

# Our best answer: an editor-in-exile

ON JULY 27 we got the bleak news: Supreme Court Justice Harlan denied freedom in bail for the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage.

Thus the Supreme Court itself has ruled that if we carry the Belfrage Case to the Court as a whole for review in the fall term, Belfrage will have to stay in a federal jail until such time as the Court rules on whether or not it will review the case. In effect, this is an indeterminate jail sentence for an individual accused of no crime but simply seeking a Supreme Court review of a deportation order.

Thus we have lost our final recourse to keep Belfrage free and at his work while the fight goes on against the deportation order. The government had no grounds, no means of silencing Belfrage's voice and keeping him imprisoned except by this unprecedented denial of bail.

We then have the choice of yielding to this effort to silence Belfrage—of assenting to his imprisonment in order to spell out the last word of due process—with no guarantee of due justice; OR of frustrating this assault and restoring Belfrage to full usefulness by restoring his full freedom to write again, although in exile.

We chose the latter course.

We are pursuing every means to win his freedom to continue this fight, including appeals to President Eisenhower himself. But if Belfrage is finally forced to leave without concluding the fight in his own behalf, rest assured that his skillful pen and stubborn ideals will continue in the service of the GUARDIAN and the peace-seeking, liberty-loving peoples of the world.

LET US STATE the heart of the Belfrage Case once more: Cedric Belfrage is rounding out his third month in West Street Prison because (the legal argument states) he is deportable under the Walter-McCarran Immigration Act for alleged membership in or affiliation with the Communist Party 18 years ago. In fact Belfrage has been the subject of a vindictive 2½-year persecution because he is the editor of a newspaper which has been a thorn in the side of

(Continued on Page 2)

## FIFTH DEPORTATION TRY FAILS:

# Bridges stays; judge blasts informers, throws out case

FOR THE FIFTH time in 21 years the government has been routed in its efforts to deport Harry Bridges, president of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union.

Shortly after Bridges rose to leadership during the San Francisco dock strike of 1934 the machinery was set in motion to send him back to his native Australia. The government fought and lost in four separate tries. The fifth one concluded last week was a civil suit to denaturalize Bridges which would pave the way for his deportation. (Bridges became a citizen in 1945.) The decision by Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman (there was no jury) was so scornful of the government's case and its witnesses that it made unlikely an appeal by the government.

**BLASTS INFORMERS:** The judge also delivered a resounding slap at the brand of informer-witness habitually used in government prosecutions of labor leaders and progressives.

The sole charge was that Bridges had obtained U.S. citizenship by falsely swearing that he had never been a member of the Communist Party.



HARRY BRIDGES  
The "everlasting case" ends

During the trial, which began June 20, Bridges flatly repeated that he is not now and never has been a member of the C.P. He said he had been asked to join but declined because "I didn't agree with their program."

Under cross-examination, he said:

"I've heard some absurd and preposterous things here about communist domination and control of our union. It is utterly impossible and I'll stake my life on that as well as the outcome of this case."

**THE SPIKE:** The government leaned on informer witness John Schomaker, who crumpled badly under cross-examination. Schomaker admitted more than a witness' fee as a motive for testimony. He testified grudgingly about a "business proposition" he made to Jack Hall, ILWU official in Hawaii in 1946. It was plain that he hoped to get Hall to put up several thousand dollars in a scheme, though Hall had no access to other-than-union funds. Schomaker commented bitterly on his frustration at the time:

"Bridges spiked it."

The sheer volume of Schomaker's testimony got him into trouble. Bridges' counsel, Brig. Gen. Telford Taylor (rt.), pointed out that Schomaker was remembering things he testified he had forgotten in the 1949 trial. Judge Goodman offered a pious prayer that he was not as garrulous in the other trials as he was in this one.

The trial was marked by government attempts at intimidation that failed to come off. One defense witness, veteran ILWU member Frank Jenkins, a Negro, was met at the courtroom by Coast Guard officials who took his waterfront pass. U.S. Atty. Lynn J. Gillard admitted that he had been in touch with the Coast Guard after he took Jenkins' deposition a week earlier and noticed that his pass had expired in 1953.

All San Francisco waterfront passes expired in that year and bearers had been notified that they were automatically renewed. Waterfront report-

(Continued on Page 5)

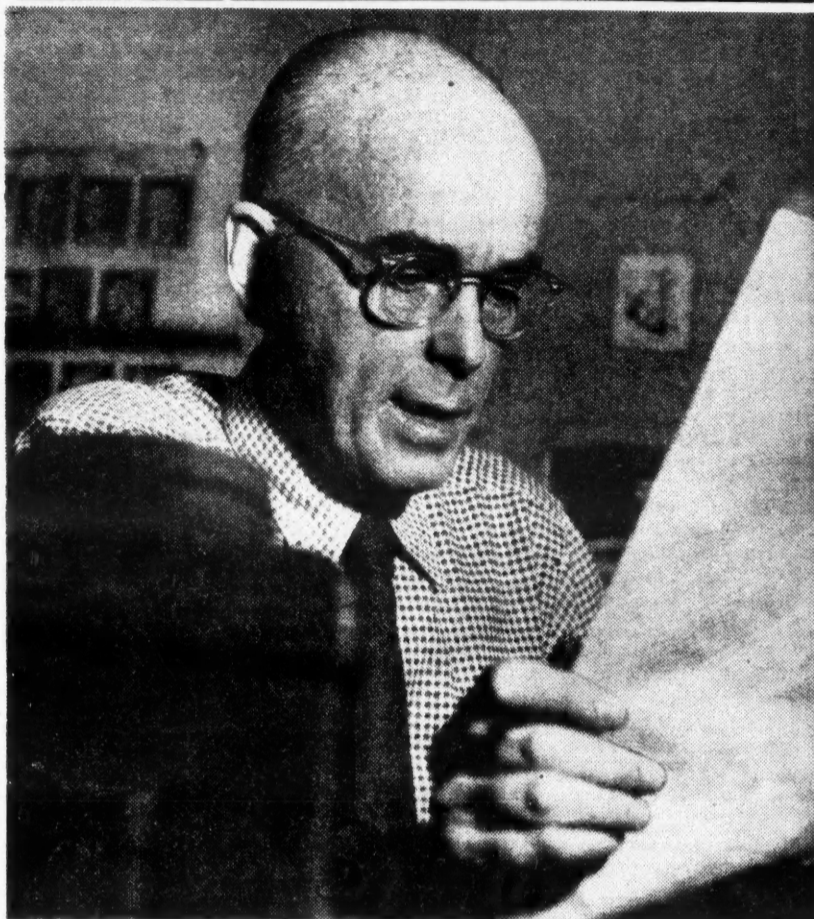
# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE

To be silenced in jail—or cry freedom from overseas

## WAR & PEACE

# Hopes rise for Geneva talks as China frees U.S. airmen

By Kumar Goshal

**THE AMBASSADORIAL** level U.S.-China talks opened dramatically at Geneva on August 1 as Chinese Ambassador to Poland Wang Ping-nan told U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia U. Alexis Johnson that Peking had advanced to July 31 the release of the 11 imprisoned U.S. airmen "in accordance with Chinese legal procedures." Wang hoped "this measure . . . will have favorable effects on our present talks." The conferees quickly agreed upon a two-point agenda: 1) Civilian repatriation to their respective countries; 2) Other practical matters at issue between the two sides.

