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WAR & PEACE

New York Edition

Peace comes to Korea — but Dulles, Rhee try to kill it

By Kumar Goshal

ON approximately the same line where full-scale war began, an agreement to stop killing each other was signed last week by Gen. Nam Il on behalf of the N. Koreans and by Lt. Gen. William K. Harrison on behalf of the U. S. forces who came from 5,000 miles away to the Florida-size Asian peninsula. The ceremony took place in a pagoda-like building erected by N. Koreans at Panmunjom—one of the few buildings standing intact between the 38th Parallel and the Chinese border; a Picasso-style peace dove decorating the entrance was removed after vehement U. S. protest. S. Korea's Syngman Rhee went unrepresented.

A cease-fire went into effect 12 hours later. Thus ended 37 months of war, and the longest truce negotiations in



Liberation, Paris

history, spanning two years and 17 days, with the longest recess lasting 199 days.

POW ARRANGEMENTS: The agreement provided for exchange within 60 days of POW's desiring to return home. A Repatriation Commission (India, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Switzerland) was to take control of POW's refusing repatriation, with 90 days for Chinese-N. Korean representatives to interview them and stress their "full freedom to return home to lead a peaceful life." The problem of POW's still refusing repatriation was to be transferred to a political conference to convene within 90 days, which would allow unrepatriated POW's after 30 days to go as civilians to a neutral nation. The political conference was to "settle through negotiations the question of withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc."

Formally notified of the signing, UN Assembly pres. Lester B. Pearson of Canada called a resumption on Aug. 17 of the suspended Seventh Assembly session to discuss details of the scheduled Far Eastern political conference.

THE BILL: This had been the cost of the war to the U. S.:

- Casualties: 139,272 (24,965 dead);
- Direct money cost: \$20 billion (est., U. S. News, 2/27);
- Over 1,125,000 tons of artillery ammunition; 2 million naval shells; 1,800,000 bullets and grenades; hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs;
- 800 tanks, 40,000 trucks used up in battle.

The cost to S. Korea (recent U. S. estimates):

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By Tabitha Petran

WITH silencing of the guns in Korea, Washington's "trial run" for World War III was forced to an end; its second great effort to reverse the Chinese revolution (the first was its massive aid to Chiang Kai-shek in the civil war) had failed. But it gave no sign of being yet prepared to acknowledge reality in Asia.

In face of the allies' open desire to seat China in UN and resume normal trade relations, Secy. Dulles insisted the trade embargo must go on and China's UN seat would not even be discussed at the post-armistice political conference. He declared the "firm intention not to permit" mention of Formosa, China's island virtually seized by the U. S. at the outbreak of the Korean War. Washington, he indicated, would try hard to dominate the UN side in the conference as completely as it did in the truce talks.

"WEIRD" PROMISES: S. Korean President Rhee's loud insistence on "unification of Korea by force," as the truce drew closer, punctured holes—for all to see—in the official U. S. version of

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"HEY, I'M HERE TOO, POP!"

Home from Korea—a phrase too eloquent to require more words—that will be repeated constantly in the months to come. Let's make it a permanent refrain.

WHAT OXNAM'S TESTIMONY MEANT

The witch-hunt in the church

By Charles Stewart

ONE after the other, the witch-hunters had challenged major bodies of organized opinion which continued to assert the individual's right to political dissent. Last month the attack was launched on the most difficult bastion of all—the Protestant Church—when Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam was questioned for nine hours by the Velde Un-American Activities Committee. These were main features of the hearing:

• By tenaciously challenging the committee's motives and methods, Oxnam got into print for millions of misinformed Americans many of the ugliest facts behind the witch-hunters' propaganda.

• In order to do so and to clear his name of ludicrous "communist" charges, he paid the price of sacrificing two ministers of his own Church—Rev. Jack McMichael and Dr. Harry F. Ward.

McMICHAEL SUBPENAED: Ward, 80-year-old prof. emeritus of New York's Union Theological Seminary, was vacationing in Canada and unreachable by the committee. Oxnam said he would co-operate in an investigation of McMichael who, he said, he believed was "tied up with the Communists." Georgia-born McMichael, 36, who was for years under attack from reactionary Methodists while serving as secy. of the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action, was subpoenaed at Upper Lake, Calif., where he now has a pastorate, to appear before the Un-AAC July 30. His congregation called the "communist"

charges against him "preposterous," rallied to his defense with a week-end barbecue and auction sale.

In sermons and statements, Protestant ministers around the country showed deep concern about the new attack, taking positions of varying strength and weakness on its implications.

Conservative official position

Top-level statements paralleled Oxnam's defensive position on charges of "church communism," and with their emphasis on witch-hunting "methods" did little to protect church groups

and individuals against broadening inquisition. Southern Baptist Convention pres. Dr. J. W. Storer protested he did not "know a single one in the S. B. C. with a pinkish tint." United Lutheran Church pres. Dr. Franklin C. Fry said: "Christian ministers can be depended upon to detect and resist communism." Methodist Bishop Wm. C. Martin, pres. of the Natl. Council of Churches (cooperating agency for 29 denominations with 33 million members), suggested the charges themselves might be "deliberate Communist propaganda."

The Natl. Council of Churches had already set up a Maintenance of American Freedom committee to study safeguards against "communist infiltration" and "wrong methods of meeting that infiltration." Presiding Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill of the Protestant Episcopal Church chided Velde for "procedural errors" in the committee's work. The Natl. Council of Christians & Jews, in a letter to Eisenhower signed by a Protestant and a Roman Catholic clergyman and a rabbi, protested against the appointment (later withdrawn) of J. B. Matthews as research director of the McCarthy committee but specifically recognized the committee's right to investigate clergymen or church organizations.

"ATTACK ON PROTESTANTISM":

These reactions were a little stronger: • The Baptist Watchman Examiner (7/16), insisting that "the Protestant ministry is this country's most dependable bulwark against un-American fascists and communists," called the broad Matthews charges against

(Continued on Page 4)



BISHOP OXNAM
There were two results

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Rhee no riddle

MILLERTON, N. Y.
 There can be only one reason for Rhee's release of the 27,000 prisoners of war. The American command must have been extremely uneasy about what they would have said when representatives of the five neutral nations asked them if they wanted to go home. When the American negotiators were confronted with the surprising acceptance of their terms, they had only one choice. If half the prisoners—if a tenth of them—had told the Indians that in fact they wanted very much to go home, American prestige would have been struck a blow from which it would never recover.
 R. Hostler

Will the Church speak?

ST. LOUIS, MO.
 I am ashamed that the Catholic Church does not criticize McCarthy or force him to stop disgracing the teachings of Christ. The protest by a Catholic, a Protestant and a Jewish representative of the Natl. Conf. of Christians & Jews against the J. B. Matthews attack on the Protestant clergy may be the first sign that not all Catholics follow McCarthy blindly to the destruction he plans for them. Bishop Waters of Raleigh, N. C., recently warned that the unity of the Catholic Church was in danger because of anti-Semitism, racial tension and capital-labor friction within the Church. McCarthy and America Firsters in the Church have created a disunity reflected and heard everywhere among Catholics. The Catholic Church is the stronghold of McCarthyism, and as such, of inquisitors, book-burners and destroyers of the Bill of Rights. Will the Church speak out against McCarthyism or must Catholics who abhor these evils depart from her?
 A Catholic

Fix quiz

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
 Has Sen. McCarthy brought charges against Arm and Hammer eads?
 Horace S. Meldahl

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

What will Joe McCarthy and Harold Velde say when they learn that a cardinal's hat is red?
 Phil Hazen

Go home, Joe

HADDAM, KANS.
 I have been thinking it is too bad Congress doesn't take a vacation as often as Truman did and Eisenhower does. The people would be better off if they forgot to come back. Just let the country run itself for a while.
 Ruby G. Heck

Something familiar

ENFIELD, CONN.
 I did not know Ethel and Julius, nor her mother and brother, nor his mother, nor their two young sons Michael and Robbie. I was not particularly interested in espionage. If any. Yet the case seemed very close to me. Why? Well, for one thing, everywhere I heard the case discussed, the people who were against the Rosenbergs would not discuss the facts—the legal details—but would rush into frantic condemnation of the Soviet Union and the Communists, and would shout: "Kill them! Send

How crazy can you get dept.

Sixty-seven new State employees were herded into the Assembly chambers today and administered their oaths of office. Each swore he had not been a member of the Communist Party. . . . The new employees, whose ages range from 4 to 15, are . . . working part of their vacation as pages.
 —San Francisco Chronicle, March 30.
 One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: John G. Roberts, San Francisco.

them back to Russia!" Exactly in the same way people prejudiced against Negroes will not discuss the facts, the legal details of a case against an accused Negro, but rush into frantic condemnation of inter-marriage and shout: "Lynch them! Send them back to Africa!"

The same familiar pattern. Our prejudiced, fearful, hysterical American citizens always want to send somebody back to somewhere, to get rid of anyone who disagrees with them. As if that would solve their problem.
 Eslanda Goode Robeson

For all fathers

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
 Enclosed you will find \$10 that we would like sent on to Michael and Robbie Rosenberg to help these boys in the difficult days and months and years that they will face without their courageous parents. We would like them to know that there are many in this country who feel that they carry with them a great American heritage.

This money originally was to be used as Fathers' Day gifts, but our feeling was the best gift we could give to any father was the assurance that we would some day have a free America, where there would be no more parentless children, the victims of hysterical reasoning.
 Los Angeles parents

Up from Debs

TISHOMINGO, OKLA.
 I'm an old-timer in the crusade for decency. Began in Populist days and was with Bryan, Debs, Ameringer, "Old Bob" LaFollette. I am pastor of a rural church now and am getting on in years, beyond 80, and money is hard for me to get. I wish I could contribute to your "buck a month" fund but I can't. Sorry. But as long as I live I expect to keep up my subscription to the GUARDIAN. May God bless you.
 Munroe Jones, Pastor
 Primitive Baptist Church

Look nearer home, Ike

SAN JUAN, P. R.
 Our local newspapers have published Eisenhower's statement ordering distribution of \$15,000,000 worth of food to the "hungry population of East Germany." We are surprised at this unusual "generosity" by a government that ignores the misery of tens of thousands of its subjects in its own colony of Puerto Rico. As human beings we are not opposed to such gestures if they are sincere. After 54 years of "American civilization," we are in a position to tell you that Eisenhower's offer is not sincere, only a silly maneuver for propaganda purposes.

