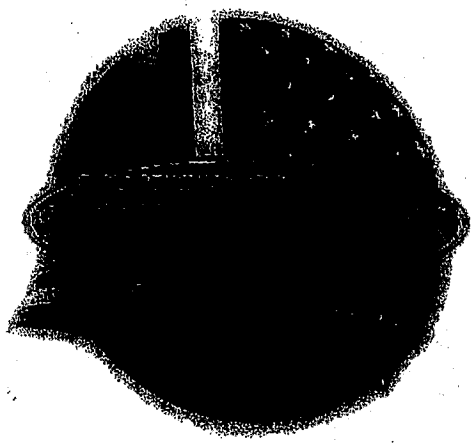
FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS

Subject: Julius Rosenberg

File Number: 65-15348

Section: Sub D (2)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FILE DESCRIPTION

NEW YORK FILE

SUBJECT Julius Rosenberg

FILE NO. 65-15348
Sub "D"

VOLUME NO. 2

SERIALS 51
thru
116

Inventory Worksheet
FD-503 (3-18-77)

VOLUME 2

NEW YORK FILES

REVIEWED BY SJO

File No: 65-15348 Sub D Re: JULIUS ROSENBERG

Date: 2/13/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	*	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
51	12/11/52	NATIONAL GAURDIAN ARTICLE	1	1		
52	12/11/52	" "	1	1		
53	12/11/52	" "	1	1		
54	12/11/52	" "	1	1		
55	12/18/52	" "	5	5		
56	12/25/52	" "	2	2		
56A	12/25/52	" "	2	2		
57	1/1/53	" "	1	1		
58	1/1/53	" "	2	2		
59	1/1/53	" "	3	3		
60	1/8/53	" "	5	5		
61	1/8/53	" "	1	1		

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Inventory Worksheet
FD-503 (3-18-77)

NEW YORK FILES

VOLUME 2

REVIEWED BY SJO

File No: 65-13348 SGD

Re: JULIUS ROSENBERG

Date: 2/13/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	*	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
62	1/8/53	NATIONAL GUARDIAN ARTICLE	1	1		
63	1/8/53	" "	1	1		
64	1/8/53	" "	2	2		
65	1/8/53	" "	3	3		
66	1/15/53	" "	1	1		
67	1/15/53	" "	2	2		
68	1/15/53	" "	4	4		
69	1/29/53	" "	2	2		
70	1/29/53	" "	1	1		
71	1/29/53	" "	1	1		
72	1/29/53	" "	1	1		
73	2/5/53	" "	3	3		

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Inventory Worksheet
FD-302 (3-18-77)

NEW YORK FILES

VOLUME 2 REVIEWED BY SJO

File No. 65-15348 Sub D Re: JULIUS ROSENBERG Date: 2/13/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	*	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
74	2/12/53	NATION GUARDIAN ARTICLE	1	1		
75	2/12/53	" "	2	2		
76	2/12/53	" "	1	1		
77	2/12/53	" "	1	1		
78	2/19/53	" "	2	2		
79	2/19/53	" "	1	1		
80	2/19/53	" "	2	2		
81	2/19/53	" "	3	3		
82	2/26/53	" "	1	1		
83	2/26/53	" "	4	4		
84	2/26/53	" "	1	1		
85	3/5/53	" "	1	1		

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Inventory Worksheet
FD-302 (3-18-77)

NEW YORK FILES

VOLUME 2

REVIEWED BY SJO

File No. 65-41534 Sub D Re: JULIUS ROSENBERG

Date 2/13/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	*	Exemptions used or to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
85	3/5/53	NATIONAL GUARDIAN " "	1	1		
86	3/5/53	" "	4	4		
87	3/5/53	" "	1	1		
88	3/16/53	" "	2	2		
89	3/16/53	" "	2	2		
90	3/23/53	" "	1	1		
91	3/30/53	" "	1	1		
92	4/6/53	" "	2	2		
93	4/6/53	" "	2	2		
94	4/13/53	" "	2	2		
95	4/13/53	" "	12	12		
96	4/13/53	" "	11	11		

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FD-302a

Inventory Worksheet
FD-302 (8-10-77)

NEW YORK FILES

VOLUME 2

REVIEWED BY SJO

File No. 65-1534 & Sub D

Re: JULIUS ROSENBERG

Date 2/13/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	*	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (Identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
96A	4/20/53	NATIONAL GUARDIAN " "	1	1		
96B	4/20/53	" "	1	1		
97	4/27/53	" "	4	4		
98	4/27/53	" "	2	2		
99	5/12/53	" "	1	1		
100	5/25/53	" "	1	1		
101	5/25/53	" "	1	1		
102	6/1/53	" "	2	2		
103	6/8/53	" "	2	2		
104	6/8/53	" "	1	1		
105	6/8/53	" "	2	2		
106	6/15/53	" "	1	1		

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Inventory Worksheet
FD-603 (3-18-77)

NEW YORK FILES

VOLUME 2

REVIEWED BY STO/JJ

File No: 65-15348 Sub D Re: JULIUS ROSENBURG

Date: 2/13/78 (month/year)

Serial	Date	Description (Type of communication, to, from)	No. of Pages Actual	No. of Pages Released	*	Exemptions used or, to whom referred (identify statute if (b)(3) cited)
106	6/22/53	NATIONAL GAURDIAN	1	1		
107	6/22/53	" "	5	5		
108	6/29/53	" "	1	1		
109	6/29/53	" "	7	7		
110	6/29/53	" "	3	3		
111	6/29/53	" "	2	2		
112	6/29/53	" "	1	1		
113	6/29/53	" "	3	3		
114	7/6/53	" "	1	1		
115	7/6/53	" "	3	3		
115A	12/18/52	" "	2	2		
116	7/6/53	" "	5	5		

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No. 1—D. of L.

U. S. Department of Justice

(MATERIAL MUST NOT BE REMOVED FROM OR ADDED TO THIS FILE)

FEDERAL BUREAU

of

INVESTIGATION

See also Nos.

In Germany they know

HAMBURG, GERMANY

Enclosed we are sending you a copy of a resolution passed yesterday at the public meeting of the Assn. of the Victims of Nazism in Hamburg-Eimsbuettel.

The resolution was signed by all the participants and sent to President Truman. We are convinced that the world-wide protests of all justice-loving people will save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

Kurt Wittenberg, Albin Luedtke,
Vice-President. President.

National Guardian
Dec 11, 1953

65-15348-D-51

FBI - NEW YORK

Queen's Chaplain protests

Among hundreds of individuals and organizations in a score of countries defying official U.S. hysteria last week was Charles E. Raven, Prof. Emeritus of Cambridge University, England, and Chaplain to the Queen, who wrote:

> As one who has spent much time during the past 25 years in the U.S. and has a deep concern for Anglo-American friendship, I cannot but deplore the death sentence upon the Rosenbergs both in itself and from its inevitable effect upon British and world opinion. . . . This savage verdict underlines the conviction that America, [illegible] [illegible]
>
> The sentence of death, whatever the merits of the case, is a tragic event for all lovers of the Republic.

65-15348-D-52

SEARCHED [illegible]

Rosenbergs and depravity

YARMOUTH, ME.

Am enclosing a clipping from Portland Evening Express which says that a number of persons have expressed a desire to witness the execution of the Rosenbergs. It is indeed difficult to believe that there is any one who has reached such a state of depravity. Especially to witness the execution of a father and mother who were convicted without proper evidence.

There has been no atomic secret since 1938. Russia has worked out 2 methods for producing atomic energy. The laws of physics or chemistry are the same today as 50 years ago." In light of these facts, and the refusal to review the Rosen-

65-15348-D-53

SEARCHED ... INDEXED
SERIALIZED ... FILED
... 1953
FBI NEW YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE
National Guardian
Dec 11 1952

D. N. Pritt's Analysis of the Rosenberg Case

published exclusively in the GUARDIAN (Nov. 24)

Available in a pamphlet

The GUARDIAN has reprinted this brilliant and dispassionate document, terming the case "an offense against all standards of Anglo-Saxon justice," in a 16-page, pocket-size pamphlet entitled

'An Appeal for Clemency'

We urge every GUARDIAN reader, every Progressive Party and American Labor Party organization, every peace and civil rights group, every individual, to obtain a sufficient supply of these pamphlets for community-wide distribution, as well as to friends and members.

Postpaid, $1 for 20; $3 per 100; $25 per 1,000.

Guardian Pamphlets — 17 Murray St., New York 7

65-15348-D-54

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
FBI - NEW YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE
National Guardian
Dec 11, 1952

Rosenberg clemency drive grows

By Lawrence Emery

as Jan. 12 deadline nears

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
1952
FBI—NEW YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE
N.Y. Daily Mirror
Dec. 18, 1952
65-15848-D-55

FOR an uncountable number of good people across the U.S.—and in many other parts of the world—Christmas and the Jewish Chanukah (Festival of Lights) this year will be dimmed by the shadow of an electric chair. From Christmas Day it will be but 17 days to the beginning of the week designated as the one in which Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are scheduled to be executed as "atom spies."

On Dec. 19 Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan denied a defense motion to set aside the conviction and refused to stay the sentence. The usually restrained N.Y. Times reflected the ghoulish mood of the big press in this headline:

ROSENBERGS MOVE
STEP NEARER CHAIR

On Dec. 11 defense attorney Emanuel H. Bloch applied for a stay of execution pending appeal from Judge Ryan's decision. The U.S. Court of Appeals, which upheld the original conviction and then refused to review its findings, set Dec. 22 for a hearing.

OUR ALERT PRESS! In his ruling Judge Ryan dismissed the three major grounds raised by the defense: officially-inspired press hysteria which tended to convict the Rosenbergs before the trial; knowing use of perjured testimony by the government; total absence of secrecy about the atom-bomb secret the Rosenbergs allegedly conspired to transmit to the Soviet Union while it was a war-time ally of the U.S. Of the bulky evidence that the Rosenbergs were branded as "traitors" before the trial—much of it originated with Justice Dept. officials and the prosecution—Ryan said:

"We enjoy a free press . . . The accounts of the arrests and subsequent indictments of petitioners tended to alay

(Continued on Page 3)

THE DAY ETHEL ROSENBERG ENTERED SING SING
It was April 21, 1951 — she's in the center of group at left

Rosenberg clemency campaign is growing

(Continued from Page 1)

public anxiety and to give assurance that those charged with the protection of vital information were alert and diligent in the performance of their obligations."

THERE'S NO DISPUTE: The government's admission that one of its important witnesses lied on the stand was minimized by the judge. The prosecution, in an affidavit, confirmed a defense charge that its "surprise" witness, produced on the last day of the trial to identify the Rosenbergs as a couple who had come to him for passport photos a few months earlier, had been taken secretly—and illegally—to court to look at the Rosenbergs the day before he took the stand. From the witness chair he swore he had not seen the Rosenbergs since he had taken their photos.

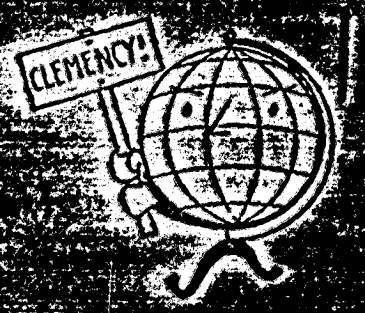
Judge Ryan conceded that the defense charge "is not disputed" but found there "was no motive of falsehood" and the lie "does not stamp the witness with perjury." The judge similarly dismissed impressive scientific testimony that the alleged atom-bomb secret had long been public knowledge.

DEATH HOUSE DIARY: Last month in his cell in Sing Sing's death house, Julius Rosenberg began a diary; after each day's entry he notes the number of days of life left to him and his wife. Throughout the document he maintains their absolute innocence, writes of the prosecution:

> They wanted me to confess to crimes I did not do, to bear false witness against innocent people and to allow myself to be used as a tool to create anti-Soviet and anti-Communist propaganda to add to the hysteria and the cold war. . . . The only documentary evidence produced by the government to tie us up with this case was a tin collection can; have a Spanish Republican Child.
>
> This can was supposed to be used to collect funds to aid the innocent victims of . . . France. We admit we are ardent anti-fascists. Not only did we donate money to help refugees but we collected funds and signed petitions to aid the Republican cause.
>
> I remember when the rebellion broke out in Spain, and my wife and I decided to help the Loyalists. Ethel had studied voice. She is a coloratura soprano and she sings beautifully. I had studied Spanish in college and I taught her the words to two songs: "Tango de las Rosas" and "Ay-ay-ay." Then, together with a few of our friends, we went to Times Square on Saturday night. Ethel sang these two Spanish songs and "No Pasaran," and the rest of us held the corners of a Spanish Republican flag. The people contributed generously, coins and dollar bills. The public was overwhelmingly in favor of the Republican Spanish cause. . . . For this we are condemned, with 42 days more left to live.

The remaining days to live were already under 30; but the fight for clemency was growing each day here and abroad. Preparations went ahead for a prayer vigil in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 4 even though permission to use the National Guard Armory, the capital's largest hall, was rescinded last week with no reason given. These were some of the new organizations and individuals joining the movement for clemency.

CHICAGO: The Student Government of the University of Chicago voted 14 to 16 to authorize letters and appeals to



the President urging clemency. A meeting sponsored by the University of Chicago Committee on the Rosenberg Case heard Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the Law School:

> If [the death sentence] is likely to do altogether disproportionate harm to our old conservative doctrines of liberty and free association, and make international settlement more difficult.
>
> The only intelligible theory on which this sentence could be based is one of deterrence. But the judge gave no attention to this and reverted to a primitive revenge theory.
>
> The sentence was never reviewed. It rests on the judgment of one judge, who revealed great emotional tension and confusion of mind, and it is uniquely severe in peace time. . . . It will increase the tendency to attack anyone with political beliefs that are unpopular, and increase red-baiting and fear. These are very deplorable, and not counter-balanced by the spy peril.

The Southside Committee for Clemency made public an open letter to Mr. Truman signed by more than 30 prominent citizens of the community, including many University of Chicago educators.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: The Baptist Ministers Conference of Washington and Vicinity, in a letter signed by Rev. Edward Thomas, president, and Rev. E. C. Smith, chairman of the civic committee, wrote the President that the organization

> . . . most humbly petitions you to temper justice with mercy in the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. Since no one has ever paid with life for the crime of which they stand guilty, it is our prayer that these two be spared the supreme penalty.

NEWARK, N.J.: Four Essex County clergymen, including Rev. Dr. Arthur J.

PABLO PICASSO
They remember Dreyfus

Dumper, dean of Trinity Cathedral, Newark, petitioned the President for clemency.

OAKLAND, CALIF.: The executive board of the East Bay Division of Local 6, Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union, adopted a resolution asking the President for clemency and voted:

> • To send a delegation to the Oakland Tribune protesting its refusal to accept a paid advertisement listing the signatures of hundreds of petitioners for clemency;
>
> • To ask all shop stewards to circulate clemency petitions;
>
> • To allow a speaker on the Rosenberg case to appear before the next East Bay membership meeting.

TRADE UNIONS: Joseph B. Bellyson, pres., American Communications Assn., in a letter to the President said that clemency

> . . . would be greeted throughout the world by the Jewish people and by all people who will see in that generous act a sign of humanity and decency.

Other N.Y. unions that took action included the CIO United Shoe Workers Local 65; AFL Jewelry Workers Local [illegible]; N.Y. Board of the Marine Cooks & Stewards; CIO Furniture Workers Local 140; and AFL Painters Local 904.

In Detroit the 218-member General Council of Ford Local 600 (57,000 members) of the United Auto Workers, CIO, adopted a resolution urging clemency.

CANADA & ENGLAND: From Canada came a petition signed by 15 Canadian war veterans, all with active service records in World War II.

From London came this letter from the Natl. Rosenberg Defense Committee adressed to Julius Rosenberg:

> We are sending you our best wishes and greeting in this, your time of suffering. We are gathered at the Holborn Hall in London to protest against vicious witch-hunt whose victims you are. The assembled 800 citizens of London will send their protest to the American Embassy tonight and demand a retrial of your case. We shall continue to fight for the retrial, for we know that your innocence can be proved.

FRANCE: In France the Rosenberg campaign took on proportions reminiscent of the great public outcry against the Dreyfus frame-up. The French Comm. for the Defense of the Rosenbergs includes Louis Aragon, leading poet; Fernand Leger, muralist who decorated UN headquarters in New York; author Jean-Paul Sartre; screen actress Francoise Rosay; and Prof. Weill-Halle, member of the Academy of Medicine.

The committee was organized by the Movement Against Racism, Anti-Semitism and For Peace, whose honorary president is artist Marc Chagall. Other leading members include Gabriel D'Arbousier, vice-president of the French Assembly; Albert Bayet, president of the College of France; Aime Cesaire, Deputy; Yves Farges; Grand Rabbi Kaplan; and Alain Le Leap, secy.-gen. of the General Confederation of Trade Unions.

[illegible] official paper of the organiza[illegible] [illegible] et Liberté (Right and Lib[illegible]), [illegible] latest issue devoted almost [illegible] of its six pages to the Rosenberg [illegible]. It reported a capacity crowd of "several thousand" at a Rosenberg meeting in the Salle de la Mutualité Dec. 3. Pablo Picasso presided. Speakers included some of the top names in French public and professional life.

ITALY: Three winners of Italy's top literary award, the Primo Viareggio—Carlo Bernari, Marcello Venturoli and Renata Vigano—protested to Mr. [illegible]man and to U.S. officials in Italy. Other prominent Italians joining the clemency movement include Luciano Emmer, film director just returned from the U.S.; Pietro Calamandrey, noted lawyer, Parliamentary Deputy and editor of the monthly Il Ponte; Prof. Luigi Russo, noted critic and editor of the cultural Belfagor; and Corrado Cagli, artist, who lived in the U.S. many years and served in the U.S. Army.

World clemency cry swells; last legal defense moves

EARLY this week defense attorneys for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, scheduled to be executed as "atom spies" in the week beginning Jan. 12, argued before a U.S. Court of Appeals against a lower court ruling that the convictions and death sentences must stand. They also appealed for a stay of execution. (The court's decision could not be known before GUARDIAN went to press.) The appeal was one of the few legal avenues remaining to the defense; an adverse ruling there will give supreme importance to the mounting national and world-wide pleas for executive clemency by the President.

For holiday greetings—and proof of wide support—nearly 1,000 men and women last Sunday journeyed to Ossining, site of Sing Sing prison where the Rosenbergs are confined in the death house. Police barricaded the street leading to the prison and the demonstrators were not allowed near the institution's walls, but for two hours in a heavy rain they sang songs and heard addresses by their leaders—William L. Patterson, head of the Civil Rights Congress which organized the clemency expedition, author Howard Fast, and others. A small delegation was permitted to place a wreath at the closest point to the prison permitted by the police.

THE PEOPLE SPEAK: World-wide protest against the death sentence grew last week (see p. 5). From Guatemala City came a message signed by 22 of that country's congressmen urging Truman to grant clemency.

In Philadelphia the Independent Voters League of Germantown and Chestnut also appealed for clemency, calling the death sentences "... a totally unprecedented situation and one which is considered cruel and excessive by increasing numbers of people all over the world."

In Chicago the Congress Hotel canceled a meeting scheduled for the Rosenbergs on Jan. 3 a week after confirming the date, but the Chicago Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosen-

(Continued on Page 3)

65-15348-D-5
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DEC 25 1952
FBI - NEW YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE National Guardian
Nov. 25, 1952

Rosenberg clemency

(Continued from Page 1)

berg Case announced that the meeting will be held on the date announced at Walsh's Hall, 1012 N. Noble St., at 8 p.m.

Norman Thomas, former leader of the U.S. Socialist Party, in his syndicated newspaper column last week had no fair words for the Rosenbergs but nonetheless held that commutatiton of the death sentences

... would accord with justice and sound public policy as well as mercy.

AN UPRIGHT JUDGE: In its current appeals, the Rosenberg defense has argued that the case was pre-tried in the newspapers with a steady stream of inflammatory statements by government officials; a week ago Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan dismissed these arguments with the declaration that the U.S. enjoys a free press. But last week Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman, who tried the Rosenberg case and decreed the death sentences, found that waterfront racketeer Edward J. Florio had been prejudiced by a "hostile atmosphere" created by New York newspapers, granted him a change of venue to Washington, D.C.

Last week the Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (1050 Sixth Av., New York 36, N.Y.) made an emergency appeal for $50,000 to carry on the fight. It cited investigative and research work to prove the couple's innocence as a major financial item, and listed these planned or continuing activities:

- Printing and distribution of 2,500,000 pieces of literature urging clemency.
- A continuing 24-hour-a-day clemency vigil to begin in Washington on Dec. 27.
- A national clemency gathering and day of prayer in Washington on Monday, Jan. 5.
- Radio, TV and newspaper advertising across the country.
- Financial aid to the families of the Rosenbergs and of Morton Sobell, con-

victed with them and sentenced to 30 yrs.
GREETING: Last week there came to the editor of the GUARDIAN, in an envelope date-marked Ossining, peace

victed with them and sentenced to ...
GREETING: Last week there came ... the editor of the GUARDIAN, in an envelope date-marked Ossining ...

greetings with this inscribed mes... "Keep the beacon light of liberty ... ing for justice ... It was signed ... Julie and Ethel ...

ROSENBERG DEADLINE: WEEK OF JAN. 12

The world rises in protest

IN MANY PARTS of the world last week individuals and organizations were sending messages to Washington or delegations to U.S. embassies demanding clemency for the Rosenbergs. Here is a sampling:

France

In an article entitled "Atomic Age Drama—the Rosenberg Case," Henri Pierre wrote in Le Monde, influential conservative Paris daily:

Could it be because only the Communists and their friends are interested, and asking clemency for the condemned, that the American and European press is maintaining almost total silence on this affair? Is it really conceivable that a simple mechanic could have made such complicated drawings from what he had heard and without ever taking a single notes? One may ask oneself whether anti-Semitism did not play a role in the affair indirectly, and especially in the decision as to the sentence. Judge Kaufman had the choice between sentences of imprisonment or death. Was he not brought to a decision to show greater severity toward his co-religionists, on the one hand to dissociate the Jewish community from the accused, on the other to avoid attacks from the anti-Semites? One can reasonably suppose that had the Rosenbergs not been either Jews or Communists they would not have been so severely dealt with.

Why the extraordinary severity of the sentence on the Rosenbergs? Should not reasonable doubt have weighed in favor of the accused? Was it desired through this terrible punishment to appease public discontent with a long and costly war by electrocuting these two Communists "as an example"? Such are the questions one is forced to ask. A gesture of clemency—more easily taken by Mr. Truman now that he is going to retire from public life—pending a possible new trial, would dissipate the uneasiness created in the hearts of all humanists [illegible] by a war which [illegible] generation [illegible] called "necessary by [illegible] the atomic age."

Some other comments:

"Save the Rosenbergs! Hours count, minutes count. Do not allow this crime against humanity to be committed."
PABLO PICASSO

"This conviction, which rests on no proof whatever, is based on the statement of a police informer and on war hysteria."
NICOLE S. PREVETE,
President, Paris affiliate

England

"In our opinion this sentence [illegible] unprecedented in the history of any civilized nation. We therefore request that the Rosenbergs be reprieved and retried."
[illegible] men and women
[illegible] Blakbury, Manchester

"I am strongly against the carrying out of the death sentence in such a case as this."
LORD THORLEY, [illegible]
Chairman, Prof. of Gen. Path. at London

Other British notables who protested include Anglican priest D. Paul Leverioff and Prof. Alan Bush, Royal Academy of Music; Writers Montague Slater, Alick West, Doris Lessing, Jack Lindsay, Shaw Desmond, Edith Pargeter.

Japan

Sample of letters to the Rosenbergs:

"Be in the highest spirits. We believe your innocence. We will pray and we will fight for your release."
Students of Self-Governing Party, Faculty of Culture, Tokyo University

"I am praying for your acquittal to the gods of heaven and earth."
YOSHIAKI HAYAKI, [illegible]

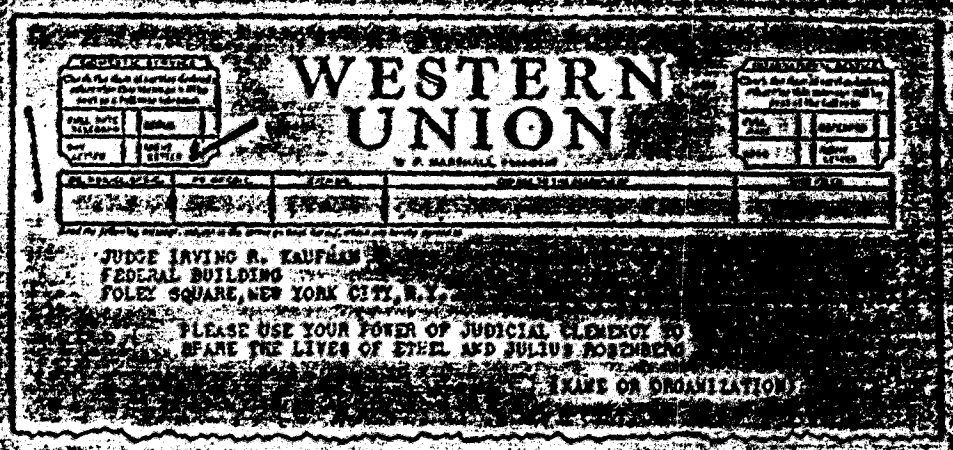
"We are ordinary folk of Japan fighting to defend peace. We are grieved and angered at your death sentence. We believe in your innocence. With respect and love."
[illegible]

Italy

The News compared the Rosenberg Case with Sacco-Vanzetti. Film artists rallied in mass meeting called to protest to Washington. Others urging clemency are Tomaso Smith, director of daily newspaper Paese Sera; Deputies Benedetti, Marchesi, Banfi; a long list of writers and artists.

65-15348-D
SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
DEC 25 1952
FBI - NEW YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE
National Guardian



THIS IS A SAMPLE TELEGRAM—HAVE YOU SENT YOURS?

Israel

"Let the Rosenbergs live until in a saner period their guilt may be fairly and objectively considered."

Petition signed almost unanimously by workers in Fertilizer and Chemicals Plant, Haifa.

The Jewish Weekly Hilel an article on the case, "Dreyfus, Ancient and Modern."

Australia

"Our wholehearted aid to secure a new trial."

Council for Democratic Rights (19 affiliated unions.)

"Our horror and disgust at the savage sentence."

Hotel, Club & Restaurant Employees Union, New South Wales.

Melbourne's Jewish Council to Combat Anti-Semitism and Fascism also joined the fight.

Canada

The League for Democratic Rights launched a national campaign. The Toronto Civil Liberties Union scheduled a conference to map its campaign. Jewish Western Bulletin, official organ of Jewish Community Council, Vancouver, B.C., agreed with Brooklyn Examiner that the "punishment is unduly harsh."

Argentina

League for the Rights of Man cabled protest.

British Guiana

"We consider the sentence not only harsh but without precedent."

People's Progressive Party.

Germany

"Preserve the life of two people whose innocence is obvious."

Exec. Comm., League of Democratic Jurists of Germany (West).

Switzerland

In a page 1 article Dec. 12 the conservative Tribune de Geneve called for abolition of the death penalty, said that since conviction admittedly could not have been obtained without accomplice testimony, the sentence lays the groundwork for an irreparable judicial error.

What concerns us is the thought that an enormous judicial error may perhaps be committed in the country which prides itself on the dignity of the individual. It is very hard for us to understand how a double death sentence could be pronounced when evidence of the crime was not corroborated.

Why is the U.S. freeing Nazi murderers and seeking the lives of the Rosenbergs?

Criminal	Crime	Sentence	Outcome
Gen. EBERHARD VON MACKENSEN	Ordered massacre of 335 Italian hostages, Rome, 1944	Death; commuted to life imprisonment, 1947	Released, Oct. 1952
Field Marshal ALBERT KESSELRING	Implicated in same massacre	Death; commuted to life imprisonment, then 20 yrs.	Released, July 1952
Field Marshal ERICH VON MANNSTEIN	Mistreatment of Soviet POW's; murder of Soviet officers	18 yrs.; reduced to 12 yrs.	Released, Oct. 1952
Gen. KURT GALLENKAMP	Execution of allied paratroopers	Death; commuted to 20 yrs.	Released, Feb. 1952
FRIEDRICH FLICK	Enslavement, deportation of millions of Poles, Russians, French to work in his factories	7 yrs.	Released, Aug. 1950
ILSE KOCH	Murderous atrocities at Buchenwald concentration camp	Life imprisonment	Released by U.S. 1949, rearrested by Germans, sentenced to life imprisonment, 1951
ALFRED KRUPP	Vast looting and use of slave labor in his factories	12 yrs.	Released, Jan. 1951, after 3½ yrs.
Gen. WILHELM SPEIDEL	Shooting Soviet hostages	12 yrs.	Released, Jan. 1951
FRANZ EIRENSCHMALZ	Participation in liquidation of Jews at Auschwitz, destruction of Warsaw ghetto, "guinea pig" experiments on POW's	Death	Sentence reduced to 8 yrs., Feb. 1951
HELMUT SCHLIERBACH, GOTTFRIED DROSSEN	Torture, murder of allied paratroopers and others	Long jail terms	Released, April 1952

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1953

Letters from the Death House

By Julius Rosenberg

SING SING DEATH HOUSE
DECEMBER 11, 1952

(Excerpts from letters to his attorney, Emanuel Bloch)

AFTER lunch I heard that Judge Ryan has denied us a hearing to present our witnesses and seemingly dismissed our petition. . . . The Circuit Court of Appeals refused to grant a rehearing. The Supreme Court didn't even issue a writ of certiorari to hear the many legal questions raised in our case. Now, too, we are denied a hearing. Always

A mother's longing

This is an excerpt from a letter written by Ethel Rosenberg the day after a visit from her two sons, Robert and Michael:

Dearest

I hated to wake up this morning. I knew what it would be like after yesterday! I knew I should be remembering the matchless purity of Michael's great, luminous blue eyes, the velvet warmth of Robbie's sweetly serious brown ones. . . . I knew I should be hearing their bubbling merriment, their incredible talk. I knew, in short, that my heart should be breaking. Nor was I wrong. The very air is desolate and there is no comfort anywhere. "I want them, I want them," the horribly mutilated, outraged woman—feelings shriek frantically, and the longing is a wound that cannot be stanched. In the end, are there any words for the rent flesh, the escaping blood, . . .

such haste. The miscreants and blackguards who are responsible for this want to do away with the "hot potato" they have created before they have to face the full pay of the ensuing storm. . . . A holy crusade is on. The cry is "Get the Rosenbergs." Anything counts; all who wish to cleanse themselves of past sins (anything remotely progressive, that is, labeled pro-com-

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munist) can do so by joining the pack and throwing filthy lies, tales made of whole cloth as long as it fits in with the political propaganda of those in power.

The truth, which cannot be created or destroyed, is perverted by these demagogues to suit their interests. Since they control the means of communication, the press, radio, money and government, they feel secure that

these terrible misdeeds will not be opposed. But our cause is just and no matter how great the opposition is we will nail them to their lies.