At a July 26 press conference Secy. Dulles discussed Geneva "with reluctance and careful qualification" (N.Y. Times, 7/28). He declared that the talks did not imply recognition of Peking nor would they prejudice the rights of U.S. ally Chiang Kai-shek. Dulles could not refrain from saying that Geneva would show "whether [the U.S.] must prepare for war in [the Formosa] area or whether there is apt to be a cease-fire."

But at a press conference the next day President Eisenhower more forthrightly said that, after the U.S. learned what China wanted to discuss, a Chou-Dulles meeting would be a logical development which he would accept as a matter of course.

**TO PAVE THE WAY:** In an important foreign policy address on July 30 to the Natl. Peoples Congress in Peking Premier Chou announced that China would endeavor to make the Geneva talks "pave the way for further U.S.-China negotiations." He warned, however, that if anyone should take China's efforts "as a sign of weakness or imagine that pressure or threats will have effect on" China, he would quickly learn "that his calculations are wrong."

Chou also pointed out, among other things, that Formosa's liberation was "a matter of China's internal affairs"; it might be resolved through peaceful negotiations between Peking and "local Formosan authorities," if the "U.S. does not interfere" in such negotiations. Chou hoped that the ANZUS and SEATO military blocs would be replaced by "a pact of collective peace" signed by Asian and Pacific region countries including the U.S.

The Geneva talks would certainly deal with Indo-China and Formosa, among others; for, as India's Premier Nehru pointed out three weeks ago, affairs in these two territories make the Far Eastern situation highly explosive.

On July 20 supporters of S. Vietnam's U.S.-sponsored Diem government celebrated the first anniversary of the Geneva truce agreement by at-

(Continued on Page 4)



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Chain letter for peace

ST. LOUIS, MO. This is a chain letter linking us to peace. I know that you are interested in the current world crisis and am therefore taking the liberty of writing you in the hope that our efforts will have some effect in preserving the peace.

At present the peace and perhaps our survival is endangered with the situation in the Far East. The Formosa question is for the present stabilized and may be settled through secret negotiations. However, there is an imminent danger arising over the question of the off-shore Chinese islands of Quemoy and Matsu. Most Americans would not want to become embroiled in an atomic war to save these two "piles of rocks" for Chiang Kai-shek.

I hope you are of like mind. If so here are a few concrete things I hope you'll do today: 1. Wire or write a letter or postal card to your senator, Secy. Dulles, and President Eisenhower, urging them to use their influence to keep us out of a war over Quemoy or Matsu. 2. Copy this letter in entirety and send it to ten friends in at least five different states—TODAY! A Peaceful American

On the wheel

E. SOOKE, VICTORIA, B.C. It is regrettable that there are so many calls — financially — on the "free" mind! Unfortunately we "little" people cannot increase our income at will as can—and do—your Senators and Congressmen, as also do our Members of Parliament. Under our wonderful economic system there has been—and obviously will still be for a long time to come—the little people on the "wheel," and what a source of revenue they are! Money! Lots and lots of money, for war machines and bureaucrats.

Your paper is doing a wonderful work of enlightening the people as to the corruption that is at work in your once-great Republic. (Mrs.) Ellen Hart

Opium smoke

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. In recent months it has been officially charged that the Peoples Republic of China is supplying the opium which finds its way to G.I.s. To shield drug traffickers in Japan and South Korea and to cynically capitalize on such traffic for propaganda purposes, the head of the U.S. Narcotics Division attributed the source of such drugs to China as an alleged plot to undermine military morale, etc. The charge is patently false in view of the fact that the new regime in China has taken broad measures to stamp out age-old vices and corruption, not only opium, but gambling, prostitution, beggary and child marriage. As far back as 1927, during peasant uprisings, energetic measures were taken to eradicate the opium habit. In his report on these peasant reforms in the province of Hunan, Mao Tse-tung said: "Opium smoking: Very strictly prohibited. When the peasant association ordered the surrender of opium pipes no one dared raise the

How crazy can you get dept. Just as some segments of the economy are sustained by horse players, alcoholics and neurotics, so is part of the economy shored up by free-spending tax evaders. A businessman told us: "If tax cheating were to stop at 9 a.m. tomorrow, not only would certain industries come to sudden death, but the economy itself would freeze." Worcester Daily Telegram, 7/26 One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: John B. Sumner, Worcester, Mass.

least objection. "The peasants not only have prohibited the growing and smoking of opium, but also its traffic. Large quantities of opium which were being transported from Kweichow to Kiangsi . . . were intercepted on the way and burnt." In fact, the peasants carried on the suppression to such an extent that Mao writes it affected the government finance. Jeff Patrick

Engels' letters

LONDON, ENGLAND I thought I ought to draw your attention to the exceptionally important series which begins in the August Labour Monthly of "Previously Unpublished Letters by Friedrich Engels." Of the highest interest for all students of politics and the labour movement is the finding in France of a correspondence between Friedrich Engels and the Lafargues, (Laura Lafargue, the daughter of Karl Marx, and her husband Paul, a leader of the French Socialists and a Marxist writer of high repute). The correspondence amounts to 551 letters, of which nearly 250 are by Engels. The main body of the letters deals especially with both French and British politics (as well as domestic and family affairs) from 1882 to 1895. Editions Sociales have placed at the disposal of Labour Monthly a series of the letters to Laura dealing mainly with British questions. The publication of these letters is a most fitting commemoration of Engels' death, in August, 1895. Angela Tuckett Manager, Labour Monthly 134 Balcarlos Lane London N. 3.

Pauline Boyer

BALTIMORE, MD. Friends of the GUARDIAN and progressives everywhere suffered a grave loss in the death of Pauline Boyer in Baltimore, on July 17, 1955. She was in the forefront of the movement to save the Rosenbergs. She provided an example of high courage, devotion and understanding, which were all the more remarkable because of her own poor health and suffering. Baltimore Sobell Committee

Free the Ingrams

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. The world is holding its breath waiting for the great news that peace will be declared; yet in Georgia, U.S.A., race warfare is still going on. Peace, like Charity, should begin at home. When lawmakers see fit to violate the laws, it is time they were told. The world has been told, through the UN, about Rosa Lee Ingram and her two boys, Sammy and Wallace, imprisoned in Georgia since November, 1947. But it is up to us to do something about this dreadful case. On Aug. 1, Mrs. Ingram and the

two children became eligible for parole. Ten other children wait for the homecoming. YOU can make your voice heard. The Committee to Free the Ingrams asks you to write to President Eisenhower; Atty. Gen. Brownell; Sen. George of Georgia, and especially to the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles, in Atlanta, Ga. Every letter will be a spoke in the wheel of protest against this inhuman action. D.B.

R. I. P. for C. S. G.

NEW YORK, N. Y. Herewith a small bit of verse relating to the recent demise of oil-rich Calouste S. Gulbenkian, as reported by the N. Y. Times from Lisbon: Calouste S. Gulbenkian Albert a rich gentleman Rode about behind the wheel Of a rented automobile. Art Collector of renown, Dabbled in oils in Lisbon town. Lived obscurely, But securely, In the hotel where he died, With his millions by his side. Thence to heaven did he wheel In a rented automobile, For Art is Art, And rent is rent And a millionaire is always a gent. John Bonar

\$20 worth of spaghetti

CULVER CITY, CALIF. We raised the enclosed \$20 by having a spaghetti dinner for our friends. Everyone enjoyed it so much that we are planning a series of them. We hope it helps. AD, MEC, JT.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register AT THE WHITE HOUSE "Just pictures? I thought you were going to tell him you didn't like the way the government handled the Salk vaccine program."