Since the offer has been rejected by the East Germans, here is a charitable manner to make use of the \$15,000,000:

1) To help feed, dress and shoe the 400,000 Puerto Rican school-age children who cannot attend school because of alleged "lack

of funds" to educate them.
 2) To help the 200,000 chronically unemployed Puerto Ricans who wander from one place to another in search of work, and who live in unhealthy shacks in the most sickening slums in the world. Of a 750,000 potential labor force in Puerto Rico there are 150,000 seasonal workers; most of the rest only work part-time at between \$5 and \$15 a week. Prices here are higher than in the U.S. since we must import everything from that country, and as a colonial country we can not make economic deals with other nations.

3) To provide hospitalization for thousands of Puerto Ricans suffering from tuberculosis, pellagra, syphilis, insanity and other social diseases caused by perpetual famine.
 Julio Romero del Valle

Call for British hammer

BALTIMORE, MD.
 If Cedric Belfrage is deported it would be outrageous, but perhaps he could do more good in England. I think the hammering-in by Britain that she will not back the U.S. or a U.S.-dominated UN is almost the only hope of the U.S. realizing she will have the world against her if she persists in her present policy.
 Anna M. Graves



Wall Street Journal
 "I'm planning a trip to study the international situation. What spots would you recommend?"

The most vital issue

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND
 It is always a pleasure to receive your paper and hear the voice of the progressive U.S.A. There can be little doubt that fascism is fast gaining ground and threatening to devour the American people. Undoubtedly the most vital issue at present is fighting this menace. Yet this can only be done by a union of all the liberal and progressive forces in the U.S., having as its base the bulk of the American trade union movement.

The GUARDIAN could render incalculable service to the world by initiating a discussion among the leaders and the rank and file of the progressive movement on how to build such a mass movement in the U.S. NOW.
 Frank Loesser

Are we so fragile?

SULLIVAN, MO.
 Now that Sen. McCarthy has turned to burning books, the people of America should no longer be deceived by his demagoguery. Hitler created a war hysteria and from there he advanced step by step until fascism emerged; and in addition to burning books he burned people who might have ideas.

Democracy is a product of education and enlightenment. One becomes educated by wide reading. Often diverse opinions bring about progress. People who are informed do not hesitate to read things with which they do not agree. They are not afraid to read it because it is critical of their beliefs, opinions or customs. If we are so infantile and our convictions are so fragile as to need such protection as Sen. McCarthy pretends to give, then there is something wrong with our heads.
 L. K. England

Peace letter contest

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
 At the last square dance affair that the E. Hollywood Club of the IPP ran, a Peace Letter-Writing Contest was featured that was immensely successful. During the rest period between dances, paper and pencils were distributed and the contest announced. Participation was UNANIMOUS and selection of the winner was extremely difficult because of the moving sincerity of all the letters and the large number of equally excellent letters which were brief statements of why they wanted peace.

After the best letters were read, and the winner awarded the prize of a book, all the letters were sent to President Eisenhower. We plan



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AUGUST 3, 1953

REPORT TO READERS

Korea — and after

THERE WAS LITTLE outward rejoicing in America Sunday night. Perhaps most Americans felt too sickened by three years and one month of "the most senseless war in history" to do much but offer quiet thanksgiving—thanksgiving that the sane people of the world (Americans included) had been able to shake the men in our government into rationality long enough for them to sign the armistice documents.

That there was reluctance even up to July 26 was made abundantly clear by the speeches of President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles, and the reporting of the correspondents on the scene at Panmunjom. The funereal quality of the voices and the stories, the warnings and the sense of foreboding, the attempts to portray the Chinese and North Koreans as untrustworthy heathens, the nauseating tributes to Syngman Rhee—all these things made the ceremony sound like drum-beating for more war rather than a call to lay down arms.

There was homage to the dead in phrases that might have rolled off the pen of a soap suds ad writer who had overindulged at dinner. There were pledges to our forgotten prisoners of war that we would never forget them. There was praise for our gallant allies, most of whom had refused to send more than token troops and who had been pulling every string possible behind the scenes to halt the Washington madness. But Dulles, the sanctimonious blood-letter in a flowered tie, could not forbear his exultation over the millions of dead Koreans and the devastation created by our bombs and jellied gas and flame throwers—all of which could not conquer the people of this tiny piece of land, and ended just where it began.

PERHAPS MORE TERRIBLE and terrifying than anything else was the unanimous acceptance and promulgation by press, radio and TV of the official Washington line on the Korean War, the distortions on the origins of the war and the truce negotiations—and the Colossal Lie of the threat of communist aggression in southeast Asia. In southeast Asia today the British are killing Malaysians, Chiang's troops are pillaging Burma, and the U.S. is twisting France's arm to kill more people in Indochina. Was the line on Sunday night the real opening of the campaign to convince America that these things are necessary to preserve our freedom?

Even as the armistice was signed, Washington revealed that it had agreed with Syngman Rhee to walk out of the political conference (to fix the peace) if it felt the other side was not acting "in good faith." This disclosure followed iron-clad assurances to the other side that there would be no time limit to the political conference.

Not since the palmiest days of Hitler have Total Immorality and the Colossal Lie been used with such vigor—and the same newspapers who berated the *gleichgeschaltet* Nazi press have a spongier quality of rubber in their stamps than the German press ever had.

FROM THE FIRST DAY of the Korean War, the GUARDIAN has presented the facts insofar as we could get them. From the day that Vito Marcantonio stood on the floor of Congress in June, 1950, and raised his lone voice against the war, the progressives of America have demanded an end to the slaughter and a return to diplomacy by conference instead of killing.

We have reason to be proud of our fight; we also have reason to know—in the stark fact of 25,000 dead Americans and millions of dead Koreans—that the fight has just been joined, that the great majority of Americans who have been pounded into passivity and stupefaction by the rotten peddlers of the Colossal Lie must be jolted awake.

For every GUARDIAN reader, for every decent, thinking American, there is one big job ahead: get the facts to the people so that the people may know the truth. If the people know, they will not be passive. Only then can we begin to think about a peaceful and constructive future. Only then can we begin to feel sure that the monstrous hypocrisy of Korea will not engulf us again.

THE EDITORS

to continue the Peace Letter Contest at all our affairs.
 Howard Feldman

"That's all"

FRAZEE, MINN.
 Here is my dollar for a good paper. Eisenhower last fall promised peace, tax cuts and prosperity. We got the poorest President we ever had — he isn't any different than a block of wood. If we had an election tomorrow the Demo-

crats would go in 90% and then the people would be fooled again because the millionaires will still hold the power. We got to shackle big business in order to fight for peace and abolish poverty. They cut me down \$7 a month—I was getting \$37. I went up to the Welfare Board and asked why they cut my pension. The man said the "money" wasn't coming in fast enough, that's all.
 Wm. F. Smith

Petran

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the origins and nature of the war. But Washington all the more tightly bound its policy to the crumbling dictator whose regime was described by the Chicago Sun four years ago (and it has not improved since) as

... a police state so savage in its suppression of man's elemental liberties that it was difficult to find a parallel to it.

Washington's promises to Rhee were, in Walter Lippmann's view (7/28), "positively weird." Its implicit pledge to unify Korea under Rhee; its promise of a military pact which would keep U.S. forces in S. Korea, while it insisted on withdrawal of Chinese forces—these were

tantamount to saying that the Communists will surrender at the political conference what they were not made to surrender on the battlefields.

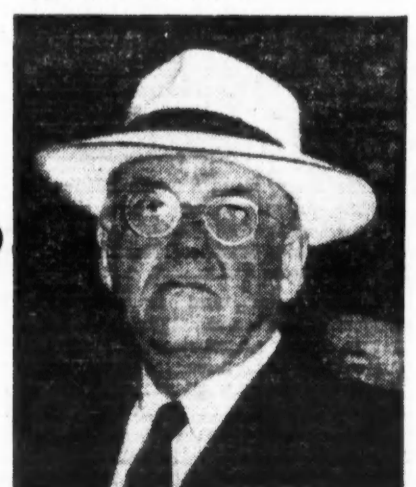
"DELICATE DIPLOMACY": To Walter Millis (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 7/27), these Washington pledges and Rhee's threat to renew the war after 90 days if they were not fulfilled were "pure face-saving and eyewash." But Dulles announced he was flying to Korea to co-ordinate more closely with Rhee.

With him he would take the Senate's leading China Lobbyist William Knowland, Asia-firmer H. Alexander Smith (R-N.J.), and two Democratic Senators—Russell of Ga., Johnson of Texas—who see the truce as "a sell-out." The N.Y. Times' James Reston, who is in Seoul, said (7/29) Dulles' mission would be "one of the most delicately diplomatic" of his career; he pointed out that the U.S. has given Rhee "the power to wreck the conference," and a "veto power over U.S. actions."

GATHERING STORM: The U.S. stand had already blown up "thunder in Britain" (N.Y. Daily News, 7/29). British officials and MPs, NYHT reported (7/29), "were deeply disturbed" by Dulles' statements on China, said Churchill "will refuse to go along with an American position of opposing [China's] admission to UN at any price," forecast "another political storm over the Atlantic."

Signs of such an approaching storm were clear in the U.S. pledge to walk out of the political conference with Rhee after 90 days if it doesn't like the way the Communists negotiate (a pledge revealed officially only after the truce was signed, and in direct contradiction to the U.S. promise at Panmunjom that there was no time limit on the truce). This, wrote NYT's Arthur Krock (7/28),

... strongly indicates a move toward a free hand for this country in dealing with the problems of Asia. . . . [The Administration] will not allow this nation to be bound by the policies of our allies in UN to anything like the degree the Truman Administration was bound. . . . [If the U.S. resumes the war] U.S. military men would direct that war, and the only limitation on how they should pursue it to a satisfactory objective would be that imposed by President Eisenhower.



JOHN FOSTER DULLES
He went to Korea before

THE KOREA RECORD IS CLEAR
How U.S. turned UN into a cold war ally (JULY 5, 1950)

Is freedom for U.S. only?
Reapers of hate (JULY 19, 1950)

WHAT THE PRESS ISN'T SAYING
War in Korea—the real facts (JULY 12, 1950)

THE EVIDENCE PILES UP
Was Korean war instigated by M'Arthur-Hoover-Dulles? (JULY 26, 1950)

KOREA IS THE PRETEXT
Police state peril

Who launched the Korea war? Here's the other side

There IS another side
The shooting is over—at least for the moment—but with Washington clearly dissatisfied with anything short of "unification of Korea by force" under Syngman Rhee, the newsprint curtain remains clamped down on the events that led up to the war. The N. Koreans have never even been allowed to present to UN their version of what caused the war, full of damning facts for Americans. In the U.S., only readers of the GUARDIAN and one or two other publications got the evidence on which to form intelligent conclusions—under the headlines above, during the war's first weeks.

