitting and even requiring [separation of Negro and white] in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of states where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced."

WASHINGTON TODAY: The "separate but equal" doctrine in education evolved from that illustrative comment. It was challenged head on for the first time when the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, in 1952, laid before the Supreme Court the cases of Negro parents and children in S. Carolina, Virginia, Kansas and Delaware. Dist. of Columbia Negro plaintiffs presented the fifth case separately, Washington's school system being under the federal government.

Washington's place in this situation is peculiar: First, its 800,000 persons are not "citizens" in the fullest sense: they can't elect their own officials; have no representation in the federal government; can't vote, even for the District head; their "city council" is the U.S. Congress, which is not responsible to them.

Secondly, its Negro population comprises (1950 census) nearly 43% of the total—with an annual income under \$2,000. Slums house 60% of Washington's Negroes.

A third peculiarity is that

"... the white families who trekked from the central sections to Maryland and Virginia suburbs [as result of World War II expansion] included a high proportion of those with school-age children, which sent Negro enrollment in the Wash-



AN EARLY VICTORY

Edw. Diggs, who was the first Negro admitted to the U. of N. Carolina in 152 yrs. He entered the medical school in '51.

ington school system upward from 38% of the total in 1940 to 51% in 1950, the highest proportion in any American city of more than 100,000 population." (The Negro and the Schools, Harry S. Ashmore, U. of N. Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.)

There were 57,243 Negro and 42,612 white pupils in Washington public schools when they closed in June.

Finally, as President Eisenhower made clear the day after the Supreme Court outlawed Jimcrow public education, Washington, as the country's show-window, must make a good display abroad.

BROWNELL'S ROLE: The Supreme Court in June, 1953, having considered the five cases, asked opposing counsel to study a list of questions on the meaning of the 14th Amendment in relation to public school segregation. One question was how "gradual adjustment to non-segregation" might be effected. Counsel for both sides reargued the cases last December. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell joined the NAACP. The plaintiffs argued that the 14th Amendment was obviously intended to end Jimcrow

in education; the states held the opposite. The NAACP was for immediate integration; Brownell for gradual.

The Administration's intent, to many Negro leaders, seemed unmistakably political when Brownell told the court that it was "in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and tyranny the problem of racial discrimination must be viewed." He went on:

"The existence of discrimination against minority groups in the U.S. has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries [since] discrimination furnishes grist for Communist propaganda mills, [raising] doubt even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith."

WOULDN'T LOOK NICE: The State Dept. asked Brownell to include this in his plea to the court:

"The segregation of school children on a racial basis is one of the practices in the U.S. which has been singled out for hostile foreign comment in the UN and elsewhere. Other peoples cannot understand how such a practice can exist in a country which professes to be a staunch supporter of freedom, justice and democracy."

The high court last May 17 decreed an end to Jimcrow in all U.S. public schools. Eisenhower on May 18 ordered the Dist. of Columbia commissioners to make Washington a model for other Jimcrow school areas. The commissioners were told by the Dist. corporation counsel that they and the Board of Education might begin their integration plans immediately. Supt. of Schools Hobart M. Corning a week later handed the board a plan outline.

THE TRUE SPIRIT: Taking his cue from Brownell, Corning cautioned against "a too rapid transition": it would be "a bad example for the country." The Dist. of Columbia branch of the NAACP sharply opposed gradualism. It criticized also Corning's plan to shift only 2,900 Negro pupils now. Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, one of three Negroes on the 9-member board, alone voted against the plan. She said:

"The Corning plan just isn't in the spirit of real school integration. It is a piece of clever juggling whereas the true spirit of integration would be attained if the District was zoned and children went to the school nearest their homes"

A federal district court judge last Thursday turned down a plea by the lily-white Federation of Citizens Associations to throw out Corning's plan. The reason the Federation gave was that the school authorities should wait for the Supreme Court directive on how to make integration work, the court having invited additional arguments in October. Negro citizens support the Corning plan against the Federation's attempt to wreck integration completely.



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CALENDAR

Chicago

PEACE RALLY. Hear ANTON RE-FRENIGHT "What I Saw in Guatemala" and trade unionist on "Peace and the November Elections" Fri., Sept. 24, 3 p.m. Ophelia Center, 1647 No. Leavitt. Admission: 50c. Auspices: American Peace Crusade.

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The one and only **PETE SEEGER** in a full evening concert. **DALTON TRUMBO**, chairman. Convention Hall, Embassy Aud., Fri., Sept. 24, 8:30 p.m. Admission: \$1.10. Limited seating. Tickets ASP, 609 N. West-ern, HO 7-4188.

CLASSIFIED

General

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Chicago

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LIVING QUARTERS WANTED in San Francisco area for family, 3 adults, children 12 & 9, all healthy. Arriving early Oct. from N.Y. Can you help or suggest something? Box M, 17 Murray St., N.Y.O. 7.

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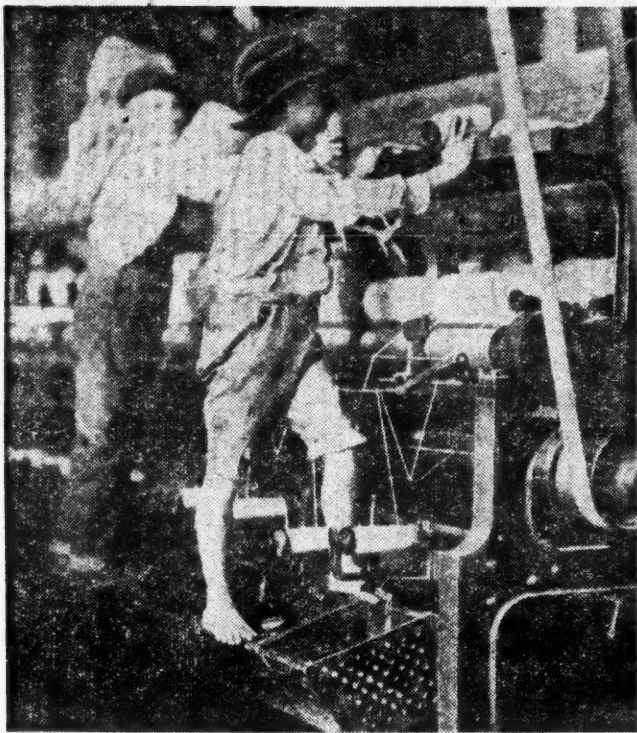
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splendid show—dance to 2 orchestras

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From child labor and speed-up, 1912, to runaway shops, race p



From 1954 and runaway shops back to Lawrence, Mass., 1911, where children worked for a few cents a day and foreign-born worked for less than natives. The low wage and high profit pattern—and the answer—are powerfully drama-

tized in hundreds of historic pictures from Bill Cahn's new book, *MILL TOWN* (Cameron and Kahn, 109 Greenwich Av., N. Y. 14; 286 pp.; paper bound \$1.50, cloth \$3.)