On second thought

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. I wrote you the other day to cancel the balance of my sub. Just because I have been hounded here a little, I overlooked how much more some of you people were getting it. So I am sorry. I didn't realize how worthwhile the GUARDIAN was until I missed it for a week. Here's my renewal and best wishes to all of you. G.L.

Love at first sight

BROOKLYN, N. Y. Enclosed please find \$5 from a young lady whom I have interested in a subscription for 6 months as a result of my having been able to pledge a monthly stipend. This person was so genuinely enamoured with your publication that she immediately brought me this \$5 bill in an effort to aid Cedric Belfrage's fight and prolong the life of our beloved GUARDIAN. Sylvia Rosenbeck

No fooling

NEW YORK, N. Y. We want peace! But not a re-armed Germany in NATO. What inconsistency, trying to butter up the Russians to say "Ja!" When the Soviet Union's application to enter NATO was rejected, how can they trust us? Or our promises? They must be attacked—talking peace—when we have witch-hunts, thought control, un-American Committees, McCarthyism, McCarran laws and a progressive editor is sent to jail. Is this freedom or democracy? We are not fooling the Russians! A.K.

How to do it

SAN DIEGO, CALIF. The enclosed \$15 is from a new-found friend of the GUARDIAN, not from me personally. My only part in it is that I introduced this friend to the GUARDIAN by means of a Buck-of-the-Month subscription and explained the Belfrage incident to him. A. M. Stevens



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We prefer him free...

(Continued from Page 1)

oppressive authority. The persecution was undertaken at the order of Sen. Joe McCarthy in May, 1953, when he was running the show in Washington. For years before, the government knew all it wanted to know about Belfrage but took no action against him. The persecution was begun after Belfrage refused to answer before the McCarthy committee questions which McCarthy had no authority to ask.

WITH FINE IRONY Justice Harlan's ruling came down on the same day that U. S. District Court Judge Edward Weinfeld threw out contempt indictments against Corliss Lamont and two others (see p. 3) for refusing to answer similar questions before the McCarthy committee. Lamont's appearance before McCarthy followed Belfrage's by a few weeks. It was Lamont's contention—which Judge Weinfeld upheld—that the committee never had legal authorization from the Senate for its witch-hunting investigations, a contention with which we heartily agree and which Belfrage put into practice. But because Belfrage was born in England, and even though he has never been indicted for any offense he must remain a victim of McCarthy long after McCarthy has been totally discredited. And this because, even as a foreign-born, Belfrage refused to surrender the Bill of Rights into McCarthy's hands for burning.

BUT THE MOST SINISTER ASPECT of the Belfrage Case—as we have warned repeatedly since 1953—is the attack on the freedom of the press. The warning fell on deaf ears in the commercial press. Since then these things, among others, have happened:

- The attack on the progressive foreign language press has been stepped up. The liberal weekly The Nation is being persecuted by Atty. Gen. Brownell because it helped to expose the whole smelly stable of informers which the Justice Dept. has been breeding. The N. Y. Times and the N. Y. Daily News each fired a staff member for refusing to turn informer for Sen. Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee. The Times fired Melvin Barnet because his conduct after he received a subpoena was "embarrassing" to his newspaper. The embarrassment stemmed from Barnet's refusal to sacrifice a principle: he would not name names in exchange for a weekly paycheck.

What a shocking spectacle: the greatest newspaper in America, which fought McCarthy down the line, which has editorially defended the inviolability of the Bill of Rights, which has an outstanding record in fighting for an end to jimcrow schools, grovels at the feet of a Dixiecrat.

When will the independent press of America wake up to the fact that the danger is here and great? When will it learn the hard fact of life that an attack on the smallest and most dissenting of its fraternity opens the door to an attack on all of it? As The Nation said in an editorial statement July 23:

"The Nation is aware of the fact that one of the purposes of the indictments [of a staff member and its attorneys] is to punish and if possible to silence this publication for the political sin—and it is that in Mr. Brownell's book—of having repeatedly, consistently, and from the outset, denounced the unjust and incompetent administration of the Department of Justice under his direction. We have no intention now or later of permitting a crude tactic of this kind, more in keeping with the practices of a totalitarian regime than a democracy, to divert us. . . ."

If more such voices had been raised at the outset of the Belfrage persecution, there could have been a far different conclusion to the case of our stubborn editor. But we welcome and support such statements whenever they are made, and we pledge unstinting help to The Nation and any other publication under similar attack. We know the grand army of GUARDIAN readers—hundreds of whom sent letters to Atty. Gen. Brownell and their Congressmen on the Belfrage case—stand with us.

AS THIS IS WRITTEN the Attorney General sits smack in the middle of the mess created by the Dixon-Yates deal and the Talbott scandal—and prepares a new campaign against labor (see p. 3). On Capitol Hill, the Un-American Activities Committee is undertaking a further attempt to stifle protest against injustice in America (see p. 5).

They can do what they will, but in the last analysis they will not silence protest or halt progress. They will not silence the GUARDIAN's editor or the GUARDIAN itself as it works for the future that belongs to all of us.

James Aronson, for the whole Guardian family

McCARTHY DIDN'T HAVE AUTHORITY

# Lamont, two others cleared of contempt; witchhunt hit

By Elmer Bendiner

FEDERAL DISTRICT Judge Edward Weinfeld last week tossed out contempt indictments against author-lecturer Corliss Lamont, lawyer Abraham Unger and engineer Albert Shadowitz. His decision cast into doubt the whole legal basis for all investigations by Sen. McCarthy when he made headlines and wrecked scores of lives as chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. It could be a brake on future Congressional inquisitions.

The three had refused to answer Sen. McCarthy's questions on political matters, standing on the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech. Judge Weinfeld did not rule on the constitutional protection of the First Amendment against witch-hunts, a key legal question still to be decided, but he did uphold other contentions raised by the three.

**NON-EXISTENT POWERS:** When a federal grand jury handed up the indictments last October, Lamont said he would fight not only on the First Amendment issue but on the grounds that McCarthy had "usurped the powers of the judiciary"; that his committee "had no jurisdiction over a private citizen never employed by the federal government"; that the committee was "incompetent and illegal since all three Democratic members had resigned."

All three contended that the Subcommittee was not an authorized committee of Congress and that even if it were it went beyond the scope of any authority. In upholding these contentions, Judge Weinfeld said:

"One vainly examines the Public Law and Senate Resolutions set forth in the indictment to find any reference to the Permanent Subcommittee, let alone any delegation of power to it. . . . It may well be that some resolution exists but thus far it has not been revealed."

**MATTER OF IMPORTANCE:** The Judge ruled that if the grand jury had no evidence that the committee was empowered to conduct its investigation, then "there was no basis for the return of the indictment."

On a television broadcast Lamont suggested that if McCarthy's committee was without legal authority, then McCarthy had no claim to Senatorial immunity and therefore might now be open to libel suits.

The press treated the decision as a technical win. The N.Y. Daily News headlined its story: "Technicality Frees Lamont of Contempt." But Judge Weinfeld, underscoring the decision's significance, denied it was either technical or formal. He said:

"It is a matter of importance not only to the defendants charged with a serious crime, but also to the order-

ly conduct of Congressional committees. The times in which we live have brought before the courts a flood of cases involving the Congressional investigative power, its limitations and the rights of witnesses called before such investigative bodies. Whether the committee was ever vested with power should not be a matter of guesswork on the part of the defendant charged with a crime."

Judge Weinfeld said he would require any indictment to show that the committee's inquiry was authorized, that it had not exceeded its scope, that the questions which defendants declined to answer were pertinent to the subject of the inquiry and that the witness' refusal to answer was intentional.