Three years ago
The total bankruptcy of Washington's proclaimed intention to prevent a political settlement in Asia was silhouetted against the real background of the Korean War. That was, as the GUARDIAN reported at the time:

1. Rhee's decisive defeat in the May 30, 1950, elections, in which conservatives committed to peaceful unification of the country triumphed. These anti-Rhee forces supported a unification program advanced by the Democratic Front, an organization of both S. and N. Koreans, also supported by the N. Korean government. The program called for a unity conference to set up an all-Korea legislature, which in turn was to write a constitution and form a government. It meant unification peacefully and without Rhee.

Following the elections and developing activity for this unity conference, Rhee's Ambassador in Washington told the State Dept. (NYHT, 6/25/50):

His country was on the verge of internal collapse owing mainly to fear that the U.S. would abandon her in the event of a showdown with the Soviet-sponsored regime of N. Korea. He pleaded for some guarantees of armed intervention by the U.S. in the event of war.

Rhee, who had frequently threatened to unify the country by force (NYT from Hong Kong, 6/26/50), got his guarantees when Dulles arrived in Seoul June 18 to promise that the "Communist grip on the North" (which in fact had a broad multi-party government) would be loosened.

2. Imminent failure of the GOP-led drive to bar China's admission to UN. Herbert Hoover, announcing this program Jan. 2, 1950, called for the use of force to "save" Formosa; a separate peace treaty with Japan; bases in Japan and the Philippines, and the building of "a wall against Communism" in Asia. The call was followed by hurried trips of top U.S. brass to the Far East, and a meeting of the Joint Chiefs in Tokyo with MacArthur early in June.

China was preparing to throw Chiang out of Formosa, and the pressure for its admission to UN was becoming irresistible, when Rhee's provocations along the 38th Parallel provided a pretext for the U.S. to "defend" Formosa and launch a series of aggressive moves, all directed against China.

3. Saturation of the consumer dur-

able goods market in the U.S., pointing to the onset of the long-feared postwar recession.

Barron's (2/27/50) said the U.S. had "bigger spending plans" to give the economy a shot in the arm, and related these directly to the Pacific where "the need is urgent (if the U.S.) is to gamble on trying to keep the Communists out of control in Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia." Four months later (June 19) Barron's complained no action had yet been taken on this program. One week later it came—on the 38th Parallel.

The picture changes
Three years and millions of lives later, Washington could look at this scorecard:

• RHEE was still in power, but his own last-ditch fight to prevent an arm-

THE LAW Dr. Phillips jailed in Seattle Smith Act trial; he wouldn't inform

ON July 16 defense attorneys in a Smith Act trial in Seattle called to the witness stand an expert witness: Dr. Herbert J. Phillips, for 19 years a member of the faculty of the University of Washington before he was discharged in 1949 for affirming Communist Party membership since 1935. Dr. Phillips countered the prosecution's contention that the words "Marxism-Leninism" are synonymous with "force and violence."

Five days after he took the stand he was in jail for an indeterminate sentence. Special Prosecutor Tracy Griffin had demanded to know the name of the chairman of Dr. Phillips' CP club. The ex-professor declared the question asked him to do what "no honorable man would do": turn informer. He was promptly cited for contempt and packed off to a cell until he answers the question or the trial is over; it may last till October.

"TO FIND OUT": Prosecutor Griffin said he asked the question to "find out if Phillips is actually a Communist." The irony: Griffin was the special prosecutor hired by the U. of W. for the hearings which ended in Dr. Phillips' dismissal in 1949 because of admitted membership. It is the first time in a Smith Act trial that a witness other than a defendant has been so jailed

justice was an admission that his day was done. In 1952, under martial law, threatened by Rhee's ruthless police squads and fascist youth groups, three million S. Koreans voted against Rhee. Despite heavy censorship, recent reports from S. Korea suggest his power is crumbling. As Lippmann pointed out (7/28): "Unification of Korea under Rhee's government is impossible."

• CHINA was still barred from UN but it had become a modern military power, decisively changing the balance of forces in Asia—and the world. Its three-year reconstruction program was complete, its industrial output rising by roughly 25% a year, its Five Year Plan launched. All Washington's allies were jockeying for a chance to sell in its expanding market.

• PROFITS soared in the Korean War—the rate jumping from 19.6% to 36.6% from the first to the last quarter of 1950. Total profits, roughly \$28 billion in 1949, were \$41 billion in 1950, \$43 billion in 1951, \$41 billion in 1952. The truce left businessmen professing optimism despite the likelihood of "rather painful adjustments" (NYT, 7/27); but the optimism was largely generated by the peak levels attained in this year's second quarter, which N.Y. economist Julius Hirsch pointed out were due to special factors, strictly "transitory."

Continued farm-income decline, disappearance of overtime, the fact that instalment loan repayments are catching up with the increase in new loans, suggested contracting purchasing power which may soon be felt on the level of business activity—quite apart from any stretch-out in the arms program which may follow the truce. Dr. Edwin G. Nourse, Council of Economic Advisers chairman under Truman, saw (7/9) "all the makings of a depression. . . . The turn from demand to lack of demand is very sharp."

THE UNSOLVED PROBLEM: Behind the show of optimism was deepening concern with the problems of keeping the profit system going. The Wall St. Journal's George Shea wrote (7/27):

Everywhere the ability to produce has caught up not only to the needs of peace at a high economic level, but also to the combined requirements of cold-war rearmaments and hot-war expenditures in Korea and Indo-China. . . . Now with Soviet Russia continuing almost daily its series of peaceful moves. . . . the question arises whether the stimulations of reconstruction, hot wars and cold war are not on the wane all at the same time.

on a contempt charge. Seven defendants are involved in the Seattle trial, seventh of its kind since the beginning of prosecutions under the Smith Act in 1949. Two more such trials are scheduled to begin in the fall in St. Louis and Detroit.

FOURFOLD "CONTEMPT": In Pittsburgh, where five men are on trial under the Smith Act charge of "conspiring to teach and advocate" forcible overthrow of the government, defendant Irving Weissman, first to take the stand, is now under four separate contempt citations for refusing to name persons not connected with the trial; he will be sentenced on them at the trial's conclusion.

Rosenberg parley Aug. 16

There will be an Eastern Seaboard Conference to discuss plans for carrying on the fight for justice in the Rosenberg Case Aug. 15-16 in New York, the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case announced last week. The sessions will be at Manhattan Towers Hotel, Broadway at 76th St., from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. each day. Reports will be heard from committee representatives now touring the country. The case of Morton Sobell will be fully discussed.

Church fights back

(Continued from Page 1)

Protestant ministers "sheer defamations . . . crassly vicious."

• Very Rev. James A. Pike, Dean of New York's P. E. Cathedral of St. John the Divine: "We have moved beyond 'guilt by association' to a guilt by mutual object . . . now if a man signs a petition for a particular objective and a Communist-fronter signs the same petition, that is supposed to make the first man a part of the red apparatus. That is [not only] ridiculous [but] damaging to the whole democratic process, to the right of petition itself."

• On July 12 this message from P. E. Bishop Richard S. Emrich, pres. of the Detroit Council of Churches, was read in 600 Protestant churches in the Detroit area: "I do not want anyone to underestimate the McCarthy-Matthews attack on Protestantism. I do not know who is behind it, but it is an attack on Protestantism as such."

A BISHOP'S ASSIST: Meanwhile from P. E. Bishop of Long Island James P. DeWolfe came positive aid to the witch-hunters when, agreeing with Matthews that "there are subversive forces in the church," he added that 97% of the clergy in his diocese were "loyal." This open questioning of the "loyalty" of just 8 or 9 of his priests was played up by the N. Y. pro-McCarthy papers; Hearst's *Journal-American* featured it beside Westbrook Pegler's column denouncing Protestant attacks on Matthews; the *News* gave DeWolfe the



Herblock in Washington Post
"Quick, men—get that Bible off the shelves."

same "expert on communism" rating it had given Matthews, Eudenz, Bentley. The danger to rank-and-file clergy who ever apply the gospel to life was underscored by this act of witch-hunting co-operation by the bishop who forced removal of the beloved Dr. John Howard Melish from Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn. (Despite repeated requests by the vestry to endorse as rector Rev. Wm. Howard Melish, who is continuing his father's ministry on

a temporary basis, DeWolfe refuses to do so. The younger Melish's past chairmanship of the American-Soviet Friendship Council was the ostensible cause of the "trouble" at Holy Trinity.)

The direct challenge

Many prominent churchmen showed understanding of the need to meet committee attacks with a direct challenge. Dean Francis B. Sayre Jr. of Washington Cathedral was already on record in a Feb. 22 sermon with the assertion that the McCarthy-Velde technique of "overawing, terrifying, [so that people] will follow docilely" is "the Devil's suggestion." He added:

"They are but rash and nasty men who, thinking themselves wiser than God, would not only usurp the power to look into a man's soul, but would then seek to cram their judgment down our throats." . . . "The issue is but falsely drawn when people say it is a question of freedom versus security. Liberty is our security!"

Princeton Theological Seminary pres. Dr. John Mackay, newly-elected Moderator of the Presbyterian Church U. S. A., said he was "not ashamed of any document I ever signed"—whether "for Republican Spain . . . or to advocate repeal of the McCarran Act," and if communists happened to favor the same cause,

" . . . that does not invalidate the importance of the cause. . . . We have come to a moment when in certain circles in our country you can be anything you want, if you are anti-communist. You may be a liar, a rake, or a fascist. . . . We confront the 20th century American version of the Spanish Inquisition."

"TRUTH WILL BE HEARD": Wm. J. Walls, leading bishop of the African M. E. Church of Zion, said:

"I do not believe these people are afraid of ministers and communism, they are afraid of religion and righteousness. The efforts are being made to cover all prophets of God and to make them smug little slinkers, and defame Negro leaders to scare their followers away. It is thought to make examples of a few to destroy the initiative and courage of the rest, but the backfire is on, and truth will have its hearing."

Zion's Herald (7/15) editorialized:

We refuse to check in with anybody before we say what we believe Christ would say. . . . It is a dangerous time — a time to speak up and speak out what lies on our conscience . . . to become less concerned about the possibility of our official association with Communists, and more concerned about the vitality of our association with the prophets of Israel and Jesus of Nazareth.

PROPHETIC CHALLENGE: In a statement praising Oxnam for his fight "on the personal level" against the Un-AAC, but criticizing him for being "inclined to accept governmental approval" as a norm before which churchmen should bow," Dr. John Howard Melish said: "Not communism, but non-conformity, is what stands under attack." Dr. Melish told *GUARDIAN*:

"Christians and Jews brought up

COLONEL "X" WRITES

The lesson in Korea

By Colonel X

Excerpts from article in *Tribune des Nations, Paris* (6/26) by its well-informed military commentator.