TROUBLED AIR AND WATER IN THE FAR EAST

Behind the plane incident off Siberia — and the hot war peril over Quemoy

By Kumar Goshal

AS A TENSE WORLD was beginning to relax somewhat with peace in Indo-China, new rumblings developed over another "air incident" near Soviet Siberia and over military action off the China mainland.

The Siberia story

On Labor Day the N. Y. Times front-paged a story with this headline: **SOVIET JETS DOWN U.S. PATROL PLANE OFF SIBERIA COAST.** Navy Man Lost—Nine Saved After Night in Water Say They Did Not Fire Back.

The Soviet government, in a sharp note of protest to the U.S., stated that on Sept. 4 a U.S. Neptune-type military aircraft had violated the U.S.S.R. frontier "in the area Cape Ostrovnoi," had fired on two Soviet fighter planes appearing to warn the American plane of the violation, and had disappeared toward the sea as the Soviet planes opened fire in return.

Washington, in two notes, charged the Soviet planes had opened fire on the American plane and destroyed it without warning "over the international high seas approximately 100 miles east of Vladivostok and 44 miles from the Siberian coast." It said that "at no time did the U.S. Navy aircraft open fire on the Soviet aircraft."

NO SUCH POSITION: On Sept. 7 the N. Y. Herald Tribune reported that "Naval officials acknowledged, with some embarrassment, that there is no such position" as 100 miles east of Vladivostok and 44 miles from the Siberian coast. It said that "the attack occurred . . . more than 40 miles from the coast." The Navy also admitted—with "some embarrassment in the State Dept."—that the U.S. patrol plane had fired on the Soviet planes, but only, it said, in retaliation; the Navy, however, "was unable to identify the man who opened fire" (NYT, 9/7).

Senate majority leader Knowland demanded that the U.S. break off diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

At midnight on Sept. 5-6 UN delegate Henry C. Lodge Jr. got UN Security Council President Urrutia out of bed and demanded that he call a Council session "to consider the situation." But Lodge inexplicably waited until Sept. 9 before sending the written request necessary to summon the Council.

PATROL 6,000 MILES OFF: In replying to the U.S. note, Moscow rejected Washington's protest and asked:

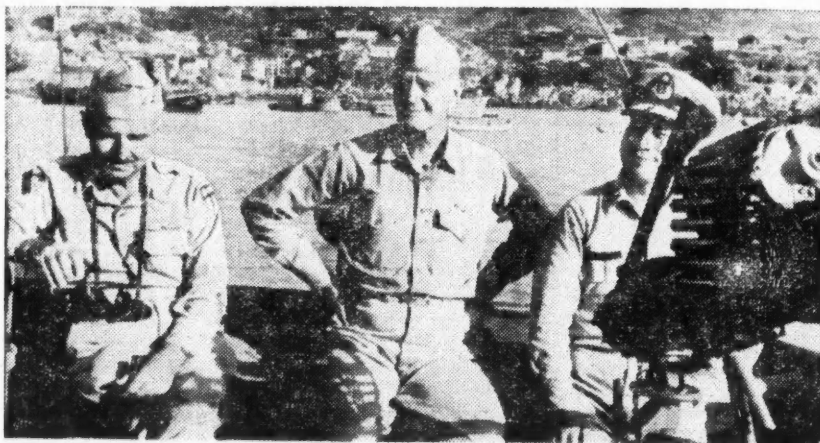
"Why are U.S. planes sent to patrol the Vladivostok district which is . . . 6,000 miles from the shores of the U.S.? How would the U.S. have reacted if Soviet army planes began patrolling an area along the frontiers of the U.S., say in the vicinity of San Francisco, to systematically violate this frontier, and, on meeting American planes guarding the frontier, would open fire on them?"

At the Security Council meeting Sept. 10, Soviet delegate Vishinsky referred to earlier "plane incidents" Lodge had not mentioned. He asked why, although the U.S. always claimed its planes were flying over international waters, they appeared "over international waters

. . . so close to our coasts." Vishinsky said he felt that U.S. planes were

" . . . testing the radar strength and the radar installations of those countries which, for one reason or another, are of particular interest to the U.S. command."

OTHER INCIDENTS: In March, 1953, when a British bomber was shot down over Germany, Winston Churchill admitted that, contrary to U.S. reports, the plane was in Soviet territory, as the Soviet authorities had claimed. That same month, when a U.S. "weather reconnaissance plane" was fired on by a Soviet MIG over the ocean near Kamchatka, Siberia, Sen. Ralph E. Flanders (R-Vt.) characterized the U.S. description of the incident as false, and found the Soviet Union was "discreet" in warning off the U.S. plane 25 miles from Kamchatka mainland. A UP report at the time (3/16/53) reported that planes from the U.S. Task Force 77, cruising between Japan and Vladivostok, had shot down three MIG's 35 miles from the fleet, although there was no indication that the MIG's were



TO CHIANG FROM THE BOYS IN THE PENTAGON — WITH LOVE
Aboard the destroyer *Hanyang*, a gift to Chiang Kai-shek from Washington, are a smiling trio: Gen. Chasc (recently on Quemoy), Adm. Stump, commander of the Pacific Fleet, and Adm. Liang, Chiang's Navy chief.

on an "unfriendly" mission; they were flying over neutral waters.

The Syracuse (N. Y.) Herald-Journal exec. editor Alexander Jones at that time (3/21/53) said that "misleading the American people on facts surrounding these air incidents [was] a serious matter." He said that "the Air Force can get its appropriations without trying to scare the nation!"

As early as 1951, violations of the Soviet bloc air frontiers were viewed in Europe as, among other things, U.S. attempts to test "the enemy's" air defenses, known to include strong fighter protection and radar screen against A-bombs.

The Quemoy story

Chiang Kai-shek's troops have long used the island of Quemoy—five miles from China's port island of Amoy—"as a base for coastal raids and guerrilla and spying operations against China proper" (NYT, 9/12). On Sept. 3, Chinese Republic forces at Amoy opened artillery fire on Quemoy; two U.S. officers were killed. Chiang's forces struck back with rockets, napalm bombs; their American jet planes pounded the mainland coast.