**ADVICE FROM EINSTEIN:** Lamont was brought before McCarthy on the pretext that his book, "The Peoples of the Soviet Union," had been listed in the bibliography of an Army handbook. He declined to answer 23 questions concerning his politics and associations at the time he wrote the book though he testified he had never been a Communist.

When Albert Shadowitz appeared before McCarthy in Dec., 1953, he told the committee:

"I discussed this matter personally with Dr. [Albert] Einstein in Princeton. . . . He advised me not to cooperate with this or any other committee of the same nature. He said any question relating to my personal beliefs, politics, association with other people, reading, thinking and writing, I should refuse to answer as a violation of the First Amendment."

The late Prof. Einstein had earlier advised Brooklyn High School teacher William Frauenglass to refuse such testimony, "even at the cost of jail and economic ruin" because it violates the spirit of the Constitution.

**NONE CAN BE VALID:** Commenting on the victory, Mr. Lamont said:

"The McCarthy committee never had any legal authorization from the Senate for its investigations. All other contempt indictments from McCarthy's inquiries should therefore also be declared invalid."

The McCarthy Committee, for which no legal basis has yet been established, led to a number of contempt citations. Those with cases still pending in the courts and whose outcome may be affected by Judge Weinfeld's ruling, are: author Harvey O'Connor, Chandler Davis, teacher Goldie Watson, Prof. Barrows Dunham, Dr. Wendell Furry, research asst. Leon J. Kamin and electrical worker Diantha Hoag. However, the damage done outside the courts to "unfriendly" witnesses is irreparable.

**BELFRAGE A VICTIM:** Scores of witnesses who challenged the committee's authority and resisted its bludgeoning lost their jobs and were driven from their careers. A number faced deportation and denaturalization proceedings. Among these is GUARDIAN editor Cedric Belfrage who now faces immediate deportation as a direct result of Sen. McCarthy's demand. Belfrage and GUARDIAN executive editor James Aronson, subpoenaed by McCarthy, cited the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer some of the Senator's questions; McCarthy called for Belfrage's deportation. He was arrested the next day.

McCarthy lost his chairmanship of the subcommittee when the Democrats took control of the Senate. It is now working closer to its proper sphere of probing government operations by inquiring into the private business connections of Air Force Secy. Talbott. However, other witch-hunting groups such as the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee continue their wide-ranging and damaging

inquisitions.

The Senate voted two more contempt citations last week against attorney Harry Sacher and writer Joseph Starobin. Both had clashed with the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Sacher had told the committee it was "beneath his dignity" to discuss his political views with them.

Starobin said he was harassed "because I published a book with the same publisher as [Harvey] Matusow eight months before he did." He added:

"My political views are a matter of well-known record but my party affiliations, whatever they may be, are my private affair."

In San Francisco a U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reduced the contempt sentence of Communist Party official Mrs. Oleta O'Connor Yates from three years to one. In the 1952 Smith Act trials Mrs. Yates had refused to testify concerning associates in the party. A five-year Smith Act sentence is on appeal to the Supreme Court.



CORLISS LAMONT  
He challenged the usurper

ALL LABOR UNDER THE GUN

# Mine-Mill hit with new law to break strike, destroy union

ELEVEN MONTHS after the frenzied 83d Congress stampeded in its closing rush-hour and passed the Communist Control Act with only two dissenting votes, that measure's deadliest guns went into action against the labor movement. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell last week petitioned the Subversive Activities Control Board to find that the independent Intl. Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers is "communist infiltrated."

Under the act, if Mine-Mill is so branded, it will lose the right to represent its 80,000 members. More than that, it will open a grim new chapter in suppression which could end in government licensing and control of all unions. The timing of the move, in the fourth week of Mine-Mill's strike against the non-ferrous metal companies, underscored the measure's prime use as a strike-breaking weapon.

**HOW IT WORKS:** The pattern was outlined on Aug. 11, 1954, during Senate debate on the bill by Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.):

"Let us assume a situation in which the Attorney General of the U.S. is anti-labor. That is not beyond the realm of possibility. . . . Assume that a business concern goes to him and makes the charge that the union with which it has to deal is communist-dominated. It points out union members A, B and C. The Attorney General could find that those members make the union substantially communist-dominated. . . . Suppose there were a situation such as a prospective steel strike or an actual steel strike and an Attorney General who is anti-labor should decide that the union is substantially dominated by communists. He makes such a finding, the government goes to work at once, and it is only a matter of a short time until the strike is broken."

Morse, like most "liberals," ended by voting for the bill, but the picture he drew in his "assumption" proved deadly accurate. On July 1, 30,000 Mine-Mill members struck in three major copper chains, Kennecott, Phelps-Dodge and American Smelting and Refining. The companies, though enjoying record profits, had turned down the union's demands for a 20c an hour wage boost and a guarantee of \$60 a week (including unemployment compensation) for laid-off workers. Anaconda Copper, fearing to jeopardize its \$57 million a year profits, had settled for a 15c compromise.

**THE AUTHOR:** Ten other AFL, Railway Brotherhood and independent unions struck the three companies along with Mine-Mill; picket lines shut copper plants down all across the country. In Washington there was talk of a Taft-Hartley injunction, but President Eisenhower said a copper shortage of emergency proportions would have to

be demonstrated, and Anaconda was still producing.

Brownell acted as a settlement neared in the strike. Shortly after his move Phelps-Dodge and union negotiators came to terms on a wage boost ranging from 11½c to 17c an hour and improved welfare provisions.

Brownell, in his petition to the SACB, said that Mine-Mill

"... has been made into an instrument for the promotion and advancement of the aims and objectives of Communist organizations, foreign Communist governments and the world Communist movement."

In a separate statement he said that by applying the act the government was helping the rank-and-file "to clear their ranks of Communist dictators."

**THE CHARGE:** The petition charges that the union's leaders are CP members, contributed funds to Red organizations, paid salaries to CP members, subscribed, sold and distributed Communist literature, used union offices and mailing lists for Communist propaganda. It charged the leaders with collaborating with Communists who were not members of the union, recruiting for Communist organizations and expelling those who opposed "communist domination."

Mine-Mill leaders at Denver (they learned of the action from a press dispatch) called the charges a "lie" and a "smear" and denounced Brownell as a strike-breaker.

Rumblings had preceded Brownell's move against Mine-Mill. The Senate Internal Security subcommittee recently recommended such action against Mine-Mill, the United Electrical Workers, Intl. Fur & Leather Workers,

(Continued on Page 5)



Herblock, Washington Post  
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## THE FACTS ABOUT THE AMERICAN ECONOMY—II

## Why it is impossible to delay or prevent a depression

By Tabitha Petran  
(Second of a Series)

ON THE HEELS of wage increases won by auto and steel workers, U.S. big business has "set the inflation ball rolling" (*Business Week*, 7/9). Steel price increases are expected to pyramid throughout the economy—though how far these increases can be passed on to the consumer remains "the multi-billion dollar question" (BW).

While big business is frankly squeezing the most profits out of a market whose limits are becoming discernible, illusions about a new kind of capitalism, freed of depressions, are becoming more widespread. These illusions, as the *GUARDIAN* showed last week, hinge on the belief that the business cycle of boom and bust can be so controlled as to "delay" and/or "avoid" depression.

**THE SMALL ONES:** A private enterprise economy is always subject to fluctuations, some minor, some localized, some major. In minor fluctuations (1924, 1927, 1949, and to some extent 1953-54) the proportions do not develop to the stage where they break down into major catastrophe; they are signs of coming events. The maladjustments can be temporarily compensated because along with them there usually exist sources of strength (unfinished capital expansion or overhanging auto or housing demand) which hold the economy up.