THE impossibility of naming a victor whom nobody will dispute is the most characteristic trait of the Korean War. For the first time in modern history, military means have shown themselves impotent to bring a decision. The generals have had to transform themselves into diplomats and sit at the same table to fix conditions for an armistice which military operations could not impose either on one side or the other. What a triumph for the pacifists!

But the war does teach some strategic lessons which will in the long run force all the general staffs in the world—and ours in particular—to revise their plans seriously. . . .

USELESS HAVOC: The first lesson might be called the lesson of the military uselessness of air bombardment of the civilian population. The U. S. air forces have dropped on Korean towns a tonnage of explosives whose destructive power equals that of several dozen A-bombs of the Hiroshima type. . . .

With what results? Towns leveled, a whole country plowed up, millions of dead—but transport never interrupted, war production growing, military resistance continually strengthened. . . .

U. S. CAN DEFEND ITSELF: The complexity of U. S. armaments has been not a source of strength but of weakness. . . . The extreme ponderousness of the U. S. Army has led to its finally burying itself on a semi-fortified line awaiting the enemy's attacks. Thus the war ends on a relative success for the American sappers, whose flame-throwers and solid fortifications were able to break the last Chinese-Korean assaults. But one must underline that this was a defensive success. . . . The U. S. Army has shown in Korea that it is incapable of successfully mounting a big battle of movement. This is reassuring at a moment when so many

of her leaders would like to drag her into a preventive war, the most mobile of wars of movement.

Since this failure of the U. S. Army is not a sign of weakness in defense, it cannot be a source of concern to Americans who really want their country to have an army capable of assuring their security. The U. S. can defend itself against aggression; it



Drawing by Dyad, London
"Now, m'boy—all you have to do is to contain the African aggression in Kenya."

seems that she can only meet defeat in any other form of war. . . .

NOTE TO PSYCHOLOGISTS: The third lesson is in the methods of the psychological warfare chiefs. Three years of destruction and carnage have brought no results other than those achieved when the war broke out. Communist propaganda could find no better illustration of its thesis of the necessity of negotiation.

It is for the U. S. government to see that this argument is not turned against itself. By negotiating on all fronts of the cold war—not only in Korea—it would allow the question of who won the Korean War to remain without an answer. Any other attitude would immediately make of itself the first loser in that war.

in the prophetic tradition must assert the right of criticism and non-conformity. How otherwise can Christians fulfil the Gospel's clear injunction to be the salt that savors, and the light that set on a candlestick gives illumination to the whole household? The right of the free mind and the social conscience will require a stouter defense that that of churchmen centering their attention on keeping their own records unsullied, or proving that the Church is politically pure. Freedom and progress come through those men who challenge the status quo in behalf of something better."

Said Rev. Richard Morford, Presbyterian exec. director of the Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship:

"Let the Protestant clergy be in the vanguard in the struggles for

freedom at home, for peace in the world and against the menace of McCarthy and his backers; and if they call this communism, let it stand. To the charge that ministers betray their high calling by being identified with efforts to build a bridge of understanding between the U. S. and the U. S. S. R., the reply should be positive. The Christian gospel calls for reconciliation among men and nations and urges, in turn, that men and nations be reconciled to God. On this conviction we should take our stand and McCarthyism cannot, in the long run, prevail against it."

LATENT MILITANCY: Circles qualified to assess church sentiment say that the cautious statements by leaders who get into print are far from representative. Rank-and-file clergymen's addresses and reports, and letters to religious journals, justify this appraisal of what one religious editor calls "informed church opinion" throughout the country:

1. Mere protests by clergymen that they "are not communists" only serve to weaken the defense, since the real attack is on the application of religious principles to current issues—racial brotherhood, peace, justice and mercy in the Judaeo-Christian tradition.

2. As long as the committees are seeking not information but to discredit the witnesses, suggestions for "procedural changes" leave the root of the matter untouched.

3. Clergymen tend to accept uncritically the committees' own statements of their legal rights, but feel the committees were never intended to have the broad powers they have now assumed. There is interest in this matter.

The Protestant Church's militancy is latent but not dead. The witch-hunters know it; that is why the attack on this new front to stifle dissent has been launched.



REV. JACK McMICHAEL

There was a barbecue

VITO MARCANTONIO, JUNE, 1950

Only one man rose

When President Truman took the U. S. into war in Korea, one man rose in the Congress to oppose "this disastrous course which is not in the defense of the best interests of the American people." He said:

"I have no other recourse but to point out . . . how it violates our Constitution, our democratic traditions . . . the similarity between the rottenness that existed in the Chiang Kai-shek government and that existing in the S. Korean government—a government imposed on the people of Korea by force of arms, a police state. . . . The tyrannical rulers of S. Korea ruthlessly suppressed every endeavor on the part of the people to achieve this objective [unification of Korea] and thus created an irrepressible conflict."

"I know the American people will not want this action when they think it over. . . . You can keep on making impassioned-pleas for the destruction of communism, but I tell you that the issue in China, in Asia, in Korea and in Viet-Nam is the right of these peoples to independence and national unity."

"These people despite the terror of the atom bomb have refused to abandon their efforts for national liberation. They will no more abandon this objective than the American people did during their Revolution."

Four months later, an unprecedented three-party gang-up defeated for re-election the one man who told the people the truth. His name was Vito Marcantonio, chairman of the American Labor Party.

The epic struggle between King Joe and Tough Tony, the eager pretender

By Elmer Bendiner

IN 1919 when he was 11 years old, Anthony Anastasia left his native fishing village of Tropea, Italy, as a deck hand on a tramp freighter. He spent the rest of his childhood knocking about the world's ports until 1924 when he jumped ship in New York. A year later he was arrested on a waterfront murder charge, acquitted for lack of evidence and deported. Five years later he jumped ship in San Francisco, came east as a longshoreman.

In 1939, 1940 and 1943 he was arrested for disorderly conduct; in 1945 for slugging a man with an iron pipe. He was always acquitted. In 1947 Phelps Dodge Copper Products Co. hired him to run in scabs to break a strike. One striker died as a result. "Tough Tony" was charged with beating up a picket captain but again acquitted.

SUCCESS STORY: Neither his record nor the fact that he arrived without a pretense at legality (he once explained: "Who knew about passports in those days?") has caused the Immigration Service to take any notice of him since 1924.

Though he has failed to equal the splash made by his older brother Umberto (anglicised to Albert), who rose to the rank of executioner for Murder Inc., Anthony has done well. He has been unionist and boss, working both sides deftly and simultaneously. During the war he set up a stevedoring company to do only government work (presumably cleared by all authorities) and earned \$300,000 for his contribution to the war effort.

BROAD VISTAS: The Jarka Corp., stevedoring firm of 16 Bridge St., appointed him hiring boss, which curiously never seemed to interfere with his union standing. He rated such small favors but aspired to the larger return that goes to those who can manipulate waterfront labor—hiring it, exacting the kickbacks, sponsoring the many-sided rackets of the piers. With "King" Joe Ryan seeming to wobble on his throne (he faces trial for using his union's

"anti-communist" fund to buy among other things a Cadillac and a trip to Guatemala), Anthony Anastasia maneuvered swiftly. He resigned his Jarka job, left his old ILA local 1191-1 where three times previously he had failed to win election as secretary, joined Local 327-1 where he has friends. His friends quickly went into motion. At a hastily-called meeting the "membership" replaced two incumbent business agents with new member "Tough Tony" and an associate of

over. "Tough Tony" cried double-cross, announced that if any administrators turned up, he would toss them bodily into the street.

By last Monday none had appeared. Instead Pat Connolly, ILA exec. v-p. and one of the three administrators, expressed confidence that a friendly settlement could be achieved, said he planned to invite Tony to a meeting: "I think he will be receptive to sitting down and trying to work this out amicably."



AHOY! THE THRONE'S AWASH
Joe Ryan had another headache last week

his, Charles (Charley Bananas) Coppolino.

RYAN "APPROVES": Then Anthony announced his plan to reorganize the 10,000 Brooklyn longshoremen into a single local. He also announced plans for a \$400,000 headquarters from which he could challenge Ryan or any other pretender to the throne. His younger brother Gerardo, 40, business agent of Local 338-1, who in 1951 led an assault on picketing rank-and-file longshoremen (he was arrested, but like his brothers has never been convicted of anything more than bookmaking), pledged allegiance to Anthony. Other locals announced that they were moving their headquarters to Longshoremen's Checkers & Clerks Social Club, 371 Court St., which Anthony Anastasia founded and now uses as a base.

"King" Ryan was beset on many fronts: the courts; the AFL, which has ordered him to "clean house"; the shipowners who insisted on writing a state-controlled hiring hall into the new contract and broke off negotiations the day Anastasia raised his banners. Ryan called a meeting and announced approval of the Anastasia "reform," but the approval seemed plainly painful.

"THROW THEM OUT": Two days later the ILA exec. council, with Ryan presiding, suspended Anastasia and all other officers of Local 327-1 and appointed three administrators to take it

RESISTANCE: The young pretender did not have easy sledding throughout Brooklyn. Four locals, 805, 1195, 955, 968, said they would not join the merger. Business agent Frank Nawtrocki of 808 said: "Tony is not going to take over our local. Our men will see to that. Tony's motives are never good."

Cleophas Jacobs of 968, a Negro local, said he didn't take Anastasia very seriously. His local, he said, would resist any "absorption" by any white local. To Negro longshoremen, largely confined on the job to segregated piers, discriminated against in the kind of jobs, doubly victimized by rackets, the major enemy seemed to be neither Anastasia nor Ryan but a system of jimcrow on the New York docks.

That circumstance shed a different light on the government's plan to register longshoremen. To Jacobs the plan was "stupid" because it promised the dock worker only a system of screening but no guarantee of jobs even for those who filtered through the screen. The screening, if it were administered viciously, said Jacobs, could work still further jimcrow damage by ruling more Negroes off the docks.

IT'S SALUTARY: The regimentation was going through the final formalities last week. The U.S. Senate had already given its consent to the N.Y.-

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)



THIS IS JUST A TOKEN . . .

. . . of what's being taken out of your pocket every day by our bankrupt politicians from the subway turnstiles. No one has yet explained why the transit system must be self-sustaining when our schools, hospitals and other public services for which we pay are not. That is, except the big real estate men who fight a fair tax program.

THE POLITICAL POT BOILS

Tammany bars Negro for Manhattan post

By John T. McManus

THE campaign initiated in N.Y.C. by the American Labor Party for political representation for Negroes won a significant victory last week.