FLEET AT SEA: On Sept. 5 Asst. Defense Secy. Seaton admitted to correspondents that "certain units of our [7th] fleet are at sea," declared that "we are alert to our responsibilities in the area." Reuters (9/6) said the 7th fleet had "strengthened its patrols near Quemoy island."

On Sept. 9 Secy. Dulles, returning from the SEATO conference, stopped off at Formosa, told Chiang the U.S. was "proud to stand with" him. His statements were accepted as indicating that

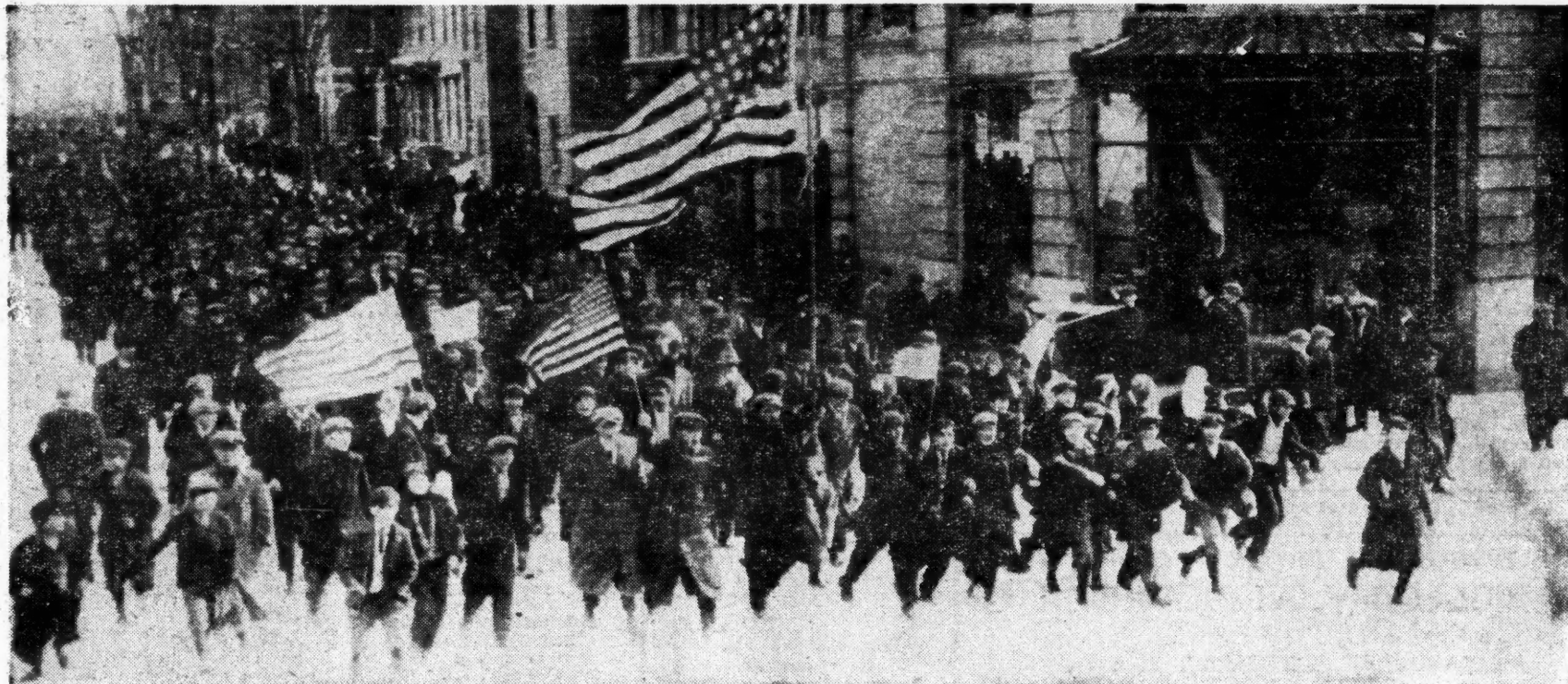
" . . . the U.S. and Nationalist China are working hand-in-hand, and that the U.S. regards the Nationalist attacks in the Quemoy area as legitimate actions." (AP, 9/10.)

On Sept. 10 the Herald Tribune reported that "redeployment of some U.S. Navy fleet units west of Pearl Harbor is in progress," and that, although Pentagon sources denied

" . . . knowledge of reports that the U.S. Fleet had canceled shore leave on the West Coast of the U.S. . . . official news of such leave canceling orders frequently is withheld until it leaks from seaport cities affected."

On Sept. 11 a group of U.S. officers, headed by U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group Chief Maj. Gen. William

ce prejudice and speed-up, 1954... And the answer



The children leading this Lawrence strikers' parade in 1912 were "not kids on holiday but actual mill workers." Wage cuts and speed-up brought solidarity of men, women, children, native, foreign-born in the great strike. Leaders were framed, dynamite planted—by the boss.

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William

Peek-a-boo

Concerning the plane incident, a Christian Science Monitor Washington correspondent wrote (9/8):

"The Defense Dept. is being very guarded in comment on the actual circumstances of the destruction by two Soviet jet fighters of the Navy patrol bomber . . . This is not the first occasion that an American patrol plane has been shot at in that area when flying a course which the Soviets considered 'too close' to the Siberian shoreline. . . .

"What must be remembered is that air patrolling now is not merely a business of flying high and seeing what the human eye can pick out on a nearby coast. It is a business of using electronic aids—radar for short—to see what's cooking further than the eye can see . . . of flying a plane chockful of electronic equipment and testing out the opponent's radar installations, sensing their effectiveness and ability. Sometimes . . . the opponent knows what's going on and sends planes to engage the patrol aircraft which has been prying too close.

"In these circumstances old and established practices of . . . the three-mile or the 12-mile limit off the coast are no longer observed. A plane which is 30 or 40 miles off the coast and using its radar may be deemed to be offensively prying.

"This is the game that is played off Siberia. . . ."

Chase, visited Quemoy.

TWO STORIES: The U.S. is known to have impressive forces in the Pacific, but it is not known whether they would be used to hold Quemoy for Chiang. For that matter, there is no evidence that Peking plans a major assault on Quemoy. On the same page of the same issue of the Times (9/9) a headline over a Formosa-dateline story said: "Red Assault on Quemoy Now Doubtful." The headline over a Washington story said: "Attack on Quemoy by Reds Expected."

