

'Whole population of U.S. will be adversely affected'

We said and we say again that we are victims of the grossest type of political frame-up known in America. . . My husband and I are only two people, but this case has significance which far transcends our personal lives. The entire population of America will be adversely affected by our persecution.

—Statement by Ethel Rosenberg when she was transferred to the Sing Sing death house.

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN special correspondent

AT ten o'clock at night on Feb. 25 the news came to Ethel Rosenberg over the portable radio at the end of the cell block where for 11 months she has been alone save for the matron who brings food to her six-by-eight cell.

Justices Jerome Frank, Harrie B. Chase and Thomas Swan of the U.S. 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals had scrutinized "with extraordinary care" the record of the trial of herself and her husband on "atom-spy" charges. Their decision was that it was entirely legal to put these two young American progressives, parents of two small boys, to death.

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg knew what it meant; their thoughts for the rest of that night, and since, must have been largely occupied with wondering how long it would take their fellow Americans to realize it.

MILLIONS OF "SPIES": The second highest court in the land had in effect drawn a 43-page blueprint for making fascism legal in America. It had set the precedent under which political non-conformism, described as "espionage," merits the extreme penalty of death. It had given clear warning that Americans can henceforth look for protection of their constitutional rights, not to the Bill of Rights, but to whatever consideration a McCarthy, a McCarran, a McGrath or a Truman might deign to show them.

The decision climaxed a year in which Ethel Rosenberg's prediction—that "the entire population will be adversely affected by our persecution"—has been increasingly confirmed. Ever since the Rosenbergs' conviction J. Edgar Hoover and Atty. Gen. McGrath have been promising that more "spy" arrests would follow. With the Appeals Court opinion written into law, the number of Americans who can legally be jailed or executed for "espionage" seemed limited only by the capacities of the machinery for arranging convictions.

The press played its part to the end by wilful distortion of the defense arguments where these were not suppressed altogether.

SCAFFOLD SEMANTICS: The Rosenbergs' appeal submitted by attorney Emanuel Bloch first challenged the constitutionality of the espionage statute under which they were put on trial: its reference to transmitting information "relating to national defense" defies clear-cut interpretation and thus violates the First, Fifth and Sixth Amendments. Undefined by any legal or standard dictionary, "national defense" can be made to contain whatever meaning anyone would want to ascribe to it—an argument corroborated by the U.S. Supreme Court's one purported definition which calls it

... a generic concept of broad connotations, referring to the military and naval establishments and the related activities

To save two lives

The Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case is meeting this week to chart a course of emergency action to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The action, designed to arouse the widest possible public protest, will be announced at the first New York mass meeting on the case March 12 at Pythian Hall, 135 W. 70th St., at 8:30 p.m. Meanwhile write to the committee, 246 Fifth Av., New York 1, N.Y., offering your support and asking for pamphlets and other material on the case.

'THE MISSING LINK'



In our day in courts across the land "expert" testimony is being given by the stoolpigeon and the renegade, words which in the twisted lexicon of 1952 America have become synonymous with 100% patriotism. One such bit of expert testimony by expert stoolpigeon Elizabeth Bentley (above) helped convict Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (right) for a sentence of death. There is still time to save these two lives: arm yourselves with the facts in the story (left)—spread them as widely as you can, of national preparedness.

The Appeals Court brushed this aside with a quote from a Supreme Court decision involving a bus company, given 2½ weeks after the Rosenberg appeal was argued:

... But few words possess the precision of mathematical symbols, most statutes must deal with untold and unforeseen variations in factual situations, and the practical necessities of discharging the business of government inevitably limit the specificity with which legislators can spell out prohibitions. Consequently, no more than a reasonable degree of certainty can be demanded. Nor is it unfair to require that one who deliberately goes perilously close to an area of proscribed conduct shall take the risk that he may cross the line.

THE PROOF THAT WASN'T: "The question of communism," the appeal brief pointed out, "permeated the case from the prosecution's opening statement to the time of its submission to the jury"; and since the trial record "remained bare of proof" of any communist beliefs or affiliations of the Rosenbergs, such testimony could have no purpose but to inflame and prejudice the jury. But the Appeals Court, finding "relevant" evidence of an American's political and social views or of "devotion to another country's welfare"—an "attitude" which "bears on a possible motive for his spying"—ruled:

The government had to prove that the Communist Party was tied to Soviet causes in order to make membership in it meaningful as evidence of motive or intent to aid Russia. . . . To that end, the government put Elizabeth Bentley on the stand . . . [and] she supplied the missing link connecting the Communist Party with the Soviet Union and making Communist Party membership probative of motive or intent to aid Russia.

All this was predicated on the court's declaration that "evidence was introduced . . . that they (the Rosenbergs) were members of the Communist Party." Yet no such evidence was ever introduced; the Appeals Court simply invented it, and the press in its congratulatory comments on "justice being

(Continued on Page 4)

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WAR & PEACE

Lisbon 'ballyhoo' a flop; U.S. in sweat on France

SOUNDS OF TRIUMPH came from Washington last week. Secy. Acheson said the "historic" NATO Lisbon parley made "giant strides" towards a powerful united Europe. The State Dept. hailed the signing in Tokyo of the "security pact" perpetuating U.S. extraterritorial rights and bases in Japan. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 13 to 0, favored ratification of the Japanese "peace treaty."

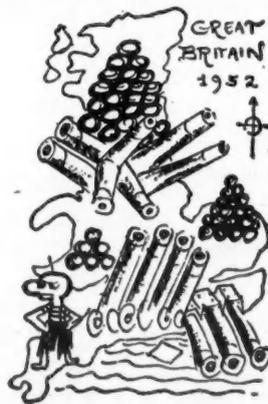
World War III, science editor William L. Laurence told readers of the N.Y. Times (Feb. 28), had already been won on the deserts of Nevada. The Pentagon prepared 12 more atomic tests, some related to the "cataclysmic hydrogen bomb" which "U.S. scientists have definitely established . . . can be pro-

duced" (Robt. S. Allen, N.Y. Post, Feb. 28). (Dr. L. E. C. Hughes, chairman of Britain's Atomic Information Institute, said a big-scale H-bomb explosion would probably be the end of the world, but doubted if it could be achieved.)

The U.S. is now committed to "protect" some 37 countries (560 million people, 45% of the rest of the world's area), with U.S. military aid going to an additional nine countries (170 million people); military missions operating in 30 countries; over 100 U.S. air bases in some 10 nations and their colonies. Altogether 60 nations have agreements for U.S. military or economic aid under the Mutual Security Agency (10 are in various stages of protesting its requirement of support for U.S. foreign policy).