I AM just a plain ordinary guy and I don't profess to be anything extraordinary or special. I feel my greatest accomplishment is being a successful father to my two boys. . . . All my activities are concentrated on these endeavors . . . Although I was none too successful as a small businessman I continued to integrate my social activities working for peace, for liberty . . . I have fulfilled my mission in their behalf and my conscience is clear. Then, too, together with my wife we have built a fine relationship that has enabled us to drink deep of the fruits of life as we contribute our share as progressive parents to a better world. Therefore on the occasion of this Chanhukah-Christmas holiday season we join with our fellowmen in praying for peace on earth and brotherhood among men.

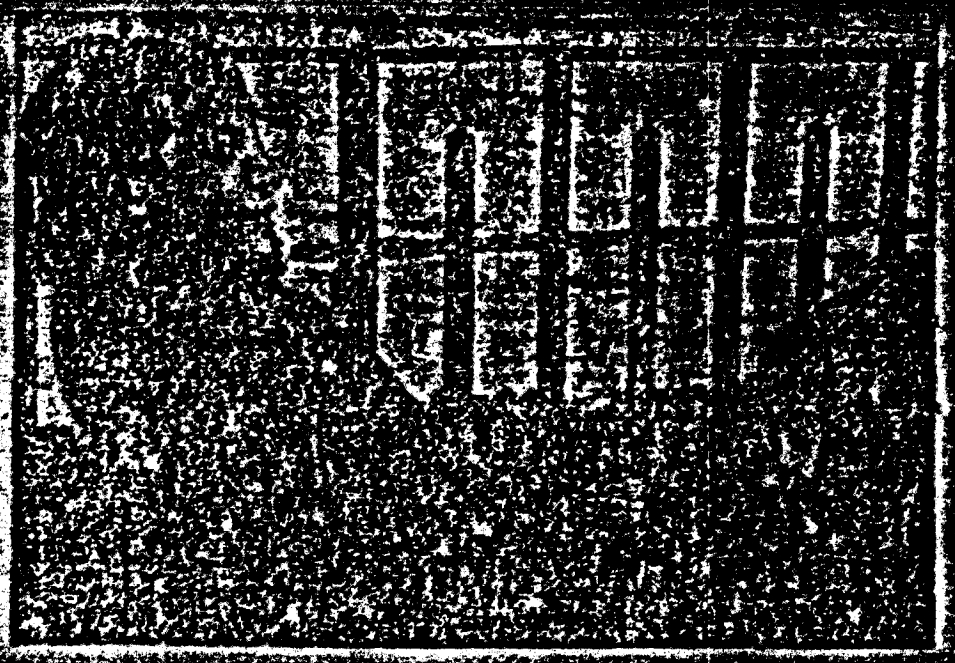
We are confident this is the hope and wish of the entire world and we have faith that mankind will also be able to see the road that must be followed to make this a reality. So, too, we believe that the good people everywhere will not let two innocent people go to their death.

YOU know this is a pretty rough place to be in and you can't imagine what a wonderful feeling I get when I receive the latest issue of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. It brings with it all the news of the fight for peace and also a fresh, sincere and honest account of the happenings in our case. The sign of our times is that this is one of the few remaining voices of progressive Americans that dares to challenge the evil deeds of those in power. This paper works for the interests of the people and is keeping the torch of liberty burning brightly. Its clarion call has already resulted in the great campaign that is being waged for justice in our case.

They have a proud and noteworthy record to date and have made a distinguished mark for themselves as a leading crusading journal in cold-war America. The high ethical and moral standards they follow, and the integrity they possess, are a tribute to the heroic men and women who put this paper out. All power to them for the wonderful job they are doing.

THE days are lonely and the dark long nights are empty without my wife. There is no rest and no peace of mind because I know how great her suffering is. Over and over again I drive myself to work hard to drive out the agony that grips me but there is no real relief.

We have so much to live for and life will have greater meaning to us when we win this principled fight.



If you want to
prevent Michael
and Robby Rosenberg
(they're above)
from becoming
orphans, you must
wire or write
President Truman
TODAY, asking
him to extend
executive clemency
to Ethel and Julius
Rosenberg, who are
scheduled to die
in the electric chair
at Sing Sing
the week of Jan. 12.
Tomorrow may be
too late!

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THE DEADLINE IS THE WEEK OF JAN. 12

Atom scientist Urey voices 'doubt' on Rosenberg verdict

WITH only 12 days to go to the start of the week in which Ethel and Julius Rosenberg are scheduled to die in Sing Sing's electric chair as "atom spies," the world-wide campaign to save their lives took a dramatic new turn at the weekend.

Dr. Harold C. Urey, one of the world's top atomic scientists, confirmed to the GUARDIAN that he had appealed to Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman (the trial judge) for judicial clemency and has addressed a letter to the N.Y. Times to make public his doubts about the case.

Dr. Urey was unaware that a rumour of his communication to the judge had appeared in a syndicated newspaper column, but told the GUARDIAN:

"Yes, it is true. I have also written to the Times and am mailing the letter Dec. 30. I wrote not as a scientist but as a citizen. I am not discussing the scientific evidence in particular. I am just not happy about the evidence in general."

THE BREAK: Urey is not the only leading U.S. scientist who has privately expressed doubts about the Rosenbergs' conviction and sentence; but as the first to express them publicly he may bring about a decisive eleventh-hour break in the campaign for clemency (he is well known for his strongly anti-left political views). A Nobel Prize winner in chemistry in 1934, Dr. Urey is the discoverer of heavy hydrogen; his earlier research on U235 uranium made him a key member of the atomic development team during World War II. He is a former member of the Atomic Energy Commission, at present is

Institute of Nuclear Studies.
During the Rosenberg trial, gov-

ernment named him, together with other top atomic scientists, as an expert witness for the prosecution to testify on the "secrets" allegedly transmitted to the Soviet Union. Neither he nor any of the others were ever called.

"WE ARE INNOCENT": On Dec. 30 Emanuel H. Bloch, attorney for the Rosenbergs, presented before Judge Kaufman a formal application for clemency; under the law, a trial judge has the power to modify a sentence even though it has been upheld by higher courts. In a 17-page motion, the petitioners repeated the three major points on which the appeal is based:

- That adverse pre-trial publicity made a fair trial impossible;
- That the prosecution knowingly used perjured testimony;
- That the alleged secrets were public knowledge at the time.

THE PRESSURE: From the time sentence was pronounced, it has been made known to the Rosenbergs that they could escape the death penalty by "confessing" and implicating others. This pressure upon the couple was being maintained this week; it was reported (N.Y. Times, 12/25) that Judge Kaufman indicated to the mother, two sisters and a brother of Julius Rosenberg, who visited him in his chambers, that if the couple want to help themselves, they can do it by "talking."

Meanwhile, an application for a new hearing on a motion to invalidate the convictions and set aside the sentence is pending before the U.S. Court of Appeals, which is in adjournment until

(Continued on Page 5)

HAROLD C. UREY

Urey voices doubt on Rosenberg trial

(Continued from Page 1)

Jan. 5. An adverse decision will be appealed to the Supreme Court.

Christmas Day this year was the Rosenbergs' second in the death house. It was a bleak one for them. They ate the prison's roast chicken dinner alone in their cells, were not allowed to visit each other.

THE VIGIL: In Washington, D.C., at 4 p.m. on Sat., Dec. 27, a White House Vigil for the Rosenbergs took up the round-the-clock appeal for clemency to continue through the week of Jan. 12 or until clemency is granted. The first shift was composed of 12 men and women from several states; they paraded slowly up and down across the street from the east entrance to the White House bearing placards.

Around the country preparations were in full swing for the Clemency Gathering to be held in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 5, under auspices of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (1050 Sixth Av., New York City). Representatives from most states in the country will gather in the capital that day to visit the President, Congressmen and government officials.

CLEMENCY FOR THOMAS: There was official clemency for others at this Christmas season. On Dec. 24 President Truman signed a full pardon for J. Parnell Thomas who was convicted of payroll padding while head of the House Comm. On Un-American Activities; he served eight and one-half months of a six-to-18-month sentence in 1950, never paid a $10,000 fine—which the President's action wiped out.

Also receiving a Presidential Christmas pardon was Andrew J. May, former Democratic Congressman from Kentucky, who served nine months and [illegible] days of a sentence imposed for accept-

THE APPEAL FOR CLEMENCY BEFORE JUDGE KAUFMAN

"You have a terrible responsibility, Your Honor"

Application denied

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National Guardian
DATED Feb. 1953

65-15348-D-60

By William A. Reuben

GUARDIAN special correspondent

TRIAL Judge Irving R. Kaufman, closing his ears to world-wide clamor, refused last week to modify his sentence of death on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The last hope for justice and life lay in the White House just as it was about to change tenants.

As the final scene in Judge Kaufman's court was enacted Dec. 30, all the passions and prejudices of this era of hot and cold wars were strained almost to breaking point. The 200 or more persons who crowded the courtroom—Julius Rosenberg's family sat in the front row—can never forget the surging emotions loosed in this next-to-last desperate appeal. There were overcharged moments: when defense atty. Emanuel Bloch, his legal arguments exhausted, begged as one human being to another for a spark of compassion; when Judge Kaufman, acknowledging his own humanity, clasped his head in his hands and cried, "Oh, God! No!"; when the prosecutor shouted, "We mean business!" to prove to the world with two deaths that "this is a new era."

JUDGE IRVING KAUFMAN
"Oh, God! Don't do that."

"THERE MUST BE SOMETHING"

Facing the court for his client, Emanuel Bloch stood alone, as he had in the dogged, stubborn, 2½-year-long legal fight since the Rosenbergs were first arrested. Now, with all legal appeals exhausted, the "single practitioner" began his plea for mercy with the declaration that he felt "inadequate" to the heavy responsibility that was his: to convince the sentencing judge that "there must be something about this case that has so aroused the world." He cited the "millions wherever human beings are literate" who have expressed their concern for the fate of the Rosenbergs. He produced the newest international appeal—a cablegram signed by 15 members of Israel's parliament which had arrived just as he left for the courtroom:

> We, the undersigned members of the Knesset, express our deepest protest against the death sentence pronounced against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and join all those who request their reprieve.

Bloch said that as a member of the bar he was constrained to accept the jury's verdict, but reminded the court that his clients never have: in their petition for clemency they reiterate their innocence and plead not for mercy but "only justice." Their petition said:

> We seek relief from sentences that would produce the unutterable tragedy of the destruction of our small family, and set a precedent for the abandonment, in America, of the civilized appreciation of the worth of human life.

THE DOORS OF JUSTICE: The

Rosenbergs wrote that they are fully aware that if they expressed "the conventional penitence and remorse," their lives would be spared. Bloch suggested that the judge must surely have wondered why "these two humble people who come from a humble background" had persistently denied to themselves the one sure way to escape death. The judge, troubled-looking, said:

"Yes, Mr. Bloch, I've pondered that over and over and over."

Then he appealed to the attorney to be "tolerant." He said he had "been hounded and pounded and vilified and pressured" but was convinced that "someone is whipping it up":

"I can assure you that neither side can affect my judgment in this case. When the day comes when we succumb to pressure we might as well close the doors of justice."

"PRESUMPTUOUS" UREY: Throughout the remainder of Bloch's argument, Kaufman repeatedly interjected comments to justify his own conduct and rulings. To such protestations Bloch replied solemnly:

"There is just something about this case that is not right."

He cited letters to the judge by such eminent scientists and humanitarians as Rabbi Hillel Silver, Dr. Harlow Shapley, Dr. Edward U. Condon, and Nobel Prize winner Dr. Harold C. Urey who played a key role in developing the atom bomb (see text, p. 4). Reference to the Urey letter angered the judge; he demanded to know how it had become available to the press, was reminded that filing of the defense petition made it a public document. For Urey's plea—an act of courage which Urey himself emphasized by underscoring his opposition to left-wing persons and politics—Kaufman had this to say:

"I think that is the most presumptuous thing he could do. Really, Mr. Bloch, how much weight can I give to a letter like that?"

BRUSHED-OFF ISSUES: To Bloch's argument that there is "not one iota of documentary evidence in this case," the judge responded:

"Yes, and I suppose if there were documents you'd say they were doctored."

So it went for more than two hours, with a quick retort from the judge for every issue: the FBI's admission of having suborned perjury from the government's "surprise" witnesses; the "virulent atmosphere" that preceded and surrounded the trial; the manner in which "prosecuting officials tried the case in the press before we came into court"; the prosecution's inflammatory injection into the trial of "all the bogey

men of our current era"; the absurdity of Greenglass' scientific testimony; the fact that the "thousands of FBI agents assigned to the case could not uncover one scrap of evidence to support these accusations" of the Greenglasses; and that "we would have to throw reality to the winds" to be unwilling to concede that to some degree

"... the jury's verdict was dictated by their belief that the Rosenbergs were Communists."

THE LAST APPEAL: When Bloch reminded the judge that "once the current passes through the bodies of the Rosenbergs nothing in the world can ever be done to correct the wrong done to them, to their children and to American justice," Kaufman said:

"That argument could be applied to every case that has ever been tried in a court of law."

Toward the end, when Bloch implored the judge to consider all the "lingering doubts" in the case and to remember that "there is no appeal from what you do here today," he made one concession:

"I don't want you to think I would forestall your pleas for Presidential pardon."

THE MIRROR: For a last time, Bloch tried to reach through to the judge, pleaded with him to ask himself why this case has caused people throughout the world to look critically at American justice, to say that this is a barbaric sentence." The judge replied: "I assume they never read the record."

Bloch's time and arguments had both run out. It was the moment when, with courtroom decorum, he should thank the judge and quietly sit down. But he hesitated, looking squarely at the judge, then cried out:

"God! Your Honor! You have a heart. Please—please think! Consult your conscience! They have children whom they love as dearly as you love yours!"

Abruptly he stopped, seemed about to apologize for an unseemly outburst. But then, with time ticking toward

EMANUEL BLOCH
Day and night

death, he said with unabashed passion:

"We've got to survive. We've got to live with ourselves. We've got to get up and look at ourselves in our mirrors! Please! Please! I'll get on my knees to plead with you, M[illegible]"

The shaken judge clasped his head:

"Oh, God! No! Please don't do that."

VOICES FROM HISTORY: Bloch's last words were delivered almost sobbing:

"What you do not only affects the [illegible] it affects literally tens of millions of people. [illegible] YOUR sentence may alter the course of history. [illegible] You have a terrible responsibility, Your Honor. I don't envy you that responsibility. [illegible] Please, Your Honor. Don't follow in the tradition of Judge Thayer."

With that, the "single practitioner" was done. No lone man could ever have

done more. The last reference [illegible] Judge Webster Thayer who sentenced Sacco and Vanzetti to death. [illegible] unsteady voice Kaufman said:

"The people who [illegible] regard [illegible] way are people who [illegible] the [illegible]"

Government attorneys, [illegible] Myles J. Lane and his assistant, James D. Kilsheimer 3rd, were insistent on death. To them the world-wide campaign for the Rosenbergs was [illegible] a conspiracy by the United States to make this case a show [illegible] wave of [illegible]

"DIABOLICAL CONSPIRACY": From Bloch came a last word when [illegible] finished. In his 23 years of legal practice, he said, he had never heard an approach to law that was so "shocking and narrow." He told the court that "it's so easy to say the communists inspired all this" but [illegible]

"This is a free country. We [illegible] have a right to speak out. This case is no danger of two individuals, [illegible]"

Three days later, Judge Kaufman rendered his decision: Application denied. To him the Rosenbergs' guilt was "beyond doubt." Charges of perjury were "baseless." Death was demanded by his "devotion to duty and justice." He was still of the mind that their crime was worse than "murder."

"Nor have I seen any evidence that the defendants have [illegible] any remorse or repentance."

The matter of "repentance" and "confession" weighed most heavily with him. He quoted his own original decision and added:

"Neither defendant has seen fit to reveal the course of Data Greenglass and Russia field. Their lips have been sealed and the secret the glory which they believe will be theirs by the martyrdom which will be bestowed upon them by those who [illegible] them in this diabolical conspiracy. [illegible] who indeed, some through remain [illegible]

"BEFORE GOD & MAN." The day after the decision, Bloch took the two Rosenberg children, Michael, 9, and Robert, 5, to visit their parents in Sing Sing's death house. He told reporters after the visit: "There were no tears. Both children are aware of the impending death sentence."

For Kaufman's final ruling, the Rosenbergs had this reply:

"Is there no end to the indignities we must endure? Casuistry upon casuistry! By what remarkable sleight-of-hand can the constitutional petitions of decent citizens for redress of grievances be transformed into vilification and abuse! The judge's reported characterization of our alleged crime as 'worse than murder' completely unmarks his sanctimonious pretensions to judicial balance. Despite his unseemly remarks, which smack of political pressure and coercion, we reassert our innocence before God and man."

DR. HARLOW SHAPLEY
A distinguished protest

Iceland too

In lawyer Emanuel Bloch's apartment, after the visit of the Rosenberg children to their parents in Sing Sing death house last week, 9-year-old Michael lay with his head in the lap of Mrs. Bloch, who sought to comfort him.

"You will see them again," she said. "We really believe it—because millions are angry about this all over the world, and the people who want to kill mommy and daddy must listen to them."

Michael had been studying the atlas. "Where are the people angry?" he asked. "What countries?"

"Oh—in France, England, Israel, India, Poland . . ."

"But what about Iceland?" Michael asked. "Are they angry in Iceland?"

That same day the GUARDIAN received this telegram:

REYKJAVIK

"NEWS ROSENBERGS GOING TO DIE PROFOUNDLY SHOCKED WORLD. WE SHOULD LIKE TO JOIN OUR VOICES IN PROTEST. IF THIS "LEGAL" MURDER IS CARRIED THROUGH IT WILL FAN ANTI-AMERICANISM BURSTING INTO FLAMES IN EUROPE AND EVERYWHERE.

MAGNUS KJARTANSSON
SIGURDUR GUDMUNDSSON

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Sept. 8, 1953

65-15348-D-61

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The National Committee to Secure Justice
in the Rosenberg Case

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CLIPPING FROM THE
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Jan 8, 1953

65-15348-D-62

REPORT ON THE ROSENBERGS

Tell the President TODAY to spare these 2 lives

AS THIS ISSUE of the GUARDIAN goes to press, a brief stay has been granted in the Rosenberg Case to permit the defense to enter an appeal to the White House for executive clemency.

The appeal will be formally made by Saturday, Jan. 10.

Therefore it is most vital that your personal appeal for executive clemency reach the White House immediately—and that you convince as many people as possible to take like action without a day's delay.

The legal formalities of processing such an appeal may occupy a few days before the plea officially reaches the President's desk. But there is absolutely no time to be lost.

There is no certainty that President Truman will act immediately on the plea, if at all. Therefore your communication should be addressed simply to The President, White House, Washington, D.C., and not specifically to either President Truman or President-elect Eisenhower, before whom the appeal would remain if President Truman failed to act on it.

ALTHOUGH THE BREADTH OF THE APPEAL for clemency goes far beyond the so-called "Left" origin of the campaign, the attacks on it on this score have nevertheless immobilized thousands of people who in their hearts want the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg spared.

You can be of inestimable help in urging some of these people to act in the name of humanity.

An argument made to order for such instances was presented last week in France's leading right-wing newspaper Figaro, a publication comparable to the Republican N.Y. Herald Tribune but with a much larger circulation.

Figaro's statement, under the byline of the well-known conservative French journalist Roger Massip, follows:

> Basing ourselves only on humanity, we would like to hope that when President Truman studies the damning record of the case he will not turn his back upon clemency.
>
> Such a gesture would establish in the eyes of world opinion that the conception of justice is totally different in the free world than in countries where the simple fact of being a deviationist leads to the hangman.

The Figaro statement makes the appeal for clemency for the Rosenbergs virtually unanimous in the press of the nation in which the memory—and the shame—of the Dreyfus Case is still very live. The center-conservative Le Monde, more comparable to the N.Y. Times, has already advocated clemency—expressing, for its part, serious reservations about the trial.

SUCH CONCERN IN THE ENTIRE PRESS of France, over a mercy plea confronting the President of the United States, indicates the importance with which the case is regarded in a pivotal nation involved in the wavering North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The failure of any significant segment of the American press similarly to advocate clemency makes it immeasurably more important that the White House be made aware of the breadth of popular feeling against the executions.

Don't take any chances that your voice may not be heard. WRITE OR WIRE TODAY TO THE WHITE HOUSE. Get your friends to do so, too. No action we have ever urged upon you is of higher importance. —THE EDITORS

CLIPPING FROM THE National Guardian Jan 8, 1953

65-15348-D-63

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The following letter was sent Dec. 16 as an appeal for clemency to Judge Irving Kaufman by the famed atomic physicist and Nobel Prize winner Harold C. Urey of the University of Chicago. A letter of similar content was sent by Dr. Urey to the N.Y. "Times" for publication. The "Times" did not print the letter on the ground that it had quoted from Dr. Urey's letter to Kaufman in its news columns.

Dear Judge Kaufman:

I am writing to urge you to change the sentence of death imposed on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to a lesser punishment. I have read the testimony given at the trial, and though I have no legal experience in matters of this kind my competence is comparable to that of the jurors and the great public who are concerned about this matter.

My reaction to the testimony is as follows:

(1) The testimony of Max Elitcher was not entirely credible to me. He did not implicate the Rosenbergs of his own knowledge. He says they talked about espionage but never transferred any information for some five years.

(2) No certain connection with espionage involving Sobell and the Rosenbergs is established. Elitcher does not know that Sobell actually delivered secret documents to Rosenberg. No other connection is suggested.

(3) The connections to others than David and Ruth Greenglass are not established. Could not Miss Bentley's informer have used "This is Harold" instead of "This is Julius," and then might not I have been on trial? She was unable to identify her "Julius" with Julius Rosenberg. If this "Julius" did not refer to him in this case, it probably did not when Harry Gold said, "I come from Julius." Gold apparently knew nothing of Rosenberg at all. It seems incredible to me that the name of the arch-spy should be used in an identification code.

(4) No contact between the Rosenbergs and Anatoli A. Yakovlev is established.

(5) The government's case rests on the testimony of David and Ruth Greenglass, and this was flatly contradicted by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. I found the testimony of the Rosenbergs more believable than that of the Greenglasses. Is it customary for spies to be paid in console tables and wrist watches? Gold, Greenglass and Fuchs were paid in cash. Again, do spies talk about their activities with college friends and relatives? Gold and Fuchs did not. Does Julius Rosenberg appear to be a man who would spend $50 or $75 a night in Manhattan night clubs? Not to me. Would the master spy want Rosenberg throwing money about recklessly and thus making himself obviously and unaccountably rich to associates? He appears to have been as poor as a church mouse, and would be quite out of character in an expensive night

DR. HAROLD UREY
The lady said "Julius"

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club. Evidently the jury and court believed David and Ruth Greenglass, and of course they had the advantage of listening to them directly.

However, accepting the verdict as correct, I am amazed and completely outraged by the unequal punishment which has been given. For the same crime Ruth Greenglass is never brought to trial though she admitted her guilt under oath; David Greenglass gets 15 years imprisonment; Morton Sobell and Harry Gold get 30 years imprisonment; and Ethel and Julius Rosenberg get death. Only the last two took the witness stand and maintained that they are innocent, and they were convicted on testimony which I do not believe is conclusive beyond a reasonable doubt. If we are going to begin to give the death penalty for espionage, I should like to have it introduced in a case in which the guilt is certain. There is the consideration that helping the prosecution justifies lower sentences, but in spite of this I find the disparity of sentences most unjust.

We are engaged in a cold war in which the loyalty and approval of the good people of the world are important objectives. I believe the Rosenbergs are or have been Communists or very sympathetic to Communist ideas. I regard such people as burdensome generally, but I do not believe in punishing people unless they commit crimes. Would it not be embarrassing in this general situation if after execution of the Rosenbergs it could be shown that the United States had executed two innocent people and let the guilty one go free? And, of course, somewhere there is a representative of the U.S.S.R., probably Yakovlev, who knows the secret with certainty.

I strongly urge a careful reconsideration of this sentence.

Very sincerely yours,

HAROLD C. UREY

WE MUST NOT LET THEM DIE

Rosenbergs get brief stay; President is the last hope

By Lawrence Emery

JUDGE Irving R. Kaufman—who sentenced Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death as "atom spies"—last Monday granted the couple a stay of execution until the President can act upon a formal petition for executive clemency. Defense atty. Emanuel H. Bloch agreed to the condition that the petition be filed by Saturday. The stay came six days after Bloch had made a passionate plea to Judge Kaufman for a reduction of sentence (see p. 3); time for the execution had already been set for 11 P.M. Jan. 14.

The official petition will now be filed with Daniel Lyons, U.S. Pardon Atty., who will then ask for facts and recommendations from both judge and prosecution, forward this material with his own findings to the President.

President Truman's term expires Jan. 20. Should he fail to act on the petition before leaving office, it will automatically come before President-elect Eisenhower for decision.

3,000 IN WASHINGTON: Announcement of the stay came as upwards of 3,000 persons from all parts of the country were in Washington for a clemency gathering organized by the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. While the bulk of them marched in orderly ranks across the street from the White House, delegations spent the day visiting Senators, Congressmen and government officials. In most cases reported courteous and respectful treatment. An interview at the White House was denied, but White House officials arranged an interview with both Pardon Atty. Lyons and an exec. asst. to the Atty. General. The State Dept. also granted an appointment to a delegation.

[illegible] now, is incredible. [illegible] in the words of the Appeals Court [illegible] have been granted, at that time, [illegible] the Rosenbergs die because they did not. At that time, more for more, to admit that there are grounds for calling the sentence "unfair" and then to refuse to correct an wrong can only injure the reputation of our courts in the eyes of the American people and the world.

BLACKOUT TRY IN EUROPE: The reputation was already badly battered in the eyes of most of the world. In France last week virtually the entire press, from Left to Right, was [illegible] (see Report to Readers). On Jan. 3 the conservative Le Monde quoted from the clemency appeal by Dr. Harold C. Urey, top atomic scientist (see p. 3), who made this point: [illegible]

> Not a single wire service except Reuters (British), which gave a reduced version, has brought to the consciousness of the public this important declaration of the atomic scientist Urey. Can it be that there is a conspiracy of silence?

Next day Le Monde published a front-page editorial on the case:

> Was Judge Kaufman moved by a desire to dissociate the Jewish community from misdeeds committed by co-religionists? Or did he simply wish to condemn them to death as an example, considering that the accused "had changed the course of history, delivered the atom bomb to the Russians and were responsible for the Communist aggression in Korea [illegible]? If clemency is not granted, Communist propaganda will make martyrs of the Rosenbergs. A serious misdeed will [illegible] in world opinion, which will be [illegible] to consider the Rosenbergs as the scapegoats of the spy ring, paying for the others, electrocuted as an example, victims of the cold war.

Le Temps Moderne, conservative cultural journal, this week is publishing a major article on the case by Jean-Paul Sartre, dramatist, novelist and Existentialist leader. Another article calling for clemency and voicing doubts on the case, is appearing in the Catholic fortnightly La Quinzaine. Revealing note in conservative French press opinion is fear of what the executions

Continued on Page [illegible]

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SUBJECT
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CLIPPING FROM THE
National Guardian
Jan. 8, 1953 Page [illegible]

Rosenbergs get stay

(Continued from Page 1)

will do to the remnants of U.S. prestige in Western Europe.

BRITAIN: Similar sentiments have been expressed in Britain, the influential pro-Labour New Statesman & Nation commented recently:

"If Mr. Truman is wise, one of his first acts as President would be to commute this sentence."

Said the London Jewish Chronicle in an editorial supporting clemency:

"The conscience of the civilized world will be disturbed if the Rosenberg [illegible]."

From Britain came an appeal for clemency signed by 46 leading authors, including Sir Herbert Read (recently knighted), Ethel Mannin, Doughty Cooling, Sylvia Townsend Warner (frequent New Yorker contributor), and James Aldridge.

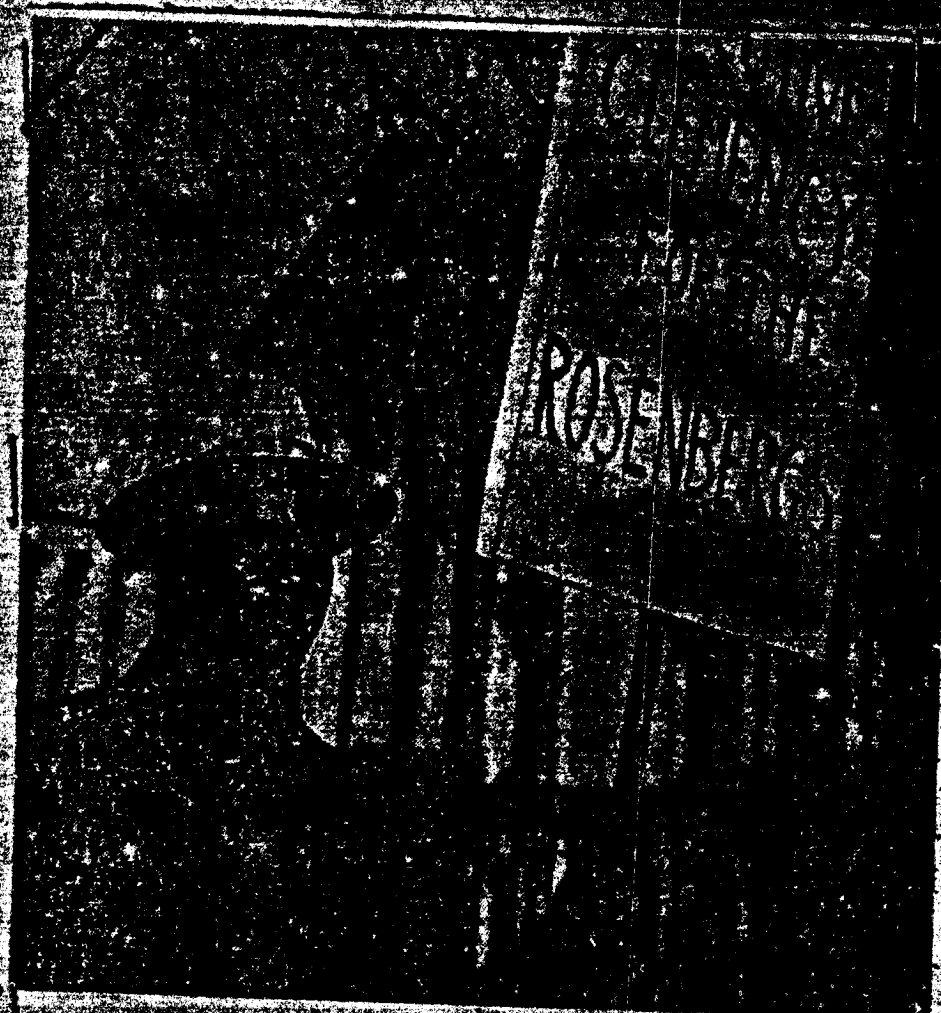
CANADA: Toronto's Massey Hall last Sunday attracted the largest audience in Canada in recent years for a Rosenberg rally addressed by Albert E. Kahn, noted U.S. author and GUARDIAN contributor. More than 2,000 attended and sent that many letters to Truman from the meeting. The rally was preceded by a demonstration before the U.S. Consulate. On Monday the first round-the-clock vigil in the history of Canada began its slow pacing before the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa to protest the Rosenberg sentences.

GERMANY: A mass rally for the Rosenbergs was scheduled in East Berlin for last Tuesday with Gerhart Eisler, former E. German information chief, as principal speaker.