The Republican Party nominated Elmer Anderson Carter, Harlem Negro leader, as its candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. ALP had already designated trade unionist Anronicus Jacobs to run for the post, now held by Robert F. Wagner.

The Republican action brought immediate pressure from Harlem's Tammany leaders for a Negro nomination for Borough President by the DeSapio Democrats. The Tammany executive committee was already in the process of naming Assemblyman Herman Katz as a stop-gap to hold the nomination for Wagner—pending the outcome of the Democratic primary fight in which Wagner is opposing Mayor Impellitteri for the Democratic nomination for Mayor. Katz was nominated over vigorous objection from Tammany District Leaders Hulan Jack, Joseph Pinckney, Herbert L. Bruce and Lucius C. Butts, all of whom are Negroes.

3 TURNED DOWN: Negro voters concentrated in Harlem traditionally contribute upwards of 20% of the Tammany vote in Manhattan and the general feeling was that Tammany is through in Harlem unless it matches the Republican nomination of Carter with a Negro candidate of its own. Tammany leader Carmine G. DeSapio turned down three Negro alternatives to the Katz nomination—Assemblyman Hulan Jack, City Councilman Earl

Brown and Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

Former Assemblyman Robert W. Justice, head of the Harlem Affairs Committee which has conducted a non-partisan campaign for Negro candidacies in recent years, said flatly that "Harlem is going all out for Elmer Carter if the Democrats refuse to reconsider and name a Negro candidate."

BROWN TO RUN? The naming of Assemblyman Katz to hold the Tammany nomination for Robert Wagner if he should lose the Mayoralty primary hinted strongly at a coming

(Continued on Page N. Y. 4)

How do you like the Impies?

THE millions who ride New York City subways to work were greeted Monday morning with a 15c fare, payable in turnstiles with tokens slightly smaller than a dime. American Labor Party candidate for Mayor Clifford T. McAvoy and ALP Chairman Vito Marcantonio headed a 6 a.m. mobilization of ALP members with 250,000 leaflets saying:

HERE'S WHY YOU PAY 15c FARE!

Impellitteri asked for a transit authority. Dewey gave it to him. The Transit Authority raised the fare. Impellitteri now says he wanted the Transit Authority without a fare increase. That's just like jumping off the Empire State Building and not expecting a broken neck!

The leaflet challenged Liberal candidate Rudolph Halley's alternative of a \$75,000,000 cut in city services and \$25,000,000 more pared out of transit costs and renewed the solution proposed by the ALP since 1949, taxing of big N.Y. real estate based on present rather than 1932 values.

Subway riders greeted the ALP leaflet cheerfully but made no citywide demonstration against the increased fare. Radio commentators helpfully noted that certain coins of Kiddie Money sold in most N.Y. toy stores would fit the turnstiles but not much of it has thus far turned up in the count.

To the N.Y. Daily News' Vox Pop letters column came what may be 1953's most effective political crack. The reader proposed that the new 15c fare tokens be known as "Impies."

LOWER EAST SIDE RESIDENTS WINNING HOUSING FIGHT

The Battle of Corlears Hook

By Ione Kramer

CORLEARS HOOK is a tiny area on the lower east side, where Manhattan bulges into the East River—a slum island beneath the Williamsburg Bridge surrounded by housing projects. On the west and south are the Vladeck and Amalgamated low-rent houses; on the north the rising girders of the Baruch Houses, another low-income project.

Half the buildings in Corlears Hook are already vacant, stencilled in white letters "Property of East River Housing Corp."; the rest of the crumbling structures will be razed soon to make room for new privately-constructed middle-income apartments (under Title I of the federal Housing Act of 1949, which permits cities to condemn land and sell it cheap to private companies for building—see GUARDIAN, 3/16/53.) But the militant mood of the residents is in striking contrast to the desolate appearance of the area.

A COMMON FIGHT: Apartments and rents are almost the sole topic of conversation among the clusters of people who gather on doorsteps and at corner stores in the evening, seeking relief from the heat. White, Negro and Puerto Rican are joined in a common predicament, a common fight for decent relocation; their unity has had success.

Most of them knew they would have a tough time finding another place to live. Along with several thousands of other Title I "displaced tenants" in N. Y., they cannot afford to move back into the new houses, and will have little chance of getting into one of the 8,000 federally-aided low-rent apartments which will be available in N. Y. this year. (In 1952 there were 200,000 active applications, more than 15 for each similar apartment that became available that year.)

\$625 DOWN: Only 100 of the original 750 tenants on the site were able to afford the \$625-per-room down payment (an average 4½-room apartment will cost \$2,850) to live in the new privately built co-op houses, with monthly upkeep averaging \$18 per room. Many are elderly folks, single and on pensions or relief, ineligible for any type of project.

The two-thirds of Corlears



THIS IS THE LOWER EAST SIDE
They learned how to work for better housing. . .

residents who are Negro or Puerto Rican know that for them it will be even harder to get a decent place which they can afford.

Corlears residents mobilized with the East Side Tenants Council to force the East River Housing Corp. to help them find homes.

PRESSURE DID IT: To the first meeting, held last March in a local church, 300 people came. Over a dozen delegations numbering up to 150 persons who visited ERHC, local rent offices and city officials in April won the support of City Councilman Robert Weisberger and a promise from N. Y. State Rent Commissioner Louis Goldberg that there would be no evictions.

"The Housing Corp. had no intention of relocating the people when they took over the site," Tenants Council lawyer Jack Schacht told the GUARDIAN. Pressure has changed their policy, forced ERHC at the direction of Municipal Court Justice Maurice Wahl in April to add a new clause to their agreement with tenants, stipulating that the landlord must assume the obligation for moving them and to rehouse them in "toughly comparable housing at a roughly comparable rental." Last week the court ruled ERHC must pay full moving expenses. Pending is a ruling on ERHC's painting the new apartments to make them "comparable." About 300 of the original tenants have been rehoused, half of them

in places found for them by ERHC.

NO RATS WANTED: Now the battle is in a second stage with ERHC waging "psychological warfare" to make tenants believe they must accept any place ERHC finds for them.

"We don't live in these old rat-infested places because we want to," a Puerto Rican mother commented. "We took them because it was the only thing we could find or pay for. Now they want to put us into another place just as bad or worse, but for more money."

Elderly people were offered cold-water apartments 7 flights up; families with children were offered apartments in buildings themselves ready to be condemned, with broken wooden stairs, falling plaster. Relocates and the Tenants Council are bringing ERHC to court, which rules in most of the cases that the tenants do not have to accept places unsatisfactory to them.

A SPOT OF TERROR: Non-payment of rent is the only cause for which tenants may be legally evicted. ERHC tried a terror campaign, serving 20 tenants, mostly Spanish-speaking, with phony 24-hour eviction notices on that charge, even though the rents had been paid. Evictions were halted when the tenants appeared in court with rent receipts. Recently a few families who had not learned about the Tenants Council in time to get help landed in the street with their belongings.

Following the pattern of other Title I site owners, ERHC is trying to make life so inconvenient for the remaining tenants that they will move from sheer annoyance. Elementary repairs on stairs and leaks are neglected. Through the winter many places had no heat or hot water. Tenants were forced to heat with kerosene stoves, creating further hazards. One family with 7 children, told they were too many to live in a project, were burned out of their apartment; a few weeks later in another part of the site they were nearly suffocated by stove fumes. Then the landlord found a place for them in Vladeck Houses.

SITTING TIGHT: Most relo-

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

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catees are sitting tight, doing their best to see that they will not be caught in the pinch between the scarcity of low-rent housing and increasing "slum clearance" that clears out the slum dwellers to make room for middle-income housing they can't afford. A tenant leader commented:

"The most important victory of the Corlears fight is that the tenants have learned how to work for better housing, and are going out into their new communities ready to work for it."

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FEW of the nation's top philosophers and educators are more prominent, more respected, than Alexander Meiklejohn. He is the author of seven published works concerned with all aspects of freedom of the mind and freedom of expression. At 81, his active career has spanned many a gloomy period of repression in the U.S. On Jan. 31, 1953, he told a conference called by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"We are not a subject people, begging or fighting for such limited privileges and powers as may be grudgingly granted to us by a sovereign legislature. We are the sovereign, and the Legislature is our servant. . . . We Americans, acting as free citizens, may make mistakes; we may be selfish, or stupid, or negligent. But in the field of political opinion or expression or affiliation, we cannot commit punishable crime for the reason that, in that field, the law-makers have no authority to legislate a crime into existence."

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MONAGHAN'S 38TH PARALLEL

Police Dept. fires 2d cop fingered by an informer

DEPARTMENTAL hearings of policemen charged with taking graft are generally quiet, the punishment a reprimand; in cases of brutality against civilians the offense is often not even recorded. Last week the cops were hounding fellow cops energetically and loudly; this time the charge was communism.

Police Lt. Arthur Miller, 42, of 181 Langham St., Manhattan Beach, B'klyn, was the second officer pursued in the current departmental witch-hunt. The first was Patrolman Meyer E. Rubinstein, fired last May. Both are Jewish. Lt. Miller, whose record had won him two citations for good police work and opened the way to a captaincy, received the full treatment of Congressional witch-hunt, even the services of veteran committee witness and informer John Lautner, a former official of the Communist Party.

"WANTED" BY ALP: A tap on the lieutenant's telephone revealed that in August, 1944, an unidentified woman called him to say she was going to "Arrowhead" where "they have lecturers from the Jefferson School twice a day." A detective who had been trailing the lieutenant reported that in the same month Miller in civilian clothes had entered the home of a woman alleged to be a communist.

John Lautner testified, as he had in many other cases, that he knew Miller to be a CP member; that he had collected clues from him; that Miller must have believed in "overthrow of the government by force and violence." Lautner added:

"In September, 1949, he asked me if the [Communist] party would allow him to resign from the police force. . . . The party decision was that he could not resign, but was to study hard and get higher rank. The reason was that if the American Labor Party became the balance of power, he would be in a key position to become Police Commissioner. I told him that and he reluctantly accepted the decision."

"PERJURIOUS FICTION": Vito Marcantonio, state chairman of the ALP, at once issued this statement:

"I would not have comment-

ed on the perjurious fiction uttered against the ALP, were it not for the fact that a certain section of the press is now using these lies again to smear the only political party that is making a fight against fare increases and against political characters who are being forced on the people by the other parties.

"I assert that the statement made before the Trial Commissioner of the Police Dept. the other day by a perjurer, to the effect that a police officer would have been made police commissioner if the ALP had come into power, is a lie and perjurious fiction. The ALP has never made any commitments to anyone for any appointment and has never authorized anyone to make such commitments in its behalf. . . . It is a sad commentary on these times that we have reached the stage where perjury is bought and paid for with the tax dollar of the American people."