"STARTLING NOTION" AHEAD? But history's most ambitious empire-builders seemed uneasy. Ambassador-at-Large John Foster Dulles (Feb. 29) said "diversity" of opinion is today permissible only if "contained within a framework of unity," for "never before has our peril been so great." The Wall St. Journal (Feb. 26) deplored the Administration's "impatience with democratic process." Its Washington correspondent, W. C. Bryant, (Feb. 26) found government men fearing "a mild recession" in 1952; "if it weren't for the defense program," a White House economist told him, "we'd be in a very serious situation now." Top government officials, said Bryant, have the

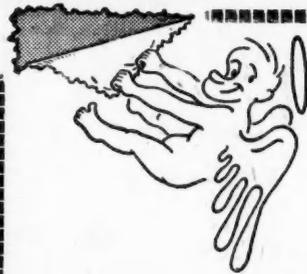
... startling notion that a year from now



Daily Worker, London

"NOW WOT!"

(Continued on Page 4)



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Needed: a positive plan

BERKELEY, CALIF. Recently one of your stories referred to the Hobson's choice offered by the bi-partisans: international war or domestic depression. Please remember that these must not be the only alternatives. To my mind, the great need of the progressive movement today is the formulation of a positive, constructive peace program with specific measures that are capable of immediate application: trade with the rest of the world, a school building and education program especially devoted to the needs of Negroes and other minorities; public health expenditures, price controls, fair taxes, etc.

Each of these measures can alleviate distress and benefit millions of people threatened with the breakdown of a capitalist economy. Therefore, a responsible political party can support such action in good conscience, so long as it also tells the people of the need for ultimate basic change. If the GUARDIAN, in a series of articles, can develop a practical course of action along these and related lines, exploiting to the full the "slack" which exists even in the present inefficient society, it will perform a real service.

William Doyle

There'll be a choice

VANCOUVER, WASH. Am greatly pleased to hear that the Progressive Party is to enter candidates at the next election. It is so obvious that the Democrats have deserted the people as the Republicans had long before. How regrettable that Henry Wallace deserted us in such an unexplainable way. What an opportunity for him now. He would be almost sure to win with us.

Eugene Van Tiers

Humphrey's camps

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN. We have lots of "abolish" slogans. I suggest we add another one: "ABOLISH HUBERT HUMPHREY'S CONCENTRATION CAMPS." Recall

How crazy can you get dept.

Bell System companies have no alternative except to obtain increases in rates if they are to meet steeply rising costs. Cleo F. Craig, pres. of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co., states in his annual report to stockholders: . . . As previously reported, net income of AT&T for 1951 was equivalent to \$10.54 a share on the average of outstanding stock, compared with \$10.40 a share earned in 1950.

—Chicago Sun-Times, Feb. 25.

Free 1-year sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Mizzi Moser, Chicago, Ill.

that it was Sen. Humphrey and a few other "liberals" who sponsored the concentration camp amendment to the McCarran Act and that six of these camps are already complete and ready for business.

Name Withheld

Lovely music

PORTLAND, ORE. Response to invitation to a concert of chamber music to raise funds for the GUARDIAN was terrific! Enclosed check for \$68 represents loyalty and faith demonstrated not only by those who attended and enjoyed the concert but also those who phoned or wrote to say how sorry they were not to be able to attend. The need for a newspaper that speaks out for peace is greater than ever before.

Nadya Malbin

The Sampson story

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. I have been a subscriber to your publication almost since its birth. I have never found it necessary until now to write in criticism of one of your articles: Feb. 13 issue, "Edith Sampson makes the grade—as the State Dept. band plays 'Dixie.'"

At this time a great struggle for Negro representation and Negro liberation is being waged by the Negro people. White progressives in particular have a great responsibility. In printing the Sampson article the editors failed to understand what Negro representation means. The article lends aid to anti-Negroism, because it singles out Mrs. Sampson for special criticism as a misleader of her people.

I don't think it is up to the

GUARDIAN or any white person to take upon himself the job of criticizing any Negro as a misleader. The Negro people are capable of taking care of their own misleaders. Mrs. Sampson is not the main enemy of her people; those persons who perpetuate white supremacy are.

Before any Negro is attacked white Americans must ask themselves: What have I done to end discrimination? The answer: The Florida bombings, the Martinsville Seven, Mrs. Rosa Ingram, Willie McGee, and many others. White America has failed to protest strongly enough (myself included).

The fact that Mrs. Sampson is a delegate to the UN is a small degree of representation of the Negro people. I don't like the way Mrs. Roosevelt represents me. The article failed to blast Mrs. Roosevelt. Why the double standard? When a Negro doesn't do what we consider best for his people he is thrown into the category of being an opportunist. Are we as severe with white persons? No. Negro representation means Negro representation without reservations.

Alliea Budde

OUR Anglo-U. S. alliance

CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND To you and your readers: Greetings; to you and your staff: Congratulations. I get the GUARDIAN at second hand from a friend in London who has a subscription as a gift from a friend in America. So it reaches me late and irregularly. But each edition is invaluable, giving so much information, literally unobtainable elsewhere, of important events throughout your



Daily Express, London "I can quite see why the Americans regard Paul Robeson as an export reject, but why hold up the import of Graham Greene?"

continent. It is thrilling and encouraging to read of the ever greater activity of citizens of "the other America" (almost unreported in our press and by our radio), especially when we learn of the difficulties confronting those in your land who still believe in decency and humanity. It makes us proud to know that brave and honorable men and women are our allies. All we can do in return is to assure you and them of the increasing strength of the movement in this country for peace and a better society. They will never fail us; we will never fail them; together our Anglo-American alliance will be victorious.

T. Humphrey Lewis Magdalene Collage

Booklet of cartoons?

BRONX, N. Y. After reading "our" newspaper, I cannot help but chuckle at the various cartoons which appear from all parts of the world. I propose that the GUARDIAN print a booklet of each year containing these familiar cartoons and their significance.

G. Demaris

Chiang vs. the Madame

NEW YORK, N. Y. By 24 votes to 9 UN has, as the Herald Tribune headline puts it, "condemned Russian failure to carry out" its agreements with Chiang's China. Yet in the Dec. 21, 1940, Liberty I find this:

"... Throughout the first three years of [China's] resistance [to Japan], Soviet Russia extended to China, for the actual purchase of war materials and other necessities, credits several times larger in amount than the credits given by either Britain or America. . . . It was Russia who took an uncompromising stand in support of China's appeal . . . to brand Japan as the aggressor, [while] Britain, France, etc., compromised their consciences. When Japan protested . . . Russia did not wilt or surrender or compromise, but continued to send supplies and arms to China. . . . Russian help has been unconditional. . . . [Both Britain and the U.S. had] circumscribed their advances with condi-



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MARCH 5, 1952

REPORT TO READERS

Yes, that IS a pickle you see ahead of us

OUR MAILS these past two weeks have turned up quite a hatful of letters questioning the addressing of mailing-pieces for other publications to our mailing list.

What bothered people most was a gaudy effusion from a national newsweekly, applauding itself for leading the field in Red-baiting—if not in circulation and ad linage.

We suspect that a lot more readers were ruffled by this particular mailing than will ever let us know about it, which is why we are commenting on the matter here.

Here's what we want to get across:

WE HELD OUT for a long time against all proposals that we derive income from our mailing list, but times are tougher than you can possibly guess, so we finally had to succumb. The income from one such commercial mailing has paid the printing bill for a whole issue of the GUARDIAN at times when there was no other money to pay it.