CHINA: From Peking came a protest against the executions signed by the 14 largest membership organizations in the country, including the All China Fedn. of Labor.

INDIA: An appeal for clemency also came from the All India Trade Union Congress.

In Washington the 24-hour-a-day Clemency Vigil, which began on June 27, will continue its solemn patrol before the White House, through all weather, until the Rosenbergs' lives are saved or the case is closed.



Guardian photo by Salcogro

HAVE YOU WRITTEN OR WIRED THE PRESIDENT YET?

It's the least you can do—it's the most you can do.

'I let the pains that tore at my

Doctors called

This letter was written by Julius Rosenberg after lawyer Emanuel Bloch brought the Rosenberg children for a visit to Sing Sing.

JANUARY 9, 1953

Dearest Manny,

It is now Saturday afternoon. The visit is over. Our children have gone home. Through the exertion of super-human efforts I have finally succeeded in reestablishing my equilibrium and I can continue to write. Because we are innocent and our cause is just, I have been strong enough to face all this and not once have I given free rein to the tormenting flood of emotions that are dammed up inside of me.

Today our precious boys came and our own family lived once again for two hours. I could see the trust in little Robbie's eyes, and the sweet, warm feeling of love that passed between us, in all that he said and in our play together.

We looked through the barred window at the sea gulls and the tugboat pulling a string of barges on the Hudson. The pictures he drew and the drawings I made for him were interrupted while he kissed my cheeks as he circled my neck with his little arms. My son was happy with his daddy. Julie was a big pussy cat chasing the little mouse, Robbie, and we had fun. Our baby got our true feelings.

Michael was troubled and disturbed and the burdens on him were obvious to us, his parents. My darling wife did so well by him. She explained patiently, carefully, firmly, but all the time with a complete acceptance of him and showed such wonderful understanding. I promised to play Michael chess. I hope to someday.

Then they had to go and as I helped Michael with his coat he suddenly clutched me with his hands and stammered as he lowered his head. "You must come home. Every day there is a lump in my stomach, even when I go to bed." I kissed him in a hurry for I was unable to say anything but "everything will be all right."

When I was in the solitude of my cell once more and the door clanged shut behind me I must confess I broke down and cried like a baby because of the children's deep hurt. With my back to the bars, I stood facing the concrete walls that boxed me in on all sides, and I let the pains that tore at my insides flood out in tears. The wretched beastliness and inhumanity of it all.

I am okay now, and I'll copy over some of the notes that I prepared for you.

Ju

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JAN 1 [illegible]

[illegible] YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE

National Guardian

JAN 15 1953

[illegible]

We are innocent . . . to forsake this truth

is to pay too high a price . . . even for life

Following are [illegible] from [illegible] tion for executive clemency [illegible] Ethel and Julius Rosenberg [illegible] to the President on Jan. [illegible]

WE STAND convicted of the conspiracy with which we were charged. We are conscious that were we to accept this verdict, express guilt, penitence and remorse, we might more readily obtain a mitigation of our sentence. But this course is not open to us.

We are innocent, as we have proclaimed and maintained from the time of our arrest. This is the whole truth. To forsake this truth is to pay too high a price even for the priceless gift of life—for life thus purchased we could not live in dignity and [illegible] respect.

You may even harbor [illegible] conviction of our culpability. But many times before there has been [illegible] unhesitating reliance on the verdict of the moment and regret for the death that closed the door to remedy when the truth, as it will, has risen.

We have always said that David, our brother, knowing well the consequences of his acts, bargained our lives away for his life and his wife. Ruth goes free, as all the world knows. David's freedom, too, is not so [illegible] that he will not have many [illegible] live a life—if we should [illegible] perhaps only a David [illegible] could suffer to [illegible]

Only one tribunal, the sentencing court, has asserted the correctness of our sentence to death. . . . In other words, only one human being in a position of power has said we ought to die.

Although our case was appealed to

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JAN 15 1953

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JAN 1 [illegible] 1953
FBI [illegible]

the higher courts, the appellate tribunals, denying their power to review the discretion of the sentencing judge, have not, on the assumption of our guilt, ruled on the propriety of the magnitude of the sentence of death.

You, Mr. President, are the first one who is empowered to review these sentences—and the last one.

* * *

For the most grave of all crimes, only two death sentences have been imposed since the adoption of the Constitution and no executions have taken place. In the midst of the last war three persons, and after the close of hostilities, five persons were charged with, tried for, and convicted of treason for adherence to an enemy that was despicable to the entire world for a wantonness unparalleled in human history. No one of these was executed for his crime.

The true precedent, which you have set, Mr. President, and which the judge ignored, buttresses the common understanding that death was meant to punish wartime espionage in wartime and not after the termination of hostilities. Of the German saboteurs who were tried and sentenced to death during the war, two—William Curtiss Colepaugh and Erich Gimpel—who had not been executed [illegible] the close of hostilities [illegible] commutation [illegible] President Truman [illegible]

We submit, Mr. President, that [illegible] even in jail, was denied to us in belief as the judge himself declared [illegible] the Rosenbergs were [illegible] their freedom, they would [illegible] their deep-seated devotion [illegible] ance to Soviet Russia. [illegible] no such crime in our constitutional scheme of things as a [illegible] heart and mind [illegible] may serve only as a deterrent to the recurrence of criminal acts. When the coercive cruelty of punishment is used literally, to kill ideas, whatever they may be, Government becomes the instrument of tyranny. Our democracy must reject even the hint of [illegible] of power.

It may be easy to execute [illegible] can this nation afford to [illegible] of the impact of ideas [illegible] security by the display of [illegible] strength to forfeit our [illegible] cant lives?

Our death sentences [illegible] a reversion to barbarism [illegible] humanity recoils in horror.

We appeal to your mind and conscience, Mr. President, to take [illegible] with the reason of others and with the deepest human feelings that [illegible] him and shun its taking. To [illegible] will serve all and the common good. If we are innocent, as we [illegible] we shall have the opportunity to vindicate ourselves. If we have erred, as others say, then it is in the interests of the United States not to depart from its heritage of openheartedness and its ideals of equality before the law by stooping in a vengeful and savage deed.

ETHEL ROSENBERG

JULIUS ROSENBERG

If they die, can their brother suffer to live?

ROSENBERGS' FATE UP TO WHITE HOUSE

1500 clergymen join mercy plea; Einstein backs Urey

BULLETIN

NEW YORK, Jan. 12—A letter asking clemency for the Rosenbergs signed by 1,000 Christian clergymen has been sent to President Truman, it was announced today by Rev. Dr. Jesse W. Stitt, pastor of the Village Presbyterian Church and recent Manhattan Divn. pres. of the N. Y. C. Protestant Council. A later telegram to the White House listed over 500 additional signatures received on Monday, and more signatures still poured in from all over the U. S. Said Dr. Stitt in the telegram:

> This mounting response indicates a widely held belief among many responsible community leaders that it would be a serious mistake to inflict the death penalty.

The clergymen took no position on the Rosenbergs' guilt or innocence but the letter they signed said:

> We ask you in the spirit of the love which casts out fear to mitigate a punishment of such terrible finality, and which, for the offense, is unique in our history.

The unprecedented list of churchmen in every state and of 11 denominations cooperating in this plea included "many who are nationally known" and others "who are building the religious and moral conscience of the country in small places," Dr. Stitt wrote to the President:

> We believe you will share our pride [illegible] in a world where hate and fear are [illegible] ing for the mastery of men's souls, so great a cloud of witnesses declare their trust in the humane American way, and testify to the precepts of the faith which you and we confess and try to practice. We are here following the pattern set by American clergymen [illegible] and again in each generation.

BULLETIN

PRINCETON, N. J.—Prof. Albert Einstein announced he had written to the White House Monday asking clemency for the Rosenbergs. He told the President his appeal was [illegible] prompted by the same reasons which were set forth so convincingly by my distinguished colleague, Harold C. Urey, in his letter of Jan. 5 to the N. Y. Times.

Atomic physicist Dr. Urey cast grave doubts on the evidence on which

(Continued on Page 5)

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JAN 15 1953

[illegible] BY N. Y. DIVISION

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The Rosenbergs' fate up to the President

(Continued from Page 1)

the Rosenbergs were convicted, said he "found the Rosenbergs' testimony more believable than that of the Green-glasses.")

By Lawrence Emery

HEADED for the President's desk last week were formal appeals for executive clemency signed by Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, under sentence of death as "atom spies." No one knew when the appeals would reach the White House; they must first be processed by the Justice Department's Pardon Attorney, then forwarded to the President through the Attorney General's office; the decision might carry over into the Eisenhower administration. In the meantime the doomed couple are under a stay of execution granted by sentencing Judge Irving R. Kaufman, to last until five days after the President's ruling.

In their appeal the Rosenbergs had this bitter comment for official attitudes to their claim of innocence:

> We have been told again and again, but we are sick at heart, that our proud defense of our innocence is arrogant, not proud, and motivated not by a desire to maintain our integrity, but to achieve the questionable "glory" and some undefined "martyrdom." We are not martyrs or heroes nor do we wish to be. We do not want to die. We are young, too young for death. We long to see our two young sons, Michael and Robert, grown to manhood.

The Rosenbergs reminded Truman of the "true precedent you have set with regard to eight persons convicted in the U.S. of espionage for Nazi Germany in wartime, none of whom was executed: on June 23, 1945, when commuting the death sentences against Nazi spies Colepaugh and Gimpel Truman said:

> "Acting as a spy is recognized practice in war . . . In that respect it differs from war crimes, which are violations of the accepted rules of warfare."

WASHINGTON BESIEGED: Still reverberating in the nation's capital this week was the solemn and moving effect of the Clemency Gathering held there Jan. 6, attended by upwards of 2,500 persons from 22 states. The Rosenberg Case was pressed upon the mind of every Washingtonian, from cab driver and waitress to Senator and diplomat.

While the delegates were in town they swelled the round-the-clock vigil patrolling the White House since Dec. 27; many who came for the day stayed on to keep the fire going until justice is won. Participants brought back countless stories of human response they encountered. Typical is that of William B. Enterman, Natl. Lawyers Guild head in Los Angeles, and John Wexley, playwright best known for They Shall Not Die. Wexley asked a grim-faced Negro policeman, assigned to the picket line across the street from the White House, how he felt about the case. He didn't reply at once; then he said:

> I think they should have a chance. I have to sit in there along with many making up that jury.

RECEPTIVE CONGRESSMEN: All day long delegations visited Congressmen, Senators, officials of the State and Justice Depts. Few made public commitments but many promised to do what they could to urge clemency. A few Congressmen made themselves unavailable to delegations. Notable among these was Sen. Herbert H. Lehman (D-N.Y.): some who called on him heard his voice from behind a closed door shouting that they should get out of his office and expressing agreement with the death sentences. More than 100 small delegations made individual calls; at least 30 Congressmen committed themselves in favor of clemency.

All week long, through cold and rain, the White House vigil continued. Last Sunday a brief prayer meeting was conducted nearby by the Rev. Harold S. Williamson, pastor of New York's Church of the Hanged Cross. To those who stood silent in the rain he said:

> We have come today to pray that our President, who has taken an oath with a courageous act of mercy, will yet be moved by the Almighty to use the power of those in high places to grant clemency to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

IN NEW YORK: More than 1,000 persons defied a chilling rain to attend a Rosenberg rally in Strauss Square, in the heart of N.Y.'s Lower East Side where both Rosenbergs were born and raised and where they lived till their arrest. Another New York meeting called by a musicians' committee for the Rosenbergs drew an overflow audience. Hundreds responded to an appeal to help the Rosenberg Committee (1050 Sixth Ave., N.Y.C.) distribute 1,500,000 leaflets this week.

On Sunday night, Jan. 11, a surprise demonstration was held in Times Square. From the windows of two hotels facing the square, loudspeakers broadcast a recorded appeal for clemency, while from another hotel window leaflets showered on street crowds.

NEW VOICES: In its current issue the liberal Nation contains a full-page clemency plea by editor Freda Kirchwey, who expressed her belief

> . . . that no final act [by President Truman] would better prove his courage and independence than the granting of clemency to these two convicted spies.

The Jewish Frontier, influential weekly, writes in its current issue:

> We join those who sincerely petition the President to exercise his right of executive clemency in this case.

In Michigan Rev. Henry Hitt Crane, prominent Methodist minister and American Civil Liberties Union chair-

map in his state, wrote the President:

> May God give you the wisdom and strength to make the courageous decision to commute the death sentence to imprisonment, that there may later be opportunity to determine finally the question of guilt—and that justice and mercy may not fail.

LACLU's natl. committee has opposed any intervention in the case; at least three state affiliates have defied its decision.

"UNFOUNDED ASSUMPTIONS": The Natl. Lawyers Guild made public a statement it has sent to Truman [illegible]

> . . . that this case exemplifies the great injuries that can be done to a law-governed society . . . when public passion and prejudice, politics or propaganda operate, or even seem to function, to influence the judgment of courts. . . . We are led irresistibly to the conclusion that the court, no doubt unconsciously, succumbed to the emotions and tensions created by [illegible] propaganda to the extent that it based the sentences . . . on unsubstantiated assertions and unfounded assumptions concerning matters which were hardly within the scope of judicial determination.

and bringing [illegible] agents . . . Rather, [illegible] follow in the [illegible] Rosenberg and, like them, [illegible] guided loyalties. His choice [illegible] liberate, and the [illegible] becomes even greater.

STATE DEPT. WORRIED: [illegible] abroad grew in strength and [illegible] In London a dawn-to-dusk vigil was being maintained before the U.S. Embassy; every hour on the hour a delegation visited the Ambassador to ask if clemency had been granted. A vigil continued around the clock before the Embassy in Ottawa. From France, Brazil, Mexico, Panama, Sweden, an avalanche of protests poured in [illegible]

Foreign reaction had the State Dept. worried. The U.S. Ambassador in Paris was so "alarmed" at public outcry that he flew an attache to Washington for consultations; a 40-page booklet was prepared on the case which is now being distributed in 40 nations. Voice of America programs are [illegible]

THE ROSENBERG CLEMENCY VIGIL AT THE WHITE HOUSE

On Jan. 5, 2,500 person came from coast to coast to join the line

Ephraim Cross and Michael B. Atkins wrote to more than 3,000 fellow N.Y. attorneys seeking their support for clemency.

SOBELL—"NO COOPERATION": During the week Judge Kaufman rejected an application to reduce the maximum 30-year sentence he gave Morton Sobell, who was tried with the Rosenbergs but never connected with "atomic secrets." Sobell was recently transferred to Alcatraz, toughest of all federal prisons. His plea was argued by atty. Howard N. Meyer, opposed by James B. Kilsheimer 3d, asst. U.S. Atty., who said:

"There has been on Sobell's part absolutely no cooperation, no showing of any remorse. . . . The defendant has stood mute and without any attempt to assist the prosecution or tell the prosecution what he does know about the crime."

Sobell, like the Rosenbergs, has stoutly maintained his innocence. Kilsheimer brushed aside appeals from Sobell's wife and mother:

"Both . . . were most uncooperative before the grand jury, and they have still manifested the same steadfastness and have not in any way offered to tell what they do know. Therefore I think it comes with poor grace for them to seek mercy from the Court.

"It is still more deplorable and grievous that Sobell has not seen fit to follow the course of David Greenglass, Harry Gold and Klaus Fuchs, who, after pleading guilty, gave substantial aid in detecting

with the government's side, and French newspapers are being "swamped" [illegible] one Socialist paper said, with [illegible] government material on the case. [illegible] the clamor continued; the France Tireur, hotly anti-Communist, advocated clemency, wrote indignantly in behalf of Mrs. Rosenberg:

"Should she have betrayed her husband?"

Les Temps Modernes, influential cultural journal edited by Existentialist Jean-Paul Sartre, published a caustic 20-page review of the trial record, derided it for its lack of evidence and reached this conclusion:

"Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are innocent. . . . They were condemned to death not because they are Communists, nor because they are guilty, [but] primarily because they refused to confess, because they disavoided [illegible]

Dear Mr. President: About the Rosenbergs

The GUARDIAN sent this letter last week to President Eisenhower. We urge all readers to write to the new President, even though they have already written to Mr. Truman. Preferably speak your mind in your own way—or use all or part of this text—but WRITE!

DEAR PRESIDENT EISENHOWER:

As you take up the responsibilities for which you campaigned and have been elected, you have many solemn decisions to make. Tens of millions of people here and around the world see one of these decisions as the most solemn of all—the most indicative of the spirit of justice and mercy as it exists in America today and as it will be during your Administration.

That decision involves life or death for two of your fellow-citizens. Their names are Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. They love life as you love it, and as they love each other and their two small children—orphans next week or the next, if you so ordain.

But they [illegible] which they insist, on the [illegible] threshold of death, that they are innocent.

WE TRUST YOU [illegible] addressed to your [illegible] Mr. Truman on this matter. If so you will know that public concern over the Rosenberg Case is unprecedented. It has been expressed by men and women in every walk of life, and of many political and religious shadings, in virtually every country. Doubts concerning the evidence on which these two Americans were convicted have been expressed by some of the most respected lawyers and outstanding scientists of this and other countries—men best qualified to express such doubts. Thousands [illegible] eminent persons and community leaders, including over 2,000 American clergymen, who do not question the verdict or do not feel qualified to do so, have stated how deeply disturbed they are by the death sentence.

All these people who have written to President

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... NEW YORK

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N.Y. National Guardian
DATED Jan 29, 1953
FORWARDED BY N.Y. DIVISION

Truman feel that the execution of the Rosenberg[illegible] would be a terrible moral—or at the very [illegible] political—error. They have different reasons [illegible] this belief. The clergymen speak in their [illegible] of the "terrible finality" of the sentence. All—[illegible] those who accept the "guilty" verdict—share [illegible] horror of this. None can see what would be [illegible] by commuting the sentences. All insist on [illegible] would be gained.

AS FOR OURSELVES, we are convinced on the basis of the trial record that no justice resided in the verdict. We join the plea for mercy because we cannot doubt that the innocence of Mr. [illegible] Mrs. Rosenberg will one day be established, as the innocence of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti was established—too late. Whatever your decision may be, we intend to continue fighting for the truth until their name is cleared of these charges. Their children deserve no less from us; the good name of America deserves no less [illegible]

Will you not, Mr. President, earnestly consult your conscience and the conscience of America before you make this terribly solemn decision? If you do so, we cannot doubt what that decision must be.

THE EDITORS OF THE GUARDIAN

The National Committee to Secure Justice
in the Rosenberg Case

OFFERS

"The Rosenbergs Must Live"

A Long Playing 28-minute Dramatic Recording

An unparalleled masterpiece of dramatic art

Suitable for house gatherings, public meetings, radio broadcasts —price $4, incl. postage

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1050 6th Avenue, New York — BR 9-9694
San Francisco Rosenberg Comm., 228 McAllister, San Francisco, Calif.

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FBI - NEW YORK

CLIPPING FROM THE
N. Y. National Guardian
DATED Jan 29, 1953

Red-hatted reds

BRISBANE, CALIF.

A few days ago (Jan. 13) I got [illegible] item by radio — not repeated, [illegible] though I listened to half a dozen subsequent news summaries — that the Vatican had asked Spellman [illegible] intervene in the Rosenberg Case. [illegible] this is correct, evidently they [illegible] to show sympathy for the Jews [illegible] view of the present situation [illegible] the Soviet countries. The item [illegible] broadcast but a few hours [illegible] heard L. A. Mirror editor [illegible] raving about the supporters of [illegible] Rosenbergs all being "communi[illegible] or dupes" [illegible] Louise H. [illegible]

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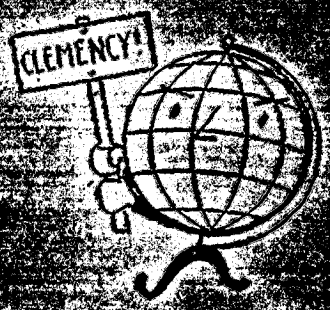
CLIPPING FROM THE
National Guardian
[illegible] 29, 1953

THE LAW

'Keep action at peak' —Rosenberg Comm.

THE news on the Rosenberg Case last week was that action by President Eisenhower on the petition for executive clemency appeared to be several weeks off. Justice Dept. sources, according to the N.Y. Herald Tribune (1/23), said it would take that long for the Pardon Attorney to analyze the tremendous file in the case. The file includes the recommendations of defense, prosecution and trial judge and what the paper said were "hundreds of communications from the general public."



No one could estimate the number of mail pieces that had poured into the White House. One report said 1,000,000 post cards petitioning for clemency had come from France alone.

THE DELAY: Whether there was actual need for such a long delay in Presidential action was difficult to say. There was no question that the changeover in government caused some confusion; but there was also no question that the world protest over the death sentence was at its peak and that Justice Dept. officials may have [illegible] to stall, hoping protests would [illegible]

Syndicated columnist Leonard [illegible] who has expressed [illegible] to the Rosenbergs in a series of [illegible] tual "anecdotes," wrote [illegible]

One of President Eisenhower's [illegible] timates, who has known him [illegible] years, feels that he may commute the death sentence of Ethel Rosenberg. Not because there is any question of her guilt, for there is none, but only because she is a woman and a mother. He also said that if this happens, then the possibility of hanging the others in the spy ring would not die with the execution of the couple. And the responsibility for [illegible] Rosenberg's life would rest [illegible] Ethel Rosenberg alone—if she offered to talk, to save him.

ACTION IS VITAL: Ghoulish [illegible] like Lyons' prompted the Rosenberg Committee to emphasize the need for continuing at peak the demand for clemency for both Rosenbergs. Across the nation and throughout the world there seemed to be no letup [illegible]

In Newark last week there was a [illegible] car clemency motorcade through the downtown streets. Coming out for clemency were the Spokane [illegible] Council of Churches, the Register, organ of the Catholic archdiocese, LaCrosse, Wis.; The Gazette and Daily York, Pa.; and Robert M. Gra[illegible] Brooklyn Eagle columnist. Doubts [illegible] the case were expressed by the Ottawa (Can.) Citizen, the McKeesport [illegible] News and the Florida Saratoga-Saratogan. Letters to the editor appeared in many papers throughout the country and sympathetic persons were [illegible] to continue to write [illegible]

A LETTER TO IKE: The editors of the GUARDIAN addressed a letter [illegible]

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DATED Jan 29, 1953

FORWARDED

the President (see p. 4) and suggested that readers borrow from it in their own letters to government officials and to the press.

There were scores of articles on the case in the Chinese press; the verdict was condemned by Shen Jun-ju, chief justice of China's Supreme Court, and Dr. Mei Ju-ao, Chinese member of the international tribunal which tried the Japanese war criminals. An editorial for clemency appeared in the English-language Hongkong Standard (1/1[illegible]/52) published by Aw Boon Haw, the "Tiger Balm King," who is pro-Chiang Kai-shek.

In Israel the influential Jerusalem Post urged clemency, and in Paris 100 lawyers added their names to the [illegible] distinguished persons throughout France who have spoken out.

"LE MONDE" INSISTS: In a letter to the Washington Post (1/23) answering that paper's attack on the conservative Paris Le Monde for questioning the trial "without knowing the facts," Le Monde's political correspondent Hervé Pierre forcefully re-stated the facts and his doubts and asked:

> Are we so far along in the cold war that the mere desire to clarify such an affair as this is enough to make one appear suspect?

The Post then went so far as to call it a "legitimate question" whether "the maximum penalty imposed by Judge Kaufman is justified." The Chicago Daily News (1/22) conceded that:

> . . . a different judge might have considered 30 years or 20 years a sufficient penalty, and probably would not have been criticized if he had.
>
> A long prison sentence is adequate anyhow, in view of the severe sentences for spying imposed on

THE LAW

'Fear, cajoling' fail to move Rosenbergs

WHILE the Justice Dept. Pardon Atty.'s office sifted through the mountain of legal documents and mail in the Rosenberg Case the press said the clemency appeal might take weeks to reach President Eisenhower's desk), pressure mounted on the couple to "confess" and implicate others in the "plot" to transmit A-bomb information to Russia. In a letter to the N. Y. Times (1/23) William L. White, board member of the American Civil Liberties Union some of whose branches support the clemency appeal, suggested that

> . . . In atonement [they] make what the FBI would recognize as a full and complete confession.

Barring that, he wrote, "then let them die." Some efforts to break the couple were threatening, others coaxing, even family influences were brought to bear. To them all, Julius Rosenberg had this reply in a letter made available last week:

> Truth must out. We are not surrendering to either fear or cajoling. Again at this late hour, I must reassert with all the emphasis I possess that we are completely innocent. We sincerely believe that we will again be reunited with our darling boys and live once more as the happy family we were before the catastrophe befell us. We await the decision with courage, confidence and perspective.

MUDDY WATERS: There were other attempts to cloud the waters of the world-wide clemency campaign. Columnist and ex-lawyer Leonard Lyons, who boasts of inside court sources, suggested that Eisenhower might commute Ethel's sentence, let Julius' stand:

> Judge Irving Kaufman meted out the same sentence—death—to both because their guilt was equal. A judge cannot take into consideration the fact that a defendant is a woman. A President can do so.

The Gallup poll reported a 73% "yes" vote on whether death should be the sentence for treason. The question itself made no reference to the Rosenberg Case, but the Gallup report on the response made the reference and a clear connection, giving the false impression that treason was the charge in the case. (The actual charge was "conspiring"

(Continued on Page 4)

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From Brussels came a telegram signed by 50 leading Socialists who, said Socialist Senator Henri Rolin, "feel repugnance" at joining "a communist protest" but "must yield to the evidence."

By last week protests had come from 27 organizations and prominent individuals in Germany—most of them in the West. Atty. Georg Grendel of Bingen-on-Rhine responded to an appeal of the German Union of Democratic Lawyers (which issued a special 4-page report quoting largely from the GUARDIAN) by recalling a client he defended before the Nazi Special Court in Dortmund; the evidence was based

> . . . on the incriminating testimony of a co-defendant, who incidentally had a sizeable amount of criminal sentences in his native Poland behind him. My client continuously proclaimed his innocence and wrote his co-defendant—in the absence of any other means—with his own blood on a scrap of paper, to tell the truth. But the co-defendant remained silent; and the death sentence was carried out. . . . I gladly join you in this protest against the execution of the Rosenbergs.

The Paris Observateur commented that an act of clemency that might have been "deemed an act of weakness" on Truman's part was possible for Eisenhower, who

> . . . has enough prestige to face the ire of the extremists of the McCarthy and McCarran type. But he is not sure that he will decide to do it. Whatever happens, world opinion will judge him by this test.

In Wuhen, China, 19 Christian [illegible] appealed for clemency. In Calcutta, India, the Indian Peoples Theater Assn. and the Progressive writers and Artists Assn. joined the clemency movement; earlier both the All-India Peasants Union and the All-India Trade Union Congress had acted.

"SHAMEFUL REPORTING": On Jan. 7 the N.Y. Post published a short United Press item from London quoting Labour MP Sydney Silverman as denouncing charges of anti-Semitism in connection with the Rosenberg case and describing the recent Prague trials as anti-Semitic. Called to Silverman's attention by sources here, it drew this reply:

> I am shocked and distressed beyond words. . . . It [the UP item] reveals about as shameful a bit of dishonest reporting as I have come across for a long time.

Denying all statements [illegible] to him by UP, he added:

> So far from intending to [illegible] support for the hysterically [illegible] gant sentence on the Rosenbergs (even if guilty, which seems to me very doubtful) I had only the [illegible] evening been the principal [illegible] a large and very crowded public protest meeting which apparently the U.S. press did not report at all. In the course of my speech I said I did not think a conviction on the evidence could have been obtained or held on appeal in the United Kingdom and that to carry out the capital penalty would be to indict not the Rosenbergs but the U.S. Government. In a postscript he [illegible]

> I have talked to the United Press News Editor here this morning. He informs me that he has no record and has no knowledge of any such report and that in any case the N.Y. Post does not take the UP service.

(The fact: the UP item carried a London dateline; the N.Y. Post is a UP subscriber.)

As the worldwid eprotests mounted, the N.Y. Herald Tribune [illegible]

Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman, vilified by Communists since he imposed the death penalty on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, atomic [illegible] has been forced by his doctor to take a rest. He is in Florida [illegible]

Rosenbergs

(Continued from Page 3)

to commit espionage; the Rosenbergs could not have been tried for treason because the Constitution provides there must be at least two witnesses to the same overt act. In the Rosenberg Case the testimony of the government's one major witness had no independent corroboration.)

From California came word that an American Legion Post had volunteered to shoot the Rosenbergs.

"THEY SHOULD LIVE". But around the world new hosts of people continued to join the million-strong fight for clemency. During the week New York had a Labor Rally for Clemency; besides trade union leaders the speakers included Dr. John Codington, noted research chemist and exec. board member of the American Assn. of Scientific Workers. Grand Secy. W. C. Hueston of the Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks, the country's largest Negro fraternal society, wrote President Eisenhower:

"I am not going into the guilt or innocence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg but I am joining in with the petition to commute this sentence to life imprisonment or a lesser term. It seemed to me that the U.S.A. could lessen the harshness of their sentence in keeping with the punishment dealt out by other countries for similar crimes."

In a lecture on Freedom of Speech at the University of N. Carolina, Dr. Zachariah Chafee Jr., Yale law professor and leading authority on the Constitution, said:

"There is some doubt of their guilt, they should live. Other people have committed worse offenses and have been allowed to live."

In Seattle, Wash., a third picket line, numbering more than 60, paraded before that city's Post Office building with clemency placards. Publications editorializing for clemency or publishing letters urging it included the Cleveland Plain Dealer, McKeesport (Pa.) News, Mitchell (S.D.) Daily Republic, U. of Minnesota Daily, Christian Century, New Religious Frontier (Seattle), Jewish News Letter.

"RELIC OF BARBARISM". The nation was aroused from coast to coast. A week ago a dramatization and appeal was broadcast over Toronto's station CKEY. Daily vigils are being conducted before the U.S. Consulates in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Windsor, Edmonton, and in Toronto where 36,000 copies of a 4-page tabloid on the case have been distributed.

The influential Jewish Standard published a clemency appeal by Rabbi Abraham L. Feinberg of Toronto's Holy Blossom Temple. Toronto Globe and Mail columnist J. V. McAree replied to criticism of a Rosenberg ad appearing in the paper.

Sympathy for the Rosenbergs is not confined to one race or religious group. There is world-wide sympathy for them among Christians. The Rev. George W. Marshfield, a Unitarian minister, in a letter to the Ottawa Citizen called the Rosenberg sentence a "relic of barbarism." Delegations to the U.S. Embassy in Ottawa continue. In Moose Jaw a party signed a wire to the U.S. Ambassador to Canada.

NAZI ECHO. U.S. officials in Britain are being deluged with petitions. A continuous day-long vigil and prayer is being maintained in London's Hyde Park.

THE MAIL BAG

Bouquets

MONTE VISTA, COLO.

I don't know what people like me would do if we didn't have the GUARDIAN. L. B. Gaed

SPICKARD, MO.

Your efforts are the hope of the nation and the world.

(Rev.) Tom Rehorn

NEW YORK, N. Y.

As an initial subscriber and supporter of the GUARDIAN, I am bursting with pride that this mighty champion of the real America initiated and fostered the historic fight for clemency for the Rosenbergs, a struggle which will take its place alongside the celebrated Dreyfus Case. Teacher

HUBBARD WOODS, ILL.