Under such circumstances, government action can temporarily help. Easier credit terms, public works programs, tax cuts for consumers bolster consumer demand, prop up business markets and the speculative incentives of business.

**THE BIG ONES:** But a major depression presents a uniquely different situation: the contradictions which have been developing throughout the boom period (including the "minor" fluctuations) come to full fruition and cause a breakdown in economic operations. The whole machinery bogs down. Values topple; capital (its money aspect) is destroyed; credit contracts sharply; mass unemployment is rampant; the capital goods industries shrivel up and a huge portion of consumer demand is wiped out.

Behind this breakdown lies the fact that business has built up capacity far in excess of what consumers can buy at prices which will yield business necessary profits and the capital for speculation. (The same situation of surplus pertains in autos and housing.) With markets surfeited, the volume of production and levels of employment and wages decline. At this point, there is a halt in the expansion of the capital goods industries. This leads before long to a sharp cut in the demand for capital goods. And this reduced demand continues for a long time—until it becomes profitable for the surviving capitalists to invest again.

**MONEY INTO MONEY:** In a boom period, both consumer and business demand becomes bloated by (1) over-extension of credit and (2) speculation. The

latter is the key to capitalism and boom: business, driven to turn money into more money, invests and speculates in anticipation of higher profits.

Declining demand for capital goods and the pricked balloon of credit and speculation lead to immobilization of the economy. Stimulants for an economy on the brink of such immobilization cannot bring it back to life; they can only make it easier for one group or another to endure the crisis.

When it is understood how much of our economy today is based on debt and speculation, how vulnerable our machinery, durable goods, construction industries have become (as later articles will show), then it is apparent that the next decisive change in the economy must be cumulative and of vast proportions, producing a reaction of great magnitude. The crackup of the economy is not likely to be as spectacular as in 1929 but its ultimate course will be that of a major depression. Against the tremendous forces involved in the downward pull of a major depression, measures relied upon to prevent and/or delay it are peanuts.

**PAY FOR JOBLESS:** Unemployment insurance, for example, is the most important of the "built-in stabilizers." But it runs out very soon. In each year of the decline it will become smaller and smaller since fewer and fewer will qualify. It is also limited as to rate. In last year's recession total payments rose by \$1 billion, but this was less than 1% of total personal income. In a major decline such payments could counterbalance only a tiny fraction of the huge decrease in purchasing power which would occur with the layoffs of tens of thousands in the capital goods industries—and this only in the first year.

**GOVERNMENT ACTION:** The nature of capitalist economy is such that in order to sustain itself it must continuously expand. None of the proposals for government action are big enough to give real impetus to this expansion; they are even inadequate to counter a decline. The *Illinois Business Review* (3/55) called dependence on such counter-action

"... unrealistic about both the mechanics of government programming and the magnitude of the problem. . . . Specifics are always a matter of disagreement, debate and controversy. Some measures will, of course, be approved. But how soon and how much? A major decline would require positive programs far beyond anything now contemplated."

"Government action" generally means public works expenditures. Let's examine the timing and magnitude of the expenditures required:

**TIMING:** A depression cannot be pinpointed in time with any scientific exactitude; yet in order to affect its course, government spending must start long in advance of the crisis. Public works projects need much advance planning. The question of timing will always present a decision of acting too soon or too late. If too soon, such spending will add to inflationary pressures, creating tensions which may

intensify a cycle leading to slump. If too late, obviously the crisis will develop anyway. In other words, deliberate control by government spending is impossible so long as major investment, production, and distribution of income decisions are in the hands of private-profit owners.

**MAGNITUDE:** The magnitude of the effort required is shown by the World War II program: military expenditures rose to \$88 billion (1944) and the government entered directly into almost every strategic field of the economy. It allocated resources, imposed restrictions on prices, wages, sale of consumer goods, etc., and bought goods produced by private enterprise. But it did not disturb the social structure nor interfere with the profits of business. In fact, business refused to produce for the war program until it won its steep demands.

A program of the requisite magnitude would require a complete reversal from the present orientation based on profits to one based on social values.

To spend such vast sums on useful projects (and at least that much would be required) is something very different from military spending. During the Great Depression, New Deal spending never rose above \$5 billion a year. Yet it was bitterly fought by business on the grounds of (1) boondoggling and (2) "creeping socialism." The New Deal, in fact, undertook much useful work; but its every venture into useful projects was fought as invading private enterprise. A bigger program would generate greater opposition. Any program of government spending for the needs of the people will inevitably be fought out on the political field as the issue of socialism.

**THE CONTRADICTION:** When we consider the economic implications of spending, say, \$90 billion a year on what people need, it becomes clear that here too the issue of socialism cannot be avoided. Spending such sums would require planning throughout the economy; control of investment, production, distribution of income, profits. But such planning and control cannot be introduced into an economy which, by its very nature, is anarchic and planless, and whose law of motion is the drive for private profit. The New Deal represented the greatest effort to "reform" capitalism by welfare spending. Yet all the spending of the New Deal could not liquidate the 1929 crisis: in 1939 production was still below the 1929 level, despite the increase in population and productivity.

Furthermore, in 1937-38 a new and severe crisis developed with production dropping almost 36%. Britain's Lord Beveridge has written that at that time "a repetition of 1929-33, even more severe, was setting in." The 1938 recession signalled the failure of the New Deal's efforts to reform capitalism on an economic level, as did the defeat of President Roosevelt's 1938 efforts to purge the Democratic Party on a political level. The system was "saved" only by the approach and outbreak of World War II.

**NEXT WEEK: The Forces Behind The Boom.**

## War &amp; peace

(Continued from Page 1)

tacking Saigon's Majestic and Gallieni Hotels, where the Indian-Polish-Canadian Armistice Commission members were housed. The Diem police stayed away until the rioters had wrecked rooms, broken furniture, ripped clothes and destroyed documents.

India, Poland and Canada protested vigorously to Diem. New Delhi demanded that Britain and the U.S.S.R.—as co-signers of the Geneva truce agreement—take steps to halt the anti-commission rioting and arrange for an Asian summit meeting. The demand forced the Far East to the informal attention of the Big Four at Geneva.

**DIEM DECLINES:** Premier Diem declined N. Vietnam's invitation to confer on July 20 in preparation for the July, 1956, all-Vietnam elections, as required by the 1954 Geneva truce agreements. Three months ago Washington secured "reluctant British and French support" for Diem in return for a guarantee of all-Vietnam elections in 1956; but Diem is reported "in adamant opposition to" holding the scheduled national elections (NYT, 6/8) because, despite "copious American military and economic aid" (NYT, 7/17), his government "has few real roots among . . . peasants [who] make up 80 or 90% of the population" (NYT, 7/8). Washington isn't pressing Diem because the inevitable Viet Minh victory in such elections "would be a critical blow to SEATO"

and would weaken neighboring Asians' allegiance to the U.S. (*Christian Science Monitor*, 6/27).

Meanwhile Diem continued his repressive policies; he recently arrested "more than 100 men and women for demonstrating in favor of elections to unite Vietnam" (*Reuters*, 7/3). Disillusioned refugees from the north have been leaving S. Vietnam by the thousands, 5,200 of them returning to the

north in recent months (*Worldwide Press*, 6/30).