Of course our mailing list stays in our custody under all circumstances; we merely address the pieces, just as we address your weekly paper. While we have the right to inspect and reject mailings, our attitude has been that a subscription list with the highest I. Q. in America will do its own rejecting or accepting of commercial propositions—whether a magazine or an encyclopedia.

SHOULD YOU GET THE IDEA from the foregoing that the GUARDIAN is heading into one of its seasonal financial pickles, and is doing everything it can to avoid one of those "last-ditch" appeals, you would be very, very right.

The only reason this is not a last-ditch appeal is that after the last one a very knowing subscriber advised us that instead of talking fatefully about the last ditch, we should be looking ahead to the next one.

The next ditch is just ahead. We tried to arrange to take it in stride by a non-calamitous mailing of our own last holiday season—which brought a generous response from the usual 10 per cent of our subscribers, but none from the remaining 90 per cent.

WHAT WE NEED from 90 per cent of you subscribers is your own renewal if it is due, overdue or nearly due; a couple of new subs among your friends; an extra \$5 bill or so if you can spare it to help us over the next ditch.

The materials for responding are all on this page. Will you use them today?

THE EDITORS

tions which prevented even one cent of money being used for badly needed munitions. . . . The author? Mme. Chiang Kai-shek. Berenice Noar

To the Po Valley

PITTSBURG, CALIF. I would like to inform you of a news item which failed to make the commercial press. Much to-do was made of the aid the U.S. sent Italy during and after the floods recently in the Po River Valley. However, nothing was said here of the aid sent by the people of the Soviet Union to the Italian farmers in the stricken areas.

The Italian newspaper *Vie Nuove* of Jan. 6, 1952, had pictures of the arrival of the Soviet ship "Tamir-zev" in Genoa. Aboard were tractors destined for the Emilian farmers, as well as cultivators and plows. There was wheat and flour, milk, sugar, seed corn, etc. All in all, the ship brought 700,000,000 lire worth of food and machinery, and engineers and technicians to instruct the Italian farmers in the use of the equipment. The ship had been loaded at Odessa by longshoremen, who worked on their own time, in record time. It was unloaded by Italian longshoremen who also worked on their own time.

Mrs. A. Azzalini

Not endearing

LOS ANGELES, CALIF. We have been sponsoring, organizing and attending numerous meetings dedicated to Negro history and brotherhood. The latest featured Dr. E. I. Robinson, head of the local NAACP branch, as the main speaker. I feel most strongly about the

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The full circle: From FDR's welfare state to Truman's warfare state

By Luke W. Wilson

PRESIDENT Roosevelt's birthday (Jan. 30) passed virtually unnoticed this year. To Americans who remember his policies for the people's welfare, and work for a return to them, this was hardly surprising. For the week before, his successor, Harry S. Truman, had with his 85-billion-dollar budget for fiscal 1953 carried the American people full circle from welfare to warfare since 1939.

By Truman's own figures, more than 76% of this vast sum is to arm the U.S. and its allies—what he calls "national security." Leaving aside veterans' benefits and payment on the debt (mostly for past wars), less than 12% of it goes to welfare and "other costs" of running the government. (More than half these "other costs" are also for war purposes.) This is a complete reversal of FDR's budget in 1939:

	1939		1953	
	Amount (millions)	Pct. of Budget	Amount (millions)	Pct. of Budget
"Natl. security"	\$1,140	12.7%	\$65,000	76.2%
Welfare & "other" gov't. costs	\$6,320	70.5%	\$ 9,891	11.6%

THE MIGHT-HAVE-BEEN: The contrast is startling. If welfare figured in Truman's 1953 budget as it did in FDR's 1939 budget, \$60 billion would be spent to the people's benefit next year. Here is what the people could get for that \$60 billion:

- 2 million low-cost homes with modern appliances.
- \$150 a month to every man and woman over 65.
- 200,000 new class rooms, and higher teachers' pay.
- 100,000 new hospital beds.
- A national health insurance and health care program for everyone.

- Solid farm price supports and aid to family farms.
- Five new valley development authorities for power, flood control, and farm modernization.
- A big road, building and repair program.
- A substantial rise both in money and real wages for every worker.

In both parties—from Byrd to Douglas and Humphrey among the Democrats, and from Taft to Morse among the Republicans—there is solid agreement on this shift from welfare to warfare state.



Their common idea of "national security" is not how to build the people's internal security, but how to put arms in their hands to destroy that security. The question dividing them is not how to go back to the welfare state, but how much further to cut welfare.

FADING WELFARE: The anti-welfare budget pruners have had most of their job done for them by Truman.

In 1939, for every man, woman and child in the U.S. the budget spent \$48.50 for welfare, \$8.75 for "national security." In 1953 Truman proposes to spend \$412.81 per person for "national security," \$62.73 for welfare and "other government costs." But translating the sunken 1953 dollar into 1939 dollars, as must be done for proper comparison, you find Truman is spending only \$33.19 per person for welfare, or \$15.31 less per person for welfare than in 1939. In terms of the changed value of the dollar, merely to equal 1939 expenditures Truman's welfare and "other government costs" would have to be raised to \$12 billion. To equal the 1939 share of national income would require raising welfare and other spending in 1953 to \$27 billion, in place of Truman's proposed \$9.9 billion.

PLAIN ROBBERY: Comparison of government spending with total national income is another way to grasp the change since 1939. Here is the picture:

	Pet. of total national income	
	1939 budget	1953 budget
Welfare & "other" gov't. costs	9	3.33
"National security"	1.6	22

In cold terms of what it is costing us and what we are getting for it, Truman's budget for 1953 will give the American people the worst gyping of their lives. Any way you look at it—even apart from higher prices and taxes—we are being robbed. That is the great numbers game being played on us by the Democrats and Republicans.

• Luke Wilson, of the Progressive Party national office, is an economist who served with the LaFollette Committee before the war.

IS IT TRUE WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT STALIN?

How the American budget compares with the Soviet budget—for war and peace

By Victor Perlo

AS the military gets more and more of the rising taxes they pay, Americans become increasingly aware that they are being robbed of the things they need. Who is robbing them? Washington and the press lay the blame at Moscow's door, saying these burdens are necessary to "catch up" with the Soviet arms budget. As supporting evidence, the press is now using the 1951 Survey of UN's Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). Until recently ECE's reports urged economic cooperation between East and West, but when U.S. delegates to the Intl. Chamber of Commerce demanded its abolition ECE started toeing the line: its new report contains many standard arguments of anti-Soviet economists.

The press added headlines having absolutely no foundation in or out of the report, such as the N.Y. Herald Tribune's "75% OF OUTLAY IN RUSSIA FOUND GOING INTO ARMS." Yet the real findings of the report lend no comfort to those blaming our own huge arms budget on Moscow.