I thought that the hundreds of thousands of people who are interested in the Rosenberg Case would be grateful to the GUARDIAN and subscribe or at least contribute. I am amazed that they do not see the need to support such a paper. Astantis Marshall

ALLENTOWN, PA.

It was on the basis of your articles on the Rosenbergs that we established a tentative committee—raised more than $150—sent telegrams and organized visits to clergymen, etc. If it were not for the GUARDIAN, I don't believe even what little we have done would have been done. [illegible]

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

While the fight for the Rosenbergs has been participated in by many thousands here and abroad, without the GUARDIAN it would have been nearly impossible to engender the kind of fight that was needed. You picked up the ball and carried it when the [illegible] seemed hopeless.

There is never a time when I reach out to my two lads—when I catch a sweet smile that is meant for me, their parent, when I touch the little one's [illegible] kiss his sweet mouth when I [illegible] him into bed, when I [illegible] with pride and satisfaction [illegible] manly older son—that the vision of Ethel and Julius does not [illegible] before me and I am ashamed [illegible] good fortune. Even when [illegible] is granted, they will have [illegible] so much—so [illegible] not being with their [illegible]

CHICAGO, ILL.

We all had placards [illegible] our chests which read CLEMENCY. The cards spoke for themselves. We the people will not be silenced by those who would have us follow along blindly, never questioning, never doubting, and never thinking. Jean [illegible]

OSSINING, N. Y.

The future of our children, the safety of all of us and life [illegible] make it the most important [illegible] of everyone to break through the lie curtain of the "free" press and radio and present the facts as they really happen.

The answer is a bigger, [illegible] GUARDIAN. Through their efforts they've set in motion the [illegible] ment that saved the "Trenton [illegible]" and were it not for this [illegible] two, who are innocent, might [illegible] been put to death by now. I would gladly contribute my [illegible] month out of my [illegible] money but unfortunately [illegible] thorities won't let me. [illegible] All I can do is cheer you [illegible] the deathhouse. Julius [illegible]

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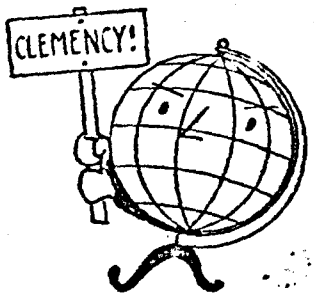
National Guardian

July 12, 1953

Time short to save Rosenbergs; top Utah jurist pleads for mercy

TIME for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, convicted "atomic spies" who continue to protest their total innocence in Sing Sing death house, was fast running out.

In his stay of execution to permit a clemency appeal to be made to the President, Judge Irving R. Kaufman ruled that, if the appeal were denied, a new execution date would be set five days after that decision was announced. Earlier Washington reports were that it might take many weeks for Pardon Atty. Lyons to make his recommendation. But AP reported from Washington Feb. 5 that Lyons and his staff are making "faster progress on their analysis than anticipated"; a Presidential decision "might be forthcoming sooner than was expected."



Around the world there was little let-up in the campaign for clemency: in Canada, Britain and France particularly there were daily and continuous activities before U.S. Consulates and Embassies.

"A PERIOD OF HYSTERIA": In the U.S., Chief Justice James H. Wolfe of the Supreme Court of Utah joined the impressive list of notables who have appealed for clemency. In a Jan. 10 letter to President Truman made public last week, he based his plea on the grounds of both justice and mercy. As a jurist, he took particular exception to a conviction based upon the uncorroborated testimony of David Greenglass, Ethel's brother, who had much to gain from cooperation with the government. Justice Wolfe wrote:

From the standpoint of justice, I think the conviction rests on too shaky a foundation. No need for me to detail the risk of accepting in a conspiracy charge evidence of confessed conspirators who stand to profit from turning State's evidence. This conviction was obtained during a period of mounting hysteria by evidence of witnesses whom the law considers unreliable because of the very hope of reward or mitigation.

Besides the general hysteria generated by fear and hate of communism which was interjected into the trial, it appears that there may have been the influence of anti-Semitism in a reverse sort of way. The trial judge was Jewish, the prosecutor was Jewish, and the defendants in the conspiracy trial were mostly, if not all, Jewish. In the light of the fact that many of the idealistic Jews, especially in New York City where the trial was held, have been tinged with leanings toward communism, there may have been unconsciously an effort to lean over backward against the Jews who were accused of obtaining espionage information for the benefit of the U.S.S.R.

"UTTERLY DISPROPORTIONATE": The Justice also discounted the notion

Five words

Morton Sobell, co-defendant of the Rosenbergs but not even charged with knowledge of atomic secrets, is now serving a 30-year term on Alcatraz Island, toughest of U.S. federal prisons. A petition for a rehearing in his case was based upon the government's admission that it used perjured testimony in the trial, and upon the Court of Appeals' own harsh criticism of the prosecution's tactics. Last month the Court ruled in five curt words:

"Petition for rehearing is denied."

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that Greenglass, with only an elementary education and no scientific training, could have produced any information of value. He added:

> On the side of mercy, never before has the death sentence been imposed on those guilty of espionage in times of peace, especially where it seems probable that, in spite of Judge Kaufman's expressed concern at the effect of the information supposed to have been passed on, it did not do the slightest good for the U.S.S.R. . . .
>
> Under these circumstances, it seems utterly disproportionate to the offense for this couple with two young children to be put to death. There seems to be doubt as to their guilt. In view of that doubt, there should not be carried out a sentence which will work an irretrievable result if future developments show the pair were innocent. .

MORE CLERGYMEN: In New York City last week some 700 trade unionists—AFL, CIO and independent—attended a labor rally for the Rosenbergs. In Madison, Wis., the **Capital Times** reported a petition for clemency signed by 14 of that city's clergymen. They based their plea on the harshness of the sentence and their fear that the Rosenbergs might be made into "martyrs." They wrote:

> It is our opinion to execute the Rosenbergs would run considerably against the grain of the finest moral insights of our civilization.

Added to the swelling protests was one voiced by the **Baltimore Afro-American**, one of the nation's leading Negro weeklies:

> The feeling is inescapable that the severe sentences would not have been passed had not this couple been members of a minority group.

MRS. ROOSEVELT DISSENTS: Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who was honored last week by the ADA with a scroll presented by Averill Harriman for her services to human rights, and who recently was quoted as favoring clemency, set the record straight in her syndicated newspaper column:

> I not only do not advocate clemency, but think only the President and his legal advisers could reach any kind of sound judgment in this matter. . . There is no reason for meetings to be held or for petitions to be signed. . . . I feel quite sure there is no need for concern on the part of those who can know very little about the details.

From Puerto Rico came a plea for clemency from that country's Committee for Civil Liberties, which expressed fear of a "tragic miscarriage of justice."

Ros-el-Yousef, Egypt

"Please don't mention peace, or they'll call you a communist."

"All, all past, and decision close at hand; for us sitting here and fighting for breath in an ever narrowing circle of tightening time, it looms large and unknown, color-blurred and shapeless upon the gigantic canvas of a furious age. And yet, essentially, it is a simple decision predicated upon a few simple propositions. . . ."

Ethel Rosenberg
January 19, 1953

- To spread the truth about the Rosenbergs in this time of decision.
- To put into print the thoughts and feelings of "ordinary people" whom ordeal has made great.
- To help two children who, whether their parents live or die, will not know a normal family life.

The Foundation for the Rosenberg Children announces as its first act the publication of a book of

THE LETTERS OF ETHEL and JULIUS ROSENBERG

Written in the Death House

To assure publication immediately—within a few weeks—the Foundation urgently needs your help in the form of pre-publication orders at $1.00 per copy.

It asks that you order a copy by return mail—and, if possible, an additional copy for that friend who can't make up his mind.

Proceeds from the book will launch the trust fund for the two boys.

Emanuel H. Bloch, attorney for the Rosenbergs, has agreed to act as treasurer for the Foundation pending its formal establishment. Please make checks and money orders payable to him. All orders must be prepaid.

EMANUEL H BLOCH
Room 810, 401 Broadway, New York 13, N. Y.

Please send me ..... copies of "The Letters of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg" at $1.00 each for which I enclose ..... dollars.

Name .....

Address .....

City..... Zone..... State.....

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The National Committee to Secure Justice
in the Rosenberg Case

— OFFERS —

"The Rosenbergs Must Live"

A Long Playing 28-minute Dramatic Recording

An unparalleled masterpiece of dramatic art

Suitable for house gatherings, public meetings, radio broadcasts —price $4, incl. postage

Obtainable from: Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case
1050 6th Avenue, New York BR 9-9694
San Francisco Rosenberg Comm., 228 McAllister, San Francisco, Calif.

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McGranery suppressed Pope's clemency plea in Dec.

FOR two days last week many a face in the Justice and State Depts. and the White House glowed red with embarrassment. The fact that Pope Pius XII last December (while Truman was President) had intervened in the Rosenberg Case had been suppressed, and became known only through publication of an item in Rome by the Vatican's Osservatore Romano. Both Truman and Eisenhower denied knowledge of any action by the Pope.

The question in the capital was: Who had received the communication, what had he done with it? All files were searched in vain for any mention of it.

"OUR OWN CONSCIENCE": Off the coast of Florida ex-Atty. Gen. James P. McGranery—a prominent Catholic layman, knighted by the Pope—was vacationing on his yacht. When news of the Pope's suppressed message became known, he headed for shore, hurried to Palm Beach. There he admitted that the Vatican's Apostolic Delegation in Washington had discussed with him the Pope's interest in the Rosenberg case, but that he did not report it and made no note of it because

> . . . the Apostolic Delegate never submitted anything to me in writing. I did not transmit this message to the President or the State Dept. . . . The matter ended there so far as I was concerned.

He conceded the Vatican had a right to express an interest in the case, "but then it was up to us to act according to our own laws and conscience."

"NUMEROUS, URGENT APPEALS": The explanation made few happy. The Vatican had reacted promptly with two statements, both made public and in writing this time. Apostolic Delegate Amleto Cicognani declared following Osservatore Romano's report:

> At the request of the Holy See, the Apostolic Delegation last December communicated to the Dept. of Justice the fact that the Holy Father had received numerous and urgent appeals for intervention with intercession in behalf of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, which, out of motives of charity proper to his Apostolic Office without being able to enter into the merits of the cases, His Holiness felt

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appropriate to bring to the attention of the U.S. civil authorities.

"MANY NEW DEMANDS": In a letter addressed to Sherman Adams, asst. to the President, Cicognani added:

> In view of the many reports that have appeared in the press I felt that I should inform you of this statement directly.
>
> Furthermore, I am directed by the Holy See to inform the competent U.S. authorities that many new demands are being received at the Vatican urging the Holy Father to intervene for clemency in behalf of the Rosenbergs and that Leftist newspapers insist that His Holiness has done nothing. I will be most grateful if you will notify this to the President.

THE WEEK-END WONDER: First U.S. press reactions gave banner headlines to the Pope's intervention, but over the week-end most newspapers decided the Pope hadn't intervened at all—merely passed on protests by others. But Osservatore Romano's report was clear:

> As he has mercifully done in other similar cases, so also in this one he has not failed to intervene, as much as it was possible for him to do so in view of the absence of any official relations with the competent government authority.

POPE PIUS XII
Washington wasn't interested

'We charge a plot to murder us'

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg issued this statement to the press at Sing Sing prison Saturday, through their attorney Emanuel H. Bloch.

WE acknowledged with deep humility and gratitude His Holiness' appeal for executive clemency on our behalf. We also wish to take this occasion to express once again our heartfelt thanks to all the millions throughout the world who have rallied to our support.

The exposure of the deliberate concealment of Pope Pius' sentiments from both President Eisenhower and ex-President Truman is dramatic confirmation of the fraud that has been practiced in our proceedings from the start. We are convinced that, just as the case against us was a frame-up, other vital material was purposely withheld from the respective Presidents. Obviously President Eisenhower was misled when he stated that we had "exercised all rights of appeal." The truth is that at this very moment we are pursuing an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States from a denial of our application to set aside our conviction because they were obtained by the knowing use of perjury and by other illegal means.

We charge a conspiracy to murder us in violation of God's law and the laws of our nation. The truth will smash this conspiracy. We are confident that President Eisenhower will reconsider his decision and punish the perpetrators of this foul play. We likewise have confidence that the courts will eventually recognize our victimization and provide us the opportunity to vindicate ourselves.

If we die, we will die with proud hearts and clear consciences.

Julius Rosenberg
Ethel Rosenberg

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Feb 19, 1953
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How word came to the death house; victim's fate now 'in people's hands'

LATE Wednesday afternoon Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—sentenced to die as "atom spies"—were listening to a radio program in their cells in Sing Sing's death house. They had no way to know that another act in their long and worldwide fight for life was coming to a swift end as the music played.

At 4:30 that afternoon Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. had delivered to President Eisenhower the results of a month-long study of the case records and his own and Pardon Atty. Daniel M. Lyons' recommendations on the plea for executive clemency. At 5:03 P.M.—a good half-hour later—the President announced his 326-word statement, a document that could not have been written in the time between Brownell's arrival and its release. It concluded:

> . . . I am determined that it is my duty, in the interest of the people of the United States, not to set aside the verdict of their representatives.

MOBILIZATION: At 5:20, less than an hour since Brownell's arrival at the White House, the music on Sing Sing's death-house radio stopped abruptly and the President's decision upholding the death sentence was announced.

The press quoted prison personnel as saying the couple showed no emotion.

But others did. Within a few hours an emergency meeting was in session in the New York headquarters of the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case. Many came from other Eastern Seaboard cities. For their first move to rouse millions in a last-ditch effort to save the couple, they announced a round the-clock vigil at the White House that began Saturday afternoon. Many worked all through Wednesday night on planning and organization; Thursday—Lincoln's Birthday—hundreds of volunteers in New York and other cities worked without stop to rally participants for the trek to Washington. Because of the holiday—official celebration orators failed to note the irony of Eisenhower's harsh decision on the eve of the great humanitarian's anniversary—most job presses in New York were shut down; a friendly printer with an emergency crew worked into the night to produce on a hand-operated proof-press posters announcing the vigil.

THE PEOPLE MUST SAY: The Wednesday night emergency meeting said:

> It is clear that life or death for the Rosenbergs is now in the hands of the American people. The President must immediately be told by the people that his death decree is in disregard of their expressed wishes.

Later the committee said:

> Patriotism and mercy motivate the nationwide appeal for clemency. Neither in our eyes nor in the eyes of the peoples of the world do we want our government to stand bereft of fairness.
>
> We believe the Rosenbergs can still obtain Presidential clemency, providing that millions of our fellow-citizens reiterate their sentiments by conveying, by telephone, wire and letter, a plea for reconsideration to President Eisenhower. We urge that the many churches, labor unions and civic-minded organizations do likewise, and further that they send delegations to express their profound convictions to the President in person. In doing so, they will uphold the highest humanitarian traditions of our democracy.

"EARNEST CONSIDERATION": For those who marveled at the speed with which the President made his announcement after receiving the Justice Dept.'s report the N. Y. Times' Anthony Lewis explained that in his mind as writer up a new administration facing a thousand acute and complex problems—Eisenhower "had been considering the case independently." He

(Continued on Page 9)

65-15348-D-80

National Guardian
Feb 19 [illegible]

Rosenbergs

(Continued from Page 3)

had "reasoned that the crime [had] frightful implications in the atomic age" and therefore was left to consider only if "the Rosenbergs had received the benefit of every legal right available to any citizen." (In his own statement Eisenhower stressed his personal "earnest consideration, careful examination" of the records which made him "satisfied that the two individuals have been accorded full measure of justice.")

In fact, the measure of justice accorded the Rosenbergs was far from full. Held in abeyance during Judge Kaufman's stay of execution to permit the clemency appeal to the President was an appeal to the Supreme Court from a lower court denial of a new trial. Defense atty. Emanuel H. Bloch insisted that the President's decision

> ". . . does not end this matter at all. There will be plenty of struggle yet."

BLACKOUT CONTINUES: For the nation's commercial press, a "Communist propaganda campaign" around the Rosenberg Case was beaten. (The fact that the independent GUARDIAN sparked the defense campaign, and that it is primarily based on glaring lack of proof of guilt, continued to be blacked out. All but two or three U.S. papers have rejected ads explaining the defense position.)

From coast to coast newspapers studiously sought to make further protest seem futile with headlines like these:

> ROSENBERGS DOOMED . . . (N.Y. Daily Mirror).
>
> ROSENBERGS, STILL SILENT, WAIT DOOM . . . (N.Y. Post).

BLOCH MOVES FOR STAY: A continuation of the legal struggle began Friday, when Bloch sought from Circuit Court Judge Augustus Hand an order

upon the government to show cause why a stay of execution should not be granted. The judge said he would convene the full court Tuesday morning, when another motion for a stay was argued.

Also on Friday Bloch appeared before Judge Irving R. Kaufman to appeal for a new execution date not to be set in less than 4-8 weeks, to allow time for the appeal to the Supreme Court. U.S. Atty. Myles Lane called the request "another dilatory tactic to defeat the ends of justice," and Kaufman commented:

> "I do not think any purpose would be served by further delay, except to increase the mental anguish of the defendants and possibly to raise false hopes for them."

On Monday he set an execution date for the week of March 9, only three weeks away. Kaufman complained that protests have

> ". . . stopped [illegible]n in temper and in tempo since [illegible]uling by President Eisenhower. It is the most amazing thing, the way telegrams and telephone calls come into my chambers."

NEW TRIAL GROUNDS: The appeal to the Supreme Court, from a ruling by Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan refusing a new trial, is on these major grounds:

- That government-inspired publicity before and during the trial created such prejudice that a fair trial was impossible;
- That David Greenglass, Ethel's brother and the government's star witness whose testimony was uncorroborated, perjured himself (for his part in convicting his sister and brother-in-law he got off with a 15-year sentence);
- That the prosecution admitted its witness Ben Schneider, a passport photographer, committed perjury on the stand. He testified he had not seen the Rosenbergs from the time he photographed them some months earlier to the time he took the stand; later the government by affidavit confessed he had been illegally taken into the courtroom to see the Rosenbergs the day before he testified.
- That depositions and affidavits by top physicists prove there were no atomic secrets.

The U.S. Court of Appeals had upheld Judge Ryan's denial of a new trial, but in so doing criticized the prosecution tactics in terms of harshness rarely used in the sedate language of the law. The court further stated that had a new trial been demanded at the time, it should have been granted.

CRIME—"OBDURACY": A few welcomed the President's verdict of death. UP, in a report from Kansas City, quoted ex-President Harry Truman as saying Eisenhower "did the right thing." The N.Y. Times approved, had this to say of the defendants who steadfastly maintain their innocence:

> Their attitude from the start was, and remains, defiant, obdurate and unrepentant.

But millions here and abroad were shocked. Rev. Dr. Bernard M. Loomer, Dean of Chicago University's School of Theology, made public a letter of clemency to Eisenhower on behalf of 2,258 clergymen representing 28 communions in all 48 states and D.C., Alaska, Hawaii, the Canal Zone and Puerto Rico. Dean Loomer asked an appointment with the President "at which some of our number can present to you personally the considerations which moved us to join in a common plea for mercy."

From Boston went a clemency plea to the President signed by 88 clergymen in that city:

> In firm faith that man's highest calling is "to do justly, to love mercy and to walk with thy God," we earnestly ask you to commute the death sentence of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

WASHINGTON INSIDERS SAY

Brownell urged Ike to spare Rosenbergs

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON, Feb. 16

COUPLED with the astounding disclosure of the Justice Department's suppression of a move for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg made by Pope Pius XII last December, the GUARDIAN learned exclusively today that government Pardons Atty. Daniel M. Lyons, with the approval of Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell jr., had recommended clemency. News of their attitude has been totally suppressed.

On indisputable authority the GUARDIAN learned that at 3 p.m. on Wednesday, Feb. 11, two hours before President Eisenhower announced his rejection of the clemency bid, word had gone out from the Justice Dept. that the recommendation was favorable. The news flashed through upper echelons in Washington and was promptly phoned to New York, where planning began at once for a long campaign to prove the Rosenbergs' innocence and finally vindicate them.

"WE KEEP IT QUIET": When the President's statement was announced at 5:03 p.m., a half-hour after Brownell arrived at the White House, the shock was even greater to those aware of the earlier news than it was to the millions who were ignorant of it.

Efforts to obtain official confirmation of the earlier report have met with a blank wall of silence from the Justice Dept. The government's refusal to make public the Lyons-Brownell recommendation is in flat contradiction to a declaration—highly critical of the Truman administration—made by Brownell on Jan. 30:

> Henceforth all pardons and commutations will be a matter of public record. The names of persons recommending the pardons and commutations will also be a matter of public record. The new policy was approved by President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Brownell and Lyons were "not available" for comment. But Justice Dept. Information Officer G. Frederick Mullen, when asked about the contradiction between the policy of openness and the secrecy in the Rosenberg case, blushingly said:

> "But this is different. When a favorable action is taken we make the recommendation public and give the person credit. When the action is unfavorable we keep the thing quiet."

Execution date speeded up

On Monday morning Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman rejected pleas by the defense for a delay long enough to permit exhaustion of all legal avenues still open. He set the week of Mar. 9—three weeks away—for the execution of the Rosenbergs.

Thousands resume White House clemency vigil

On St. Valentine's day more than 2,000 earnest Americans began the second round-the-clock vigil before the White House. Gathering at 2 p.m. under a bright blue sky and sparkling sun, they formed a giant sausage-like hollow ellipse and prayed with Rev. Harold S. Williamson that the Rosenbergs' lives be saved for the sake of their country.

A special police detachment looked embarrassed. The President was not within earshot: he had been playing

(Continued on Page 3)

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POPE MADE APPEAL TO AID ROSENBERGS; PLEA ONE OF MERCY

N. Y. Times, Feb. 14, 1953

(Continued from Page 1)

golf since noon at the Burning Tree Club with Gen. Omar Bradley.

The vigil is planned by the natl. committee to be a repetition in part of the 21-day, 21-night vigil which ended three days before Truman's administration—but with emphasis on mass demonstrations, participated in by thousands from all parts of the country. The next big mobilization is scheduled for this week-end, including Washington's Birthday.

Radio and press tried to play down the size of the opening demonstration, giving the number participating at 500-750. The Washington Star figure of 2,000 was verified by the GUARDIAN.

FOREST OF SIGNS: Some 700 came on a special train from New York; another 250 by auto and bus from New England and New York. Delegations came from East Coast cities including Philadelphia and Baltimore. Many Washingtonians joined the marchers.

Not long after Rev. Williamson's opening prayer, Metropolitan Police Inspector George R. Wallrodt ordered the picket line halved, moving part of the marchers from the Pennsylvania Av. sidewalk to a sidewalk across Executive Av. from the White House's east entrance. This lessened the mass effect, but the marchers were determined to have no avoidable trouble with the police. Two hundred signs dotted the line, including:

- Professor Einstein says he has grave doubts.
- "The sentence is excessive and cruel"—The Churchman.
- Mr. President, 3,000 ministers have appealed to you.
- The Jewish Examiner: "The punishment of the Rosenbergs is extremely harsh."
- The Electric Chair can't kill the doubts in the Rosenberg Case.
- The Court of Appeals says a new trial should have been granted.
- Afro-American says there are grave doubts in the case.
- "Justice in the U. S. must not be more vindictive than in other countries"—Jewish Chronicle.

"THEY MUST NOT DIE": Onlookers gathered as the long march for life began. A cop said: "You'll either have to join the line or move on." One voice replied: "Maybe I will join at that," but its owner moved on.

At 2:30 David Alman, exec. secy. of the natl. committee, asked Secret Service guards at the northwest gate to send in a statement to the President. They refused. News cameras began grinding. Rev. Williamson joined Alman in his demand. Finally the guards called a messenger. The statement said thousands of appeals, motivated by a desire for justice, have been made by Americans and citizens of other countries for clemency. It continued:

> The distressing fact that the appeal for mercy by Pope Pius XII was not brought to your attention raises serious fears that many significant pleas were not made available to you before you reached your decision on executive clemency. . . . We respectfully urge that, in the light of these circumstances, which have arisen through no fault of the Chief Executive, you give renewed consideration to the appeals for commutation. . . .

Young girls at either end of the clemency processions handed out 250,000 leaflets declaring: "We appeal to your conscience—they must not die while doubt remains."

"WE CAN WIN": Such was the determination that more than 100 pilgrims, who had planned to return home Saturday night, made last-minute requests for housing after the vigil had run several hours. They joined about 500 others. Emily Alman told 300 who were staying over:

> "When you do go home, spread the word that everybody in town must come back here next week-end. And come back yourself. The days are numbered. But we can win."

An anonymous pilgrim in the back of Odd Fellows Hall, 9th and T Sts., Northwest, only meeting place which would open its doors to clemency delegates, spoke up: "Didn't we agree we'd never meet without raising money?"

Mrs. Alman agreed; the vigil was started with only $800 in the national treasury, she said. Somebody borrowed a hat. The pilgrims, who already had dug deep to finance their journey here, contributed more than $375.

It rained on Sunday, but the President went to the National Presbyterian church for 9 a.m. services. As he left and as he returned, a strong line was still marching in front of the executive mansion, marching for clemency.

POPE MADE NO PLEA TO AID ROSENBERGS

N. Y. Times, Feb. 15, 1953

Paris

Bitter disillusion sweeps all France

GUARDIAN special cable

FRENCH public opinion—labor, artists, professions, Catholics and Protestants—is stunned by Eisenhower's blunt rejection of clemency pleas for the Rosenbergs. The U.S. Embassy is being flooded with deputations from every sector of the population, and thousands of appeals are being cabled to the White House by individuals and groups including veterans who fought under Eisenhower. Even the staunchest supporters of the Atlantic alliance have protested against what the extreme right-wing political editor of **Figaro**, Remy Roure, in a page 1 article calls

> . . . a heavy mistake. . . . Freedom's cause would be better served by greater generosity. Britain has freed the convicted Klaus Fuchs without endangering its free democracy. Indeed, democracies do have the right of self-defense—but they do not have the right to deny their own basic principles.

"COLD-WAR REQUIREMENTS": Millions of French Catholics were particularly impressed by the Vatican announcement that the Pope had vainly appealed for clemency. The average Frenchman's view was summed up in the middle-road, anti-communist daily **Combat** which front-paged an editorial bitterly contrasting

> . . . the concern which so many associations in the free U.S. show in preventing cruelty to animals, with the fact that their sensitive fastidiousness does not extend to sparing two human beings the anguish of their imminent death.

Summing up the flimsiness of the evidence, **Combat** said the conviction resulted only from

> . . . cold-war requirements and hysteria whipped up by the witch-hunt. . . . Such is the decision of the new President of whose kindly smile we have heard so much praise. Europe will henceforward be aware of what is hiding behind that smile.

This bitter disillusionment keynotes comments everywhere in France—including the Gaullist newspaper chain—causing what the progressive daily **Liberation** calls "a storm of indignation stronger than the gales raging for weeks over West Europe." Labor unions jointly with other groups are organizing meetings throughout the country, culminating here in a mass rally for a final clemency appeal Tuesday in the huge Velodrome d'Hiver, Paris' Madison Sq. Garden.

London

100's renew clemency plea in Embassy march

By Gordon Schaffer

SEVERAL hundred marched through rain and sleet here today (Sat., Feb. 14) to carry the Rosenberg appeal to the U.S. Embassy. Police accompanying the marchers and waiting in side roads stopped the procession near the Embassy—but let a delegation of six into Grosvenor Square.

At the Embassy a U.S. Marine opened the iron grille of the door and eventually agreed to deliver the delegation's message renewing the appeal for clemency. Police have refused to allow anyone to remain in the Square, but nevertheless the Committee to Save the Rosenbergs intends organizing Embassy pickets all week long.

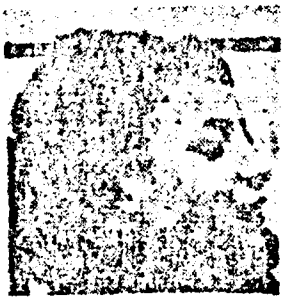
The Committee reports a stream of resolutions from a wide variety of organizations, reflecting the big effect of the Pope's intercession. Labour MP Fenner Brockway has cabled a personal appeal to President Eisenhower.

Sing Sing Prison

'We are innocent —we swear it'

By Michael Rosenberg

MANNY BLOCH took me and my brother Robbie to see our parents in the Death House Saturday. I had just been reading President Eisenhower's statement where he says their "deliberate betrayal of the entire nation could very well result in the death of many, many thousands of innocent citizens."



The first thing I said was: "Are you innocent?" Mommy said: "We are and we swear it on the Bible. Do you think we would go through all this suffering if we were not?"

Well, it's unlucky that they picked the Rosenbergs because boy, they're fighters. We played together a bit, and Manny talked to them about the Pope, and afterwards explained to me who the Pope is.

My brother and I think our parents are two of the finest people in the world.

The Rosenberg children

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

United efforts have won a respite for the Rosenbergs; let us remember now that whatever their fate —death, or clemency with commitment to prison—their two small boys will be economic orphans. Printing and circulation of the book of selected letters between Ethel and Julius will not only help provide for the children, but move many hitherto hostile people to open heart and pocketbook too by joining the flood of protest. For these letters are not merely moving. No perceptive person could read them without being convinced that it would be a psychological impossibility for their authors to have been guilty of the crime charged.

The book cannot go to the printers until $4,000 is raised. The project will be self-liquidating — when sales get under way, those able to make loans will be reimbursed. But we dare not rest our hopes on substantial loans from a few, but must all share this responsibility, either by an immediate gift or by placing advance orders at $1 a copy for as many copies as we can afford.

Let us all reinforce the hope our efforts have given the parents for their own lives, by assuring them in this way that our solicitude extends to young Michael and Robert. Please send remittances to Mr. Emanuel Bloch, Trustee, 401 Broadway, New York City.

Muriel I. Symington

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Rosenberg fight stepped up as stay to April is won

WHEN the last GUARDIAN went to press, the week of Mar. 9 had been set for the execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for "atom-spying." That same day the hopes of millions who have joined the defense campaign throughout the world rose to a new pitch as a three-member U. S. Appeals Court (Judges Jerome Frank, Learned and Augustus Hand) assured defense atty. Emanuel Bloch of a 6-week period —until Mar. 30—for filing a new petition to the U. S. Supreme Court to review the case. The High Court twice refused to review; the stay is effective until that court acts on the new petition.

In the Appeals Court the climate for the embattled defense forces had taken a decided change for the better. Atty. John F. Finerty (profile next week), who had associated himself with Bloch's fight, stood with him in court and presented an affidavit contending that the testimony by David Greenglass—which convicted the Rosenbergs and was almost entirely uncorroborated — was perjured. Finerty maintained Greenglass could not possibly have sketched the A-bomb intelligibly; that he could not, as a sergeant in the Los Alamos project, have even known what the bomb was like six months before Hiroshima; and that Rosenberg could not have been the first to tell him he was working on the A-bomb, as Greenglass testified.

"DELIBERATE PREJUDICE": Bloch's main point was that the perjury indictment, during the trial, of William Perl—a potential witness in the case who was in fact never brought to trial —was

> ". . . deliberately timed to prejudice the case of these appellants. Mr. Saypol said the indictment had been obtained in the regular course of the administration of justice. But the prosecutor willfully caused the indictment to be obtained to prejudice these defendants."