DULLES IN DENVER: Questions put to Secy. Dulles in Denver, Colo., indicated fear of U.S. involvement in military action to save Quemoy. On this point Dulles had this to say:

● He did not foresee any early attempt by Peking to recover Formosa.

● "It is not possible for the Chinese Communists, under any circumstances, to take Formosa against

such opposition as we would interpose."

● Peking did not seem intent on invading Quemoy.

● The question of holding Quemoy was for the military to determine in the first place, although the military's decision would not necessarily be followed.

● He would not say whether the 7th Fleet has received specific orders to hold Quemoy.

"FULL LOGISTIC SUPPORT": After the Natl. Security Council meeting in Denver Sept. 12, Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee chairman H. Alexander Smith (R-N J.)—who attended the SEATO conference with Dulles—said the U.S. should use the 7th Fleet and Air Force to hold Quemoy and other Chiang-held islands close to the mainland. Walter Kerr reported (NYHT, 9/14) that the 7th Fleet had been ordered to give "full logistic support" to Chiang's troops in Quemoy, and the order was "being applied vigorously." Kerr added that "full logistic support" can mean more than "all aid short of American manpower in action . . . for 'logistic' is a word of flexible meaning." In Washington Presidential Secy. Hagerty said Eisenhower had no comments on the Herald Tribune story.

There was mounting consternation abroad over the Quemoy affair. British newspapers "urged the U.S. to choke off further air raids on the Chinese mainland from Formosa" (AP, 9/7). The pro-U.S. London Economist, according to Howard K. Smith (CBS, 9/12), found the situation alarming. It said that Peking reacted to Chiang's control of Quemoy as Washington would react to Communist radar installations on Catalina Island off Long Beach in California.

The flight of grace

The streets have been cleaned up, and there are no longer frightful heaps of garbage in the gutter nor the noisome smells one inevitably associated with old Peiping. Flies have been decimated as a result of a government sponsored campaign, but with them have also gone the old graceful charm, friendliness and animation of the ancient capital.

From an article in the Chicago Tribune (9/8), by John Ridley, correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph, who returned to China after an 8-year absence with the Attlee party.



The militia was called out, the strike held, and solidarity won. Forty years later, still seeking high profits through divided workers and low wages. . . .

Textile Markets

Wave of Woolen and Worsted Mill Closings Hits New England Area

American Woolen Weighs Plan to Move Mills South, Editor Says

. . . the mills begin the runaway to the South.



The answer is still the same: equality & organization for all workers North & South.

CALIFORNIA

L.A. dinner Sept. 25 to honor Alexander; his cand'dacy sparks Progressive campaign

A \$10-A-PLATE DINNER in honor of Horace V. Alexander, Ind. Progressive Party candidate for Secy. of State in California, will be given Sept. 25 at Park Manor, Sixth and Western, Los Angeles. The dinner will raise funds to carry on the IPP's radio-TV campaign for Alexander, Herbert Cohn for State Treasurer, Isobel Cerney for U.S. Senator and Congressional candidates throughout the state.

Alexander is the only state-wide Negro candidate in California's 1954 elections. A 30-year-old veteran of the Pacific theater in World War II, Alexander polled a whopping 21,465 votes for Congress in L.A. on the IPP ticket in '52. His candidacy symbolizes the drive for Negro representation which has cut across political party lines all

over the U.S.

AN AMAZING SIGHT: The L.A. Herald-Dispatch has given him "whole hearted endorsement" and Almena Lomax, editor of the L.A. Tribune told her readers of a meeting at which Alexander spoke:

"If there is such a thing as a perceptive politician . . . he would have been amazed at the sight of all those duly registered Republican and Democrat Negroes and Jews, alike, responding to Alexander's blanket denunciation of the system. And why . . .? Solely because the 'system,' whatever good it contains otherwise, doesn't properly represent Negroes. . . ."

A GUARDIAN correspondent writes from California:

"His campaign has been of a



HORACE V. ALEXANDER
They all listened

miraculous nature. First of all he's one hell of a campaigner! He's met with editors whom we've never been able to interview. He's appeared before churches and made them stamp their feet in approval. He's got the progressive movement enthused for

the first time since '48—and you know what it takes to enthuse some of these cynical warhorses. The response in the Negro community has been far beyond our wildest dreams. People of all descriptions have come forward in the campaign. Negro representation has become a key word in the community."

THE PROGRAM: Alexander's platform calls for upping unemployment insurance to \$40 a week; a public works program to relieve unemployment; world trade, especially with China, to increase West Coast jobs; peaceful settlement of world differences through UN; a state FEPC; the 18-year-old vote; opposition to UMT and McCarthyism, and improved popular representation at all levels of government. California's IPP is counting on Alexander's campaign to insure 150,000 votes required to keep the IPP on the state ballot.

BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK RALLY
City Center Casino
135 W. 55th St., N. Y. C.
THURSDAY EVE., SEPT. 30

LOS ANGELES

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HORACE V. ALEXANDER
Candidate for Secretary of State
SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25th
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\$10.00 per person — Proceeds to Campaign Fund
For Reservations, assistance in raising funds to pay for delegates, tickets, and advertising in Testimonial Brochure, phone REpublic 2-8152 or write Alexander Dinner Comm., P. O. Box 77531, Dockweiler Station, Los Angeles 7, Calif.

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NEW YORK

State CIO picks FDR Jr. for Governor; Quill raises prospect of 'labor party'



THE WINNER—AT THE CIO CONVENTION, ANYWAY
Roosevelt Jr.'s arm held aloft by CIO's Louis Hollander

United Auto Workers' Martin Gerber cautioned that "the world does not rise or fall with FDR Jr. . . . We have nothing to be ashamed about in Averell Harriman . . . who has never alienated labor." Gerber and Textile Workers Union's Jack Rubinstein, who took the same position, were shouted down.

An amendment to the Roosevelt resolution naming Harriman as second choice was overwhelmingly defeated. This seeming anti-Harriman position caused consternation among CIO leaders, who felt they might have to settle for him in the end.

Roosevelt spoke as scheduled, refrained from any criticism of the bosses who had scuttled him, said only that the decision to stay in the race or withdraw was "for the people of our Democratic Party—for the people of our state—to make." He spoke of the urging by telephone and wire that he fight it through and added: "With that decision I associate myself." He received a 15-minute ovation.

FLOOR FIGHT? He had been under strong pressure for days from party leaders to bow out; but by the time he spoke Balch announced that he too was in favor of a convention contest.