OVER THERE & OVER HERE: Here is what the report does find:

- The Soviet military budget in 1951 was 96.4 billion rubles, equivalent to \$24 billion at official exchange rates.
- Truman's latest budget proposes \$65 billion for arms, 2½ times as much. (The Herald Tribune expert who charges the U.S.S.R. with excessive arming says the ruble is worth but one-third of its official exchange rate. If one accepts this, the Soviet military budget becomes \$8 billion, or one-eighth of ours.)
- Military expenditures account for 21% of the total Soviet budget.
- U.S. military expenditures are 76% of the total. (It is argued with some justification that many things included in the U.S.S.R. centralized budget are financed outside the U.S. federal budget, and this reduces the U.S. military percentage on a comparative basis.)
- Soviet expenditures to develop the



Daily News, Los Angeles
"I KNEW HIM WHEN"

national economy total 178.5 billion rubles—85% MORE than for arms.

In the U.S. the nearest comparable figure—gross private domestic investment—is running at the annual rate of \$54 billion, or 17% BEHIND the new military budget.

• Soviet expenditures for social and cultural purposes are 120.8 billion rubles—25% more than the military budget.

In the U.S. the combined federal, state and local budgets for education, health, social security, veterans' benefits etc. come to about 17 billion, or just over one-fourth of the military budget.

• Between 1947 and 1951 the Soviet military budget increased 45%.

United States military spending increased 203% between fiscal 1948 and fiscal 1952; Truman's new budget brings it to almost four times fiscal 1948.

• This from UN's report on the U.S.S.R. gave the N.Y. Times a "significant" quote:

Thus, in terms of the alternative uses foregone, the claims of national defense have been extremely heavy, equaling or exceeding the 1940 level in each of the last several years and, in 1951, being roughly two-thirds greater than the total volume of resources devoted to investment and defense purposes combined in 1937.

Yet Truman's new budget allocates three times as much resources to national security as the combined use of resources for military purposes and capital investment in 1937.

PEOPLE STILL FIRST: No one disputes that military spending is a strain on the Soviet economy. But all these comparisons show it is not nearly so severe a strain as in the U.S., and that it has not risen nearly as fast.

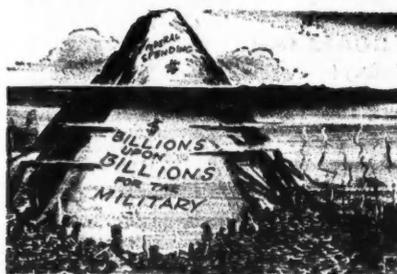
Moreover the U.S.S.R.'s total resources have increased very fast, so that in relation to the increase, today's military spending is little more strain than that of 1937—and less of a strain than "during the period of greatly intensified military preparations between the time of Munich and the German attack on the Soviet Union," as the report puts it. Yet in the U.S., military spending has never been such a strain in peacetime as now, and the tax and inflation burden on ordinary people is even more severe than during World War II. Here, military spending is the decisive economic factor; in the U.S.S.R. the military takes third place behind economic development and behind the people's needs for education, health, etc.

WHERE TO LOOK: Soviet military budgets have not prevented substantial improvement in living conditions since the war. The report finds that wartime housing losses (almost 50% in the cities, 30% in the countryside) have been more than made good in the cities, 90% made good in the country. Yet here, where not a bomb fell, the losses of neglect and segregation have not yet been made good for millions of families—and now the military budget is the excuse for indefinite postponement.

Each year from 1948 to 1951 the Soviet people benefited from price reductions which totaled a saving of 300 billion rubles (\$75 billion at official exchange rate). In the U.S. the rise in prices and taxes since the Korean War alone has cost workers annual purchasing power of \$30 billion, and the only prospect is for further price hikes in what Business Week calls this "Age of Inflation."

Who is robbing us? As you study your tax forms this month, don't look at the Kremlin—but at Wall St. and the Pentagon.

• Victor Perlo, former govt. economist and statistician, contributes from time to time to the GUARDIAN.



Gazette & Daily, York, Pa.
More than meets the eye

Washington 'Hunger March'

Welfare-cut victims camp at Capitol

ABOUT 60 persons sat in the lobby of Washington State's Secy. of State last week and saw the film Peace Will Win. Then they settled themselves and stayed the night.

They were part of the delegation of more than 100 who came to Olympia from all parts of the state to demand restoration of cuts made in welfare benefits. In recent months mothers' grants have been reduced 40%, general assistance 45%, aid to the totally disabled 37%. Some 24,000 children in the state are said to be "in acute need of food and clothing."

The "hunger march" was called by the Aid to Dependent Children's Union and the Washington Pension Union.

BY DAWN'S EARLY LIGHT: Gov. Langlie, out of town when the marchers arrived, hastily returned to the capital but saw only four of the delegates, promised no relief. The marchers, many of them women and some with children, prepared to camp for the night in Langlie's office, but state patrolmen pushed, dragged, heaved them out.

Many then went to Secy. of State Coe's office where they were allowed to spend the night and show the peace film. Coe said he conferred with the marchers during the night.

In the morning Gov. Langlie denounced as communist the Washington Pension Union and its leader William Pennock. As proof he cited testimony by the state's Un-American Activities Committee, the union's support for recognition of China, and its showing of Peace Will Win.

Nine years ago

One month ago progressives round the world celebrated as a turning point in history the victory of Stalingrad (Feb. 2, 1943), as Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, candidate for U.S. President, strove in Europe to bring a revived Nazi-led German army into the "free world defense" against the Soviet Union. On June 18, 1945, Eisenhower said in a speech before Congress:

"The abilities of the Soviet leadership and the courage and fortitude of their fighting men—and women—stir the emotions of anyone who admires soldierly virtues. The Soviet people have been called upon for terrible sacrifices in their own land, ravished by the bestial excesses of the German. Driven back to Stalingrad, their calm refusal to acknowledge the possibility of any other outcome than victory will be honored in history for all time to come."

Guardian boosters!

Having a party, a clambake or a bull session for the GUARDIAN? Wherever you are, let THEODORA PECK in on your plans in advance. She'll help you with invitations, lists and whatnot. Write her at 17 Murray St. N.Y.C. 7, N.Y. or call her at WOrth 4-1750.

Lisbon fanfare flops; Paris worries U.S.

(Continued from Page 1)

the government, still in the midst of a huge arms buildup, may be doing its best to prime the pump for civilian business. The WSJ editorialized (Feb. 27):

It is untrue that arms making bolsters a genuine prosperity. It only creates an illusion of well being in which employment is high but partly wasted, wage and profit gains are quickly eaten up by rising costs and spending money mushrooms while its exchange value shrinks.

EVERYBODY'S TIRED: Meanwhile Congress was ringing up "an outstanding record of inertia," with absenteeism at "record levels," committee meetings often canceled for lack of quorums (WSJ, Feb. 28):

... Congressional listlessness reflects a widespread feeling that the country wants and needs, more than anything else, a long rest. A rest from tax increases. A rest from war scares and atom bomb debates. A rest from long harangues about spending or controls or state socialism or anything else. [One Congressman said]: "The people are tired and we in Congress are tired. I suppose we'll pull ourselves together later, but it will really be an effort."