The Appeals Court agreed that the Perl indictment was an open legal question for the Supreme Court to pass upon. U. S. Attys. J. B. Kilsheimer 3d. and Myles Lane argued in vain against an extended stay, claiming Bloch should have made the Perl point at the trial (Bloch had explained why he could not do so). Said Judge Learned Hand:

"People don't dispose of lives just

(Continued on Page 4)

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A PETITION FOR THE PRESIDENT TO RECONSIDER
The Rev. H. S. Williamson, Emily Alman and David Alman, of the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, present a letter to a White House guard. As they acted, thousands marched in a vigil before the White House.

Fight for Rosenbergs stepped up; stay won

(Continued from Page 1)

because an attorney didn't make a point. . . . You can't undo a death sentence. There are some Justices on the Supreme Court on whom the conduct of the prosecuting attorney might make an impression."

(In the original Appeals Court hearing, the court said Saypol's "assumed tactics" in the trial "cannot be too severely condemned. . . . If the defendants had moved for a new trial, it should have been granted.")

THE VIGIL SWELLS: On Monday, 2,500 persons from New York, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, Newark, Chicago, Ohio and many other states and cities wound up the round-the-clock vigil outside the White House, to ask the President to reconsider his decision. The police asked 500 to march in an overflow line on E. Executive Av. The marchers' message to Eisenhower:

The distressing fact that the appeal for mercy for the Rosenbergs by Pope Pius XII was not brought to your attention raises various fears that many significant pleas were not made available to you before you reached your decision on executive clemency.

From all over the world the flood of pleas for clemency swelled; CBS White House correspondent Bill Costello (2/22) said since Eisenhower took office nearly half of 35,000 pieces of mail received were on the Rosenberg Case. Nearly half of these were from abroad; they were to be "analyzed" to throw light on "communist propaganda machinery abroad, to help the Voice of America be more effective."

CANADA: Rev. Glendon Partridge of Montreal headed a delegation to the U.S. Ambassador in Ottawa, pleading for reconsideration by Eisenhower "in the name of humanity, justice, mercy and brotherhood." In Toronto 1,500 attended a Massey Hall rally Feb. 16 called on 16 hours' notice, collected $1,150 for the defense campaign. The Ottawa Evening Citizen commented on the case (2/14):

> The savagery with which the Rosenbergs are attacked for insisting on their innocence is characteristic of the dominant temper of the times. The severity of the sentence, apart from the question of guilt, makes the Rosenbergs victims of the cold war.

BRITAIN: Correcting many glaring inaccuracies in an account of the case sent to the **New Statesman & Nation** by Daniel Bell, an editor of **Fortune** and formerly of the **New Leader**, noted British barrister Dudley Collard summed up in the top-circulation British political weekly:

> In my opinion, the verdict would not be upheld outside the atmosphere of hysteria which unfortunately prevails in America today. But even those who, like Mr. Bell, accept the jury's verdict must surely be shocked at the death sentence.

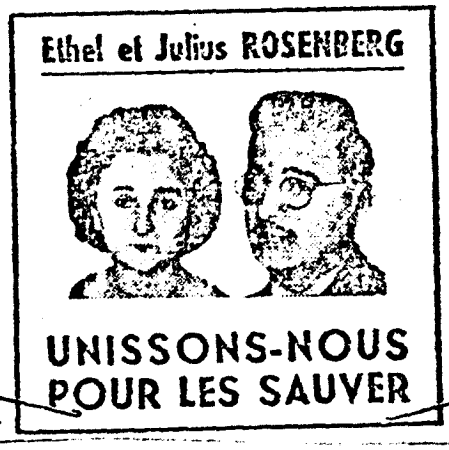
SAN FRANCISCO: The S.F. Lawyers Guild urged Eisenhower to "exercise your constitutional duty" by reconsidering, added:

> . . . You are mistaken as to the extent of judicial review accorded them. The High Court in our land did not accept the case for review and this . . . cannot be construed as approval of the action at the trial court.

PARIS: The N.Y. Times' Paris correspondent (2/22) called the case

> . . . the top issue in France. . . . Almost without exception there is a feeling that the sentence has been too harsh. . . . Many persons otherwise hostile to the Communist Party not only oppose the sentence but find the evidence presented did not even justify a conviction.

Leading Catholic writer Francois Mauriac joined the clemency plea. A rally at the Velodrome d'Hiver, Paris' Madison Sq. Garden, was attended by 30-40,000 people; whole subway trains were jammed afterwards with demonstrators from the audience chanting "Liberez les Rosenberg," wearing badges with pictures of the condemned couple (see picture above). A GUARDIAN correspondent wrote: "The whole of Paris knows about the Rosenbergs; even in very bourgeois circles, electrocution would not add to the sinking credit of the Eisenhower Administration."



CHICAGO: The Chicago Daily News accepted a full page ad for reconsideration, sponsored by the Chicago Emergency Comm. for Clemency of which Chicago Divinity School dean Bernard M. Loomer is chairman. Dr. Loomer, Chicago Rabbinical Assn. pres. Rabbi Ralph Simon and other top clergymen led an inter-faith prayer meeting for the Rosenbergs on Sunday at Olivet Presbyterian Church. The News itself editorially applauded Eisenhower's decision but pointed out:

> . . . Others who participated in the same crime are not going to die. The Rosenbergs are going to die because they wouldn't tell on any of their other fellow conspirators. . . . If in this case the electric chair has been used as part of the third degree, it is

not the first time and it will not be the last.

BERLIN: Huge pictures of the Rosenbergs and their children were mounted all over the city's eastern zone; in Friedrichstrasse railway station, a loudspeaker near the picture continually urged crowds of travelers to send protest telegrams to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Pope's intervention was broadly discussed. A play on the case, **In God's Own Country**, has been produced. At mass rallies in many E. German towns, tens of thousands have heard prominent speakers on the case.

ROME: "A great part of public opinion" has been aroused in favor of the Rosenbergs, **NYT** reported (2/22):

> . . . even the right-wing press says they should be pardoned . . . Italians . . . are revolted by anything as irrevocable as electrocution. . . . Italy was the first country to abolish capital punishment, in the second half of the last century. . . . Slogans appear on walls of Italian cities, towns and villages every night. . . .

NEW YORK: The natl. board of the Natl. Lawyers Guild authorized its Committee on Civil Liberties to file a brief with the Supreme Court on one or both of these points if found valid: Failure to order a new trial in light of the Perl episode, failure to order one in light of press-inspired hostility largely built on prosecuting authorities' statements to the press. Judge Hubert T. Delany of N.Y. Domestic Relations Court, in one of several strong statements on the case by NLG convention delegates at the week-end, called the Rosenbergs' sentence "unusual punishment" under the meaning of the 8th Amendment "when, for the first time, the death penalty is invoked in time of peace."

LOS ANGELES: 3,000 people overflowed all four halls of the Embassy Auditorium Feb. 12, with 3,000 more turned away, to call for reversal of the sentence.

Top atomic scientist Harold C. Urey, whose earlier dramatic plea for clemency jolted many prominent personages into taking a public stand, canceled his personal appearance, sent a tape-recorded speech, then wired that he "did not wish it used." The Committee called the wire "immoral"; the recording was played. Dr. Urey in his speech made a strong plea for clemenmy, denounced prosecution witnesses as "confessed criminals" and "perjurers," was "doubtful and suspicious" of them as self-servers. He criticized the prosecution's failure to call key witnesses and to ask them key questions.

The audience applauded the tape-recorded speech, booed the telegram.

The Rosenberg children

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

United efforts have won a respite for the Rosenbergs; let us remember now that whatever their fate—death, or clemency with commitment to prison—their two small boys will be economic orphans. Printing and circulation of the book of selected letters between Ethel and Julius will not only help provide for the children, but move many hitherto hostile people to open heart and pocketbook too by joining the flood of protest. For these letters are not merely moving. No perceptive person could read them without being convinced that it would be a psychological impossibility for their authors to have been guilty of the crime charged.

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Let us all reinforce the hope our efforts have given the parents for their own lives, by assuring them in this way that our solicitude extends to young Michael and Robert. Please send remittances to Mr. Emanuel Bloch, Trustee, 401 Broadway, New York City.

Muriel I. Symington

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DATED 2/26/53

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For the Rosenberg defense — the man who spoke for Mooney

FOR the first time since the Rosenberg Case began, defense attorney Emanuel Bloch now has an associate counsel to help carry the burden he has borne alone for more than two years. Joining him in argument before the U.S. Court of Appeals on Feb. 17 was John F. Finerty, 62, one of the country's top railroad and industrial lawyers.

Born in Chicago and educated at Northwestern University, Finerty became attorney for several railroads in 1908. From 1912 to 1920 he was asst. gen. counsel for the Great Northern Railway Co.; in 1918 he appeared before the U.S. Supreme Court as counsel representing every transcontinental railroad in the country. From 1920 to 1925 he was asst. gen. counsel for the U.S. Railroad Administration in Washington, and for the next two years special counsel for that body before the Supreme Court.

He entered private practice in 1925, has since represented railroads and large industrial and shipping interests. From 1922 to 1927 he was counsel for Eamon de Valera, then president of Sinn Fein and later head of the Eire government, in an Irish Republican bond litigation.

HISTORIC CASES: From time to time throughout his career Finerty, without fee, has associated himself with civil rights cases; he is on the board of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Workers Defense League. He appeared for Tom Mooney before both the California State Supreme Court and the U.S. Supreme Court. Mooney, falsely charged with causing a fatal explosion during a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco in 1916, was originally sentenced to death but won a full pardon in 1939.

JOHN F. FINERTY
He saw what he had to do

Finerty was also associated in the famed case of Sacco and Vanzetti, radicals who were electrocuted in Massachusetts in 1927 on a framed charge of murder. In an 11th-hour effort, Finerty drafted and argued the last habeas corpus writ in the case on the night of the execution.

In 1941 and 1942 he appeared before both the Supreme Court of Virginia and the U.S. Supreme Court in behalf of Odell Waller, a Negro sharecropper executed in 1942 on a charge of shooting a white landlord.

CONVINCED OF PERJURY: In 1937 Finerty served as counsel for the Intl. Commission set up by supporters of Leon Trotzky to investigate the Moscow trials of that year. A year earlier he had acted as counsel in an action to put the names of the Communist Party's Presidential candidates on the ballot in Illinois.

Upon becoming associate counsel in the Rosenberg Case, Finerty described himself to reporters as "probably the greatest anti-Communist lawyer in the U.S." He said he entered the case because he is convinced the Rosenbergs were convicted on perjured testimony, and so argued in an affidavit to the court.

Among other things, Finerty is Master of the Fox Hounds Assn.

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In Germany too

HAMBURG, GERMANY

Enclosed find two pictures showing citizens of Hamburg protesting against the planned murder of the Rosenbergs. These are two of the many demonstrations that have taken place since President Eisenhower denied clemency. During the Nazi period in Germany the victims of fascism won the sympathy of the American people, and I can assure you that this time the justice-loving people of Germany are showing their solidarity and form part of the world-wide struggle to save the Rosenbergs.

Kurt Wittenberg

65/5348-2-86

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...NG FROM THE
National Guardian
3/5/53
...VISION

THE ROSENBERG CASE

Winchell-Lyons anti-Semitic smear is nailed by Sing Sing rabbi

THE campaign for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg reached a new peak of intensity last week—as did the campaign of slander against the Rosenbergs by the prosecution's journalistic Latchetmen.

Late in February syndicated columnists Leonard Lyons and Walter Winchell carried items (which Winchell repeated on his radio and TV program) that the Rosenbergs had refused the services of the Sing Sing rabbi; had vilified rabbis as "tools of the capitalist class" and "bearded politicians"; had refused to discuss execution arrangements with U. S. Marshal Carroll when he came to see them.

Last week from Sing Sing Rosenberg sent the following telegram to defense counsel Emanuel Bloch:

LYONS AND WINCHELL ITEMS FABRICATIONS MADE OUT OF THE WHOLE CLOTH. NEVER REFUSED SERVICES OF RABBI NOR SAW CARROLL ON ARRANGEMENTS EXECUTION. NEVER MADE THESE TWO OR ANY STATEMENTS DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY ABOUT RABBIS THAT SHOWED ANTI-SEMITISM.

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a "request for mercy" to President Eisenhower in January. This had been sent with a similar plea by the Assn. of French Rabbis for clemency "in the name of our common ideal of justice and mercy." No acknowledgment of the appeal had been received.

On Feb. 24 a delegation from the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case called at the Justice Dept. to ask if the petition had been received. They were told by Kenneth Harvey, Asst. Pardons Attorney, that it would "take too long" to find out. Joseph Brainin, Committee head, said:

"The Justice Dept.'s evasive reply, following on the heels of the admission that the Pope's message was not shown to either President Truman or President Eisenhower, must raise serious questions as to whether or not there has been a deliberate plot by high-placed officials to conceal the facts from the President's attention. . . . It is time for a full-scale investigation. . . ."

IN FRANCE: In Paris also the executive committee of the League for the Rights of Man, "shocked" by the President's rejection of the clemency petition, addressed a "final plea" to him to reconsider. These other things happened in France:

The entire transcript of the trial has been translated and distributed

Hunger and racketeers

Returning from a U. S. tour, British MP Harold Wilson reported last month he had found a growing "system of fear," with "racketeers running ostensibly anti-Communist organizations which always have to find a scalp—liberal, progressive or pacifist.

"A lot of people in America think all the world's problems can be explained in terms of communism," he said. "They are wrong. The real trouble is that millions of people face stark hunger, wondering whether their families are going to get enough to eat."

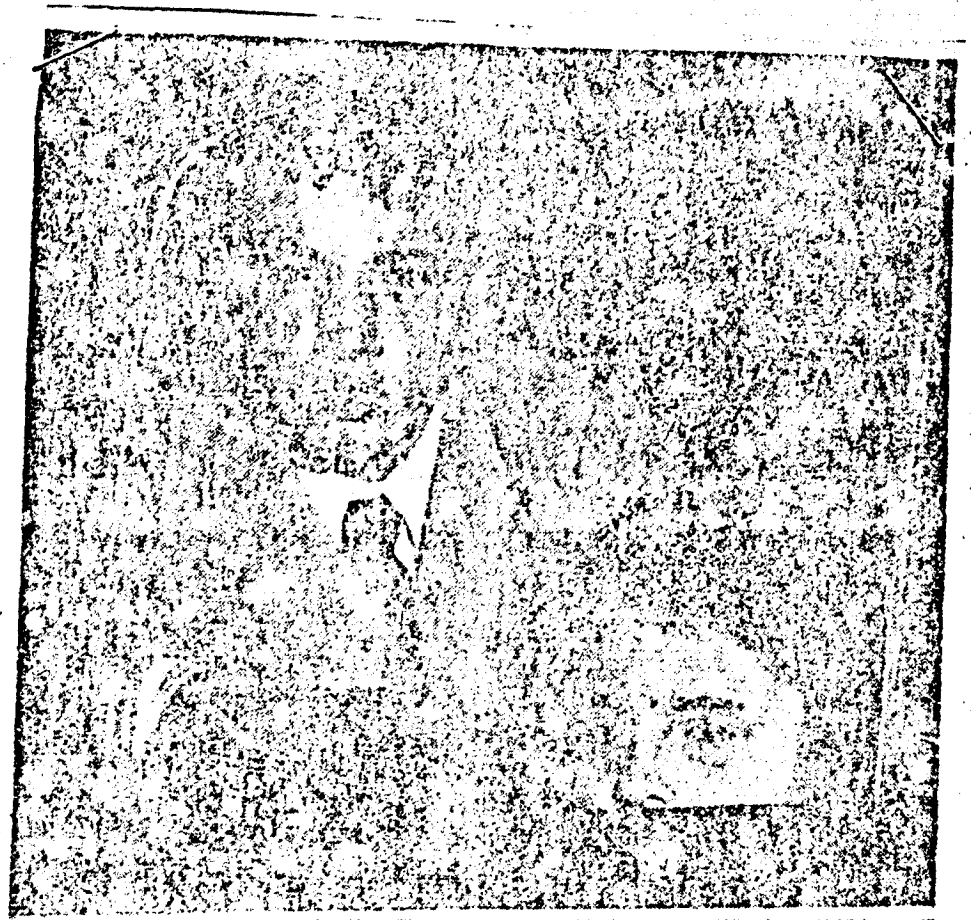
RABBIS DENIAL: Irving Koslowe, Sing Sing chaplain, told Bloch:

"Julius Rosenberg has always been most respectful not only to me but to all other clergymen of all denominations. Both Ethel and Julius Rosenberg have regularly attended Jewish services."

In a letter to his lawyer Rosenberg amplified:

U. S. Marshal William Carroll did not come to Sing Sing or, if he did come, he did not see me. . . . Nothing short of a complete retraction would give me any degree of satisfaction. . . . At first I thought the items were an isolated case. Now I am sure it is the latest twist in the campaign against us. However, it still retains the singular features of fraud that have characterized the entire legal and public case.

FRENCH PLEA WITHHELD? Another "Vatican incident" also came to light last week. In Paris Grand Rabbi Kaplan of France confirmed that the Office of the Grand Rabbinate had sent



THEY BROUGHT A VALENTINE FOR MOTHER
Michael, 9, and Robbie, 5, wait in a car after visiting Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

in the thousands. The Rosenbergs' appeal for clemency to the President has been issued in French in pamphlet form by the Intl. Assn. of Democratic Jurists. On Natl. Rosenberg Day in France (Jan. 13) more than 100 delegations visited the U.S. Embassy in Paris.

The conservative Paris **Le Monde** wrote editorially:

> We want to hope that he [Eisenhower] will hear the prayer of a section of world opinion which—especially since the Vatican intervention—has continually grown, and that he will put an end by a humane decision to the interminable anguish of the Rosenbergs.

IN ENGLAND: Four Members of Parliament have urged clemency. The London Trades Council is taking part in the fight. Shop stewards at the Rolls-Royce factory in Hillington agreed to circulate clemency petitions. The

Twickenham and Woodford Trades Councils sent a plea to Eisenhower. A Rosenberg Committee was set up at Cambridge; at Oxford more than 100 students signed a clemency petition.

A police order limiting Rosenberg picketing before the U.S. Embassy in London's Grosvenor Sq. brought immediate protests and defiance of the order. In and around the square, which has become an American compound, police stood in doorways, gathered in open areas, parked their vans in side streets, dotted the square itself.

NEW YORK DINNER: In New York it Sidney Silverman, Labor MP, had accepted an invitation to speak at a dinner in the city March 18 at the Hotel Capitol ($25 a plate). The dinner is sponsored, among others, by Mary Church Terrell, a founder of NAACP; Dr. Bernard Loomer, Dean of the Chicago U. Divinity School; Rabbi Abraham Cronbach of Cincinnati; Waldo Frank, author; Prof. Arthur K. Davis, chairman of the sociology dept, Union College.

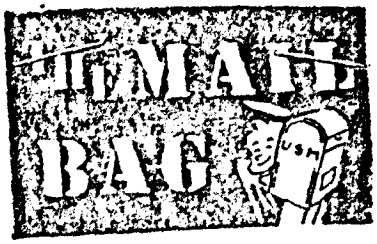
Patrick Gorman, secy.-treas. of the AFL Amalgamated Meat Cutters, headed a list of 25 trade union leaders from all over the U.S. who urged clemency. Simon Farber, editor of the Jewish Edition of Justice, publication of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, announced his opposition to the death sentence.

In Philadelphia 100 delegates participated in a work session of the Philadelphia Rosenberg Committee (Box 805, Philadelphia, Pa.) to plan an intensive March campaign. Delegates urged that clergymen of all faiths be asked to arrange a public prayer meeting. In New York, Rev. Dr. Ralph Walker of the Madison Av. Baptist Church called for prayers to guide the Supreme Court "in equity . . . justice and mercy." He told his congregation that he had spoken with "at least 100 persons in the last five or six days" about the Rosenberg trial. He added:

> "In very few cases did anybody have clear replies, all were perplexed and most all were instantly interested."

On Feb. 27 the N. Y. Times caried this one inch story:

> **Sobell Goes to Alcatraz**
>
> WASHINGTON, Feb. 26 (AP)—Morton Sobell, convicted as an atomic spy with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, has been transferred to Alcatraz to serve his 30-year sentence.
>
> Sobell has been in Alcatraz since the end of November.



Rosenberg Case in Sweden

BROMMA, SWEDEN

Enclosed my article on the Rosenberg Case, printed in the Stockholm daily Ny Dag and seven other Swedish dailies. In this month's issue of the Clarte, the progressive magazine, there will be a complete translation of the pamphlet by D. N. Pritt. The whole Swedish press has published—as far as I know without comment — the demarche by the Vatican in favor of the Rosenbergs.

There has seldom been such a campaign for individual personalities in this country as now for the Rosenbergs. Many of the biggest trade unions (bricklayers and electricians in Stockholm) have already wired their unanimous protests to President Eisenhower. Delegations from trade unions and women's organizations have protested to the U.S. Embassy here. Mass meetings will be held.

John Takman, M. D.

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THE TORTURE CAMPAIGN GOES ON

Did Ike offer Rosenbergs 'barbarous deal'?

WHILE attorney Emanuel Bloch worked in New York on his appeal to the Supreme Court (which must be in by Mar. 30) to review the conviction and death sentence on Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for "atom-spying," pressure mounted on the couple to "talk." Rumors spread about Washington that they had been officially offered their lives "if they would discuss Soviet espionage activities in full" (they have insisted from the outset they know nothing about them.) Questioned on the rumors at his press conference Mar. 5, President Eisenhower said (N. Y. World-Telegram, 3/5)

> . . . that if a different situation arises that looked as if it involved a decision of state, the case could always be brought back to him for reconsideration.

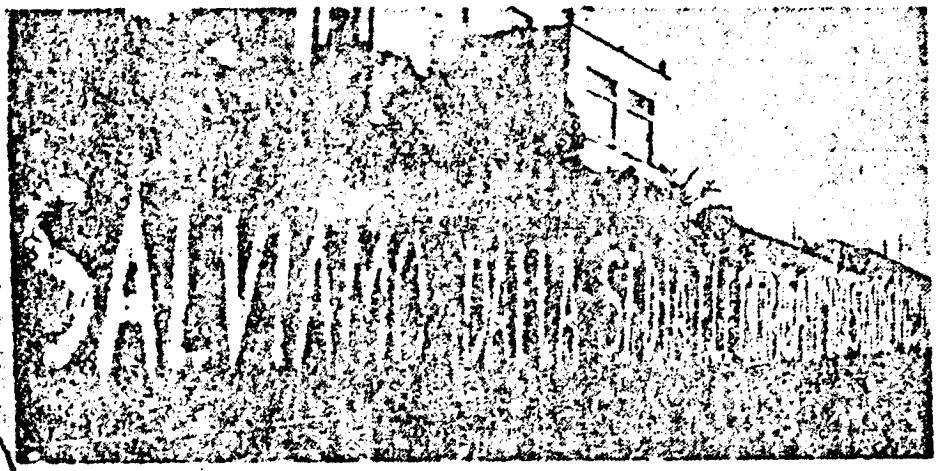
IKE NAMED IN "DEAL": That same day, a startling story was broken by columnist Robert S. Allen, headlined in the N. Y. Post: IKE OFFERS A-SPIES LAST CHANCE. Allen said the chance to save themselves by 'talking'—now "proposed for the second time"—had been "officially offered" the Rosenbergs by the Solicitor General's office

> . . . with the approval of President Eisenhower. The move was proposed by Atty. Gen. Brownell.

The story added that the FBI "has information" that the Rosenberg defense drive "is being financed from large Kremlin deposits in Tangier banks." (The drive has been financed by dimes, quarters and dollars sent by thousands of Americans to the Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, which was initiated from GUARDIAN readers' $5,000 response to a small coupon in this paper in Oct., 1951.)

"NO SUCH INCIDENT": Later that same day, all major N. Y. newspapers and national wire services sent representatives to an emergency press conference called by Bloch, who told them:

- The Allen story was the first that he—the lawyer for the Rosenbergs—had heard of any such "official offer" to his clients;
- Sing Sing warden Denno had told him on the phone that no such representation had to his knowledge been made to the Rosenbergs, "recently or at any time";



"LET US SAVE THE INNOCENT ROSENBERGS FROM THE CHAIR"
Signs like this are appearing all over Italy

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● Acting Solicitor Gen. Robert S. Stern had told him by phone that he

". . . knew of no such incident, had nothing to do with such an approach and would have nothing to do with it—and apparently thought it as unethical as I do."

● He had four times tried vainly to get through to Atty. Gen. Brownell, left word for him to call back but Brownell had not done so.

"MEDIEVAL BARBARISM": Bloch told the press:

"It is incredible to me that either the President, Atty. Gen. Brownell or any responsible official would lend himself to this kind of thing which smacks of medieval barbarism. The rack and thumbscrews are mild instruments of torture compared to telling people who declare their innocence that they will be put to death unless they confess. If such a 'deal' has been offered, it could not be too severely condemned. But if you gentlemen succeed where I have failed in contacting Mr. Brownell, you will probably find he never did any such thing as this story suggests. Mr. Allen's story is utterly irresponsible in its callousness toward human life in a case which should demand a sober, factual approach. As for the Rosenbergs confessing, there is no possibility of it since they have nothing to confess."

The N. Y. **Post** published part of Bloch's statement; elsewhere it was suppressed. No further information on the purported "deal" was forthcoming.

SILVERMAN BARRED: British MP Sydney Silverman, whom the **Post** recently misquoted on the Rosenberg Case in a story he called "shamefully dishonest reporting," was refused a U.S. visa to visit New York as main speaker at a $25-a-plate Rosenberg dinner Mar. 18. The dinner at the Hotel Capitol, with Northwestern U. law prof. Stephen S. Love as chairman, is being sponsored by the Rosenberg Clemency Committee, of which Chicago U. Divinity School Dean Dr. Bernard Loomer is chairman. The visa was refused under the McCarran Act which, said Silverman,

". . . refers to anarchists, atheists, Communists, totalitarians and a variety of other people, none of whom could apply to me."

He told the N.Y. Times he was a member of the World Jewish Congress and that the American Jewish Congress "was much perturbed at the U.S. action"; the AJC filed a protest with the State Dept.

Dr. Loomer was to be main speaker at the largest Rosenberg defense meeting yet held in New York, sponsored by the Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions at Carnegie Hall Mar. 29. NCASP and the Clemency Committee were urging New Yorkers to demonstrate their feelings about the attempted black-out by attending the meeting and dinner in record numbers. The latter group suggested that coworkers and neighbors pool their resources to send representatives to the historic dinner, which is sponsored and will be attended by persons of many varying faiths and political beliefs.

SYDNEY SILVERMAN
American Jewish Congress protests

And the rain was upon the Earth forty days and forty nights . . .

AND Eisenhower had reigned upon the land as president 40 days when the great newspapers and commentators took the occasion to mark a chapter in the new history that was being recorded.

Some were critical, some were kind; some apologetic, some apoplectic. To all but a few, however, he remained the savior they expected to lead them out of the wilderness of high taxes, corruption and communism onto fertile plains where profits could soar to new highs, where the crudity of mink coats and deep freezers buying petty million dollar favors would give way to refineries capable of looting the country of billions. As to communism, the concentration camps were built, now let McCarthy, Jenner & Co. silence all who might dare lift a voice to question whether what was good for big business would necessarily be good for the people.

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Stalin was still alive and the seers had idle time to formulate profundities on the state of the nation under the general and to speculate, cautiously, on the transition of power. Some wondered if perhaps things might not have been pushed a bit faster: was it necessary to wait until July for the promised tax cut? The Formosa move was universally approved, but where was the invasion of the mainland?

Dulles had hurried off to Europe to wave dollar bills under the noses of France, England, Italy and the other satellite countries, warning that new dispensations would not be forthcoming without greater speed in the readiness for war. A fool's errand, some muttered. Cut them off, if their peoples were not half communists they were socialists, equally bad. Who needed them? Besides they were unworthy of trust, and only interested in robbing us of our wealth.

But there were actions deserving of unqualified praise, actions which indicated clearly the new president could be relied on to make the right judgments.

There had been no trifling with the Rosenbergs. Despite a bit of fumbling, Wilson was safely in the cabinet. And the cabinet as a whole, bless 'em, belonged to the right crowd. Housing, public that is, was about to be turned over to the acknowledged spokesmen for the real estate interests.

Forty days and almost 40 times 40 more ahead.

Good days in the hands of a man who could be counted on.

When Stalin died, the president-general never faltered: he officially informed the Russian officials that the official government of the U. S. had officially taken note of the fact.

Now where was that paper requiring signature to remove the last of the price ceilings?

Noah was a lucky man.

1,100 attend $25 Rosenberg dinner

NEW YORK's Hotel Capitol can normally accommodate something over 800 persons at a banquet. Last Wednesday 1,100 squeezed in; some 300 more were turned away. The occasion was the $25-a-plate Clemency Dinner in behalf of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, under sentence of death as "atom spies" (a stay of execution is now in effect pending the outcome of a petition to the Supreme Court for review of a lower court's denial of a new trial).

Few of those who come were in the $25-a-meal income class; many were delegated by groups who clubbed together to raise the money. One participant flew in from Los Angeles for the occasion, contributed $2,000 raised there. During the evening the hotel chef who prepared the dinner appeared on the speaker's platform to offer a contribution he had collected in his big white cook's hat.

WORLD-WIDE SUPPORT: Dinner chairman Dr. Stephen S. Love, Northwestern U. law prof., reviewed legal aspects of the case as the basis for his support of the clemency campaign. Other speakers were Dr. Bernard Loomer, dean of Chicago U.'s Divinity School; Mrs. Mary Church Terrell, who last week won the Natl. Negro Press Assn.'s annual award for outstanding service to the Negro people; and Rabbi Dr. Abraham Cronbach, prof. emeritus of Cincinnati's Hebrew Union College.

Not heard was British MP Sydney Silverman, who was refused a visa by the State Dept. to attend the dinner. A plan for him to address the dinner by trans-Atlantic telephone failed because of atmospheric conditions.

Senders of cables of support which poured in from around the world included Julien Racamond, secy. of France's 5,000,000-strong Gen. Confedn. of Workers; French Assembly Deputy Gilbert de Chambrun, a descendant of Lafayette who holds a hereditary honorary U.S. citizenship; France's Chief Govt. Atty. Mornet, who presided as judge at the trial of Marshal Petain. Other pledges of support came from leaders in Britain, Belgium, China, Norway, Sweden, Finland, New Zealand, Australia, Italy, Japan and Thailand.

CARNEGIE HALL NEXT: New York's next Rosenberg rally, to be the largest yet, will be held at Carnegie Hall Mar. 29 under auspices of the Natl. Arts, Sciences & Professions Council. Speakers will include Dr. Loomer; William Harrison, assoc. editor of the Boston Chronicle, leading Negro weekly; Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes of Philadelphia; and Ruby Dee, star of the film The Jackie Robinson Story.

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Rosenberg Case in Canada

VANCOUVER, B. C.

It is heartening for many of us here in Canada to know about the good fight the GUARDIAN is putting up for simple decency and humanity. Your paper has been of particular value to many of us here in Vancouver (as well as elsewhere in Canada, I am certain) as an adjunct to the fight to save the lives of the Rosenbergs.