The CIO leaders' support of Roosevelt was not altogether a fight for the man or the program. (His speech outlined the state's economic problems, but his solutions were vague and he ignored foreign policy or civil liberties.) They were demanding the right to share in the party's top councils. Some delegates suspected that Harriman was being used as a stalking horse to divide the convention and make possible the victory of another candidate. The only other prominently mentioned possibility is Mayor Wagner who, party officials announced, had topped all other candidates in a party poll. Roosevelt led Harriman by a nose and James A. Farley was fourth.

Delegates to the Democratic convention might be manipulated toward a dark horse if the bosses favored it, but the hand-picked, well-controlled men and women who will gather at the convention Sept. 21 seemed unlikely material for a pro-CIO revolt.

EARLY in the spring Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. began an experiment in what columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop. (Satepost, 9/4) called "refashioning both his mind and body into a more appropriately gubernatorial shape."

He slimmed down to below 200 pounds, developed an expert familiarity with state economics, tried hard to shed his playboy past and vigorously rounded up delegates' votes upstate, including that of Albany Boss Dan O'Connell.

A week before Primary Day he had gathered 400 upstate votes (510 are needed to nominate at the convention.) But the N.Y. City machine controls 512 delegates and can therefore write the ticket. The city bosses wrote it while Roosevelt was upstate; with Democratic State Chairman Balch, Tammany boss DeSapio, Sen. Lehman and Mayor Wagner concurring, they named W. Averell Harriman as their candidate. The delegates, with the significant exception of those controlled by Boss O'Connell, melted rapidly from Roosevelt's side. The bosses had pulled the carpet from under Roosevelt, on the eve of the state CIO convention in Albany, which had been primed to come out for him.

WHAT TO DO? The dumping seemed to CIO leaders and

delegates to be a deliberate affront.

Discussion on the resolution backing Roosevelt was angry and bitter. Michael Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, said:

"We've got to show that we are not trailing behind the bosses of the Democratic Party. . . . The national CIO and Political Action Committee should look at the changing conditions which require a change in thinking. We must honestly take a second look at the whole policy of CIO. Maybe the road of CIO and PAC was good when you had President Roosevelt, who would accept the wishes of the people. But you have trailed along the political machines of N.Y. City and N.Y. State with two and three political bosses telling the CIO: 'There's nothing else you can do, you have no other place to go, you'll have to go along.'"

"They said that to us four years ago in Rochester. Well, I'm not so damned sure about that today. We do have some place to go. We may have to decide that Labor must create a party of labor."

THE CAUTIOUS ONES: Quill brought the delegates to their feet in a full minute's ovation. Some leaders, feeling they had no place else to go, tried to keep escape hatches open.

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The party bosses' choice for Governor: Two profiles by Elmer Bendiner

Democrat Harriman: 'Liberal' banker with a mind of (railroad) steel

IN 1937, at the time of the great depression and the correspondingly great stirrings of the New Deal, Alexander Woolcott was busy teaching croquet to William Averell Harriman. Within two years Harriman had mastered the game and won the coveted Brooks Cup, making him U.S. croquet champion.

He remarked of this feat: "Persistence is the key." He demonstrated a similar quality in his boyhood, when he wanted to make the crew at Groton. His father, Edward Henry Harriman, one of the original robber barons who ran his railway and banking properties into a \$100,000,000 fortune, hired the Syracuse University crew coach to give his boy rowing lessons on the family's private lake. Averell made the grade again. Later, with characteristic energy and money, he spent two rowing seasons at Oxford to improve his techniques and became crew coach at Yale.

WORKIN' ON THE R.R.: He was past 30 when he took up polo but quickly became an 8-goal player. He worked very hard at playing because, as he once told reporters: "It is the duty of everyone, rich or poor, to work."

In 1915, at the age of 24, Averell was out of Yale and on his own as vice-president of the Union Pacific R.R. He ran the railroad and his banking interests (Brown Bros., Harriman & Co.) in the family tradition. In 1933 he met in New York's Metropolitan Club with what was later described by government sources as "perhaps the most imposing aggregation of economic influence ever assembled." Pierre S. Du Pont chaired the session, called to fix freight rates in order to fasten strict monopoly con-

ALP rally

THE four top state-wide candidates of the American Labor Party will make their acceptance speeches at a "Save America's Freedom" rally, Thurs. evening, Sept. 23, at Manhattan Center. Their statements will be carried over WNBC and television from 10:30-11 that evening.

The rally, which will touch off the ALP campaign, will be chaired by the GUARDIAN's general manager John T. McManus and will feature other prominent speakers and entertainers. Tickets are available at all ALP clubs: 49c.

trol by Eastern financial circles over the South and West.

Years later a Federal anti-trust suit was brought against the combination, naming Harriman among the top defendants. Harriman said: "If this is a conspiracy, then the railroads of this country need bigger and better conspiracies."

A COLLECTOR: For years Harriman accumulated board chairmanships. In addition to the bank and railway line he was born with, he gathered chairmanships of the Los Angeles and Salt Lake; Oregon Short Line, and Washington R.R. and Navigation Co.; di-

rectorships of the Illinois Central; Yazoo and Mississippi Valley R.R.'s. (Since then he has given up some of the railroad directorships though he maintains his financial interests intact.)

Not content with money, polo and croquet, he entered government service in 1940 as lend-lease director to England, later to Russia. He became a wartime New Dealer, championing the alliance against Nazism. As ambassador to the Soviet Union he spoke warmly of the Russian war effort, had long, cordial talks with Stalin. (During the war the anti-trust suit against him was quashed and President Roosevelt is said to have remarked: "We can't indict our ambassador to Russia.")

His New Deal liberalism seemed strictly for the duration. At the San Francisco conference to establish the UN, Johannes Steel, then a radio commentator, quoted Harriman as declaring that "the interests of the U.S. and the Soviet Union are irreconcilable."

COLD WAR CZAR: He replaced Henry Wallace as Secy.



of Commerce in 1946, when Wallace broke with President Truman, became European Director of the Marshall Plan, and in 1950 Mutual Security Director. As the "Cold War Czar" he had only two superiors: Truman and Eisenhower. He favored a heavy armament program (he lectured the GOP for cutting military budgets), and the "containment of communism" policy, including the tactic of subversion in socialist countries. He advocated maintaining U.S. garrisons in Europe indefinitely. When the Iranian people threatened a successful anti-colonial move, Truman sent Harriman there as a trouble-shooter.