The "hurricane of pompously optimistic declarations" (John O'Donnell, N. Y. Daily News, Feb. 26) after the Lisbon parley failed to dispel apathy.



Szpilki, Warsaw

THE JOKER

The N. Y. World-Telegram (Feb. 25) called it "extravagant ballyhoo"; UP's R. H. Shackford (Feb. 27) thought parliaments "may turn to hash" Lisbon's agreements; "most observers," said James Reston (N. Y. Times, Feb. 29), "feel that much of contemporary comment should be allowed to go in one ear and out the other." Le Monde (Paris) commented:

They wanted to frighten Stalin — and what they have done is to bring into plain daylight the profound contradictions of the Western camp.

The London Times was skeptical. Even Eisenhower's headquarters told AP (Feb. 26) that talk of 50 divisions by the end of '52 "smacked more of fancy than of fact." Both nominees to the new post of NATO Secy. General—Canada's Lester Pearson and British Ambassador to the U. S. Sir Oliver Franks—hurriedly turned it down.

MORE BUILD-UPS: The realities behind Lisbon's "paper agreements" were U. S. military power's steady build-up in West Europe and the Mediterranean and the clear emergence of a rearmed, renazified West Germany as the Kingpin of U. S. European policy. That U. S. atomic weapons were being stored in West Europe was strongly hinted by the N. Y. Times (Feb. 26). Four-power (U. S., Britain, France, Italy) naval "games," biggest ever held in peacetime, were begun in the Eastern Mediterranean. The U. S. announced it would take over the British base at Cyprus for use by its atom-bombers. Eisenhower visited Greece and Turkey to integrate their forces into overall Mediterranean strategy. A new Suez Canal defense plan, "more palatable" to Egypt, was being mapped (AP, Feb. 26). These maneuvers were reflected in:

• King Farouk's ouster of Egyptian

Premier Maher Pasha for failing to take "stern measures" against leaders of the Jan. 28 demonstrations in Cairo (although he had arrested more than 2,000), and for his conduct in preliminary negotiations with Britain (although he had agreed to resume the talks). The N. Y. Times' Reston, often a spokesman for the State Dept., hailed Maher's successor Naguib Al Hilaili Pasha, reporting Washington most happy about the change. Egypt, which had balked at U. S. terms for aid under the Mutual Security Act, capitulated.

• New concessions to West Germany: release of 17 more war criminals, including a general sentenced to death for murder of British and U. S. POW's, two officers who murdered U. S. fliers, a doctor at Buchenwald, two women wardens at Belsen and Ravensbruck; further reduction of Bonn's "defense" contribution to \$2,500,000,000 — "less than anything they (the Germans) have sought or the Allies estimated as just" (NYT, Feb. 27).

DULLES LOVES DULLES: Of all Washington's allies, only Bonn could announce rearmament without increasing taxes or slashing social benefits. In London a 31-nation conference to settle Germany's pre- and post-war debt (about \$5 billion) agreed to cut drastically the post-war debt (to governments for reparations, occupation costs, etc.) in return for Bonn's assumption of pre-war debts (floated by private bondholders and banks—Dulles' firm Sullivan & Cromwell, Kuhn Loeb, J. P. Morgan & Co., Dillon Read, who reportedly have been buying up the bonds at a fraction of cost from their original purchasers.)

The Bonn government, already authorized to build an army and air force, was put to work mapping the rebuilding of the navy. But if the U. S. had "the best Allies money can buy" (O'Donnell, N. Y. Daily News, Feb. 26), there was even in West Germany

... the known unwillingness of German industrialists to re-establish war industries chiefly because they were making too much money in other fields (NYT, Feb. 29).

Less than a week after Lisbon, leaders of West Germany's six million organized workers joined the Socialist Party demand for a new general election to let the people decide about rearmament. The Times (Feb. 29) saw

... a stirring of revolt in the unions against rearmament. Union leaders who supported the government policy have been hooted and jeered and labor organizations have been prominent in demonstrations against rearmament. ... [The Lisbon decisions made] no real dent in the hard core of anti-rearmament feeling.

France—end of the road?

ABOVE all it was the fall of Premier Faure's government in France—when, after approving overall arms goals, the Assembly rejected a 15% tax increase to finance them—that had "Truman advisers ... in a sweat" (WSJ, March 1). Its fall "was largely brought about through M. Faure's agreement with the U. S. delegation ... at Lisbon for an increased French fiscal effort for defense" (NYT, Mar. 1). France's financial and political crisis stirred the nation from Left to Right.

Financially, France faced "bankruptcy and chaos" (N. Y. World-Telegram, Mar. 1); 60 days after the start of the new fiscal year, it still had no budget. Every day without one, Faure had warned, cost the government one billion francs in uncollected revenue: a total loss so far of \$172,000,000, or 28.5% of U. S. aid promised this year—a sum not collectible, Faure said, even after a budget is passed.

THE BARREL'S BOTTOM: Ordinarily the government can get emergency funds by borrowing from the Bank of France, but under Marshall Plan terms of April 1, 1949, France agreed to limit its borrowing to \$500,000,000; it has al-



Canard Enchaîné, Paris

EUROPEAN ARMY



The wagging finger of criminal negligence

At a hearing on mine safety before a Senate subcommittee Sen. Taft (R-O.), right, takes exception to a stinging statement by United Mine Workers president John L. Lewis while Sen. Murray (D-Mont.) busily examines an unlit cigar. The hearing followed the W. Frankfort, Ill., mine disaster. And while Taft droned on, another gas blast killed six miners at Mt. Pleasant, Pa. Mrs. Mary Magrey, left, whose husband was one of the six, will get no solace from the wagging finger. Meanwhile UMW leaders charged a "reign of terror" raged in Leslie and Clay Counties, Kentucky, against efforts to organize miners. There have been shootings, dynamitings and harassment of union men by police for alleged traffic violations or trespassing. The FBI is said to be investigating.

ready borrowed \$483,000,000. Last week the Treasury was so close to empty—unable to meet payments due March 1 (reserves were only \$85,000,000)—that the Assembly in an emergency bill raised the ceiling to borrow another \$71,000,000; the Treasury must however repay this by Mar. 20. In agreeing to the loan "with regret," the Bank of France declared the state and private groups were living beyond their means.

The foreign currency reserves of the Bank itself were down to \$92 million, its gold holdings to about \$54 million. Since France pays 60% of its trade deficit with Europe in gold, and gold payments last month drained \$36 million, even this reserve is threatened. Le Monde (Feb. 24) pointed out that France's position in the European Payments Union has been completely reversed in the past six months, with its former balance replaced by a growing deficit arising from increased purchases in the sterling area and Germany; a drop in exports; speculation against the franc. Supplementary aid promised by the U. S., said Le Monde, will solve nothing; recovery is possible "only if the political parties redefine the entire French policy."