In this city we have already held two mass public meetings and held two mass placard picket parades (the last with 150 marchers) who paraded thru downtown Vancouver for several miles, distributing leaflets at the same time. The parade ended in front of the U.S. Consulate where picketing continued for some time. Following the last parade (three weeks ago) a daily vigil was held on seven consecutive days at key downtown points. Apart from this we have distributed thousands of pamphlets, organized writing bees, and generally did whatever else was possible to reveal the savage nature of a penalty for which there is no precedent.

I hardly need to tell you that, despite the fact that the press has covered our meetings with newsmen and photographers (doubtless in the vain hope of "incidents"), we have received a minimum of publicity in the daily papers—and that minimum viciously distorted. "Canadian"

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Columbia fires Dr. Weltfish, denies politics is involved

SPEAKING at the University of Puerto Rico on Mar. 12, Dr. Grayson L. Kirk, who succeeded Dwight Eisenhower as president of Columbia University, summed up his ideas on witch-hunts: A teacher's refusal to testify in an investigation "will inevitably reflect adversely on himself and the institution." Nevertheless Dr. Kirk opposed any summary dismissals. He said:

"It is the responsibility of the university carefully to examine his case, giving the opportunity to establish his right to continue to enjoy his university association."

Last week Columbia announced that Dr. Gene Weltfish would be dropped from the faculty in June as a lecturer. Dr. Weltfish, distinguished anthropologist, shocked by the germ-warfare charges against U.S., had called for a full airing of the charges. When she was called before the McCarran Senate Internal Security subcommittee she had refused to discuss her politics, stood on the Fifth Amendment. She is vice-chairman of the Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn., has also been president of the Congress of American Women.

NO CHARGES: There were no charges against Dr. Weltfish. Columbia insisted its action against her had nothing to do with politics or her refusal to testify. The university's announcement said it was "a matter of academic procedure," a policy known as "up or out," under which teachers too long in grade without promotions are let go. Some 30 others might go too, the school said.

Dr. Duncan W. Strong, head of the anthropology dept.,

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

DR. GENE WELTFISH
The dodge was artful

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Columbia fires Gene Weltfish

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

however shed light on Dr. Weltfish's failure to rise in the school since 1936. He said: "I've done my darndest to get Gene a promotion for a long time, but if you can't get it, what can you do?"

Though Dr. Weltfish holds a lecturer's rating, theoretically part-time, she has been teaching a full program of 13 hours a week on African colonial problems, the African people and pre-historic Europe.

SPLENDID RECORD: Her record made absurd the implications of lack of ability. Graduated from Barnard in 1925, she worked among the Indians in the West from 1925 to 1935, published two monographs on the Pawnees, served on the staff of the **Journal of American Folklore**, collaborated with the late Prof. Ruth Benedict on the world-famous pamphlet **Races of Mankind** (unpopular with white supremacists), took her doctorate at Columbia.

Though the school held to its line that politics had no part in the dismissal, the city's newspapers played the story otherwise: **World-Telegram and Sun:** "COLUMBIA TO DROP DR. WELTFISH, TIED TO COMIE FRONTS." **Times:** "COLUMBIA IS DROPPING DR. WELTFISH, LEFTIST." **Daily News:** "COLUMBIA TAGS OUT LADY PROF ON RED BALK."

National Guardian
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Final Rosenberg case appeal is filed with Supreme Court; testimony denounced

A THIRD appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court—the final one open to the defense—was filed last week by defense attys. Emanuel H. Bloch and John F. Finerty, urging a review of a lower court refusal to grant a new trial to Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, under death sentence for "conspiring to commit espionage." Twice before the Supreme Court has declined to intervene in the case which has aroused a world-wide campaign for clemency. The petition charged that the government obtained convictions through

> . . . the knowing and deliberate use of false testimony by their prosecutor and sordid scheming to secure a conviction by fair means or foul.

It argued that David Greenglass, brother of Ethel Rosenberg and chief government witness, in drawing an "atom secret" from memory six years after he "learned" it from overheard scraps of conversation at the Los Alamos atom bomb project, made a perjured claim; renowned scientists challenge the possibility of making such a drawing under the circumstances. The plea also cited the government's own admission, by affidavit, that one of its witnesses was illegally coached in his testimony by the FBI. It quoted a Dec., 1952, opinion of a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals describing as "reprehensible" the tactics of then U. S. Atty. Saypol who prosecuted the case, and holding that a new trial, if asked for at the time, should have been granted. The brief commented:

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The court uniquely confines two people to their death despite its own confirmation of the corruption of the verdict upon which the conviction rests.

"PERJURY & FRAUD": Repeatedly charging "perjury and fraud" by government witnesses, the appeal argues:

> Through its immoral, unconscionable and intentional deceptions of the court and jury, some of which fortunately have been discovered in time, the prosecution contrived a conviction through the pretense of a fair trial which, in truth, was used as a means of depriving these petitioners of their very lives.

In a Feb. 17 decision—four days after President Eisenhower rejected worldwide pleas for commutation—the Appeals Court ruled that the case contains "substantial questions" warranting high court review. The Rosenbergs are under an indefinite stay of execution until the present action is finally disposed of. The government has 25 days from the filing of the appeal to reply to the defense petition.

FIGHT GOES ON: The campaign to save the lives of the couple continued around the world. New Yorkers a week ago staged in Carnegie Hall the biggest Rosenberg rally yet, heard Dr. Bernard Loomer, Chicago U. Divinity School dean; William Harrison, assoc. editor of the Negro weekly Boston Chronicle; Ruby Dee, star of The Jackie Robinson Story; Jack Levine, prominent artist; Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes; and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith of Wellesley College.

A still bigger New York rally is scheduled for Sunday afternoon, April 26, in the huge outdoor amphitheater, Triborough Stadium on Randall's Island; tickets at a flat price of $1 are available at the N.Y. Comm. for Clemency for the Rosenbergs, 1050 Sixth Av.

Van Wyck Brooks, literary critic and historian, added his name to those pleading for clemency.

A Ethel et Julius
Pour la Vie

A BELGIAN POST CARD
To Ethel and Julius—for life

Govt. 'answers' Rosenberg plea with shocking haste

THE attention of all GUARDIAN readers—who have magnificently led the now world-wide fight to save and clear the names of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg—is drawn to pages 4 and 5 of this issue, where the story is told of startling new evidence we have uncovered.

The facts now available, concerning key "evidence" by which the government attempted to link the Rosenbergs to "atom-spying," provide new proof that witnesses David and Ruth Greenglass—whose testimony convicted their relatives—committed perjury on the witness stand.

As this further confirmation of the perjury committed in the case came to light, the government took an action which could only be interpreted as one of desperation to rush the Rosenbergs to death as soon as possible.

"INDECENT HASTE": In a move which astounded the legal profession and was called "absolutely unprecedented" by several lawyers, the Justice Dept. delivered its "answer" to a defense petition for Supreme Court review of the Rosenberg Case before it had even received the petition.

This was the time-table of the "indecent haste" (as one lawyer described it) with which the government sought to block a high court review and possible new trial:

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On March 30 defense atty. Emanuel Bloch submitted his petition (60 pages of legal argument plus 60 pages of appendices) to the clerk of the Supreme Court. It was accepted in typescript form to be filed with the court and sent to a printer to be set in type. Routine procedure gives a defense atty. ten days from the date of filing to serve the Justice Dept. with a printed copy. The government then has 30 days in which to prepare and file its answering brief.

NO REPLY ATTEMPTED: The printed copy of Bloch's petition was actually delivered to the Justice Department on April 8. The extent of the haste—in a case involving two human lives, and in which millions of people throughout the world challenge the justice of the sentence—was seen when the Dept.'s printed "reply" to the petition was filed with the Supreme Court on April 2, three days after Bloch filed the typescript. On April 3 Bloch received his copy of the "reply" in the mail.

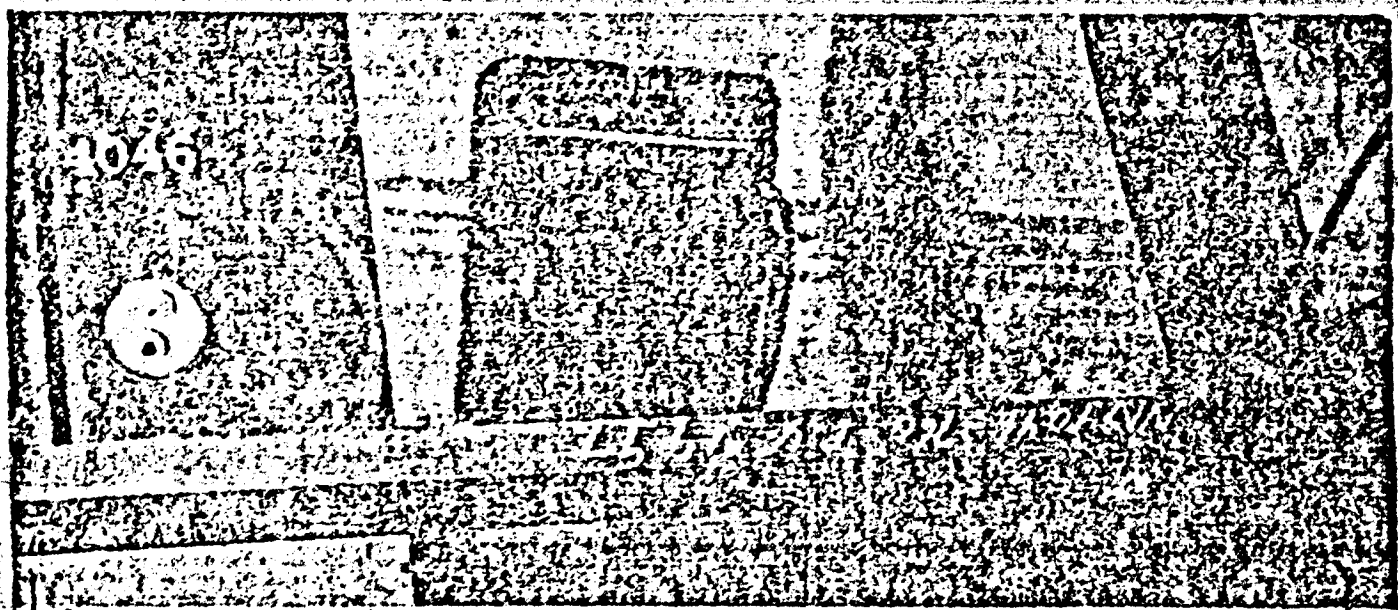
The "reply" did not attempt to meet the arguments raised by Bloch in his 120 pages. The only reference to his new arguments was in a footnote on page 16 (which could have been inserted just before the printed brief was bound).

The defense petition contained detailed charges of the knowing use of perjured testimony, of "sordid scheming" to obtain a conviction and of prejudicial conduct by the prosecution. Major argument in the government's brief was that the defense "waited too long" to raise such challenges.

WORLD STILL FIGHTING: The Rosenbergs, convicted in April, 1951, and sentenced to death on a charge of conspiracy to commit espionage, are now under an indefinite stay of execution until final disposition of the present appeal to the Supreme Court. If a review is again denied, only a second appeal to the President for executive clemency remains to save their lives.

The world-wide campaign for clemency continued last week. In New York preparations went ahead for a huge outdoor rally in the Triborough Stadium on Randall's Island on Sun., April 26. During the week reports of clemency actions came in from Sweden, Argentina, Cuba, and several countries in Asia.

The missing table: the proof that key Rosenberg Case witnesses lied



Inverted view of the Rosenberg console table showing check markings discovered and photographed by the GUARDIAN. Markings proved to be K. H. Macy's code symbols. Macy's detailed affidavit on markings (see below) supports Rosenberg's testimony, refutes statements by the Greenglasses and prosecutor Saypol.

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On March 14, 1953, there was submitted to me for observation and examination, certain photographs of a console table, depicting various views of the same and parts of the same. I have marked each of these photographs with my signature; there are a total of six photographs and I have marked them "A" to "F", both inclusive.

I make the following statement voluntarily and based upon what I observed from the said photographs. I am assuming that the photographs, and the markings as shown on the console table, are genuine:

(a) The table is a type and style which was handled and sold by Macy's in the furniture and occasional furniture department. It is possible that Macy's handled and sold the particular table shown in these photographs during the years 1944 and 1945.

(b) The markings on the table are not in sufficient detail for me to state that Macy's handled or sold this particular table, or this type or style of table during any particular year.

(c) The table would appear to have been manufactured by the Brandt Manufacturing Company and the markings "N N 4046-760-F4-1997" on the under side of the table would indicate the following information:

"N N" means Macy's occasional furniture department

"4046" is the pattern number assigned by Brandt Manufacturing Company to this style in the year 1940

"760" means the Brandt Manufacturing Company Cabinet Works of Hagerstown, Md.

"F4" is a symbol of a Macy season; "F4" was last used as a symbol in the fall season of 1936; however, "E4" was last used as a symbol in the early part of 1944. A view of photographs "E" and "F", which are close-ups, show that the seasonal symbol could be read as either "F4" or "E4". The use of "E4" would be consistent with the manufacturer's pattern number.

"1997" is Macy's retail selling price of $19.97.

(d) This console table was one of the lower priced tables sold in Macy's furniture department sometime during or subsequent to the year 1944, if the symbol "E4" is correct.

[redacted]

Sworn to before me this
[illegible] day of March, 1953.

[illegible]

bove, a photostat of the affidavit obtained with the cooperation of Macy's legal dept. The GUARDIAN excised the identity of the Macy employe.

By John T. McManus
and Leon Summit

THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN has brought to light a sensational piece of evidence in the Rosenberg Case—the console table which the government inexplicably failed to produce at the trial in March, 1951, but nevertheless used as a key object in obtaining convictions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for conspiracy to pass atomic secrets to the Soviet Union.

Detailed examination of the actual table itself now makes it possible to prove that the confessed conspirator David and Ruth Greenglass lied about the table (referred to in some 75 pages of the trial record). Prosecutor Irving Saypol (now a N.Y. State Supreme Court Justice) used this testimony to convince the jury that the absent table had been a gift to the Rosenbergs "from the Russians" and that it was "hollowed out" to conceal apparatus for microfilming secrets for Soviet agents.

Examination of the table shows it to be a common, inexpensive piece of occasional furniture and in no way "a special kind of table" (as Ruth Greenglass testified) "hollowed out for a lamp to fit underneath it so that the table could be used for photograph purposes."

JULIUS' TESTIMONY CONFIRMED: The Rosenbergs denied the Greenglass' entire story of the table. Julius Rosenberg testified he had personally bought the table at a sale in Macy's for "somewhere about $21" in late 1944 or early 1945. Representatives of Macy's, subpenaed by the defense, testified that the store's delivery and sales records had been destroyed for those years by the time of the trial in March, 1951; without the table itself in evidence, the defense had no way of proving the truth of Julius Rosenberg's assertions.

Now that it has been found and examined, an affidavit from R. H. Macy's confirms that the table was sold there in 1944-45 for $19.97—the price appearing in chalk marks on the bottom of the table along with other special markings of the store (see photograph above).

The Macy's affidavit supports almost to the penny the testimony of Julius Rosenberg that he himself bought the table there in 1944-45 "for about $21" ($19.97 plus 2% sales tax, or $20.37). It refutes U.S. Atty. Irving Saypol's flat statement to the jury that "you couldn't buy a console table in Macy's if they had it, in 1944 and 1945, for less than $85."

Legal steps are planned to seek a new trial based on the table and its im

plications.

"SORDIDNESS" PLUS: The implications arising from the appearance of the table as a solid refutation of a major part of the case presented against the Rosenbergs add to the mounting evidence that the case was not only a frame-up, but one of the crudest imaginable—amply justifying the defense charge of "sordidness" in its current Supreme Court appeal.

The government, in introducing testimony about the table at the trial, made no effort to explain its failure to offer the table in evidence. Instead it offered pictures of various sample tables, and witnesses were asked to pick out the one nearest in appearance to the Rosenberg table. Ethel Rosenberg, replying to a question by the prosecution, said her table was still in her home when she was arrested in August, 1950. This answer was accepted without question.

Why was this table never shown to the jury?

The table which might have been removed from the Rosenberg apartment by the FBI along with several crates of books, phonograph records, personal belongings, etc., following the arrest of the Rosenbergs, instead remained undisturbed in the apartment until the lease was surrendered ~~to~~ and the end of October, 1950.

STORY ADDED LATER: The failure of the prosecution to take the table, even though they ransacked the apartment of any and everything which might conceivably be used against the Rosenbergs (including a collection can for relief for Spanish children), has never been explained. But it indicates conclusively that the Government was not aware until after the Rosenberg effects had been disposed of in October, 1950, that the table might be brought up as "evidence."

This means that the stories of the table eventually told in court by Ruth and David Greenglass were added to their narrative months after their original "complete" statements prior to the arrest of the Rosenbergs.

If this is so, David and Ruth Greenglass lied not only about the physical aspects of the table, but also about when they first spoke of it to the FBI.

KEY DATES: Here is the chronology of events leading to these conclusions:

- On June 15, 1950, the FBI arrested David Greenglass, a former Army sergeant assigned to Los Alamos. The government says he confessed immediately, implicating Julius Rosenberg.
- Prior to the arrest of the Rosenbergs, a series of conferences eventually involving Greenglass, his wife Ruth, U.S. prosecutors Irving Saypol and Myles Lane and O. John Rogge, the Greenglass attorney, purportedly produced the full story alleging co-con-

spiracy on the part of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

If the government's case is not based on perjured testimony, the story of the table would have had to be included in this original account by the Greenglasses. Ruth Greenglass testified at the trial nine months later that she had made a written statement of her full story after a conference attended by her husband in mid-July, 1950, and never saw the statement again before she testified at the trial.

Therefore, unless both David and Ruth Greenglass committed perjury, the FBI knew of their allegations regarding the table some time in July, 1950, prior to the arrest of either of the Rosenbergs and the search of their home.

- On July 16, 1950, the FBI arrested Julius Rosenberg at his home. At that time they fine-combed the apartment, taking whatever they wanted to bolster their case. They did not take the console table.
- On August 11, 1950, Ethel Rosenberg was arrested. Again the FBI failed to remove the console table. Instead it remained in the apartment until the lease was surrendered in October.

The damning conclusion arising from the foregoing set of circumstances is that the allegations about the table were not included in the original statements of the Greenglasses; and that these allegations were added long afterwards (in the words of the Gilbert & Sullivan Mikado's Lord High Executioner) "to give verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unadorned narrative."

In uglier words, to make a frame-up stick!

Furthermore, the conclusion follows that the fanciful table story was added only when the prosecution believed that the table had been sold or junked beyond any possibility of reappearance to refute the story.

Glaring discrepancies

In sum, the glaring discrepancies surrounding the whole table episode add almost the final touch to the growing evidence of out-and-out frame-up.

- The failure of the prosecution and the FBI to avail themselves of this later-alleged item of evidence while the Rosenberg apartment was still intact, indicates that it was not mentioned in any of the original versions of the story told by David and Ruth Greenglass to save their own lives.
- The testimony of the Greenglasses that their final stories had been told to the prosecution before the Rosenberg arrests now appears an absolute lie, told with the knowledge of both the prosecution and the Greenglass defense attorney, O. John Rogge.
- The Greenglasses' testimony that the table was "a gift from the Russians" and that it was "hollowed out"

(Continued on Page 5)

(Continued from page 4)

for use in microfilming was pure lies.

"MICROFILM" NONSENSE: Had the table been produced at the trial, any amateur photographer could have debunked the notion that it was adaptable in any special way for microfilming. The very smallest standard microfilming apparatus manufactured is about the size of a 17-inch table model television set. The intermediate or "Junior" size resembles in size and shape a refrigerator-top gas stove, the kind with the oven above. The large size microfilmer is bigger than the whole console table. All are complete, self-contained units, requiring no "hollowed out" tables or any accessories for operation (or light concealment).

And as scientist Harold Urey stated in his clemency appeal for the Rosenbergs, it is hardly customary for "spies" to be paid off "in wrist watches and console tables." And most certainly not in $21 bargain furniture.

SPREAD THE FACTS: On the face of things, until this unoffending $21 console table turned up intact to climax the refutation of the whole preposterous charge, the Greenglasses, the FBI and the government had almost literally got away with murder in their attempt to frame the Rosenbergs.

The NATIONAL GUARDIAN urges that you take this story and its accompanying pictures and documentation to the publisher and editor of your local newspaper. Ask them if they do not think this information warrants investigation by their staffs. The GUARDIAN will cooperate to the fullest.

Why defense did not introduce the table

Why the defense itself did not introduce the table at the trial is accounted for by the following sequence of events:

The Rosenberg family decided in October, 1950—six months before the trial—to vacate the apartment and surrender the lease, since it had become

apparent that the couple's bail ($100,000 for Julius, $50,000 for Ethel) would be impossible to obtain.

Together with defense atty. Emanuel H. Bloch, Julius' brother David Rosenberg visited the apartment. As the Rosenbergs themselves later testified, the tiny apartment was shabbily furnished, mostly with second-hand items in bad repair. Even the console table, as Julius testified at the trial, was rickety and unstable. It was decided that everything the FBI had left behind was little more than junk and should be disposed of accordingly.

"EVERYTHING DISPOSED OF": Several days later, preparatory to surrendering the lease, Bloch checked with the family and was told that everything had been disposed of. At that time, with the trial still six months away, neither the family nor the defense (nor, apparently, the government) had any foreknowledge that the table would be injected into the trial—let alone that it would become such key "evidence."

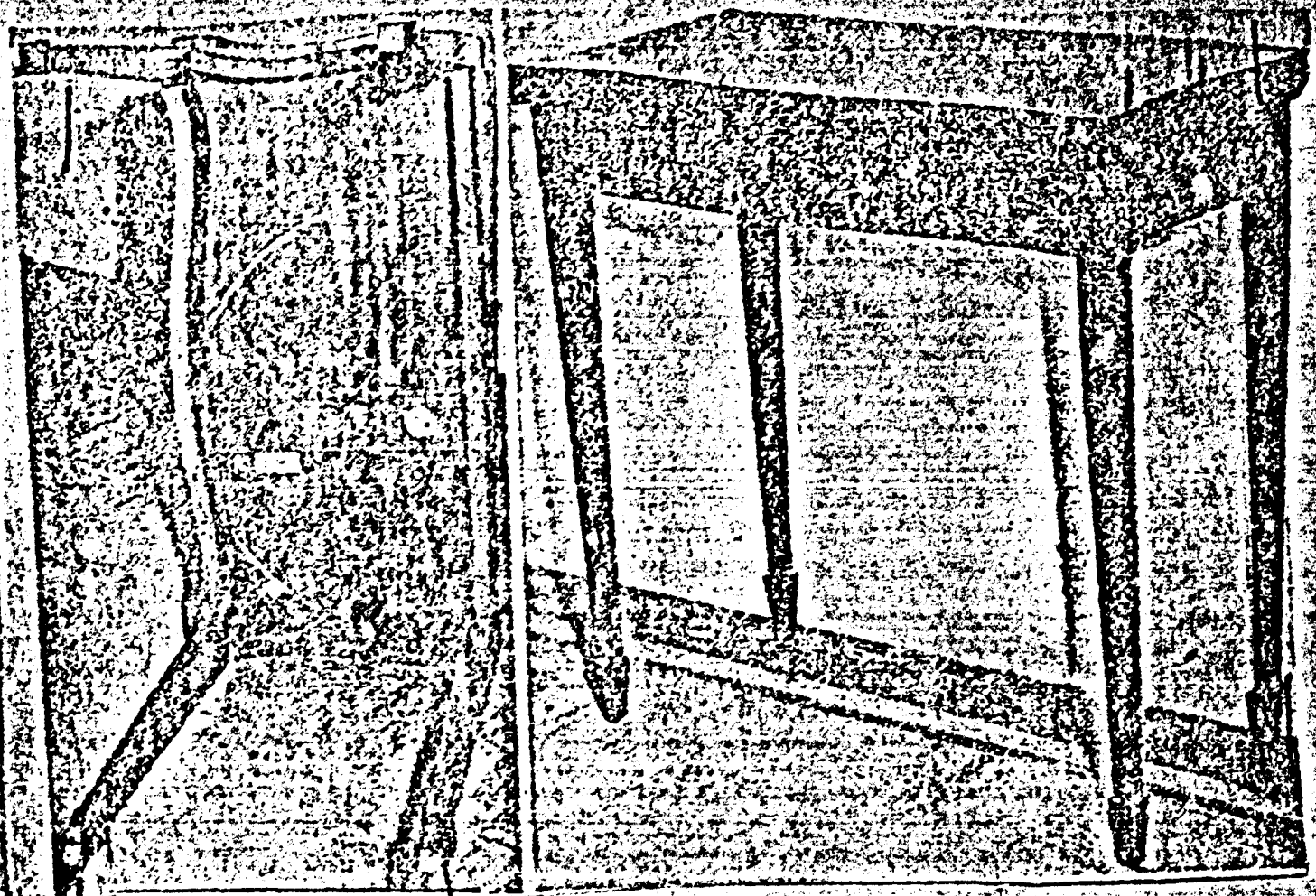
In the absence of any such foreknowledge there was no reason for the Rosenberg family to inform Bloch that a few still serviceable items (such as a vacuum cleaner and some kitchenware as well as the table) had been salvaged from the junk and stored in the basement of a sister of Julius Rosenberg.

Even when the trial was in progress, Julius' sister had no idea, from the lurid stories told about it by the Greenglasses, that the cheap, harmless, badly-scratched and tumble-down table in her cellar could be the same one referred to as a "gift from the Russians" or "hollowed out" for microfilming apparatus, or worth at least $85, as the prosecution insisted. Yet, this was the only console table in the Rosenberg home, as David Greenglass himself testified.

"LOST"—AND FOUND: When the table became a major issue in the trial, defense counsel knew only that all the apartment's furnishings had been reported disposed of for junk six months earlier and were thus thought to be beyond recovery.

Hence the table remained unnoticed in the sister's basement until three months after the trial, when it was used in June, 1951, to help furnish a home for Julius Rosenberg's mother and the Rosenberg children, Michael and Robbie. It was kept there, still without any realization of its significance, until the GUARDIAN recently learned of its whereabouts—from a casual mention of the presence of a table in the Rosenberg mother's home which had formerly been in Julius' and Ethel's apartment.

The GUARDIAN immediately examined the table, discovered and photographed the markings underneath which later proved to be Macy's code symbols. A careful study of the trial record and interviews with all individuals concerned confirmed beyond any area of doubt that this is the table referred to at the trial.



Top and bottom views of the Rosenberg table. The top swivels around to a crossways position and opens up double to bridge-table size. The bottom view shows the manufacturer's pattern nuumber 4016, and the latch which secures the top in either the side-table or four-place position. The semi-circle is a groove worn by swiveling the table top. The impossibility of using the table for light concealment, as testified to by the Greenglasses, would have been apparent had the jury been enabled to see the table.

Here is the testimony—from the official record

THE Rosenbergs' console table—their only possession cited as physical evidence that they were "equipped" for espionage purposes—is referred to on 75 pages of the trial record. Below are a few especially pertinent excerpts; page numbers refer to the verbatim transcript published by the Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case (1050 6th Av., N.Y.C.; 8 vols., $10). ("Fol." indicates official court-record page numbers.)

First mention of the table in the trial came on March 12, 1951, when David Greenglass said his brother-in-law Julius Rosenberg had received a watch and "citation" from the Soviet government for his "spying." (Neither was ever produced.) Greenglass then testified (p. 521):

Q. (U.S. ATTY. COHN): "Now, was there anything else that they received which they told you about?"

A. "I believe they told me they received a console table from the Russians."

Ruth Greenglass added to her husband's story her description of the table (pp. 706-7):

Q. (U.S. ATTY. KILSHEIMER): "Did you have a conversation with the Rosenbergs concerning that table?"

A. "Yes, I did."

Q. "And was your husband also present?"

A. "I think he was, yes."

Q. "Now will you tell us what that conversation was in connection with this console table as best you can recall it?"

A. "I admired the table and I asked Ethel when she bought [fol. 1014] a new piece of furniture; she said she had not bought it, she had gotten it as a gift and I said it was a very nice [illegible] to get from a friend, and Julius said it was from his friend and it was a

special kind of table, and he turned the table on its side to show us why it was so special."

Q. "And what did he show you when he turned the table on its side?"

A. "There was a portion of the table that was hollowed out for a lamp to fit underneath it so that the table could be used for photograph purposes, and he said when he used the table he darkened the room so that there would be no other light and he wouldn't be obvious to anyone looking in."

Q "And did Julius Rosenberg tell you what he photographed using that table?"

A. "Yes. He took pictures on microfilm of the typewritten notes."

Julius Rosenberg denied flatly that he got the table or anything else "from the Russians," or that it was equipped for photography. His testimony as to the table's source and price is affirmed by the Macy affidavit (see p. 4).

How the absence of the $19.97 Macy table from the courtroom permitted the jury to be influenced by prosecution misstatement appears from the following (p. 1211):

Q. (U.S. ATTY SAYPOL): "Don't you know, Mr. Rosenberg, that you couldn't buy a console table in Macy's, if they had it, in 1944 and 1945, for less than $65?"

A. "I am sorry, sir. I bought that table for that amount. That was a display piece, Mr. Saypol, and I believe it was marked down."

Ethel Rosenberg's testimony supported her husband's that the table came from Macy's and denied point for point the Greenglasses' attempt to link the table with "microfilming" (pp. 1331-2):

Q. (BLOCH): "Did your husband ever use any table, console table or any other table, for photograph purposes?"

A. "No, he did not."

Q. "Did your husband ever photograph on microfilm or any other substance anything pertaining to any information or secret concerning the national defense, or anything else at all?"

A "No, he did not."

Q. "Your sister-in-law further testified in answer to a [fol. 1084] question, I think Mr. Kilsheimer put: Q. 'And did Julius Rosenberg tell you what he photographed using the table?'—and her answer was: A. 'Yes. He took pictures on microfilm of the typewritten notes.' Did any such thing ever take place?"

A. "No, it did not."

Q. "Did your husband ever take pictures on microfilm of any typewritten notes?"

A. "No, he did not."

A. Yes, I did.

Q. Now, from time to time during the course of your living with your family at that apartment, did you have occasion to purchase new furniture?

A. Only once did I purchase a new item.

Q. What item was that?

A. A console table.

Q. And when did you purchase that?

A. I would say it was either in 1944 or 1945.

Q. And from where did you purchase that console table?

A. From R. H. Macy & Company.

Q. And how much did you pay for that console table?

A. It was somewhere about $21.

Q. Did you [illegible]

Reproduction of Julius Rosenberg's testimony on transcript pages 1054-55, in answer to questions of defense atty. Bloch.

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•

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High court defers Rosenberg decision

THE SUPREME Court recessed until April 27 without handing down a decision on the appeal now before it, seeking a new trial for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on charges of conspiracy to pass wartime secrets to the Soviet Union. The appeal asks the court to review a decision of Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan last November, denying the defense a hearing on a motion seeking a new trial after a witness admitted giving perjured testimony. It also charges the prosecution with influencing public opinion to the extent of making a fair trial impossible in 1951.

Evidence brought to light in last week's GUARDIAN, disproving prosecution testimony that a table in the couple's home was "hollowed out" for microfilming purposes and was an expensive "gift from the Russians," is now being studied by the defense as further grounds for a new trial.