In 1950, when the East German government was trying eight industrialists for seeking to recreate "monopoly capitalism," the prosecutor named Harriman as having financial interests in one of the accused firms, the Dessau Continental Gas Works, and said: "Harriman's name means war."

STRIPED PANTS AWAY: He visited the Korean war front at the height of hostilities as the President's personal representative, defended U.S. Korean policies vigorously, but balked at Gen. MacArthur's



W. AVERELL HARRIMAN
For some railroads are toys

plans to cross the Yalu.

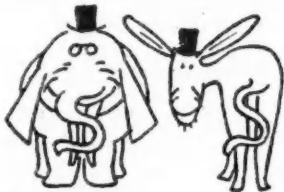
In domestic affairs Harriman urged Truman not to veto the Taft-Hartley Act but later explained that it was only because he did not want the President to be over-ruled. He was then leaving diplomacy and entering politics. He cast his political lot in with the "liberal" wing of the Democratic Party.

The frustrations of cold and hot wars have modified Harriman's earlier policies. In his latest statements in the psychopathically anti-Soviet New Leader (9/13), he called for "competitive co-existence" as an alternative to "peaceful co-existence." His formula is an intensive economic competition which with time "will bring increasing pressures behind the Iron Curtain which will undermine tyranny in its citadel."

PREMATURE WITCH-HUNT: Domestically Harriman has assailed McCarthy's "Ministry of Fear," adding: "It's on the record that I was concerned about Communist infiltration five years before McCarthy ever heard of it. We can deal with that infiltration effectively and without any help from him or his ilk."

In his abortive try for the 1952 Presidential nomination (managed by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.) Harriman had sedulously wooed labor leaders and won notable support from CIO's president Walter Reuther and the AFL Machinists, whose weekly paper the Machinist said (5/27/52):

"He is a millionaire who has



been fighting in liberal causes since the days of the Al Smith bid. . . . Harriman was one of the first to realize and warn of the Soviet threat after World War II."

In 1952 Harriman was a political amateur trying to over-ride the machine. But in no activity from croquet to politics has Harriman ever stayed at the amateur level. In 1954 he is playing the game more skillfully, quietly wooing labor leaders, but making sure the machine professionals are in his corner.

Republican Ives: A cagey politician with a heart of (banker's) gold

IN THE coming campaign it is likely that Irving McNeil Ives will speak as if his feet were on a cracker barrel. He will carefully lapse into upstate vernacular and his press agents will recall that his father ran a little feed and grain store in Bainbridge, N. Y.

His humble beginnings will be used to shame his aristocratic opponent (both Averell Harriman and FDR Jr. are to the manor born). His trim 5 foot 11 figure and his folksiness prompted Warren Moscow in 1947 to write in the N. Y. Times: "He might easily have played the lead in Mr. Smith Goes to Washington."

Ives will find many obstacles to playing a corn-fed Jimmy Stewart in 1954. "Honest Irv" is 53 and greying and he is the hand-picked, uncontested candidate of a corrupt machine, and the protege of Thomas E. Dewey, and as such the heir of the Dewey stigma.

PLAYED IT SAFE: Ives stood ready to accept the inheritance along with the machine. Throughout his political life—as N. Y. State Assemblyman and as U. S. Senator—Ives has never done anything to jeopardize his standing with the machine.

He went to Hamilton College (starred in tennis, basketball and debating), saw action in World War I, began work as a bank clerk for Manufacturers Trust in Brooklyn. It was his first and only lean salary and, biographers say, he became "embittered" about economic conditions. He sweetened considerably when he was promoted to department head in an upstate branch of the bank. He is said to have remarked of the change that



came over him: "Banking has a tendency to make one a little more conservative."

A BIT OF BOTH: He devised a formula: among conservatives, look liberal; among liberals, look conservative; always be as constructive as possible, within the bosses' limits. That recipe has made him the GOP's star vote-getter: in 25 years he has never lost an election.

His record in the Assembly (1929-1944) includes the Ives-Quinn bill outlawing discriminatory employment practices, and improvement in unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation. It was the New Deal era.

In 1944 Ives was in line for the Senatorial nomination but Dewey, running for President, felt he needed a Catholic in the spot and shelved Ives for Thomas J. Curran. Ives retired to sulk in dignity, and with an eye on politics as head of the State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell. Two years later he got the Senate nomination and was elected in the GOP sweep of 1946.

WATCH HIS FEET: High on

the Congressional agenda was the Taft-Hartley bill and Ives performed a typical and expert bit of footplay. He won a labor reputation for opposing it while in fact voting for it. When Taft offered his bill, the freshman Ives shocked old-timers by coming up with his own milder draft. In committee sessions he helped knock out some of the more violent T-H provisions—such as the ban on industry-wide bargaining—and fought it on the floor.

Then he voted for the bill and stumped for it, declaring: "Experience already is demonstrating that this new law, far



IRVING M. IVES
All things to all men

from being a 'slave labor law,' is actually a worker emancipation act."

HE WATCHES THE VOTE: In the Senate he plugged for "aid" to Greece and Turkey, a "tougher" policy in Korea, "liberation" of socialist areas instead of "containment." He was against the earlier St. Lawrence Seaway proposal as a "defense liability" and a "white elephant." He opposed McCarthy but refrained from pressing the fight. But while hewing to the GOP line he never forgot that working people and Negroes vote. He vowed to unseat the rabid racist Sen. Bilbo of Mississippi, supported every anti-discrimination measure in the Senate, opposed the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act. Typical of his "pro-labor" switches was his most recent one in the debate on the "anti-Communist" bill.

The section on "infiltrated" unions threatens all labor, but Ives managed to divide labor opposition (and save his reputation in labor circles) by inserting the provision that no union in good standing with the big federations (AFL, CIO, railroad brotherhoods) can be considered "infiltrated." This isolates the smaller progressive unions and makes it easier to pick them off without protest by the big federations.

In 1952, when Ives was re-elected to the Senate by a landslide, AFL leaders were "neutral" in his corner. Democrats may find Ives a tough target since his most vulnerable points are instances of close bi-partisanship. They are up against a very cagey frontman and their only recourse may be to shoot over his head at the men behind him.

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

American Socialist Forum
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GATEWAY TO CO-EXISTENCE?
Speaker: **HARRY BRAVERMAN**, co-editor The American Socialist, Fri., Sept. 24, 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (nr. 14 St.) Questions and Discussion, Donation: 75c.