Liberation, Paris

ECLIPSE

DE GAULLE IN THE WINGS: The franc fell to 483 to the dollar (official rate: 350), and a 20% devaluation was rumored. France's political crisis—Faure's was the 19th government since the liberation—was summed up by Liberation (progressive) Feb. 23:

... It costs dearly to apply a policy of rearmament, continue the war in Indo-China, the oppression in North Africa, and the reconstitution of the Wehrmacht. ... [The government must not only impose] the directives of the Atlantic Coalition ... on the entire population [but] even make the people sing with joy under the weight of economic restrictions, the high cost of living and increased taxes.

Paul Reynaud, Premier when the Nazis invaded France, sought but failed to form a "National Union" government excluding only the Communists: the Socialists declined to join with de Gaulle or accept a financing formula that would hit hardest at workers. The

Socialists, in the key position, not only face ruin through defection of their own rank and file if they support de Gaulle, but might soon be outlawed by a fascist-style de Gaulle regime; unity with the powerful Communist Party would enable them to block de Gaulle,



Action, Paris

but it does not exist. Although Jacques Soustelle, de Gaulle's parliamentary delegate, indicated the General was not yet ready to step in, a de Gaullist move to power with the help of right-center parties seemed certain.

FAR EAST FACE-SAVING: In Washington "State Dept. officials decided this new French crisis 'is serious' for us" and top Truman advisers "held hurried meetings" (WSJ, Mar. 1). One suggested France might ask the U. S. to take over in Indo-China. The recent French parliament debate found widespread agreement that without U. S. aid France must get out of Indo-China. Alexander Werth (New Statesman & Nation, Mar. 1) reported that the French retreat from Hoa-Binh to within 40 miles of Hanoi last week was

... not a military defeat but a political move of probably far-reaching importance. ... [The French government is expected to make] every effort ... to include Vietnam in a "general Far Eastern settlement." Failing that, it may negotiate with Vietnam, and save what can be saved with the minimum of face.

Jean Letourneau, French Minister for the Indo-China states, said in Saigon last week that France would not take the initiative in such negotiations, but if the Vietminh forces wanted peace, they could do so.

BRITAIN APPLIES BRAKES: Washington's fear was that "the French will try to cut their military obligations" (WSJ, Mar. 1). Its difficulties in organizing a common front of colonial powers in Asia were apparent not only in the case of Indo-China but in its inability to secure French-British approval for its proposed tougher policy against China. Newsweek (Mar. 3), reporting a definite U. S. decision to bomb and blockade China, said the "change of American attitude ... has caused the British and French to shy away. ..."

Churchill's revelation in Parliament that Attlee and Morrison had in May, and again in September, agreed to extension of the Korean War "seriously upset the present Labour leadership," further strengthening Labour rebel

Aneurin Bevan (NYT, Feb. 29). Bevan in his first big speech on foreign policy since the war said (New Statesman & Nation, Mar. 1):

... The real issue is whether the Western world is willing to give up the futile concept of military containment, to accept the fact of the Asian revolution, and to come to terms with it.

The Parliament debate, reflecting the British people's overwhelming opposition to extension of the Korean War, had a restraining influence in Washington. There, the truce talks were said to be in their worst crisis yet; Ridgway and the Pentagon were reported agreed on carrying the war to South China, but the State Dept. which

... once favored the idea ... is fighting it now: [it] fears that even limited war against China might damage British-American relations (N. Y. World-Telegram, March 1).

Recent Chinese-Korean charges that the U.S. is using bacteriological warfare were climaxed by a "state of emergency" order (reported by Peking radio) to combat a bubonic plague epidemic in North Korea.

FREEDOMS

6 lose Detroit jobs in Un-ACC roadshow

SCORE for the first four days of current hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Detroit: six persons fired from their jobs because they were either hostile witnesses or were named by committee informers. Forty witnesses are under subpoena. One un-cooperative witness, John Cherveney, a Navy veteran, was surrounded by a group of 12 men in the American Metal Products plant (where he worked) the day after he refused to answer committee questions. The leader of the gang flourished a rope, boasted he was from committee chairman John S. Wood's home town in Georgia. Cherveney was forced out of the plant. Said Wood to Cherveney:

"My sympathy lies with the good Americans who refused to work with you."

Paul Henley, another auto worker who refused to answer questions, was similarly forced from the Dodge plant.

Eleanor Maki, school teacher for 23 years, was dropped from the Board of Education's payroll; Joseph Bernstein, artist for the Detroit News for 23 years, was fired; Jules Yanover, member of the Detroit Symphony, was barred from playing; a hotel bellhop (a one-month

CP member in 1943) lost his job. Pat Rice, vice-pres. of UAW Ford Local 600, was threatened with prosecution for "false statements" concerning his residence on an application for a passport which he received but never used.



"You can't tell these days ... it might be those secret anti-Red witnesses from Congress. ..."

COOPERATION vs. EVIL: Main targets of the committee are Detroit Negro leaders and active unionists. William Hood, secy. of Local 600 and head of the Natl. Negro Labor Council, denounced as a "damn lie" a charge that he is a Communist, but refused to answer other questions. He declined to tell where he was born on the grounds that his family, still living in Georgia, would be endangered.

Rev. Charles A. Hill was denied the right to read a statement; when his attorney George Crockett objected, he was threatened with ejection. Said Hill:

"I let God lead me in the fight against discrimination and segregation and to make democracy work. I will continue to fight for elimination of these evils and will cooperate with anybody who fights them."

(Hill, running for Detroit Common Council, once received three times the number of votes that elected Wood to Congress from Georgia.)

The Wolverine Bar Assn. made public a blistering resolution protesting the subpoenaing of attorney C. LeBron Simmons, one of its members and an outstanding Negro leader. It called his summons

... a clever attempt to intimidate Negro lawyers generally and thus to deprive the Negro people of a fearless and uninhibited bar.

Use of the word "nigra" by chairman Wood ("that is how we talk in the South") was halted after vigorous pro-

test by Coleman Young, another un-cooperative Negro witness.

The committee was prodded into its Detroit foray largely by Rep. Charles E. Potter (R-Mich.) who is seeking the Senate seat now held by Democrat Blair Moody. Potter had little to say to a delegation of 35 jobless auto workers from Flint who thought the committee might more profitably investigate unemployment in the Detroit area (there are 107,000 jobless in Detroit alone).

Lattimore talks back sharply to McCarran subcommittee

For two years Prof. Owen Lattimore of Johns Hopkins University has been under attack as a pro-Communist who, through the Institute of Pacific Relations and other connections, influenced U.S. policy on China. Last week, before Sen. Pat McCarran's Internal Security Subcommittee, he had a chance to talk back. He denied all charges, defended the IPR, denounced his detractors, attacked the China Lobby for trying to "deliver the foreign policy of the U.S. into the hands of Chiang Kai-shek," and challenged the Justice Dept. to determine if Louis F. Budenz had not committed "willful perjury" in testifying against him.

For his accusers, Lattimore had some acid descriptions:

SEN. JOE McCARTHY (R-Wisc.): "A graduate witch-burner," "the Wisconsin whimpere."

HAROLD E. STASSEN, Republican Presidential aspirant: "A slipper man who is trying to make his way in the world," "a



Herblock in the Washington Post "Now, you said you wanted to be heard?"

road-show McCarthy, swinging through the air with the greatest of ease."