**DOUGH FOR HO:** While Diem's popularity sank to a new low, N. Vietnam President Ho Chi Minh returned home last week from a visit to Peking and Moscow. Peking promised Ho \$338 million in economic aid "without compensation" to rebuild railways and river docks, highways and bridges; Moscow granted \$100 million in economic aid,

## Noted Catholic layman looks at Diem

The following are excerpts from a report in the *London Sunday Times* (4/24, 5/1) by the English novelist Graham Green, a prominent Catholic layman, after his visit to Indo-China:

"It is Catholicism which has helped to ruin the Government of Mr. Diem [who] has been exploited by his American advisers until the Church is in danger of sharing the unpopularity of the U.S. An unfortunate visit by Cardinal Spellman ('He spoke to us,' said a Vietnamese priest, 'much of the Calf of Gold but less of the Mother of God') has been followed by those of Cardinal Gilroy and the Archbishop of Canberra.

"The South has slipped into an inefficient dictatorship: newspapers suppressed, strict censorship, men exiled by administrative order and not by judgement of courts. . . . Mr. Diem may well leave his tolerant country a legacy of anti-Catholicism. . . .

"It was humiliating for a Catholic, at a press conference of the [Armi-

stice] Commission at Saigon, to hear a priest, representing some American paper which would have been more fittingly represented by a layman, rebuked by the Indian chairman for tendentious and unfair questions. . . .

"Sometimes a political priest has told [the N. Vietnamese]: 'God and the Virgin have gone South, only the Devil remains in the North.' Do they ask whether God is still on his travels when the Commissariat forgets them . . . and they have no rice or flour? And do they wonder sometimes where God will go next, if Ho Chi Minh comes South, and will they be able to leave with Him? . . .

"[French aid] is perhaps more appreciated than the aid from the U.S., for it does not ask anything in return. . . . [U.S. aid] is not the unobtrusive, spontaneous act of charity to which the poor are accustomed: the tents, the chicken coops, the packages of rations bearing the badge of American aid demand a kind of payment—cooperation in the cold war. . . ."

promised to build 25 factories in N. Vietnam, and to help combat epidemic diseases.

A dangerous situation has been developing in Formosa, where Chiang Kai-shek has disapproved the Geneva talks and firmly opposed any negotiations with Peking. According to N.Y. *World-Telegram* correspondent Edward Kennedy (7/2), morale of Chiang-supporters "has nose-dived"; Chiang's troops have been "defecting out the back door," slipping from Formosa to "the uninhabited islands south of Okinawa" and making their way back to the mainland; even airmen have defected, taking their planes with them; U.S. planners were seriously considering "stationing of American Marines [on Formosa] for internal security and protection of the vast stores of war goods" and "contemplating the day when U.S. troops might have to garrison [Formosa] without" Chiang's troops.

Washington has been reluctantly pushed into the Geneva talks by Premier Chou's offer at Bandoeng to negotiate directly with the U.S., by worldwide demand for lessening Far East tensions and by the preceding hopeful Big Four conference. Nevertheless, the August 1 talks seemed to have opened in an atmosphere of good will. Wang told correspondents:

"Provided both sides share the same desire and sincerity . . . these talks will . . . contribute to the relaxation of tension between China and the U.S."

# Bridges

(Continued from Page 1)

ers in the courtroom showed Gillard that their own passes had likewise expired. Bridges' co-counsel Richard Gladstein said he hesitated to call other longshoremen who could testify for Bridges because he feared similar retaliation against them.

**UNCONVINCING:** Gen. Taylor in pressing a motion to dismiss, called Schomaker's story "a transparent fabrication" which "bears other marks of its worthlessness."

When he handed down his decision, it was plain that Judge Goodman agreed. These are the words he used to describe testimony by the government's witnesses:

"... not at all convincing... lacks the weight necessary to meet the proper standard... inherently flimsy... unacceptable... unsubstantial and completely fails to sustain the claim made for it."

He summed up:

"To cancel respondent's citizenship, after ten years of presumptively good and proper citizenship, the government had to meet 'an exacting standard.' It did not meet this standard by the kind of witness it produced. Particularly is this so, after abortive

### A key in door to UMT

**T**HE NEW MILITARY reserve law, now awaiting the President's signature, is not quite the universal military training measure he asked for, but, as the N. Y. Times put it, it holds "a key to open a door to UMT."

Heart of the new act is its combination of active and reserve service totaling five years. A youth having completed his two-year draft will now have to serve three years in the "ready reserves," drilling one night a week for 48 nights at the nearest armory and, during summer, spending 17 days at active military training. Traditional U.S. freedom from coercive military service is gradually disappearing.



The Dispatcher, ILWU

"Now, bury the Bridges case!"

efforts to prove the same issue in different proceedings after the passage of many years."

**BACK TO WORK:** The judge voiced doubts that Bridges should have been granted citizenship as an alien "who knowingly consorted with those who hoped to achieve the overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence." But he said that "denaturalization was not a procedure for correcting errors." He said Bridges was not "a good witness" but added this tribute:

"Not a single witness testified to any act of Bridges that concerned anything except activity that promoted the interest of his union."

The judge took note of the pressures at work in the case, but said:

"Only a weak yielding to extrajudicial clamor would excuse acceptance of the testimony of the witnesses in this case as proof of the allegations of the complaint."

Bridges commended the judge "for not being influenced by circumstances outside the courtroom or public pressure." He hailed the decision as "a victory for the union and all those who stood so stoutly with me... Now I can go back to work, union work."

# Mine-Mill union

(Continued from Page 3)

Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and the American Communications Assn. Last week the same committee said Reid Robinson, ex-president of Mine-Mill, would testify on communism in the labor movement. The committee has been holding executive hearings behind closed doors.

**WILL BIG LABOR ACT?** Key to labor's future may be its reaction to this first use of the Communist Control Act against a union. Both the CIO and AFL opposed the measure while it was being debated, but their opposition was noticeably softened after Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N. Y.) inserted the clause providing that any union affiliated with a national federation

"... whose policies and activities have been directed to opposing Communist organizations, any communist foreign government, or the world communist

movement shall be presumed not to be a Communist-infiltrated organization."

The clause was widely advertised as an exemption for AFL and CIO unions; but when Ives was asked whether action could still be taken against such affiliates, he said on the Senate floor:

"Nothing stands in the way of such action by the Attorney General or the [SACB]."

AFL lawyers later called the clause a safeguard. CIO attorneys were not so sure. CIO general counsel Arthur Goldberg last February warned all affiliates against communists seeking "shelter within the covering cloak of CIO affiliation." He added:

"... we in the CIO must necessarily be proud of the Congressional finding which is embodied in this presumption that unions affiliated with the AFL or the CIO are not Communist-infiltrated."

A hands-off policy by labor now could be the fatal act of appeasement.

# Begin Rosenberg Comm. probe

**A**S THE GUARDIAN went to press the House Committee on Un-American Activities headed by Rep. Walter (D.-Pa.) began an inquisition Aug. 2 of at least 30 individuals involved in activities of the Committee to Secure Justice for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The Committee was dissolved in late 1953 and was succeeded by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, now serving 30 years in Alcatraz for complicity in the alleged atom spy conspiracy for which Mr. and Mrs. Rosenberg were executed on June 19, 1953.

Ostensibly the Walter Committee sought information about the finances of the campaign mounted around the Rosenbergs, which brought the case to world attention.

**SOBELL CAUSE GAINS:** Similarly, the Sobell campaign has won wide adherence. Hundreds of prominent Americans have requested Sobell's transfer from Alcatraz and newly found evidence has

been made the basis for efforts to secure a new trial for him.