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Belfrage hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

"That is a matter of opinion."

UNNAMED NAMES: Already cloaked in immunity from testifying about his appearances at closed sessions of the House Comm. on Un-Amer. Activities and his consultations with FBI and Immigration Service officials, Berkeley was vague and evasive about his original list of 165 persons he named publicly as Communists. Belfrage's name did not appear on that list but Harry Carlisle's, another British subject whom the government is seeking to deport as a "subversive," did. After much questioning, Berkeley finally said:

"Some names I had been asked not to testify about at a public hearing."

Berkeley's testimony contained frequent lapses of memory and contradictions; he seemed particularly confused about the location and appearance of Belfrage's home in Hollywood which he claimed to have visited in the '30s. When Dambroff suggested that Berkeley "didn't practise enough on the house," he shouted:

"I resent that. That's a typical communist tactic."

Inquiry Officer Aaron Martin denied a defense motion to strike all of Berkeley's testimony because it related solely to matters prior to Belfrage's last entry to the U.S. in 1945, and on the further ground that Berkeley's government-granted privilege not to testify about certain matters constituted a denial of due process of law.

A POLICEMAN'S LOT: William Ward Kimple, 53, a neat and precise witness, testified that he joined the Los Angeles Police Dept. in 1924 and retired from it on a pension in 1944. He also was a member of the Communist Party continuously from July, 1928, to the fall of 1939. Asked why he joined, he replied:

"I was a member of the Police Dept. and I joined on instructions from my superior."

His explanation of how he left the CP in 1939 was equally simple:

"I was told I was under suspicion of being a police stool-pigeon. I said, 'Well, if that's the way you feel about it...' and I walked out and never went back."

When Dambroff asked, "You were already then exposed as a spy?" Hearing Examiner (government prosecutor) Max Weinman protested furiously, but Kimple grinned amiably and said he didn't mind the appellation and the Inquiry

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LIONEL STANDER COMMENTS

'Guilt by introduction'

WHITE LAKE, N. Y.
IN THE SEPT. 8 N. Y. Times, Martin Berkeley is reported to have testified at the Belfrage hearing that at his home in Hollywood in 1937, "I was introduced to Belfrage by [Lionel] Stander as a trustworthy person." To the best of my recollection and knowledge, I never introduced Cedric Belfrage to Berkeley.

However if, despite my recollection, such an introduction did take place, I doubt that I introduced Berkeley to Belfrage as "a trustworthy person." The phrase, innocuous as it is, is not the sort of language I use in making social introductions. Besides, my opinion of Berkeley in 1937 has not changed greatly from my estimate of him, now public record, made last year. I characterized him, under oath, as "a psychopathic liar," a "charlatan" and a "stool pigeon." On page 469 of the Public Hearings, May 6, 1953, before Chairman Velde, I said, "... for instance Mr. Berkeley, I read in the minutes that first he said he was not a member of the Communist Party; then he realized you had the goods on him, he came here and rattled off 150 names. This is, in my mind, an incredible witness."

Berkeley is still an "incredible witness" and this attempt to place conspiratorial implications upon a social introduction is a ridiculous tactic in the present war upon free-thinking liberals.

However, "guilt by introduction" is at least a refreshing novelty in the "creeping anti-intellectualism" that threatens to engulf the arts, sciences and professions.

In my home in Hollywood, I entertained hundreds of writers, artists, directors, actors and producers of world renown of every political shade of opinion. I am proud that Ernest Hemingway, William Saroyan, Robert Benchley, Donald Ogden Stewart, Dorothy Parker, Andre Malraux and countless other writers of literary stature honored me by allowing me to be their host.

That one Hollywood hack-writer says that 17 years ago he can remember the exact words of a social introduction to Belfrage, a distinguished journalist, and that the phrase "trustworthy person" has diabolical and conspiratorial connotations, would be farcical if its intent was not so frightening and tragic. It is in a way a critique of our times and of our government agencies who use such palpable nonsense to hound liberal intellectuals.
Lionel Stander

Officer said he thought the word quite apt.

THE SUITCASE: Kimple testified that from 1936 to 1939 he was assistant membership director of the Los Angeles CP, and kept all the membership records in a suitcase which was in his possession "at all times, either at home or in my car or in the office."

Under cross-examination he described CP membership procedures during that period: all members were registered annually when forms were filled in containing full information about the individual; old membership books were exchanged for new ones, which contained receipt cards to be detached and signed by the recipients. According to Kimple, a different person was designated each year to destroy the old books and he was assigned that task in 1937. He was asked:

"Did you destroy them?"

"I turned them over to the Los Angeles Police Dept. That was my manner of destroying them."

He said the police in 1937 received not only the turned-in books but the originals or copies of all the registration forms. In 1938 he had to surrender the turned-in books to someone else, but managed to "retain" some of them for the police; he would not swear of his own knowledge that the books were destroyed that year. In any case, he identified as "authentic" two membership books dated 1937 and 1938, and a signed receipt card for 1937, all bearing the name of George Oakden, which the government contends was Belfrage's "party name."

THE HANDWRITING: Later George F. Mesnig, for more than 17 years an expert document examiner for the FBI,

testified that he had compared the handwriting on the receipt card with Belfrage's signature on other documents and pronounced them all to have been written "by one person."

Kimple, who was known as Bill Ward while in the CP, testified that he became a "consultant" to the Immigration Service in 1951 and now works about two weeks a month at the rate of \$25 a day. He estimated at "about 48" the number of deportation cases in which he has been a government witness. He also said that apart from his current income from the government and his police pension, he receives about \$300 a month from property he owns, including a service station in Los Angeles.

THE TYPIST: The government not only screened off from the defense documents and areas of testimony it described as "confidential," but persistently refused to inform the defense of the witnesses it intended to call. On Sept. 10 Weinman produced a surprise witness named Lars Skattebol, 38, for the last five years a rewrite man for the Associated Press in New York City. Under direct examination, Skattebol's story was direct and simple: he knew that Belfrage was a Communist because "he told me so."