BUDENZ: "An uneasy and evasive liar who waseled and retreated when his credibility was questioned."

THE CHIANG GOVERNMENT: "The driftwood regime on the beaches of Formosa."

SEN. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND (R-Calif.): "The Senator from Formosa."

FACES CONTEMPT CHARGE: He called the China Lobby "an open conspiracy," charged that O. Edmund Clubb, John Stewart Service and John Carter Vincent have all been "sacrificed to the hysteria" it generated, and accused the McCarran committee of "instituting a reign of terror among Foreign Service personnel."

For his jibe at Sen. Knowland, Lattimore may be cited for contempt; following his demand that Budenz be checked for perjury, Asst. Atty. Gen. McInerney announced that the FBI is conducting "an extensive investigation" of Lattimore—not Budenz.

Robert S. Allen in his syndicated column reported that the Senate Rules Committee is "secretly scrutinizing" the tax affairs of Alfred Kohlberg, wealthy importer and a front man for the China Lobby; it is concerned particularly if Kohlberg should have paid a gift tax on contributions to Sen. McCarthy.

MANDEL'S CHARGES: Strong as his charges were, Lattimore found his position increasingly vulnerable due to his acceptance of the premise that "communism" by definition equals sin. A stronger (but unreported) telling-off had previously been given the subcommittee by author and former ALP Congressional candidate Wm. Mandel. Mandel called "Communist aggression"—which Lattimore wanted "contained" but not with Chiang's aid—an outright fable; quoted evidence that North Korea did not start the war; defended China's right to push U.S. forces back from its Yalu River frontier; charged the U.S. with rearming Germany and Japan to attack the U.S.S.R. and suppress colonial liberation movements; challenged Washington's unwillingness to discuss Soviet disarming proposals; denounced not only the subcommittee itself but the Smith Act and the whole campaign to suppress political ideas.

Peace moves to Uruguay

The Intercontinental American Peace Conference, banned in Brazil, will be held at Montevideo, Uruguay, March 11.

If Julius and Ethel Rosenberg die ...

(Continued from Page 1)

done" joyfully passed on the deception. The implications for the American people, at a time when "responsible" persons denounce even Acheson, Truman and Marshall as pro-communist, are clear.

The only positive testimony at the trial concerning the Rosenbergs' "communism" was that they had expressed preference for a certain form of social-economic organization—not for a government. What follows from the decision is that approval of the social and/or economic policies of any foreign government is declared a motive for criminal attempt to commit espionage for that government, one of the most grievous crimes on the statute book. With regard to Americans joining an organization (which the Rosenbergs were not shown to have done), the decision wipes away the whole doctrine of personal guilt, making such persons liable for all actions of any of the top leadership even though they know nothing about them.

JURY TRIAL "RISK": In connection with the defendants' argument that injection of testimony about "communism" deprived them of a fair trial, the appeal brief called this a violation of the Supreme Court's statement about the general rule excluding prejudicial matter, namely:

... It is inconsistent with our traditional conception of a fair trial to permit any information to go to a jury which might

influence a jury to convict a defendant for any reason other than that he is guilty of the specific offense with which he is charged.

Yet admitting that evidence pertaining to communism "can be highly inflammatory," and that the trial judge's warnings that the defendants were not to be convicted merely because the jury believed they were Communists may have been "no more than an empty ritual," the Appeals Court decision concludes:

If so, this danger is one of the risks run in a trial by jury. [There was no cause for grievance, since] the defendants made no effort to procure a trial by a judge alone.

This takes care of Art. VI of the Constitution which says:

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury. . . .

CORPORAL EINSTEIN: The many inherent absurdities in the case against the Rosenbergs as "master-spies" remain cloaked in empty verbiage or are airily dismissed. The defense brief objected to a sketch and replica of a 12-page report introduced in evidence by the prosecution, concerning David Greenglass' purported transmittal of the atom-bomb "secret" to Rosenberg. The Appeals Court replied: "We see no error here."

Scientists all over the world know there has been no A-bomb "secret" since 1938 when uranium fission was discovered—a fact made clear in the U.S. government's Smyth Report of 1945. The idea that Greenglass, a machinist without advanced education

assigned to Los Alamos as a corporal, could have even known and mastered, much less turned over "from his own memory" (as he testified), "secrets" that enabled Russia to develop their A-bomb "years before" they would otherwise have done so (prosecution contention, accepted by trial judge Kaufman), is nonsensical on its face.

ALL ARE GUILTY: The court's upholding of the Rosenbergs' death sentence was unanimous; the 30-year jail term imposed on co-defendant Morton Sobell was upheld by a 2-to-1 opinion with Justice Frank dissenting on the ground that Sobell was not involved in the same "conspiracy." The evidence that convicted Sobell consisted of oral, uncorroborated testimony by one witness, Max Elitcher. The majority opinion held that "it did not matter that Sobell knew nothing of the atomic episodes," and quoted from Judge Kaufman's charge to the jury:

... If you find that there was a conspiracy and that Sobell was a member of the conspiracy, any statements or acts of any co-conspirators are binding upon him because the law is that once you have joined a conspiracy . . . the acts of the co-conspirators done in furtherance of the same objective, even though the co-conspirators are unknown to you, are binding upon you."

Confirmation of Sobell's sentence strengthened the "legal" foundations for U.S. fascism by ruling, in effect, that:

• A "giant conspiracy" exists to aid the Soviet Union;

• All "communists" past or present are participants in it (i.e., anyone a Bentley may so designate; although in Sobell's case there was testimony, from Elitcher, that he was a CP member from 1939 to

1941—three years before the start of the "conspiracy" according to the indictment, but not too remote, the Appeals Court held, to bind him to the crime);

• Transmission of the A-bomb "secret" to Russia by members of this "conspiracy" has been "proven";

• This act is binding on all other members of the "conspiracy" whether or not they know the other "conspirators" or anything about "the atomic episodes."

THE PEOPLE DECIDE: Finally the Appeals Court describes as irrelevant the contrast between the Rosenbergs' death sentences and the fact that Ezra Pound was never brought to trial, Axis Sally and Tokyo Rose got off with five-year jail sentences. The decision denies that the people's conscience is shocked by the Rosenbergs' unprecedented sentences: "Such matters do not adequately reflect the prevailing mood of the public." Death for the Rosenbergs is not "cruel and unusual punishment," for "it is impossible to say that the community is shocked and outraged." Death, in short, is appropriate for nonconformists of the Left so long as the people can be scared into silence by "red" hysteria.

Now under the very shadow of the chair in Sing Sing death house, Ethel and Julius Rosenberg can only wait to see if their electrocution—"not for espionage, but for political unorthodoxy" as their appeal brief said—indeed represents "the prevailing mood of the public."

It is late for their fellow Americans to weigh Ethel Rosenberg's warning; but there is still time.