Joseph Brainin, national chairman of both committees, was unable to respond to a Walter Committee summons because of illness. Author David Alman and his wife Emily, originators and active leaders of the Rosenberg-Sobell campaigns, received summonses, along with leaders and rank-and-file workers in local committees as far west as Chicago.

**CAL. RALLIES:** The attack on the Rosenberg-Sobell campaigns brought increased interest in current activities of the Sobell Committee. Poet-novelist Yuri Suhl will speak at a series of meetings this week in the Bay Area of California, Aug. 9-14. The meetings are scheduled for San Francisco, Marin, Sonoma, Alameda and San Mateo counties. Dates and places may be obtained by calling the San Francisco Sobell Committee, 1122 Market Street, Room 216, tel. Market 1-9811.

## CALENDAR

### Berkeley, Calif.

PEOPLE'S WORLD ANNUAL BAZAAR for International Brotherhood & Peace DINNER, BARGAINS: PEOPLE'S WORLD ANNUAL BAZAAR, Handicrafts, Clothing, Food. SAT. AUG. 13, 9 a.m.-10 p.m. SUN. AUG. 14, 10 a.m.-8 p.m. 1819 Tenth St., Berkeley, Calif.

### Los Angeles

The American Socialist invites L.A. progressives to a meeting of readers & friends of the magazine, THURS., AUG. 11, 8 p.m. 10542 Bradbury Rd. (about 6 blocks south of Pico at 10,500 block.) Call VE 8-8835.

American Russian Institute "70th Birthday Celebration" for JUDGE STANLEY MOFFATT SUNDAY, AUG. 21, Mayfair Hotel 1256 W. 7th St. \$2.00 per person Messages welcomed

### Chicago

Visit of SOVIET FARM DELEGATION Aug. 11-16. Greet them upon arrival at Conrad Hilton. For details of Chicago itinerary call CHICAGO COUNCIL of Amer.-Sov. Friendship ANdover 3-1878.

## CLASSIFIED

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## FLORIDA WITCHHUNT

### Disbarment try Quashed by court

**D**ISBARMENT OF Miami attorney Leo Sheiner for invoking the Fifth Amendment before the Eastland Committee in March, 1954, has been overruled by the Florida Supreme Court.

At the time of his disbarment Sheiner was active in defense of Miami progressives undergoing a witch-hunt under the state's "immunity" law. The American Bar Association had asked the Court to uphold the disbarment.

### Weapon of fear

CUMBERLAND, WISC. The two major parties, by making use of fear, can very easily knock out any third political party movement. It is best to make use of a good publication, like the GUARDIAN, for pointing out the evils of the present social system. Charles Beaulieu

**Wanted: PLUMBER ELECTRICIAN. WATCH REPAIR RADIO REPAIR, LIQUOR STORE.** GUARDIAN office has been besieged with calls for these services. If you fit any of the above descriptions, an ad in the classified section will bring gratifying results.

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by  
**HARVEY O'CONNOR**

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### TWO VICTORIES IN A MONTH

## Court rules government can't evict for refusal to sign loyalty oath

JOHN AND DORIS RUDDER won their second victory within a month when, on July 20, a Federal Court of Appeals in Washington ruled that they could keep their apartment in low-rent Lincoln Heights Dwellings, despite their refusal to sign a tenants' "loyalty oath." Their earlier victory was a Federal Court of Appeals decision on July 6 that the couple could adopt Mrs. Rudder's 5-year-old-son—born out of wedlock—even though a District Court ruled against it because Mr. Rudder is a Negro (GUARDIAN, 7/18).

The D. C. Code under which

## N.J. prosecutor of Trenton Six case gets judgeship bid

FOUR YEARS after a jury in effect had agreed that the New Jersey case against the Trenton Six was an attempted frame-up, the man primarily responsible for the prosecution was nominated for a county judgeship. On July 13 N. J. Gov. Robert Meyner (D.), sent to the State Senate the name of Mario Volpe (R.).

As Mercer County prosecutor Volpe from 1948 to 1951 tried to convict and send to their deaths six N. J. Negroes for the murder of aged second-hand furniture dealer William Horner. After the murder Trenton police armed with tommyguns raided the Negro section of the city, seized the six.

**MEDIEVAL TACTICS:** Volpe announced that the six had confessed, but evidence showed that they had been drugged, beaten, tortured, held incommunicado. The murder weapons, two pop bottles, were impounded by Volpe; when examination showed that fingerprints on the bottles in no way matched those of the six, the evidence was suppressed.

The key witness—the only one who identified the six—admitted she had been coached by Volpe. The first trial resulted in a guilty verdict and death sentence; the verdict was reversed by the N. J. Supreme Court.

The second trial in 1951 ended in an acquittal of four, a "compromise" verdict of guilty for two, with a recommendation of mercy. The GUARDIAN stirred a worldwide protest with its stories branding the Trenton frame-up a "Northern Scottsboro case."

**NAACP PROTEST:** Throughout the trials Volpe was plainly contemptuous of the Negro defendants. Earlier he had defended in court a Trenton nightclub charged with refusing to serve Negroes.

The NAACP last week sent letters of strong protest to the N. J. Senate Judiciary Committee against the nomination; it cited not only his conduct in the Trenton Six case but his record of allowing 17 first-degree murder defendants to "cop" a plea—make a deal with the prosecutor to change their pleas of innocent to guilty on a lesser charge.

Gov. Meyner predicted that Volpe "will be a very able judge."

the Rudders were threatened provides that month-to-month tenancy may be ended on 30-days' notice and without the landlord's giving a reason. But the government as landlord cannot act thus arbitrarily, said the July 20 ruling, "for, unlike private landlords, it is subject to the requirements of due process of law" and such arbitrary action "is not due process."

**BIG STEP FORWARD:** The U. S. Housing Act of 1937 was

amended by the 1952 "loyalty" rider of Rep. Ralph Gwinn (R-N. Y.) to require tenants to swear they are not members of any organization on the Attor-



ney General's "subversive" list. The ruling said the Rudders' refusal to deny membership "was not proof that they are members" and added:

"Even proof that they were members of, e.g., a 'totalitarian' organization, knowing nothing

of its character, would be an arbitrary ground for an administrative decision to evict them from public housing."

The ruling pointed out that the Housing Authority had not given the Rudders a hearing and that the "subversive" list was meant for use in screening employes and not tenants. The ruling did not touch the question whether the Gwinn amendment was constitutional. A spokesman for the American Civil Liberties Union, recalling that the ACLU had attacked the Gwinn Amendment a year ago as unconstitutional, told the GUARDIAN that the ruling in the Rudder case "is definitely a big step forward" in the general fight for the people's civil liberties.

## Lest We Forget

TEN YEARS AGO THIS MONTH, on Aug. 6, 1945, an atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima.

ONE YEAR AGO THIS MONTH, on Aug. 9, 1954, a mighty voice in our land was stilled when the Hon. Vito Marcantonio fell dead in the rain on a street corner in the city he loved.

In SOLEMN COMMEMORATION of these two fateful anniversaries, it seems uniquely appropriate to recall the words of Vito Marcantonio in his last address in Congress on Dec. 15, 1950, on Hiroshima and the future peace of the world:

"Mr. Chairman . . .

"Remember one thing:

"A bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. It had terrible consequences but it did not frighten the people of China . . . the people of Korea . . . the people of Asia. The threatened use of the atomic bomb has only alienated decent-minded people.

"Mr. Chairman, the best defense of these United States is not armaments; the best defense of these United States is a policy of peace.

"I say that our problems can be resolved without the sacrifice of a single interest of the American people . . . by courageously carrying out honest negotiations for peace.