Under cross-examination Skattebol said he first met Belfrage in Hollywood some time between Oct., 1937, and Feb., 1938, at a time when, as he put it, he "scratched around" for a living doing odd jobs as a typist. His average income at that time, he said, was \$15 to \$20 a week. He was

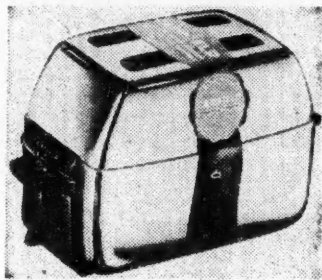
(Continued on Page 12)

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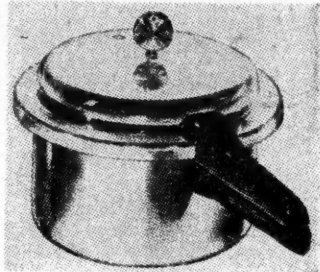
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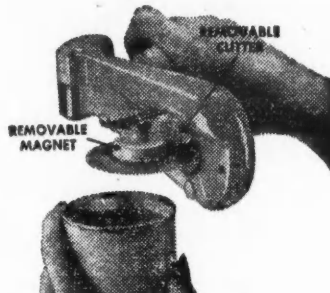
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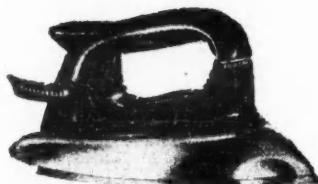
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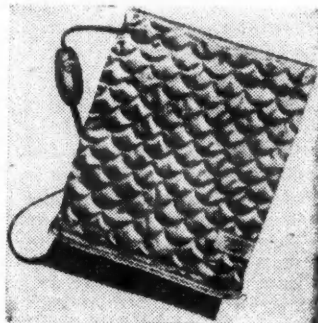
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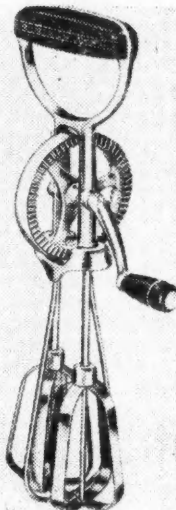
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Belfrage hearing

(Continued from page 11)

introduced to Belfrage by Frank Scully, Hollywood writer and columnist for *Variety*, for whom he did some work as a typist. Belfrage, who at that time had just completed a novel, hired Skattebol to type the manuscript and Skattebol worked at it for about six weeks, during which time he practically lived in the Belfrage home, took all his meals there, frequently served as baby-sitter and occasionally stayed overnight.

THE COOLED FRIENDSHIP: During this time, Skattebol testified, he had numerous political discussions with Belfrage and his wife in which, he insisted, they not only revealed themselves to him as Communists but sought to recruit him to the party. He said that as a result of his refusal to join, Belfrage's friendship toward him cooled and invitations to the Belfrage home began to "fall off." But under questioning he admitted that when he was about to go to England in mid-1938 he saw Belfrage on the most cordial terms, that they corresponded while he was in England, that Belfrage gave him the name of a close friend to visit there, and that when the novel was published it contained a warm acknowledgment of thanks to Skattebol for his work on it.

Skattebol admitted that he had not seen Belfrage since 1938 until he confronted him in the hearing room and knew nothing of his beliefs and activities during that time. Asked how he happened to be a witness against Belfrage now, he replied that he had heard about the NATIONAL GUARDIAN about three years ago, obtained a copy, concluded that its "picture" of the Korean war was the "same as the *Daily Worker's*," and decided to go to the FBI "to tell what I knew about Cedric Belfrage."

THE GRIEVANCE: He testified that about a year ago he was called upon by an Immigration official to whom, after a series of consultations, he gave a written and signed statement—which the government refused to produce at the hearing.

Dambroff asked Skattebol: "Did Cedric Belfrage ever do you any harm?"

"Yes."
 "How?"
 "By being Belfrage, by being editor of this paper."

Asked if he hadn't actually been "far to the left" of Belfrage in the '30s, Skattebol said he didn't know the meaning of such words as "left," "right," "radical," "reactionary," and added: "I don't know what is meant by a fascist."

He contended that such political definitions became meaningless when "the communists and fascists sat down hand in hand" at the time of the Nazi-Soviet pact.

"THAT IS UNFORTUNATE": Attempting to discover a motive for Skattebol's voluntary appearance as a witness: Dambroff asked:

"You said Mr. Belfrage suggested that you join the Communist Party?"

"Yes."
 "Did you resent that?"
 "Not at the time I knew him..."
 "Do you resent him now?"

"Only insofar as he is an editor of a publication I consider unfortunate. I have no objection to him personally."

"Aren't you appearing here against him personally?"
 "That's unfortunate for him."

Other questioning brought out that Skattebol had been dismissed from ABC in 1949 following a broadcast he wrote after cancellation of a concert by pianist Walter Gieseking, when pickets at Carnegie Hall protested Gieseking's appearance because of his Nazi associations. Skattebol denied that the broadcast was the reason for his dismissal, but admitted he had been censured for it and that it drew protests:

"I believe one was from B'nai B'rith."

"AND/OR": He said he had encountered the Carnegie Hall pickets by chance, and was "upset that they were there." From placards they carried he identified some as "Jewish-American war veterans" and "a branch of the American Labor Party":

"I took them to be Jewish and/or Communists."

Defense motions were denied to strike out the testimony of both Mesnig and Skattebol on the grounds that all of it related to matters prior to Oct. 28, 1945, the date listed on the government's deportation warrant for Belfrage's last entry into the U. S. The defense reserved the right to make other motions when it presents its own case beginning Sept. 27.

ONE FIGHT OVER

Mary Belfrage allowed to go to England

LARS SKATTEBOL, the AP rewrite man who when he was 21 became for a time almost one of the family in Cedric Belfrage's home in Hollywood, was expected by the government to appear on Tuesday, Sept. 14, as a witness against Belfrage's ex-wife, Mary, in her deportation hearing.

Skattebol failed to show up; Mrs. Belfrage, who long ago told the government she would not contest deportation since she has no desire to live in the U. S., "stipulated" that had he appeared he would have sworn that three weeks after coming into her home in 1937 she told him she was a Communist and tried to recruit him into the party. Witnesses who did show up were Kimple and Mesnig, who gave testimony similar to what they gave in the Cedric Belfrage case. At a hearing a week earlier Mrs. Belfrage had declined under the Fifth Amendment to answer any of some 150 questions put to her. Her desire to be deported—she has been trying to leave ever since she was arrested and released on \$2,000 bond a year ago—was granted at the end of Tuesday's hearing.

Mrs. Belfrage, who told the press afterward that she "had been an anti-communist for ten years," will leave for England in about three weeks with the Belfrages' 14-year-old son; their daughter, 17, will remain here to continue college in New York City. The children have both U. S. and British citizenship under the laws of the two countries.

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