TRIED TO RESIGN: Marcantonio's denial could scarcely catch up with Lautner's accusation. All the city's press had featured Lautner, scarcely quoted Marcantonio's angry answer; the Times ignored it.

Lt. Miller, when the hearing began, wrote to Trial Commissioner Aaron Frank:

"I have been under treatment for a heart condition for about five months. Due to the stress of my private circumstances my condition has been aggravated. I do hereby formally request permission to resign from the Police Dept. of the City of N. Y."

ATOMIC FLAVORING: Permission was denied. He was tried in his absence, prosecuted by Asst. Corp. Counsel Jerome Belson who called him "a robot without a soul" and hinted he had other information on Miller from Los Angeles and Las Vegas (sites of A-bomb tests) which he could not reveal because of its "confidential nature."

On Friday Miller had not yet appeared at his hearing but Commissioner Frank announced he would recommend a guilty verdict. On Monday Police Commissioner Monaghan announced Miller's dismissal.

in Brooklyn as "my life's dream."

"RUB OUT THE NAME": Last Monday night some 2,000 persons attended an Anastasia mass meeting where Tony threatened to break with the ILA if necessary to realize his dream: "If they [the administrators] come with a court order, we'll rub out the name ILA on the building and be independent of Joe Ryan."

AFL pres. George Meany didn't seem impressed. Returning from Europe, he commented: "I don't know whether their kicking out Anastasia is any more significant than if Anastasia had kicked them out."

Meanwhile extra patrols of cops and detectives, fearing big trouble, prowled the Brooklyn waterfront.

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Waterfront

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1) N. J. compact for jointly regulating the dockers. The consent bill went before a House Judiciary subcommittee last week.

TONY'S DREAM: Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-Bklyn.) cautioned: ". . . We dare not be rushed off our feet; we should not act as nice little animals and jump through the hoop."

Joseph M. Proskauer, chairman of the N. Y. State Crime Commission which authored much of the current legislative "reform," dismissed Celler's objections as "a mass of peccadilloes—and I use the word advisedly." He called the plan "the crowning achievement of my life."

In almost the same terms Anthony Anastasia was hailing the impending "reorganization"

Movie Suggestions

Better First Runs

THE LONG MEMORY (Br.) How a wrongly imprisoned man seeks justice. Beekman, 2d Av. bet. 65-66.

THE BAND WAGON—Musical comedy including a dance satire on Mickey Spillane. Radio City Music Hall, 6th Av. & 50th St.

COUNSELLOR-AT-LAW—John Barrymore in reissue of Elmer Rice classic. Trans-Lux 72d St., 346 E. 72d.

THE SEA AROUND US—Documentary. Trans-Lux 60th, Madison & 60th St.

STALAG 17—Astor, E'way & 45th.

FANFAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philipe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Parla, 4 W. 58th St.

JULIUS CAESAR—Shakespeare makes the big screen. Booth Theatre, 45th St., W. of B'way. Reserved seats.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. Storm Over Asia, anti-imperialist documentary by Pudovkin, 1926. July 31-Aug. 1, 9:15.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m. Films of Ernst Lubitsch series. **The Student Prince** (1927), Norma Shearer; typical of romantic "international style" direction of the period. 3 p.m. only, Aug. 3-9.

THALIA INT'L. FILM FESTIVAL, 95th & B'way. AC 2-3370.

Life and Loves of Beethoven (Fr., Harry Baur) & Congress Dances (musical, Lillian Harvey), Sat., Aug. 1.

The Grand Concert & Moussorgsky (both Russ., in color), Sun., Aug. 2.

Pagliacci & Cavalleria Rusticana, Mon., Aug. 3.

Music and Films, 8 shorts, including Myra Hess playing Beethoven, Walther conducting, features on orchestra, Tues., Aug. 4.

The Medium & Faust (Tajo, Corradi), Wed., Aug. 5.

Dance in Films, 8 shorts, including Limon, Sadler's Wells, Bettis, Thurs., Aug. 6.

La Forza Del Destino (Gobbi, Corradi) & Man of Music (Glinka blog.), Fri. & Sat., Aug. 7-8.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. Taras

Shevchenko (Russ.), Aug. 6-7.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. Shane, from July 30.

BEVERLY, 3d Av. at 50th St. Revivals from the '30's: 100 Men and a Girl (Durbin-Stokowski) & My Man Godfrey (Powell-Lombard), thru Aug. 1.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. Young Bess, thru Aug. 3; Shane, Aug. 4-9.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th St. Hidden Room (Br., melodrama) & Dead of Night (Br.), Aug. 2-3; Titanic, Aug. 5-8.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. Promoter & Importance of Being Earnest (both Br.), thru Aug. 6.

55th ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th St. Rasha Mon & Miracle in Milan (It.), thru Aug. 2; Lavender Hill Mob & Tight Little Island (both Br.), Aug. 3-5; The Man in the White Suit & The Browning Version (both Br.), Aug. 6-8.

GRANDE, 86th St. nr. Lexington Av. Red River & Story of Robin Hood, Aug. 1-2.

GRAMERCY, 28d & Lexington. Shane, thru Aug. 5; Woman in the Window & The Stranger, Aug. 6-8.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. H. C. Andersen, thru Aug. 1; Justice is Done (Fr.) Sadler's Wells & Picasso shorts, Aug. 5-8.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. A Queen is Crowned, thru Aug. 7.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. H. C. Andersen, thru Aug. 1; Strange Deception (It.) & Young Wives' Tale (Br.) Aug. 5-11.

PLAZA, 58th St. & Madison Av. Shane, Aug. 1; Titanic, Aug. 2-6.

STANLEY, 7th Av. nr. 42d St. Stars of the Ukraine, continuing.

SYMPHONY, B'way & 95th St. Tonight at 8:30 & Penny Princess (both Br.), Aug. 1-11.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. at 3d St. H. C. Andersen & Bear Country, Aug. 1; Shane & Lady Wants Mink, Aug. 4-6.

Bronx

CREST, 1145 Ogden Av. Young Bess & Columba South, Aug. 3-5; Titanic & Destination Gobi, Aug. 7-10.

DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. Importance of Being Earnest & Crash of Silence, Aug. 2-4.

Miscellaneous

MARIONETTE CIRCUS, Dept. of Parks. Free. **QUEENS**: Mon., Aug. 3, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m.—King Park, 153d St. & Jamaica Av., Jamaica.

BRONX: Tues., Aug. 4, 2:30 p.m.—Van Cortlandt Park Stadium, 242d St. & B'way.

Wed., Aug. 5, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m.—St. Mary's Park E., Trinity Av. & E. 145th St.

Thurs., Aug. 6, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m.—Eastchester Houses Playground, Ade & Tenbroeck Aves.

Fri., Aug. 7, 11 a.m. & 2:30 p.m.—Playground at Watson, Gleason & Noble Aves.

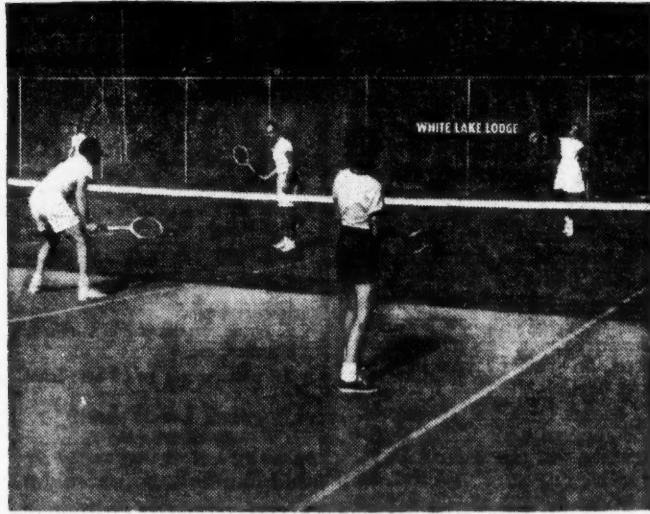
BIKE & HIKE TRIPS: American Youth Hostel leadership. For teen-agers, others, 1-day trips open to non-members.

OPEN HOUSE & folk sing. Good chance to find out about hosteling from experienced hostellers. AYH headquarters, 344 W. 36th St. Thurs., Aug. 6, 8:30 p.m.

BIKE: Moderate 10 mile hike thru a forest, swim in the lake. Roastables for campfire breakfast. Meet Sat., Aug. 8, 4:20 a.m. for 4:30 a.m. Chambers St. Ferry. \$2.50.

STORY HOURS: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Daily at 11:30. Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Thurs. at 2 p.m. B'klyn Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Mon. & Wed. at 2 p.m.

CATSKILL GAME FARM: All sorts of animals—most are tame and children are permitted to pet, feed and ride them. Picnic grove, fireplaces, playground. State Rte. 32, 12 miles W. of Catskill, N. Y.



Championship tennis courts are available for the guests at the White Lake Lodge, N. Y. A music festival starring Pete Seeger is featured from July 31 to Aug. 9.

Where to Go

"Home of the Brave"

If you've a yen for summer theater and are stuck in the city, there's welcome relief from Broadway's thin fare in a revival of Arthur Laurents' **Home of the Brave** in Greenwich Village this month. This psychological study of how anti-Semitism affects a young Jewish soldier is being performed by a semi-professional cast of four vets and a draftee and directed on a cleverly designed and lighted stage by Bernard Bachrach. The army do-or-die and the glowing aims for a postwar world sound a bit idealistic eight cold-war years later, but the play is still a good jog to the mind and worth seeing.

HOME OF THE BRAVE, Provincetown Playhouse, 133 MacDougal, Wed.-Sun., 8:40, thru Aug. 16. Tickets: \$1.20-\$2.40.

Help Wanted

GUARDIAN ANGELS WANTED. Volunteers to help with office work. With or without typing. Half days, whole days, hours, regularly each week. Angels please call **GUARDIAN**, WORTH 4-3960.

Radio Tips

Below are some selected public information programs available on station WNYC:

Sun., Aug. 2—**REVIEW OF THE BRITISH WEEKLIES**, a regular feature in cooperation with the BBC, offering revealing British comment on international affairs. 1:30 p.m.

Mon., Aug. 3—**LET'S SPEAK GERMAN**, 1st program in a 10-day course in the German language. Mon.-Fri. thru Aug. 14, 2 p.m.

IS OUR INTERNATIONAL PROPAGANDA EFFECTIVE? Edw. W. Barrett, former Asst. Secy. of State, and others, Northwestern Reviewing Stand. 6 p.m.

Wed., Aug. 5—**POLIOMELITIS**, Dr. Wm. Cooper of Found. for Infantile Paralysis. 10:30 a.m.