"But you cannot enter into these honest negotiations unless you recognize the right of the Chinese people to self-determination and national unity. We must accept the people of Asia and China as equals.

"The best defense of America does not lie in the atom bomb. It can be thrown in both directions and destroy us, too.

"The best defense of America lies in a policy of peace, and today specifically the best defense of America is peace with China."

—From *I Vote My Conscience*, a selection of the speeches and political writings of Vito Marcantonio; a work now in preparation by the Vito Marcantonio Memorial, 1484 1st Av., N. Y. City.

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**Artists to talk at ASP forum**

**STARLIGHT** Forums presented by the N.Y. Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions will open the second half of the season Sunday evening, Aug. 7, with a discussion of "Art in Society" by artists Ernest Crichlow and Robert Gwathmey.

Other forums scheduled are: "Folk Music—Fact and Fancy," led by a well-known musicologist, Aug. 14; reading of a new play on the pre-Civil War period by Lester Cole, Aug. 21; readings by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein from "I Vote My Conscience," the forthcoming political autobiography of Vito Marcantonio, Aug. 28.

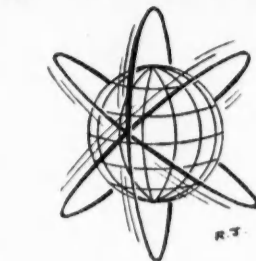
The forums are held every Sunday at 8:30 p.m. on the terrace of Penthouse 10 A, 59 W. 71 St.

**Hiroshima rally Aug. 10 at Carnegie**

**NEW YORK** WILL mark the tenth anniversary of the atom-destruction of Hiroshima with a public meeting Wednesday evening, Aug. 10, at Carnegie Hall.

The meeting, organized by the newly-formed Hiroshima Commemorative Committee, will feature speakers Arthur Upham Pope and Rabbi Louis D. Gross. It will also include the presentation of a play specially written for the meeting, called *The Search* and starring Alice Childress.

The Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shpieler, editor of the *Churchman*, has gathered a long list of distinguished sponsors for the meeting, including Van Wyck Brooks, Emily G. Balch, Henry Seidel Canby, Prof. Thomas Emerson, Royal W.



France, Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Prof. Philip Morrison, Prof. William Ernest Hocking.

The meeting will call for east-west control of nuclear weapons tests, peaceful uses of atomic energy and no more Hiroshimas. Tickets at \$1, \$1.50 and \$2.50 available at committee offices, 1133 Broadway; tel. WA 9-1855.

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**TEN YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA COMMEMORATIVE MEETING** DEDICATED TO... No More Hiroshimas Mutual control of test nuclear explosions, East and West Putting the atom to work for peace and health **CARNEGIE HALL, WED., AUG. 10, at 8 P.M.** SPEAKERS... **ARTHUR UPHAM POPE • RABBI LOUIS D. GROSS** DRAMATIC PRESENTATION: "THE SEARCH" SPONSORS (Partial List) Emily G. Balch, Van Wyck Brooks, Dr. Allan M. Butler, Witter Bynner, Henry Seidel Canby, Prof. Thomas I. Emerson, Royal W. France, Prof. Wm. Ernest Hocking, Prof. Elizabeth E. Hoyt, Prof. Erich Kahler, Rev. Dr. Dana E. Klotzle, Hon. Stanley Moffatt, Prof. Philip Morrison, Bishop Arthur W. Moulton, Lewis Mumford, Dr. Otto Nathan Rev. Dr. Sheby Rooks, Dr. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Rev. Dr. Stanley Stuber, Dr. G. H. Whipple, J. Raymond Walsh. ADMISSION: \$1.00, 1.50, 2.50. Auspices: Hiroshima Commemorative Committee, Rev. Dr. Guy Emery Shpieler, Chairman. 1133 Broadway. Tel. WA 9-1855

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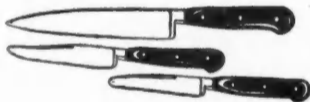
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**VITO MARCANTONIO**

Dec. 10, 1902 — Aug. 9, 1954



**HOW MANY**—grateful these days for the precious few small blessings forthcoming from today's machine-made legislators—realize what an almighty blessing it was to have had Vito Marcantonio in the Congress of the United States for almost all the years from 1934 to 1950?

This writer knew Marc for all those years and more—in the '30's as a news reporter comes to know a news-making political figure; in the '40's and until his death last August as friend and ally in the many great efforts in which American labor and the progressive movement knew in Marc their staunchest advocate. Students of our government may one day reach the conclusion, as I have for myself, that Vito Marcantonio to date has had no peer as an all-around, triple-threat people's advocate in the history of the U.S. House of Representatives. Others may have their candidates for this eminence (already I hear cries of "Thaddeus Stevens," "Abraham Lincoln," "Florello La Guardia") and these columns will welcome such a debate.

These paragraphs do not set out to review Marc's whole career—although there was scarcely a people's issue in all his years in Congress on which he did not either initiate the legislation or lead the fight for its passage. Rather the writer's purpose is to highlight three guiding themes of Marcantonio's and to urge rededication to them on this, the first anniversary of his untimely death.

**FROM THE OUTSET OF THE COLD WAR** in 1946, through the Truman Doctrine of 1947, the mounting war programs of '48-'49, the start of the Korean War and the threat against Vietnam and China, Marcantonio was the principal spokesman in his country for peace. The cynical coalition of Democrats, Republicans and Liberals which defeated him for Congress in 1950 failed to silence him. The peace for which Marcantonio's was the lone voice in Congress at the start of the Korean War became the demand of the whole American people—the demand which brought about the downfall of the Cold War Democrats in 1952.

Now, three years later, the course which Marcantonio demanded "in the highest interest of the American people" has become the course of the nation—twice at Geneva, in the forthcoming U.S.-Chinese talks, in the disarmament conferences scheduled for the end of this month.

Who can say that the course of peace would today be even the fitful course of this nation without courage and example.

**THEY CALLED MARC A COMMUNIST**—maliciously, knowing this to be a lie and hoping to impair his effectiveness. Yet despite the canards, no liberty-loving American in his years did more to implant the principle that the first defense of American liberties is the defense of the rights of Communists. That this philosophy should have been the contribution of the Representative in Congress of the slums of East Harlem is a tart commentary indeed on the Ivy League libertarians of his time. For this fight, too, will be won—and when it is, the tribute will belong to the man who fought the witch-hunt in America a decade or more before it became fashionable to be "anti-McCarthy."

**FINALLY, BUT FOREMOST** in the makeup of this unerring man of the people was his belief in independent political action. Marc's early political affiliation, inherited from his mentor Florello La Guardia, was Republican. In his book this meant anti-Tammany, the only such course then practical. But Marc was a New Dealer, too, like La Guardia. Thus it became a political necessity for these men to abandon traditional politics to help bring the principled American Labor Party into existence.

When the crises of the Cold War forced the abdication of the ALP's labor leadership, Marc stepped in and for five years, until the end of 1953, sought to hold the ALP and the national Progressive Party together as the functioning cadre of a people's political realignment which he felt sure must come.

This he was unable to do against the "lesser-evil" tendencies which have now brought independent political action to its lowest point in American politics in 20 years.

But this principle, too, will have its rebirth and its new victories and when it does the very finest we can hope for it is that it will produce representative government in our land as true to the people and their democratic heritage as was Vito Marcantonio.

—John T. McManus

There will be a memorial tribute to Vito Marcantonio at noon Tues. Aug. 9, at his grave in Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, N. Y., under auspices of the Vito Marcantonio Memorial.

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