PERJURY PROVED: The GUARDIAN story for the first time produced pictures of the actual table from the Rosenberg home, and an affidavit from R. H. Macy's dept. store identifying the table as one bought there in 1944-45 for about $21, as testified by Julius Rosenberg. The prosecution never produced the table at the trial in 1951, although it was available in the Rosenberg apartment until October, 1950, when the lease was surrendered and the furnishings disposed of or stored in the home of a sister of Julius Rosenberg. At the time the apartment was given up, the stories of the Rosenberg accusers, David and Ruth Greenglass, were allegedly complete and provided the basis for the arrest of Julius Rosenberg in July and Ethel in August, 1950.

Failure of the government to impound the table upon arresting the couple, although the FBI removed all manner of other materials including books, phonograph records and a collection can for relief of Spanish children, indicates that the Greenglasses testified falsely that their stories were complete and in prosecution hands prior to the arrests.

BLACKOUT IN THE PRESS: As this issue of the GUARDIAN goes to press, no other newspaper in the U.S. is known to have published a single reference to the discovery of the table, although copies of the GUARDIAN story were sent to all press services.

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L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO

GIORNALE QUOTIDIANO POLITICO RELIGIOSO

UNICUIQUE SUUM NON PRAEVALEBUNT

CITTÀ DEL VATICANO

DOCUMENTAZIONI

A proposito del caso Rosenberg

THE POPE AGAIN INTERCEDES FOR THE ROSENBERGS

On April 16, the official Vatican newspaper Osservatore Romano gave a full-page spread (partially reproduced above) to yet another re-statement of Pope Pius' "magnanimous gesture" in pleading for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. The U.S. press again blacked the Pope out. Elections are about to take place in Italy.

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Pope's 3rd Rosenberg plea again blacked out in U.S. on court decision deadline

WITH the possibility that the Supreme Court would announce on Monday, April 27, whether or not it will review the conviction of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg on a charge of conspiring to commit espionage, leaders of the Rosenberg clemency campaign attached increased importance to the Rosenberg Rally in New York's vast Randall's Island Stadium Sunday, April 26, at 2 p.m. The N.Y. Committee for Clemency warned last week that an unfavorable court ruling would be followed by swift government efforts to set an early execution date:

"This gives our Clemency Rally ... a virtual life-and-death meaning. The presence of 25,000 earnest advocates of clemency at the Randall's Island stadium can create unmistakable proof that the citizens of our city and surrounding cities are determined that justice will prevail."

POPE'S THIRD ACTION: Publication on April 16 in L'Osservatore Romano, official organ of the Vatican, of a full-page explanation of Pope Pius XII's recent double intervention on behalf of the Rosenbergs pointed up again the complete blackout—by both U.S. government officials and the U.S. press—of the Pope's stand on clemency. The Pope's first plea was delivered directly to the Justice Dept. in Washington where it was pigeonholed and kept from the attention of both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower. When it became public news through a second declaration released pointedly to the U.S. press, former Atty. Gen. McGranery denied that the Pope's original action constituted "intervention."

The full-page in April 16's Osservatore carried this sub-heading: "The Significance of an Intervention." It left no doubt of the Pope's direct interest in the case, and in itself constituted a third intervention which to date has

Rosenberg Case

(Continued from Page 1)

been completely ignored by the U.S. press. The article stressed the Pope's humane and compassionate attitude:

> . . . The case of the young couple sentenced to die together is so pitiful as to arouse sincere commiseration even in those not animated by any ignoble partisan interest in wanting to save their lives. In particular, that a woman should wait in a 'death chamber' for the moment of execution is in itself an event as tragic as it is rare and is such as to arouse instinctively a sense of horror. When, then, two children, Michael 9 years old and Robert 5, are involved in this tearful fate, many hearts can be melted, before two little innocents on whose soul and destiny the death of their parents would forever leave sinister scars. No one can deny how this circumstance at least gives reason to the heartfelt insistence of the mothers who wanted to bring their agonized pleas to the Vicar of Him who dearly loved children. . . .
>
> . . . Father of all men, his appeal for the Rosenbergs, rendered more solemn by the suffering of the illness which struck him at that time, admirably fits in with the entire work of his Pontificate. . . .
>
> . . . There is no doubt that when history returns to this episode, it will seal with a word of highest praise the magnanimous gesture of the supreme Pontiff.

The Vatican document will be read at the Randall's Island rally; in addition, there will be read a new plea for clemency by Dr. Harold C. Urey, one of the world's top atomic scientists.

NEW DISCLOSURE IN FRANCE: Joseph Brainin, chairman of the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, just returned from two weeks abroad, will report on new developments in the clemency campaign in Europe. A Paris newspaper, Combat, recently published what purported to be a photostat of a hand-written document by David Greenglass, chief government witness against the Rosenbergs. In it are statements which, if true, indicate that much of his trial testimony was perjured. On April 20, Paris' Le Monde drew attention both to the document published in Combat and to the GUARDIAN's story (4/13) of the console table that figured so prominently in the trial. Featuring the GUARDIAN story on p. 2, Le Monde said in a page-one editorial:

> These two new elements are too important to be passed over in silence. It is up to American justice to evaluate them, check their accuracy, and decide in what measure they call for a new trial.

•

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An American catholic speaks

FLUSHING, N.Y.

I am a Catholic, "Roman," orthodox, in good standing and, I hope, well informed on my Faith. As all Catholics should, I look for guidance and support on moral judgements to the mind of the Holy See. One such problem is the morality of appealing for clemency for the Rosenbergs. For myself, once I knew that perjured testimony had been used against them with the knowledge and consent of the FBI, I knew where I stood. I am dead set against the government from then on, REGARDLESS OF THE GUILT OR INNOCENCE OF THE ROSENBERGS.

Is my position permissible? Is it sound? Is it orthodox? If it is, then the Catholics in step with the government are out of step with Christ.

The answer is found in the suppressed clemency appeal from my spiritual leader, His Holiness Pope Pius XII. The Catholic press promptly set out to "smear" it. The Tablet, which had refrained from mentioning the case when it was going the way the Tablet liked, broke its silence to tell its readers the Pope did NOT plead for the Rosenbergs, but was merely a stooge, or pipeline, for people who used him to make their voices heard. This sentiment of the Tablet was later backed up by a cartoon which showed "Rosenberg" hung by his heels from a pole carried by two armed hunters (one of whom bore a resemblance to Sen. McCarthy), with the caption "Results of a 'witch' hunt."

I know personally that all the protests called for by this performance were duly made to the Apostolic Delegate, particularly on the point that the Tablet had betrayed the Pope. It is quite possibly for this reason (though perhaps for others also) that the official Vatican paper Osservatore Romano printed, on April 16, a full front-page article restating the Pope's personal interest in the case, and leaving no doubt of His Holiness' personal sentiments.

This, of course, is the moral support and spiritual guidance Catholics have a right to expect, and to get, via the Catholic press. But I learned of it from the GUARDIAN issue of April 27. To date there has been no mention of it in the Tablet, which has put out two issues dated respectively nine and sixteen days after the important article in Osservatore Romano. Those who deny Catholics such support and guidance betray Christ, because they betray the leadership of His vicar on earth. Because it betrays Christ, I would not lift a finger to defend the Tablet were it ever to be attacked or suppressed. Rather would I consider such a fate merely its just due, and its suffering to be without any spiritual merit.

But because, regardless of any other consideration, the GUARDIAN in this instance DOES bring me word of the moral support and example of my supreme spiritual guide in things of this world and specifically in the Rosenberg Case, I would defend the GUARDIAN with my life. And I mean that quite literally. I realize that those against whom I would have to defend it, even at risk of my life, would be my fellow Catholics.

For them, and for their clergy who fail to lead them aright, I can only echo, on behalf of the Holy Father they betray, the prayer of that Shepherd of shepherds: "Father, forgive them. They know not what they do."

Ray Scott

65-15348-D-99

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If We Die

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

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

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

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

Ethel Rosenberg

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Court again delays Rosenberg decision

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

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

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

THE PERL TRIAL: The government also, after a two-year delay, brought to trial William Perl on a charge that he perjured himself before a grand jury by denying he knew the Rosenbergs or Morton Sobell, a co-defendant now serving a 30-year sentence. The Perl indictment during the Rosenberg trial was so timed and [illegible] prejudice the case that the Circuit Court of Appeals roundly castigated the prosecution and held that a new trial was warranted at the time.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Rosenberg fight goes on despite 3rd Court blow

By John T. McManus

WITHOUT any acknowledgement of the pleas for mercy and justice in the Rosenberg Case by millions of people throughout America and the whole world—joined in by the Pope and hundreds of other eminent world figures in religion, science, the law and the humanities—the Supreme Court of the United Sates last week refused for a third time to review the first death sentences in American history for the alleged crime of conspiracy to commit espionage. The Pope's plea for clemency was withheld from both Presidents Truman and Eisenhower by the Dept. of Justice but was called to public attention by the Papal Nuncio in Washington after President Eisenhower had denied executive clemency on Feb. 11.

Szpilki, Warsaw

A Polish view of the Rosenberg Case

This apparent official U.S. determination to kill two young American parents of Jewish extraction, who have always protested their innocence, follows a trial in which repeated perjury has been both proved and admitted, and conviction by a jury from which Jews were excluded. It cannot escape comparison throughout the world with the freeing of William Oatis by Czechoslovakia after his confession and conviction in 1951 as a spy in U.S. employ.

STAY IS VACATED: Immediately following the Supreme Court decision, Rosenberg attorneys Emanuel H. Bloch and John F. Finerty applied to Chief Justice Vinson for a stay of execution of the death sentences pending the filing of a motion for a re-hearing by the Supreme Court, but the stay was refused after an all-day wait in Washington. The defense has 15 days to move for a re-hearing. The Court also vacated the existing stay, clearing the way for a quick new execution date.

On May 27 defense attorneys filed two actions in lower Federal courts, both designed to bring the case before the Supreme Court again on further grounds in the event of denial in the lower courts and meanwhile to win a new stay of execution.

THE TWO ACTIONS: One action, in the N.Y. Federal district court, challenged the right of Judge Irving Kaufman to sentence the Rosenbergs to death on the contention that the crime alleged against them carried a maximum penalty of 20 years imprisonment.

The second action, in the Circuit Court of Appeals, seeks an order directing Judge Kaufman to reconsider his rejection of an appeal for reduction of sentence without reference to certain

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Rosenberg fight goes on in courts

(Continued from Page 1)

and a new trial.

In both previous Supreme Court actions, Justice Black has been the lone dissenter, holding in each instance that the Supreme Court should review the case. In the May 25 decision, he was joined by Justice William O. Douglas, acknowledged leader of a broad body of liberal thought in America which has not thus far joined in the effort for mercy and justice for the Rosenbergs.

Justice Douglas' dissent followed within a few days his significant address before the American Law Institute in Washington, at which he urged restoration of U.S. court procedure which "respects the dignity and worth of the individual." (See Emery story, p. 5.)

Rosenberg letters

"Death House Letters of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg," a collection of letters written by the Rosenbergs from Sing Sing, will be published by the Jero Publishing Co. of New York on June 10.

The Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case will handle sales of the book in the U.S.

All proceeds from the book ($1 in a paper-bound edition) will go into a trust fund for the Rosenberg children, Michael, 10, and Robert, 6.

The letters, which total 160 pages, start with Julius' arrest in July, 1950, and continue through March, 1952.

FRANKFURTER VIEW: Justice Douglas' public remarks indicated that the May 25 Rosenberg decision may have stimulated vigorous discussion on such matters in the Supreme Court itself. Justice Frankfurter, voting with the majority, referred again to his observation on the occasion of the first Rosenberg decision: that a refusal to review was not a judgment of the case per se, but merely reflected the failure of a minimum of four justices to agree to review it.

This has been taken to mean, in some quarters, that Frankfurter, a leader in the Sacco-Vanzetti fight in the '20's, might vote for a review if one other justice would agree along with Black and Douglas. In such an eventuality, the whole court would have to review the case and a decision for a new trial might ensue, perhaps to be conducted along lines urged by Justice Douglas.

NEW EVIDENCE: An order making possible a new trial would bring legally into the case such late developments as the disclosure by the GUARDIAN of the existence of the Rosenberg console table, misrepresented in its absence at the trial as incriminating by the government's two main witnesses, Ruth and David Greenglass; and documents indicating wholesale perjuries by Greenglass recently brought to light in the French and British press and traced to the files of the Greenglass lawyer, O. John Rogge, a former U.S. Attorney.

Meanwhile the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Av., N.Y.C., sent a new appeal for executive clemency to President Eisenhower and urged immediate concurrence by letter and petition throughout the U.S.A. and the world.

Rosenbergs spurn Brownell's offer of life for lies

By John T. McManus

GOVERNMENT officials announced last week that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg face death in Sing Sing Prison's electric chair at 11 p.m. on Thursday, June 18. The early execution date, less than two weeks away, was set in face of mounting new evidence of perjury in their conviction as "atom spies." As world protests against the unprecedented death sentences swelled last week, the Rosenbergs were openly confronted with the final grisly strategem of their government against them:

Confess or die to save the face of U. S. justice in the eyes of the world.

The maneuver was revealed on Tues., June 2, in a telegram from Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to their lawyer, Emanuel H. Bloch:

MR. BENNETT, DIRECTOR OF FEDERAL PRISON BUREAU, AT DIRECTION OF MR. BROWNELL SAW ETHEL AND MYSELF TODAY AND TOLD US IF WE WANT TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WE CAN DO SO THROUGH HIM AND HE WILL PUT US IN TOUCH WITH THE PROPER OFFICIALS.

WE BOTH REASSERTED OUR INNOCENCE AND SAID SINCE WE ARE NOT GUILTY WE CANNOT TELL THEM ANYTHING ABOUT ESPIONAGE.

ALSO THAT HE SHOULD TELL THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO RECOMMEND A COMMUTATION OF OUR SENTENCE.

MOTION DENIED: The emergency telegram was signed "Julie and Ethel."

It arrived within minutes after Bloch had learned by phone that three justices of the Circuit Court of Appeals had denied his motion to compel Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman to reduce the death sentences. Bloch had argued that the sentences were originally levied as "instruments for the coercion of confessions." He cited Judge Kaufman's statement that the 15-year sentence given the government's chief witness, David Greenglass—charged as a co-conspirator—was merited by "the cooperation the Government received from him."

That the "cooperation" offered by Greenglass to help convict his sister Ethel and her husband was a trumped up story to save his own skin became increasingly clear this week: Greenglass' brother Bernard signed an affidavit that Greenglass had admitted stealing uranium from Los Alamos while assigned there as an army sergeant in 1944.

The affidavit (see full text, left) reveals deliberate perjury during the trial by both David Greenglass and his wife, Ruth, with the knowledge of the prosecution. It corroborates the testi-

(Continued on Page 4)

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Rosenbergs spurn Brownell offer

(Continued from Page 1)

mony of Julius Rosenberg that his only involvement with David during his assignment at Los Alamos was to try to warn him through his wife against stealing government property.

NEW STAY SOUGHT: A new motion for a re-trial was being drawn up for immediate filing. It is based on the Bernard Greenglass affidavit, the discovery of the Rosenberg console table (GUARDIAN, April 13) misrepresented in its absence at the trial by both the prosecution and the Greenglasses to incriminate the Rosenbergs; and documents brought to light in the European press and traced to the files of the Greenglass attorney, O. John Rogge, revealing wholesale perjuries and other significant discrepancies in the Greenglass story as eventually told at the trial.

The new motion and other legal steps already headed for the Supreme Court will be the basis for a new request for

a stay of sentence pending final decision on all motions seeking a new trial.

MICHAEL'S LETTER: The Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg case announced that delegations were being organized throughout the country to visit Congressmen and urge them to appeal to President Eisenhower for clemency.

One of the first appeals to the President came from Michael Rosenberg, 10-year-old son of the condemned couple. After seeing on television William Oatis, recently released from a Czech prison, Michael wrote on behalf of himself and his brother Robby, 6:

> I saw on television Monday Mr. Oatis is not in prison anymore because the President of the country let him go. It said his wife wrote a letter to the President over there and she told why Mr. Oatis should be let go. I think it is a good thing to let him go home because I think prison is a very bad place for anybody to be.
>
> My mommy and daddy are in prison in New York. My brother is six years old his name is Robby. He misses them very much and I miss them too. I got the idea to write you from Mr. Oatis on television. Please let my mommy and daddy go and not let anything happen to them. If they come home Robby and I will be very happy we will thank you very much.

FOR CLEMENCY: A schedule of activity for the next two weeks calls for community activity all over the U.S., including a mass rally in Union Square, New York, on June 11; a rally in Los Angeles on June 14 for which one of the large Bowls is being sought; a Clemency Train to Washington on June 14 intended to help gather at least 5,000 people at the White House to ask President Eisenhower's intervention; and an Interfaith Prayer for clemency asked of all churches and synagogues on June 6-7. Meanwhile a meeting June 3-4 in Washington of the Rosenberg Committee's national board sought the intervention of members of congress and others to President Eisenhower.

The Committee appeal to the President and to members of Congress stated:

> "American justice is the responsibility of all American citizens. Execution of the Rosenbergs despite the mountains of doubt would be a tragic event that would reflect adversely on the good name of our country, and remain upon the consciences of all American citizens."

RISING FEELING: As the GUARDIAN went to press, there still had not been time to learn of mass reactions abroad to the date of execution. But one protest came through—a cable from Aus-

tralian longshoremen. The Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers Union (6,000 members) urged the President to grant clemency, reported: "Feeling against U.S.A. government rising on Sydney waterfront."

GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent reported public opinion "revolted" by the apparent determination of U.S. justice to execute the couple despite the world clemency appeals of millions including the thrice-offered intervention of Pope Pius XII.

The anti-Communist Populaire (Paris) declared that the execution of the Rosenbergs could only be done to please Sen. McCarthy. It said:

> The Rosenberg affair is approaching a denouement which all free minds refuse to believe will be tragic. It seems impossible that a last minute change will not occur which will save from the chair a couple whose guilt is doubted by all the world.

EUROPE PROTESTS: Demonstrations were expected throughout England, France and Italy with stepped up protests to U.S. Embassies in many countries abroad.

From France it was reported that the conservative publishing firm Gallimard plans to bring out a French edition of the book of letters written by the Rosenbergs from Sing Sing (the book was to be published here on June 10). The letters will also run serially in the literary supplement of Paris' right-wing Figaro. Other editions of the book are scheduled in Italy, Holland and Great Britain.

Human dignity is not for sale

This statement by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg was given to attorney Bloch June 3:

YESTERDAY, we were offered a deal by the Attorney-General of the United States. We were told that if we cooperated with the government, our lives would be spared.

By asking us to repudiate the truth of our innocence, the government admits its own doubts concerning our guilt. We will not help to purify the foul record of a fraudulent conviction and a barbaric sentence.

We solemnly declare, now and forever more, that we will not be coerced, even under pain of death, to bear false witness and to yield up to tyranny our rights as free Americans.

Our respect for truth, conscience and human dignity is not for sale. Justice is not some bauble to be sold to the highest bidder. If we are executed, it will be murder of innocent people and the shame will be on the government of the United States.

History will record, whether we live or not, that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up in the history of our country.

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MORE PROOF THAT GREENGLASS LIED

My name is Bernard Greenglass.
I live at 64 Sheriff St New York, N.Y.
I am the brother of Ethel Rosenberg
and David Greenglass; Ethel

State of New York
County of New York SS

My name is Bernard Greenglass. I live at 64 Sheriff St. New York, N.Y. I am the brother of Ethel Rosenberg and David Greenglass; Ethel is my elder sister and David is my younger brother.

Some time in the year 1946 my brother David told me he had taken a sample of uranium from Los Alamos without permission of the authorities. He told me this at his then home 265 Rivington Street, New York, N.Y. I do not remember whether Ruth, David's wife was present at that time.

Sometime later, and I don't remember whether it was a year or more later or sometime before David's arrest in June 1950, David told me that he had thrown this uranium into the East River.

About a month ago, on a Friday night, David Rosenberg, Julius Rosenberg's brother came to my home to discuss the case of Ethel and Julius. There was also present Ruth Greenglass, and my mother Tessie Greenglass. The subject of uranium came up. I told Dave Rosenberg the same story that I am stating here.

Ruth, David's wife said "David took a sample of uranium but he threw it into the East River."

I told this same story about the uranium to my sister during my visit to her about a month and one half ago on a Saturday at the Sing Sing death house.

I also told the same story to Rabbi Koslowe at his home in Mamaroneck, N.Y. in the presence of David Rosenberg on the evening of May 25, 1953.

I have voluntarily related this story again to Emanuel H. Bloch at his office at 401 Broadway, New York, N.Y., on this 31st day of May, 1953.

The above is true,
/s/ Bernard Greenglass

Gloria Agrin
Notary Public State of N.Y.
Com. Exp. Mar. 30, 1954

Sworn to before me
this 31st day of May, 1953

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The above is true,
sworn to before me
this 21st day of May 1953 - Bernard Greenglass

The above affidavit by Bernard Greenglass, containing its own affirmation by David Greenglass' wife Ruth, shows that his brother David lied in court when he said he could not recall why the FBI had come to visit him in Feb., 1950. A statement by Ruth in June, 1950, contained in a document traced to the files of the Greenglass attorney, O. John Rogge, said that the FBI had asked them if they had a specimen of uranium in the house. Hence both the government and attorney Rogge knew during the trial that the Greenglasses were deliberately withholding this information from the jury and the public. The information corroborates many aspects of Julius Rosenberg's testimony, especially relating to Ruth's appeal to him in 1944 after Greenglass' first furlough and before she joined him in New Mexico. Rosenberg said she asked him then to help her straighten David out in connection with theft of government property. The affidavit also confirms the real motive for Greenglass' efforts to get money and vaccination certificates to leave the country following the FBI's visit to him in Feb., 1950. The complete background is available in an excellent new pamphlet, "New Evidence in the Rosenberg Case," obtainable from the Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Av. New York 18, N.Y. A contribution should accompany order.

In the name of life, will you act?

By Cedric Belfrage

THERE ARE STILL GIANTS walking in this land—and as long as there are, the light glows beneath the horizon and we cannot lose our road in the present darkness.

In what may—God forbid—be the last issue of the GUARDIAN to reach readers before a switch is pulled in Sing Sing prison, our first and strongest word to you must be to double and quadruple the efforts you have already made to save the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. This we know you will do.

We do not know if your efforts, and those of millions of others around the world in whom the quality of mercy is not strained, will be successful against the tremendous power of intolerance and evil which we battle.

We do know that, whatever the outcome, every smallest effort you make registering the goodness that still resides in our people will have been worth making.

And we do know that, whatever the outcome, the unconquerability of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg gives proof through the night that the flag—the backbone of ordinary Americans—IS still there.

ONLY THE SIMPLEST WORDS are fitting as a tribute to the sublimity of these two simple Americans.

Living or dying for what they believe is right, they will have lifted the hearts and steeled the spirits of countless simple men and women like themselves in every corner of the earth.

For a thousand terrible days and nights—most of them under the very shadow of the death chair—they have stood firm for just a little thing: their own integrity, which is their unconquerable part of all mankind's unconquerable soul. The aching knowledge of their own two children's need for them, and that they could satisfy it by one word of self-betrayal, made their cup of suffering to overflow. But they could not pay the price—not even for this. And so, calm in their decision because there was no other decision possible, they enter the week of their greatest agony.

They await word from the people as to whether this 14th anniversary of their wedding night shall be the night of their death. It is in the people's hands.

THE PEOPLE WHO KNOW and understand what is at stake will do their utmost. Whether there are enough who know, who are not blinded by artificial hate imposed on them with lies: that is the question.

It is the sheer "ordinariness," if you will, of these two ordinary Americans whom the supreme test showed to be giants—that is what makes the light beneath the horizon so firm and radiant. Perhaps there are thousands of ordinary Americans like Ethel and Julius who would have shown such heroism. But because these two have shown it, tomorrow there will be tens of thousands; and because courage is contagious, the day after tomorrow there will be millions.

Ethel and Julius Rosenberg have saved America's name. That is the tribute we pay them from our hearts.

Let us save their lives.

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ROSENBERGS EXECUTED!

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Rosenberg Case NEW YORK EDITION

Eisenhower refuses clemency In face of a horrified world

By John T. McManus

SADDENED millions throughout the world learned on the Jewish Sabbath of last week-end of the electrocution in New York's Sing Sing prison Friday night of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, falsely accused of conspiracy to commit atomic espionage.

The young New York parents had protested their innocence from the time of their arrests in the summer of 1950. Convicted on admittedly perjured testimony offered by Mrs. Rosenberg's brother and his wife who saved their lives by their action, their deaths climaxed the most stirring struggle for justice in history.

UNHEARD CRY FOR JUSTICE: Pope Pius interceded three times. Scientists all over the world, led by Albert Einstein and Harold Urey in America, protested that the evidence against them could not have been true. President Auriol of France appealed for mercy. Literally millions of people begged for their lives.

Yet on their last day President Eisenhower thrice denied them clemency.

Until the end, their government offered what the world had already condemned as a "lie or die" offer, to "tell all they know about Soviet espionage." But having reaffirmed their innocence that afternoon, they went wordlessly to the electric chair. Julius Rosenberg was killed at 8:06 p.m. At 8:16 his wife Ethel followed him, her last act being to kiss the cheek of her prison matron.

WORLD IN SUSPENSE: The days and hours of the agonizing week preceding the original execution time of 11 p.m., Thursday, June 18, were almost unmatched in modern memory for world suspense.

This was the sequence of events:

As the U.S. Supreme Court approached its scheduled recess for the summer on Monday, June 15, the Rosenberg counsel placed before it a motion for a stay of execution pending high court decisions on several actions filed earlier in lower courts for mitigation of sentence and a new trial. Also before the court was an application for rehearing on the court's third denial on

(Continued on Page 3)

We told the truth: We are innocent.
The truth does not change.
Rosenberg
June 18, 1953

Rosenberg

(Continued from Page 1)

May 25 of a review of the case.

11TH-HOUR INTERVENTION: On Monday afternoon the court handed down a 5-4 decision denying the stay and the rehearing. Voting for the stay after a week-end of consideration and preliminary votes were Justices Black, Douglas, Frankfurter and Jackson. John F. Finerty of Rosenberg counsel immediately applied for a writ of habeas corpus, which was denied. Then the chief Rosenberg counsel, Emanuel H. Bloch, applied directly to Justice Douglas for a stay pending determination of actions headed for the Supreme Court from lower courts.

JUSTICE DOUGLAS
There was courage . . .

At this point two independent attorneys, representing Irwin Edelman of Los Angeles in a "best friend" action in behalf of the Rosenbergs, also applied for a stay. They were Fyke Farmer of Nashville, Tenn., and Daniel A. Marshal of Los Angeles. Their contentions were: (1) that Judge Kaufman, by impounding the Greenglass alleged sketches of the atom bomb, had kept this matter from consideration of review courts; and (2) that the Rosenbergs had been improperly tried under the Espionage Act of 1917, despite the existence at the time of their arrest and indictment of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. This act permits the death penalty only if secrets are passed with intent to injure the U.S., and then only if a jury recommends it.

STAY IS GRANTED: Douglas took the appeals for stay under advisement, called government counsel before him the next day (Tuesday), then retired to private chambers.

At 11 a.m. Wednesday, with only 36 hours remaining before the scheduled execution of the Rosenbergs, Justice Douglas granted an indefinite stay:

"I do not decide that the death penalty could have been imposed on the Rosenbergs only if S. 10 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 were satisfied," he commented. "I merely decide the question is a substantial one which should be decided after full argument and deliberation. . . .

"It is also important that before we allow human lives to be snuffed out, we be sure—emphatically sure—that we act within the law. If we are not sure, there will be lingering doubts to plague the conscience after the event."

In Congress Rep. Wheeler (D-Ga.)—who earlier this month introduced a bill to repeal the 1873 anti-discrimination laws of the District of Columbia after the Supreme Court had upheld them—promptly introduced a bill to impeach Justice Douglas for his Rosenberg decision.

CLEMENCY PLEA READY: Douglas' dramatic action capped a week of ceaseless activity by the Rosenberg defense, headed by attorney Bloch. While his associates sweated out Douglas' consideration of the appeals for a stay, Bloch flew to New York to

How juxtaposed can humanity get?

It is confusing that men like Andre Maurois and Georges Duhamel [prominent anti-Communist writers] should sign their names along with those of Louis Aragon, a Communist writer, and Pablo Picasso, a Communist painter on a [Rosenberg clemency] cable to President Eisenhower. This juxtaposition obscures the issue and colors humanitarianism with politics.

Harold Callender, Paris correspondent, in the N.Y. Times, June 17, 1953.

GRANDMA SOPHIE and ROBBIE ROSENBERG
The faces showed the strain of waiting

bring Michael and Robbie Rosenberg to Sing Sing for what proved to be their last visit with their parents.

As they emerged, Michael shouted his parents' final avowal of complete innocence for nationwide television cameras, and Bloch flew back to Washington with the signatures of Julius and Ethel to a new appeal for executive clemency. This was filed with Pardons Atty. James Lyons with the understanding that it be submitted to the White House if and when all remaining legal steps failed.

DOUGLAS TURNS BACK: Meanwhile the court had officially recessed for the summer and Justice Douglas left Washington alone by car for the West.

As he rolled into a motel near Uniontown, Pa., Wednesday evening, he heard by radio that Chief Justice Vinson had convened a special term of the court for noon the next day to consider Atty.-Gen. Brownell's demand for full court consideration of the issues involving the stay. Douglas immediately turned toward Pittsburgh airport, where he received a spontaneous ovation as he booked a flight back.

THREE HOURS: The special term on Thursday was perhaps the stormiest in the court's history, and certainly the most fully covered by the press. In three hours of argument before the nine justices, Acting Solicitor-General Robert L. Stern argued that the government "would have been the laughing stock of the legal profession" had it tried the Rosenbergs and Morton Sobell under the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. Justice Douglas observed that a reading of the trial record of the case revealed that "atomic energy dominated it from beginning to end."

Chief counsel Bloch yielded time to Farmer, Marshall and Finerty. Finerty said the Rosenbergs were convicted on perjured testimony and by suppression of evidence. He said:

"There never was a more crooked district attorney in New York than

(Continued on Page 6)

Rosenberg

(Continued from Page 3)

the one who tried the Rosenbergs." [The prosecuting attorney was Irving Saypol, now N.Y. State Supreme Court judge.]

When several justices chided him, he replied:

"I don't apologize for anything I have said before this court."

PRAISE FOR BLOCH: Bloch pleaded for at least a month's time to collect material on the application of the Atomic Energy Act and called the government's move to vacate Douglas' stay "not only unseemly but shocking."

As Bloch concluded, Justice Jackson congratulated him on his whole handling of the Rosenberg defense. He said:

"These people were fortunate to have a counsel of your courage and persistence. I'm all for you."

The Court then retired at 3:32 p.m. Thursday to deliberate in private. At 6:29 p.m. Justice Burton announced that the Court would postpone its decision until Friday noon, leaving Douglas' stay in effect.

SIX TO THREE: On schedule Friday, in time for the noon news broadcast of U.S. radio stations, the Court announced its decision:

Douglas's stay was vacated by a vote of 6-3, with Douglas, Black and Frankfurter dissenting. From the bench Douglas said:

"I know deep in my heart that I am right on the law and therefore I see my duty."