Thurs., Aug. 6—**STORY OF ALEXANDER RODENBACH**, blind leader in Belgium's struggle for independence. Amer. Found. for the Blind series. 6:30 p.m.

Fri., Aug. 7—**LABOR ORGANIZATIONS**, one of "Canadian Primer" series on Canadian life and history. 1:30 p.m.

Children 25c, adults 65c. Open daily 9 a.m.-6 p.m. Sun. till 7.

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

Tammany refuses

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

deal between the contending sides in the Democratic mayoralty fight. In this case the chance of Tammany reconsidering naming a Negro candidate was slight. The Liberal Party, which has not yet named a candidate for Manhattan Borough President, was expected to offer its nomination to Councilman Brown.

News of the announcement of the Republican nomination of Elmer Anderson Carter brought extra zest to a testimonial dinner to the chairman of the Harlem Affairs Committee, Robert W. Justice, July 23, at the Hotel Theresa. Among the hundreds at the dinner were Mr. Jack, Republican leader Harold C. Burton, Liberal leader Lawrence Bailey and attorney Jacques Isler, twice ALP nominee for State Supreme Court. Messages came to the guest of honor from Congressman Powell; Walter White, NAACP secretary; Republican nominee for mayor Harold Riegelman, now acting N. Y. postmaster; and Mr. Butts, Carl Lawrence, former Amsterdam News columnist and a founder of the Harlem Affairs Comm., was chairman.

WHAT IS WANTED: In addition to a Negro on the Board of Estimate (via the Borough Presidency of Manhattan), the Harlem Affairs Committee program calls for:

- Two Negro State Supreme Court Justices. (Of 36 justices now sitting for the Manhattan-Bronx district none is a Negro. ALP's candidacy of Jacques Isler in 1950 and 1951 has thus far been the only move by any political party to correct this imbalance.)

- An additional Negro City Councilman. (Brown is now the only Negro in the N. Y. City Council.)

- An aide to the Mayor.
- At least one full-fledged Negro Commissioner heading a city department.

ALP TOOK LEAD: The ALP has spark-plugged the nomination of Negro candidates by the major parties for more than a decade. Its first campaign won a City Court post for Francis E. Rivers, who has now served with distinction as a City Court Justice for ten years.

When a vacancy occurred on the General Sessions bench in 1950, ALP successfully urged the appointment of a Negro jurist, Harold A. Stevens. When both old parties rejected proposals for Negro candidates for Supreme Court in 1950, ALP nominated Jacques Isler, who got 103,000 votes that year in the Manhattan-Bronx area. In off-year 1951 he ran ahead of the ALP ticket in the two boroughs, polling 62,802 votes.

In 1949, ALP offered the first Negro candidate for Manhattan Borough President, nominating trade union leader Ewart Guinier on the ticket headed by Vito Marcantonio for Mayor. Now, a year later, non-partisan community pressure seems determined to make major-party nomination of a Negro for Borough President a "must" as a means of guaranteeing the election of a Negro to the Board of Estimate.

Your friend would like to see this GUARDIAN. Remail it with 2c stamp and unsealed wrapper or envelope.

Film reviews in brief

THE SEA AROUND US, produced and written by Irwin Allen from book by Rachel L. Carson. RKO. Trans-Lux 60th.

Spectacular underseas documentary in technicolor. Microscopic life in breath-taking patterns, action in battle scenes of shark vs. octopus, man vs. whale. Narrative not up to photography. World's beginning told in terms of Genesis filmed like an A-bomb explosion, the end foretold in shots of the melting Arctic ice cap. Well worth seeing. Take the kids if past the nightmare stage; reality weirder than Disney.

JULIUS CAESAR, produced by John Houseman, directed by Joseph Mankiewicz. MGM. Booth Theater.

Shakespeare's picture of the terrible futility and waste that occurs when a few leaders execute a political coup without the people's understanding and confidence is obscured beneath the pageantry and "alarums and excursions." Set in a fitting big-screen medium, if not completely fitting Hollywood "western" style. Louis Calhern's portrait of Caesar is flat compared with John Gielgud's superb portrait of the jealous Cassius and James Mason's beautifully spoken idealistic Brutus. The funeral oration is better than the whole of Marion Brando's somewhat unclear conception of Marc Antony's character and development. Worth seeing despite flaws.



Lancaster in Daily Express, London
News item: English debate commercial television.
"... and here is Leonardo's supreme masterpiece—the Mona Lisa!! Are you, too, afraid to open your mouth when you smile?"

Events for Children

AUGUST 3-11

Films

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. Free. Wed., Aug. 5, 3:30 p.m. U.S. Customs & Science Goes Fishing.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, Park Pl. & B'klyn Av. Week-days. Free.

Mon., Aug. 3, 11 a.m.—**The Story of Milk**; 2 p.m., Dog of the Seven Seas & Canyon Country; 4 p.m., The American Cowboy.

Tues., Aug. 4, 11 a.m.—**Safety Patrol & King Cotton**; 2 p.m., Bringing Up Your Puppy; 4 p.m., Big Trains Rolling.

Wed., Aug. 5, 11 a.m.—**Bermuda Bound**; 2 p.m., Country Fair; 4 p.m., African Adventure.

Thurs., Aug. 6, 11 a.m.—**225,000 Mile Proving Ground & The Beaver**; 2 p.m., 4-H Headlines; 4 p.m., Life in an Aquarium & Loons Necklace.

Fri., Aug. 7, 11 a.m.—**Deer and Its Relatives & Shep, the Farm Dog**; 2 p.m., Helpful Henry; 4 p.m., Portrait of a City: Detroit.

BROADWAY THEATER, B'way & 49th St. Sat.-Tues., Aug. 1-4. King Winter; Wed.-Fri., Aug. 5-7.

STARS OF THE UKRAINE
AT THE NEW MAJESTIC THEATRE
7th Ave. bet. 42 & 43 Sts.
Music by GINSKY KORSAKOFF

Comfortably Air Cooled
July 31-Aug. 2: "Storm Over Asia"
Anti-imperialist document by Pudovkin. Silent.
Fri., Sat., Sun. 1 show 9:15 p.m.
August 7-9:
Film Tour of Great Britain
Members, \$1; Non-Members, \$1.25
430 6th Av.
CLUB CINEMA Nr. 9th St.

Anna Louise Strong vindication sought

FOUR years ago Anna Louise Strong, 68-year-old writer who lived many years in the Soviet Union and China and has probably written more about Soviet affairs than any other American, was expelled from the Soviet Union charged with being a Western spy. She flatly denied the charge, calling it a by-product of the cold war for which Washington was mainly responsible. For some time she has published from Montrose, Calif., the newsletter *Today*, a penetrating analysis of world events which deals constructively with Soviet and all other efforts to maintain peace.

Last month the Canadian left-wing Protestant journal, *One*, whose editorial advisers include the Dean of Canter-

At the time of her arrest in 1949 Miss Strong was the accredited correspondent of the *GUARDIAN*. When she returned to the U.S., she described in the *GUARDIAN* the circumstances surrounding her arrest. She was mystified as to the reasons, but added that she still felt "the Soviet Union holds the hope of mankind." In an article series in the *N.Y. Herald Tribune* she expressed criticisms which were magnified and distorted by that paper's headlines and editing, but since then has refused to allow her case to be used to fan the flames of anti-Soviet hysteria.

Miss Strong has remained a devoted friend of the *GUARDIAN*, and on our side we have seen no evidence that she has ever waned in her devotion to the cause of peace and a people's world. We applaud and endorse the appeal of our Canadian contemporary.

bury and Hungarian Bishop Berezky, appealed to Soviet Premier Malenkov and Ambassador to Canada Zarubin to withdraw the charges. It said:

The time has come to correct a false impression concerning a lifelong, devoted friend of the Soviet Union, Anna Louise Strong, who was deported from Russia in 1949 on the nominal charge of "spying." We say nominal because the charge was never documented.

And because of this injustice Miss Strong has been cut off from that normal contact with the world which was her life.

This appeal for correction is based not merely on a desire that Miss Strong's powerful mind and soul may be freed for untrammelled activity and influence, but also on our faith in the integrity of the Soviet Union, welded as it is with the integrity of the rising World Community.

The British pacifist organ *Peace News*, commenting on the appeal, said:

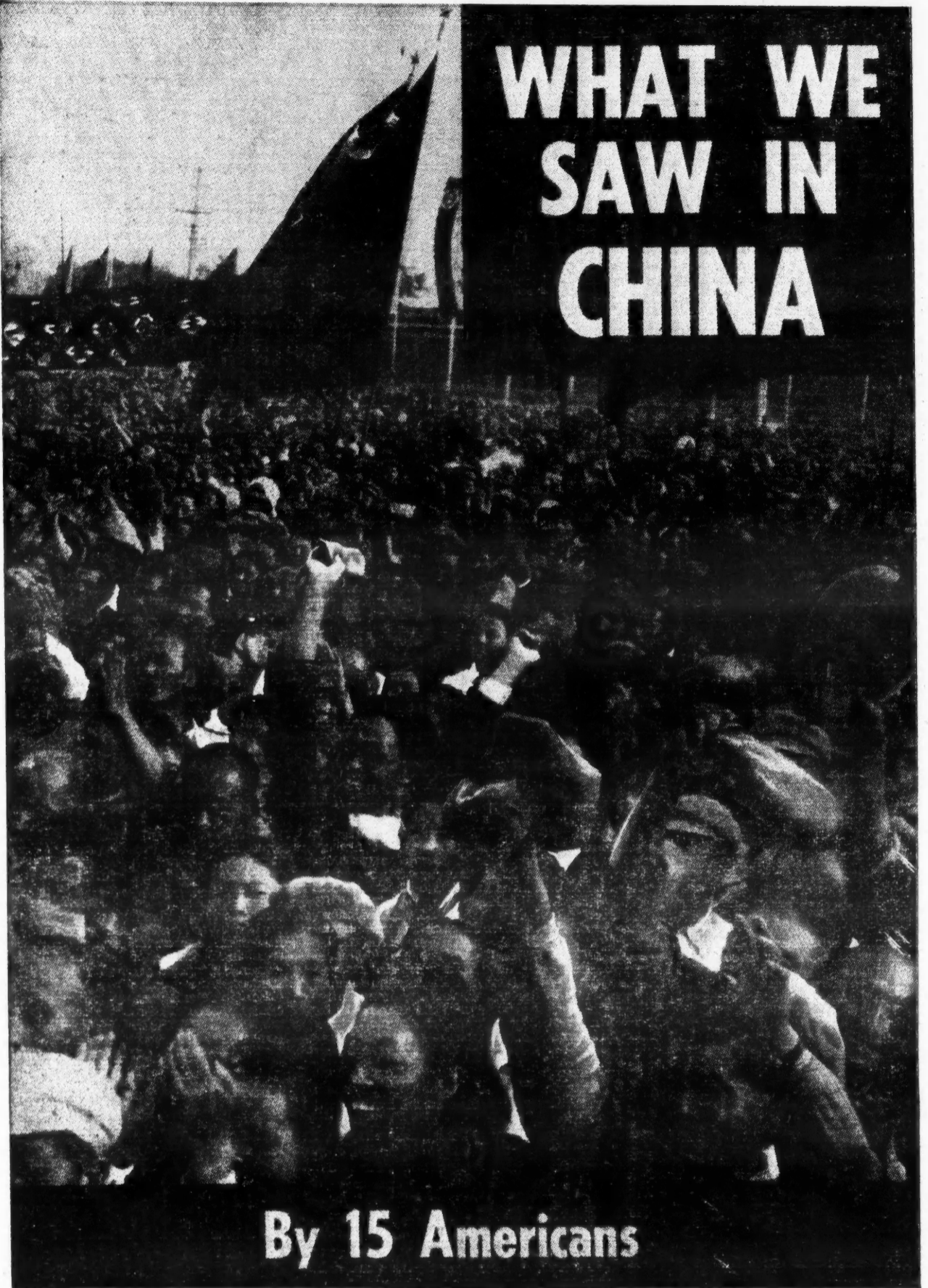
It will be a very small extension of clemency if the Russian Government finds itself able to respond to this appeal, although having nothing of the radical significance that attached to the release of the condemned doctors.