The case will be speedily appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

CALENDAR

Chicago

KEEP APRIL 5th OPEN! Two-for-one Date: (1) Hour long show "Ballot Box Review." (2) Tempos 'til 2 a.m. by Danny Williams Band. UE Hall, 37 S. Ashland. \$1 in advance, \$1.25 at door. Auspices: Illinois Progressive Party.

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Berkeley, Calif.

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It IS Happening HERE!

Concentration camps accommodating 300,000 persons are now being built in Florida, Oklahoma and Arizona. President Truman has already asked Congress for appropriations to hire 70,000 guards for these camps. This is happening in the United States—not in Nazi Germany.

IT IS HAPPENING HERE!

Leaders of a political party are being tried—not for seditious acts but for thoughts and beliefs under the Smith Act. Again the model is Nazi Germany, where fascism started with the jailing of the Communists. Then came the Jews, labor leaders, Catholics and finally anybody who disagreed with Hitler's regime.

IT IS HAPPENING HERE!

The people are fighting back! They have on their side the whole great tradition which brought about the repeal of the Alien and Sedition laws, the nullifying of the Fugitive Slave laws and the Dred Scott decision, the end of slavery and, in our time, the saving of Tom Mooney, Angelo Herndon, the "Scottsboro Boys" and the Trenton Six after the courts had condemned them.

IT WILL HAPPEN HERE!

The people will put an end to the Smith Act persecutions and restore the Bill of Rights to its full strength.

It is with this knowledge that a distinguished group of sponsors* have called together a **CITIZENS EMERGENCY DEFENSE CONFERENCE** to establish a permanent, instrument to defend today's victims of the Smith Act, 16 of whom are going on trial in New York City.

Date: Sunday, March 16, 1952.

Time: Conference Starts 1:30 P. M.—Public Session at 7:30 P. M.

Place: New York CITY CENTER, 135 West 55th Street, N. Y. C.

Keynote Speaker: Hon. VITO MARCANTONIO.

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2nd Truitt trial in Penna. set for March 17

PITTSBURGH, PA.
ON MARCH 17 in Cambria Co. in Western Pennsylvania, a New Kensington, Pa., business man named Harry W. Truitt Jr. goes on trial again with three co-defendants in a changed venue, on charges for which they were convicted in 1950 in adjacent Westmoreland Co. and have already served 10 months of sentences up to four years each.

In ordering the new trial, the chief justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court said:

"In all my experience I have never seen such rank injustice."

The charges, growing out of a labor dispute near Truitt's New Kensington home and place of business in which he had befriended the union (GUARDIAN, Feb. 27), ranged from "affray" to "aggravated assault and battery" and interfering with an officer making an arrest. Technically, Truitt's offense was trying to use his own telephone in his own office against the orders of a police officer who had entered without a warrant, searching for a picket who had just been beaten by hoodlums.

CORRUPTION'S ENEMY: New Kensington is the center of Western Pa.'s Westmoreland Co., characterized by Collier's last year as the most corrupt and racket-ridden area of America. The "Iron & Coal" police methods prevailing there are notorious.

For years Truitt has fought racket rule and the "Iron & Coal" police, as head of the local Citizens' PAC in 1945 and of the Progressive Party since '48—in active cooperation with an organization of 700 Protestant ministers in

Westmoreland and two adjacent counties called the United Commission for Social Action. For years New Kensington's cops and what the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette has called Westmoreland's "racket-backed courthouse ring" have been out to "get" him. On a broader front, the FBI and the House Un-American Activities Committee have waged wholesale war on the labor and progressive movement of Western Pennsylvania, including planting of stoolpigeons such as the now-famous Matthew Cvetic, featured in the recent convictions of Communist leaders in Pittsburgh.

As a result of the labor fracas on March 18, 1950, which resulted in the arrest of Truitt, his Negro laboratory assistant and three pickets, Westmoreland's racket-backed cops and courts were able to train the full artillery of this attack on Truitt.

"LEFT-WING STUFF": He had a chance to save his neck. The Mayor offered to fix the case if Truitt would "take those ministers off my back"; but Truitt wouldn't, if he could have.

The result, after months of trying to mount a defense, was a three-day trial in August, 1950, in which the three hoodlums who started the picket-line fracas—two burly local gamblers and a convicted felon—were chief witnesses against the pickets in support of the New Kensington police captain; and the FBI's Matthew Cvetic was called in as star witness for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to smear Truitt.

Against Truitt's laboratory assistant (who happened on the scene to deliver some laundry), the clincher was

the police captain's testimony that

"... he was shouting about freedom, rights and talking a lot of left-wing stuff to me—freedom of speech and I don't know what all, he said to me."

CRIME AND "MOTIVE": Cvetic testified to seeing Truitt with people he identified as local Communists. The prosecutor added his own ugly insinuations concerning the fact that the Truitt family, including Mrs. Truitt and the couple's two grown daughters, had shared the hospitality of their home with both Negro and white pickets.

The result was a conviction of all defendants after 50 minutes of jury deliberation. They were slapped in jail, refused bail during their appeal. Mrs. Truitt was forced to liquidate her husband's dental laboratory and break up their home to finance the appeal.

In July, 1951, the Superior Court of Pennsylvania unanimously affirmed the convictions—and what they said is significant today because of its similarity to the reasoning offered last week by a federal appeals court for affirming the convictions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in the celebrated atom-spy case (see page 1). Said the Pennsylvania judges, unanimously:

The evidence relating to the appellants' communistic connections was certainly admissible also to show appellants' motive in committing the offenses with which they were charged.

NAPOLEONIC WAR: But then, probably due to the spotlight placed on the case by Pulitzer Prize reporter Ray Sprigle in the Pittsburgh Post Gazette, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court decided to review the Superior Court's findings.

The oral argument was conducted in November. During one of the prosecutor's more impassioned flights of oratory, one of the justices remarked:

"The record shows that this was a technical matter of assault and battery. The way you tell it, it sounds like the Battle of Waterloo."

"It IS the Battle of Waterloo, Your Honor!" the prosecutor cried.

"WHOLLY IMMATERIAL": Whether ultimate defeat in the Truitt case will be the Waterloo for Westmoreland Co.'s "racket-backed courthouse ring" is for the future to decide. However, on the merits of the case and its prosecution, the 4-2 Supreme Court decision ordering a new trial had this to say:

The trial in the present case was not "free from passion or prejudice"; on the contrary, passion and prejudice ran through its entire course. . . . It is too clear to require elaboration that all the highly inflammatory, personal attacks made on the defendants had nothing whatever to do with the inquiry as to whether they were guilty of the crimes charged in the bills of indictment. . . . certainly in determining where the truth lay as to these factually controverted matters, questions of Communist affiliation, race, and the rights of labor to picket, were wholly immaterial.

After two years of harassment, ten months behind prison bars—his home and business lost, his good name destroyed—Harry Truitt is now scheduled for a second trial on March 17. Although he still faces a four-year jail sentence, the high court decision gives him a chance to vindicate himself and his co-defendants, to expose the blatant frame-up attempted against him, and to restore a small measure of sanity to Western Pennsylvania.

—William A. Reuben

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