The appeal is probably based on the assumption that in the new atmosphere of the Malenkov regime it has some likelihood of meeting with success.

Sanity corner

DENVER (FP)—A resolution approved at a meeting of the Young Democrats here called for circulating at home and abroad books banned by the State Dept. The proposal won immediate support from the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, weekly newspaper of over 50 AFL unions, which said the resolution "could snowball into a vast, spontaneous movement to undercut the book-burners." Most important, the paper said, is to put the banned books on the shelves of public, university and private libraries abroad. It hoped "freedom-loving Americans will begin to comb their bookshelves for volumes to contribute to this brilliantly-conceived project."

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Goshal

(Continued from Page 1)

- 40,000 soldiers, 1,000,000 civilians dead;
- 300,000 war widows;
- 9,000,000 persons displaced;
- 500,000 homes destroyed;
- Inflation—rice up 1,800%;
- "Close to 100,000" women supplementing family incomes by prostitution;
- 87% of population suffering from intestinal parasites; 17% have TB.

Korea after three years

Cities that look like grave-yards . . . old people, women and children buried under the debris of bombed-out villages . . . bodies of women with babies in their arms floating in icy waters . . . grotesque, twisted corpses like withered tree trunks, caught in motion and petrified by napalm bombs. . . Living dead, hideously distorted by napalm and in perpetual agony. . . That was the picture visitors to N. Korea had given of the results of modern warfare, U. S. style.

At the Congress of the Peoples for Peace in Vienna, in December, 1952, well known Korean author Han Ser Ya told the delegates:

"We should have liked to say, dear friends, come and see the beautiful monuments of our 5,000-year-old civilization, but we cannot. . . They no longer exist. . . Our theaters, our concert halls, our hospitals and our schools, our museums and our temples . . . have been obliterated by the U. S. air pirates. . ."

"On the town of Pyongyang alone, 1,500,000 bombs have been dropped in two years—four bombs for each inhabitant. 200,000 high-explosive bombs and 15 million napalm bombs have been dropped on my country in these two years. . . Between July, 1951, and Oct., 1952, during the armistice talks, 97,000 peaceful inhabitants were killed in U. S.



MADONNA BY MacARTHUR

A famous GUARDIAN photo of the war's first year

bombing raids. . ."

Leading British scientist Joseph Needham and others reported that . . . the people of Korea and China have . . . been the objectives of bacteriological weapons . . . employed

by units of the U. S. armed forces (Report of the Intl. Scientific Commission for Investigation of Bacterial Warfare in Korea & China).

FAMINE: Of S. Korea, this was the picture given by British Quaker Lewis

Waddilove at a recent Friends Service Committee Korean relief meeting in Seattle:

Five million destitute living on a monthly U. S. grain allotment "enough to feed 2 million a subsistence diet of 1,300 calories a day"; 30,000 children in 300 orphanages living on a "meager grain ration," many hardly able to sit up in bed, and 40,000 other orphans existing entirely by beggary and thievery;

Refugee women and children, sometimes numbering as high as 6 million, some living in "camps" with "no sanitary facilities or medical care."

"THE NEW TREND": Giving an overall picture of war-devastated Korea, London Daily Telegraph correspondent Reginald Thompson wrote over a year ago (New Statesman, 2/2/52):

All the major towns with the exception of Taegu and Pusan have suffered the most terrible destruction; the slow and painful efforts at industrialization have disappeared; hundreds of villages have been erased from the face of the earth, and countless people . . . have been reduced to ashes with their homes. . . Thus in Korea we see the new trend and pattern of warfare for the first time. . .

DEAR MR. SMITH: At about the same time Charles Favrel, Korean correspondent of Le Monde (Paris), addressed this letter to an imaginary Mr. Smith in the U. S.:

American intervention in Korea has . . . bled that country to death, killed many of its people, starved and terrorized it, and annihilated and ruined it. . . This is what Europe can expect and hope from American intervention. . . It is vital, Mr. Smith, that you understand all this and . . . help people around you to understand it. . . You have power. . . You represent public opinion. . . Just a word, just a move, and you might . . . make the lights shine again. . . Give it a try, Mr. Smith. . .

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"MY POLITICAL OPINIONS ARE OF NO CONCERN TO THIS COMMITTEE . . ."

Harvey O'Connor, Joe McCarthy and the First Amendment

On July 14 two authors were subpoenaed before the McCarthy subcommittee on government operations ostensibly because their books were found in U.S. information libraries overseas. They were Leo Huberman, co-editor of The Monthly Review, an independent socialist magazine, author of Man's Worldly Goods, We, The People, and The Truth About Socialism; and Harvey O'Connor, an independent-minded labor reporter and author of Mellon's Millions, The Astors, The Guggenheims, and History of the Oil Workers Union.

For the first time before a congressional committee quiz since the appearance of the Hollywood Ten, they invoked the First Amendment instead of the Fifth, on the ground that their freedom as writers was being violated

MR. O'CONNOR: Mr. Chairman, may I make a brief statement?

THE CHAIRMAN: No. You will answer the question.

MR. O'CONNOR: About my objection to the jurisdiction of this committee?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, you may make a statement on that.

MR. O'CONNOR: Thank you. Under the First Amendment to the Constitution, my writings, my books, and my political opinions are of no legitimate concern to this committee. If I have violated any laws in the writings that I have written, that is a proper concern for the law enforcement agencies and not the proper concern of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will you get nearer to the microphone, Mr. O'Connor, so that we can hear you?

MR. O'CONNOR: My second point would be that this committee has no right to inquire into my writings, under the point of the constitutional limitations on the powers of Congress and its committees. I might say in that regard that I have not known until this moment that my books were in overseas libraries, and most certainly I had nothing whatever to do with their selection there.

by the questions. (In legal tests this ground has not been upheld.)

Huberman said he had never been a Communist Party member but was a "Marxist and a socialist," that he believed in "working together with others, including Communists, to the extent that their aims and methods are consistent with mine." This comment was part of a statement which he was allowed to read because he answered the question on CP membership. Huberman said he was prepared to carry a judicial test of his position to the Supreme Court if he were cited for contempt. He was not cited.

For his part O'Connor simply refused to discuss his politics or his books with the committee. He was cited for contempt. Following is a transcript of O'Connor's testimony:

In the third place, I would object to the authority of the committee, under the statute by which it was created by Congress, to inquire into my writings or my political views.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just for your information, Mr. O'Connor, we are not concerned with any political views of yours. We would not be concerned about your writings. You are entitled to write whatever you care to write. Any American or anyone else is entitled to purchase your books, your writings. You are here this morning because your writings were purchased by the old Acheson State Department, distributed throughout the world, ostensibly for the purpose of fighting communism. Now, when the taxpayers pay for your books, when the royalties of your books, paid by the taxpayers, go into the Communist coffers, then this committee is concerned with that. For that reason, I again ask you the question: At the time you wrote the books which were purchased with taxpayers' money and put in our information libraries throughout the world, at that time were you a member of the Communist conspiracy?

MR. O'CONNOR: I object to the question on the three grounds I have



HARVEY O'CONNOR
None of Joe's business . . .

already stated.

THE CHAIRMAN: You can object. Now you will answer, unless you feel that the answer will tend to incriminate you.

MR. O'CONNOR: I do not feel that the answer will tend to incriminate me.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you are ordered to answer.

MR. O'CONNOR: I have already answered.

THE CHAIRMAN: I apparently did not hear your answer, then. You are ordered to answer whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party.

MR. O'CONNOR: On the three grounds I have stated, I have declined to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let us have the record clear, so that we will know what you have declined to answer. I will repeat the question. At the time you wrote the books which were purchased by the old Acheson State Department and distributed in our Information Centers, were you a mem-

ber of the Communist conspiracy?
MR. O'CONNOR: My political affiliations or lack of political affiliations are no legitimate concern of this committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you refuse to answer?

MR. O'CONNOR: Apparently.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not "apparently." Do you refuse to answer?

MR. O'CONNOR: I refuse to answer.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not refusing on the ground that the answer might tend to incriminate you?

MR. O'CONNOR: I am not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not asserting the privilege against self-incrimination. All right. You may step down.

Incidentally I think Senator Mundt wishes that a meeting of the subcommittee be called to have this man immediately cited for contempt. I will call a meeting of the subcommittee at the earliest convenience for that purpose.

Your other witness, Mr. Cohn?

Last week O'Connor amplified on his refusal to answer questions. He said: "The issue I presented is quite simple. It is this. Joe's politics is everybody's business. He runs for office. I happen to be a private citizen. I am not running for office. My politics is my own business. If anybody asks me politely, I am quite willing to state my political beliefs. But when government bureaucrats presume to force private citizens to state their political beliefs, freedom is dead. As for my books, they are none of Joe's business. If he doesn't like them, he doesn't have to read them."

"If the Senate upholds Joe's committee and the courts, in turn, uphold the Senate, then I will go to jail for 'contempt.' But the First Amendment will be in the doghouse with me. I will be in good company. But if Joe could be stopped cold in the Senate, it would be a victory . . . and save me a long and expensive court action."

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