Before recessing the special session the Court refused Bloch's final pleas for reconsideration and for a stay to permit time for appeals to the White House for clemency.

At 2:15 p.m. President Eisenhower rejected the final clemency appeal.

Thus the fate of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg was sealed.

This was an act of cold, deliberate murder

Emanuel H. Bloch, chief counsel for the Rosenbergs, made these remarks at the funeral service of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

"I AM HERE not to speak as the attorney for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, although that has been the greatest honor ever paid to any man. I feel that I am here as a brother who has lost a brother and a sister—as all of us here have lost a brother and sister.

"Yet this is not a time to grieve. They would not have wanted it that way. They were hurt—but they didn't cry; tortured—but they didn't yield. Their courage has been an inspiration to tens of millions to stand up boldly and fight oppression and tyranny.

"The American people should know, as the rest of the world knows, that America today, by virtue of the execution of the Rosenbergs, is living under the heel of a military dictatorship garbed in civilian attire. The men who are running our country have no hearts. They have stones for hearts. They have the souls of murderers. This was an act of cold, deliberate murder. When I requested in Washington that these executions be put off so that they would not occur on the Jewish Sabbath, the request was granted by a barbarian who instead of postponing the hour of their death, pushed it up so they could be done away with before the beginning of the Sabbath.

EMANUEL H. BLOCH
The anger was strong

"IT IS BEING SAID that the Rosenbergs had full process of law. Whose law? Let the pen prostitutes and the Voice of America know that the Rosenbergs were not executed according to law. A Supreme Court Justice [Justice Black—see p. 51] said the court had not even read the record in this case. Was that 'due process of law'?

"The last paragraph of Justice Jackson's opinion suggested to the President that it was neither advisable nor wise to kill these people. The three dissenting Justices were outraged. You have the entire Supreme Court saying to the President of the United States: 'Do not commit this barbaric act.'

"I place the murder of the Rosenbergs at the door of President Eisenhower, Atty. Gen. Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover. This was not the American tradition, not American justice and not American fair play.

"THESE sweet, tender, cultured people have been killed and they have brought their bodies to us. And now again they are with their friends—with the people. They are of the people. Tens of millions are in sorrow—but they are in anger. We must be angry today to resist Nazism—for this is the face of Nazism. They have killed two of us, but the people are still here. Let us never forget that it was Nazism that killed the Rosenbergs—for if we do, we will cringe, we will be on our knees and be afraid. Insanity, irrationality, barbarism and murder seem to be part of the feeling of those who rule us.

"Ethel and Julius had faith in you that they would not be let down. They knew full well that if they died, the people would understand why they died—and that their death would provide an opportunity to fight the terror that made them its victims."

(Bloch then read Ethel Rosenberg's poem "If We Die," published in the GUARDIAN last week.)

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THERE WAS GRIEF AND LOVE AND ANGER

The death and the funeral of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg

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By Elmer Bendiner

THE CLOCK on the Consolidated Edison Tower at Union Square measured out the last hour of the Rosenbergs' lives for close to 10,000 New Yorkers jammed shoulder to shoulder, almost filling the long block on 17th St. that runs from Broadway west to Fifth Avenue.

Around the world people were in motion and looking for an answering stir in the Rosenbergs' home town. They wanted a sign that Americans knew the day's grim meaning.

There had been no time for rallying calls in the press or leaflets to be handed out at subways. One New Yorker telephoned another as radio bulletins told the story throughout the afternoon. The square itself was fenced off with a maze of wooden barriers. The speaker's stand stood empty and guarded by police. The Park Dept. which controls the square had issued no permit.

THE CLOCK: Crowds, gathering at six o'clock, were guided to 17th St. and Broadway. A sound truck's loud speakers sent the speeches echoing among the office buildings as in a canyon. None read a text. The words, moods, in many cases the tears, of each speaker precisely reflected the feelings of the crowd. The people watched the clock's hands wheel slowly toward eight.

News photographers hung from the fire escapes. An occasional heckler shouted but he seemed lost among the 10,000 angry, tense people who until the last second seemed unwilling to believe that the Rosenbergs would be killed before the meeting's end.

Ron Straus of the Intl. Fur and Leather Workers told them: "You are the conscience of America."

Rev. Harold Williamson, Negro minister of the Church of the Ringed Cross, said: "If I'd refuse to fight for the Rosenbergs, I'd consider myself like that a minister, less than a man. . . . As Ethel and Julius I feel rule up for every hair in my head."

TOOK: William Patterson, chairman of the Civil Rights Congress, called "not for a prayer but a pledge" to save America. The crowd pledged with raised hands. Author Howard Fast pinned the guilt on President Eisenhower and called him "bloodthirsty." Albert Kahn, author of The Great Conspiracy, said:

"It is those who want to kill them who are traitors to America."

At 7:45 David Alman, chairman of the Rosenberg Committee, took the microphone. His words came quickly but heavily charged with tragedy and anger. From the crowd, now running from wall to wall in the street, came sobs. A police lieutenant told a committee member: "Tell him he better not talk like that."

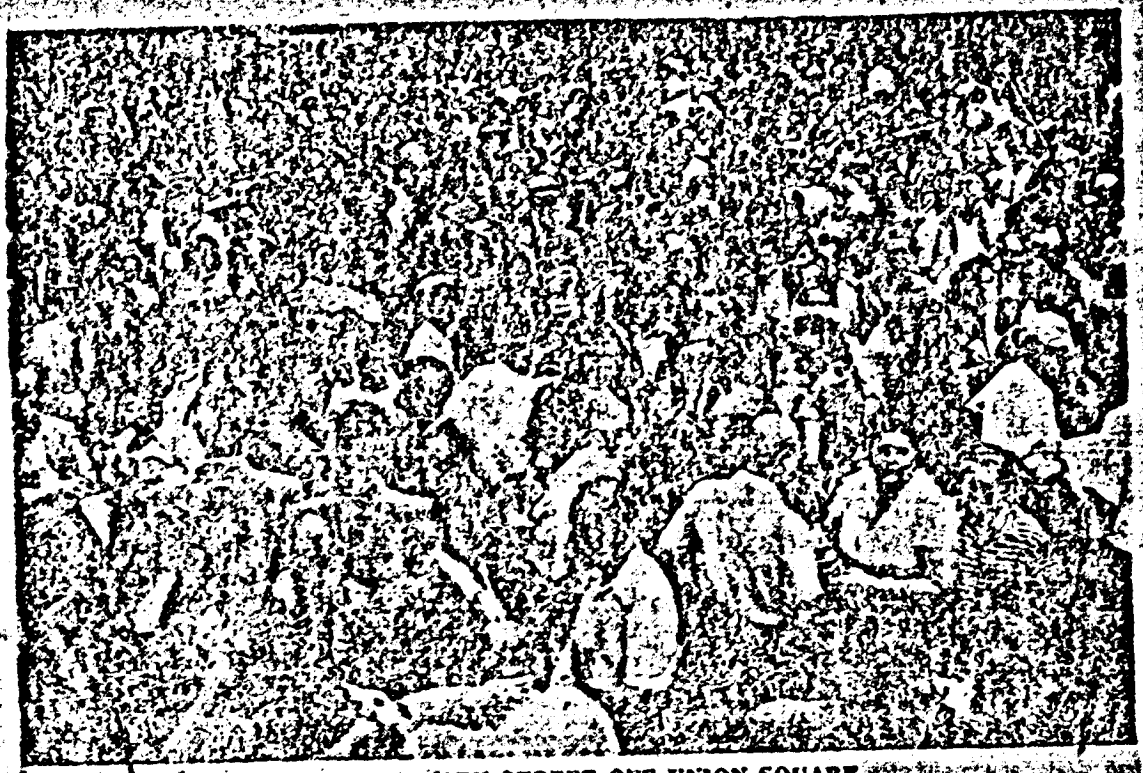
At two minutes before eight the meeting's chairman, Norma Aronson, announced: "The Rosenbergs are in the execution chamber."

GO DOWN, MOSES: Ten thousand people were crying, some quietly against the wall with head in hands, some with heads up unashamedly weeping. The chairman called for two minutes of silence but the crying filled the canyon. At 8 p.m. a singer of the People's Artists began: "In memory of the Rosenbergs. . . ."

At that point a wail filled the street as if 10,000 people were in agony. It was piercing but dissolved in singing as People's Artists led in "Go Down, Moses . . . Let my people go."

Before the song was over police ordered the sound truck's power turned off, allowed it on again only for the words: "Meeting adjourned." Police pressed the crowd slowly toward Fifth Av. They came out of 17th St. in a tremendous stream, unwilling to disband. In most cases grief had already given way to anger. Slowly, solemnly, many thousands of the crowd marched down Fifth Av. to 14th St., then eastward, picking up the cry: "Long live the Rosenbergs."

WITHOUT FEAR: Police tried breaking the crowd up along the route but the procession reformed and solemnly paraded, without authority but without fear of the police, to



NEW YORK: 17TH STREET OFF UNION SQUARE
The cops roped off the square—grief had no permit

Knickerbocker Village where the Rosenbergs lived, then through the East Side to Rutgers Square Park. It was hard to estimate the number as thousands filed through the streets. In the park they sang again: "Go Down, Moses" and the Battle Hymn of the Republic.

The funeral

The mood of mingled grief, love and anger was seen again at Brooklyn's I. J. Morris Funeral Home on Saturday night. At 9 p.m. the Rosenbergs, brought out of prison, lay in state. A file of people began a procession around their bier that went unbroken throughout the night and on to 1:30 p.m. on Sunday.

An honor guard of eight stood four-hour tours of duty through the night. They wore skull caps and held U.S. flags. Most people came into the chapel quietly, straightening their clothes to be presentable as at a solemn peak in their lives.

A few came out of curiosity or in hate, some after a gay evening in town. Even these seemed changed in the Rosenbergs' presence. Their laughter died. There were no desecrations.

FLATBUSH SIEGE: By 2 p.m. on Sunday a military maneuver had been effected in East Flatbush, a neighborhood of small brick homes and stores. Two hundred uniformed police took over the area. Plainclothesmen swarmed. Authorities declared that subversive squads would take down licence numbers of all cars in the neighborhood. But by car, bus and train, crowds poured in. The police sectored them off, isolated groups on a dozen different corners, guarded crossings carefully to complete one stratagem: keep the crowd from getting together.

It was the year's hottest day (94 degrees); the corners were shadeless but 12,000 people stood for hours in the sun. Many of them were old men and women; they would not leave. Rooftops, porches, fire escapes were jammed. People waited quietly, without impatience, clearly not to see but to share their feelings.

JULIUS' FAMILY: Only 340 were admitted to the little chapel where the services were held. Julius' family were there, except for his children. Ethel's family were not.

Inside, the caskets lay amid flags and flowers, before a small stage. The speakers on Sunday's aftermath echoed the grief of Friday night but, in most cases, the wall of pain had stiffened into considered, angry determination. Joseph Brainin, chairman of the Rosenberg Committee, said:

"I never knew the Rosenbergs and most of us here never knew them. But we were brothers because they wanted the same kind of world for their children that all of us want for ours. They were hostages for all of us. . . . I want to say something to the family in this hour of their great grief. They are the custodians of the Rosenberg name which will live for many centuries. They must be proud. Never before have so many tens of millions in so many lands fought for human lives."

IDEALS REMAIN: Rabbi Abraham Cronbach, professor emeritus at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, who along with other clergymen had made a final personal appeal to the President for clemency, told the angry mourners:

"Juridically we did not succeed. Spiritually we did succeed. We succeeded in remaining true to our ideals of mercy and justice.

"Our work is not finished. First we must ascertain and publish the truth. Second, we must bind up the wounds. Third, we must eschew hatred and forsake rancor. We who won the spiritual victory as we fought for their lives, must not succumb to spiritual defeat, but must forbear to assail those who took their lives. Let us not vituperate those who pronounced the verdict. Let us at least give them credit for this much—they did what they thought was right."

The audience, who had called the verdict "murder," were unwilling to be charitable to those who upheld it or enforced it. Murmurs ran around the chapel and some cried: "No, no." Others shushed their friends to a decorous quiet. (The press referred to this as hissing.) The rabbi continued:

"We must not permit any ground for accusations that we who fought for clemency are remiss in our American citizenship. We have nothing to gain by America's injury. We gain when America gains and we lose when America loses."

GOD OF MERCY: The speech that stirred hearts most came from passionate, fighting attorney Emanuel Bloch who,

(Continued on Page 6)

"GOD HELP ME. I HAD TWO CHILDREN."
Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg comforted by Emanuel Bloch (l.) and doctor at cemetery.

THE WASHING VIGIL

The capital never saw anything quite like it

By Ione Kramer

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THE 950 marchers who kept the watch on the White House through the Rosenbergs' last hours sensed the greater significance of their vigil for two innocent people—the vigil for their nation's conscience.

The pickets were part of the thousands who during the week had flocked to the capital from near and far (including Florida, Georgia, Wisconsin, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois) to form what the Washington chief of police called the largest and most orderly demonstration in the capital's history—and probably the saddest.

On Wednesday 14 flew in to join others from California; nearly 3,000 came in special trains from New York; a young couple on their way north on their wedding trip heard the news on the car radio at Boston, turned around and headed for Washington.

NOT ALONE: The pickets knew that they and the Rosenbergs were not alone as news of similar demonstrations all across the country and the world was relayed to them on the line. On Wednesday—sitting in summer clothes on the grass in Liberty Park after 11th-hour pleas to Congressmen, and looking like a sad, silent picnic—2,500 waited tensely but patiently through the long hot afternoon for word from the Supreme Court special session.

At 11:01 p.m. Thursday their applause filled the night about the White House; the 5,000 keeping the vigil soberly rejoiced that the first execution date had passed and the Rosenbergs still lived. Five hundred and fifty changed plans in order to remain in the capital over Thursday night—finding lodging where they could, a hundred sleeping in shifts on the floor at Rosenberg Comm. headquarters at Inspiration House—to carry the vigil continuously to the end.

SILENT MARCH: From 7:45 p.m. Friday, when the execution was scheduled to take place, they marched in complete silence two by two, Negro and white, in an impeccably orderly line before the broad green lawn and cool fountain of the sedate White House while an estimated 7,000 Washington residents gathered across the street to watch. Thoughts behind the grim, set faces were not only with Ethel and Julius. An elderly woman commented:

"I could weep for the Rosenbergs, but I can hardly speak my grief for those who have let this happen to our country and don't know what it means."

At 7:43 lawyer Emanuel Bloch appeared at the White House gates in one final attempt to plead for his clients before the President. He was not received. He had no appointment.

THE GHOULS: The line broke only once when a dozen newspaper photographers charged through trying to capture a picture of a young woman weeping. A friend threw a coat over her head and the line continued. The solemnity of the occasion and dignity of the capital was disturbed only by a noisy "counter-picket" line—never more than a dozen people—with obscene signs proclaiming their glee at the

Aftermath

ON SUNDAY night, after the Rosenbergs had been buried, a speaker lectured on religion to a score of people on a Broadway corner in the 70's. Beside him was a chart written in Hebrew. He made no mention of the Rosenbergs. A cab stopped. The driver came up to the group and yelled at the lecturer and listeners: "Communists!"

One listener said: "Can't you see this is a religious meeting, not a communist meeting?" The cabbie pointed at the Hebrew letters on the chart and repeated: "Communists—all Jews are communists!"

Some of the crowd started after him but he drove off in his cab unscathed.

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execution, permitted by the police at one end of the White House.

Five or six cars plastered with the latest lurid headlines were allowed to circle the block continuously, while their occupants shouted provocative remarks at the clemency marchers and observed that the Jewish sabbath was a fitting day for the execution. Three of them were young servicemen in uniform, who didn't seem to realize how the official hysteria of which the Rosenberg case is symbolic was being used to put and keep them in uniform.

Among the curious who were permitted to walk past the line to stare or drop remarks, there were no Negro people; very few of the city's large Negro population were in the crowd across the street.

PRAY FOR COURAGE: At 8:05, when the execution was thought to be taking place, there were no sobs, only a few trickling tears, and many grimly set jaws and bitten lips. The honeymoon couple linked arms, and other husbands and wives on the line drew closer together, wordlessly. From across the street came a ripple of ghoulish applause and raucous tooting of automobile horns. The majority of watchers retained respectful silence. The marchers set their lips more firmly, straightened their shoulders, carried their heads and "mercy" signs higher.

When word came that Ethel and Julius were dead, pickets lowered their signs, turned silently to face the White House as Mrs. Helen Sobell read a statement from the Committee:

Two lives have been taken, a mother and father.

Our nation's security is not greater for it; it is less because we have given up that charity of spirit and greatness of heart without which no nation is strong.

Our nation's conscience is not more serene; it lies in shadow because we permitted the hue and cry of passion to drown out the inner voice of mercy.

Our nation's light does not shine brighter; it is dimmer because we turned out backs on the counsel of all the great religious and lay leaders of our time.

Our nation must pray tonight that remorse gives courage to those who know the truth, so that they will not keep silence. . . .

IRWIN EDELMAN

Fyke Farmer and Daniel Marshall represented him in the "next friend" action which moved Justice Douglas to grant a stay.

WASHINGTON, D.C., 8 P.M., JUNE 19, 1953

CLIPPING FROM THE
Natl Guardian
6/29/53
RECORDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

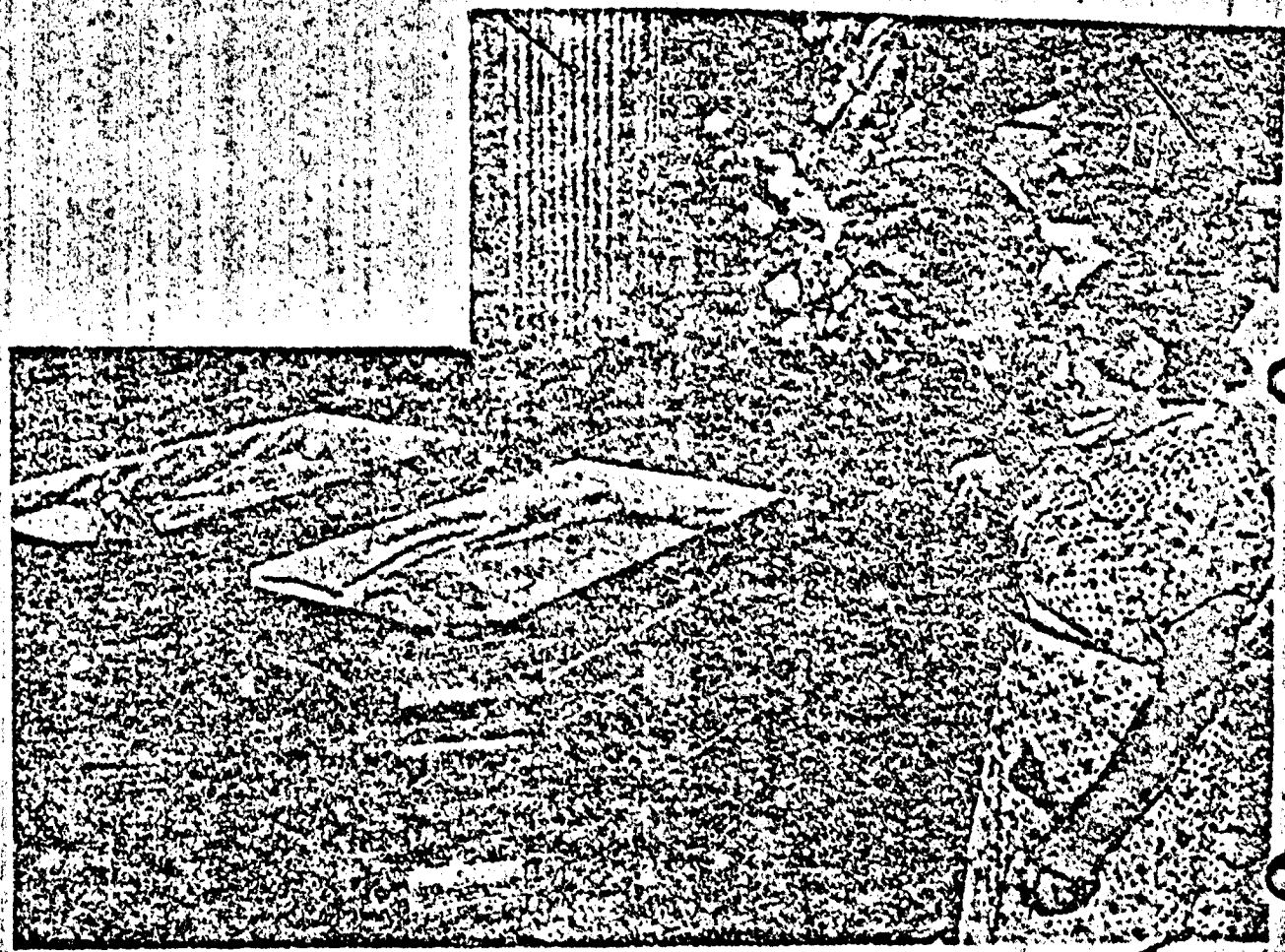
NEW YORK EDITION

THIS ISSUE

In the knowledge that GUARDIAN readers would want the full story and the full significance of the Rosenberg execution for themselves and for their friends, we are sending the New York Edition this week to the entire readership. Much of the New York news has given way to coverage of the Rosenberg Case; it will be back next week.

We asked correspondents in London and Paris to send us first-hand reports; had reporters in Washington, Union Square and at the funeral. We have analyzed the case, tried to place it in its historical setting and given the background as best we can at this time.

We will have more to say. The direction of our comments will follow the interpretive editorial article below in this page.



OUT OF THE GRIEF AND HORROR AND ANGER THERE WILL COME NEW STRENGTH
All night and all day they filed past the Rosenberg bier in Brooklyn

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BY ONE WHO FOUGHT BACK

The Guardian and the Rosenbergs

By Emanuel H. Bloch
Chief Rosenberg Defense Counsel

TODAY the Rosenberg Story is known in every corner of the world. But I remember very well those grim days of March, 1951, following the trial and sentence, when every avenue of information and publicity suddenly closed.

With the slamming of the door of the Death House on the Rosenbergs, a conspiracy of silence settled on the press. Our great newspapers which, during the trial, had seized eagerly upon every propaganda release of the prosecution, closed their pages to all news about the victims. From the Government's point of view and from the point of view of its ally, the press, the Rosenbergs were as good as dead. The next news item would be the announcement of their execution.

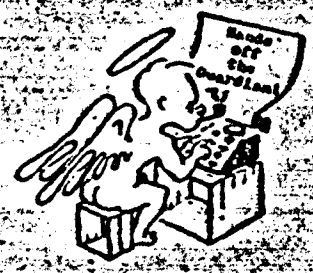
To us of the defense, this was a desperate situation indeed. The Rosenbergs and their family had no money—no money at all—to pay even the out-of-pocket expenses of appeal. If the press was closed to us, what chance did we have for raising through public subscription the thousands of dollars needed?

This deadly conspiracy to forget the Rosenbergs was shattered by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

I SHALL never forget my talks with Cedric Belfrage, Jim Aronson and John McManus. With that beautiful clarity of mind which makes the GUARDIAN irreplaceable, they saw the meaning of this attack upon an obscure engineer and his wife. The Rosenberg Case, which had died in all the great papers, came alive in the GUARDIAN. To the GUARDIAN is due the credit of first showing to the world what the world now recognizes as a barefaced, political frame-up.

The clique which, against the conscience of mankind, executed the Rosenbergs, are equally bent on silencing the NATIONAL GUARDIAN for the role it played in their defense. That is the meaning of the attack upon the GUARDIAN's editor, Cedric Belfrage. The thousands of readers of the GUARDIAN who have made possible the Rosenberg defense must recognize this linkage of the two cases.

I appeal to you to contribute to the Belfrage Fight-Back Fund as generously as you contributed to the fight to save the lives of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.



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

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

Send me ..... copies of Cedric Belfrage's NOT FOR SALE (Fight-Back Fund Pamphlet No. 1.) Price 10 copies, 50c; (stamps OK); 25 copies, $1.

Name .....

Address .....

Mike

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The meaning of the death of the Rosenbergs

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AS THE BODIES of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were lowered into their graves last week, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois made the briefest, but possibly the profoundest declaration. He said simply:

"These people were killed because they would not lie."

Present-day Washington subsists on the lie; death is decreed for those who adhere to the honor and dignity of the truth. The lie is the technique of fascism: Hitler burned the Reichstag—and blamed the deed on others—to consolidate his bid for absolute power.

The government of President Eisenhower and Sen. Joe McCarthy has burned the bodies of two innocent human beings. To Emanuel H. Bloch, who for 36 grueling months worked ceaselessly to avert this tragedy, the execution of the Rosenbergs portends "an era where military dictatorship rules in the garb of civilian attire."

WITHOUT PRECEDENT: The lie is being continued to justify the deed that has now been done. Through its official channels the Washington government is assuring the world that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg enjoyed the full benefit of democratic U.S. legal procedure. But the last grisly hours in this nation's capital spell a different record.

The Supreme Court itself, rent and torn as it is by internal dissensions, revealed some of the truth as it sat in almost frantically-convened special session to overrule a stay of execution granted by one of its own Justices—an occurrence the like of which cannot be found in the recorded history of the country.

Even as it vacated the stay of execution it placed on the record for the world to know that, as a court,

- It has never reviewed the trial itself.
- It has never examined the evidence.
- It has never considered the propriety of the death sentence.

UNREAD RECORD: Justice Black stated in open court that none of the Justices had read the record. Even the Government's acting Solicitor General who was there to demand that death be done confessed that he himself had not read the record.

But at another point Justice Douglas revealed that he had read the record, adding wryly: "Perhaps unfortunately." The implication seemed clear that the record itself had compelled him to grant his stay.

But the court as a whole made another and deeper point which few commentators have noted: it unanimously indicated that it was not in favor of the death penalty. Bound and almost gagged by high decorum, the court's meaning was nevertheless clear to those who would read or listen. Justice Jackson, in a separate opinion concurred in by the majority, wrote:

"Vacating this stay is not to be

HE WOULDN'T SEE BLOCH
But he had time the morning after for a ceremonial fishing-rod presentation

construed as indorsing the wisdom or appropriateness to this case of a death sentence. That death sentence, however, is permitted by law and, as was previously pointed out, is therefore not within this court's power of revision. . . ."

CLEMENCY'S DOMAIN: Justice Frankfurter went even further:

> "It is not for this court even remotely to enter into the domain of clemency reserved by the Constitution exclusively to the President.... Of course, I respectfully assume that appropriate consideration will be given to a clemency application by the authority constitutionally charged with the clemency function."

In effect the Court, majority and dissenters alike, was pleading with the President for an act of clemency; but the President did not hear or, if he heard, he did not heed. (For a portrait of the military mind at work in the White House, see p. 11).

THE MILITARY WAY: A week earlier the President had indicated definitely that he was not favorably disposed to clemency. Dr. Bernard M. Loomer, Dean of Chicago University's School of Divinity, reported on an audience he and two other clergymen had with Mr. Eisenhower:

> "The President referred to his military experience during which he felt compelled to order an execution as a disciplinary measure and deterrent for violation of the military code. This prompted me to ask whether the President felt that Communists could be restrained by the same methods as soldiers."

The President's mind was closed to all pleas; there is strong doubt that he either was shown by the Justice Dept. or took the trouble to note the comments of the Supreme Court Justices. He totally ignored an eleventh-hour appeal from defense counsel for permission to make an oral presentation to him; their telegram in which they declared that the "case against them [the Rosenbergs] reeks with perjury and fraud" was not even acknowledged.

"NO ISSUE": The President was less than accurate when he declared that "the legal processes of democracy have been marshalled to their maximum strength to protect the lives of convicted spies" and that "in their most solemn judgment the tribunals of the United States have adjudged them guilty and the sentence just. . . ."

Even the Washington Post, which applauded the final Supreme Court action, observed:

> The Court simply saw in the case no issue requiring its adjudication. So it declined to intervene. . . . It is important to remember that even now the Supreme Court did not pass judgment on the Rosenbergs.

To Attorney Bloch, who lived through every legal action in the case, there was observance only of "the barest forms of justice, but no justice."

For pell-mell haste in perpetrating the final deed of murder, there is no rival in history to the Rosenberg Case—in the last ten days before the switch was pulled, four separate appeals were summarily disposed of with no consideration, no study, no deliberative process.

THIRD DEGREE: The haste was crucial to the government's case, for the government was playing a gruesome game, and it played it out to the grim end. Its ultimatum had long been clear: confess or die. On the last Tuesday before their deaths Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were told again by their counsel that the government was intent on forcing a confession. It was third degree by electrocution. And as they had answered always before, the Rosenbergs answered again on that last Tuesday only hours away from their doom:

> "They will get nothing out of us, because we have nothing to confess."

The world will be long forgetting that last macabre touch of the sovereign government of the United States: the FBI men sitting in Sing Sing with their telephone lines open to the Attorney General and the President waiting for the word of submission and guilt that never came.

Because innocence and dignity were the possessions of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

—THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN

Dr. Urey meets the press

DR. HAROLD C. UREY, who personally intervened for clemency for the Rosenbergs, attended the June 8 hearing at which Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman denied a new trial based on newly-discovered evidence. During a recess after four hours of argument in which Kaufman constantly heckled and interrupted defense lawyers, a New York Times reporter asked Urey to comment. The Nobel Prize atomic physicist said:

"Before I came here today, I merely had grave doubts about the conduct of the trial. Now that I've seen what goes on in Judge Kaufman's courtroom, I believe the Rosenbergs are innocent.

"When I look into that courtroom I see no Kaufman but McCarthy. I'm angry and alarmed at the terrible fear and hysteria that's sweeping all over America.

"What appals me most is the role the press is playing. The judge's bias is so obvious. I keep looking over at you newspapermen and there's not a flicker of indignation or concern. When are you going to stop acting like a bunch of scared sheep?"

The Times asked what Urey would think "if we tried to tell you how to run your business?" Said Urey:

Sometimes we scientists make mistakes. So do judges and newspapermen. I've made stupid errors at times and when I do you have a perfect right to criticize them. . . . Why, what I saw in that courtroom today was worse than anything I've ever read about what the Russian courts are supposed to be like."

Next morning the Times reported at length Judge Kaufman's denial of all motions, gave not a single detail of the new evidence, added that "among those present at the hearing [was] Dr. Harold C. Urey, noted atomic scientist."

The day before the Rosenbergs execution, Urey was questioned by Sen. McCarthy.

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"THIS COUNTRY IS KILLING ME"

The Negro people and the Rosenbergs

By Eugene Gordon

As the hour for the Rosenbergs' execution approached on June 19, the narrow gorge of E. 17th St. re-echoed applause at the declaration of Rev. Harold Williamson, pastor of the Church of the Rugged Cross, that he would be "less than a minister, less than a man" if he did not fight for the progressive Jewish couple in Sing Sing.

Mrs. Bessie Mitchell implied that she and Rev. Williamson would be less than Negroes, too, if they had not seen in the Rosenbergs' ordeal a reflection of the Negro people's. Mrs. Mitchell's brother, Collis English, died in jail last January after his long ordeal as one of the Trenton Six. At the fatal hour of 8 p.m. her agonized cry rose up from the 17th St. mass meeting: "This country is killing me!"

MINISTERS STOOD UP: The minister's words told both his and his followers' thoughts. A white churchman who wrote to thousands of ministers on the Rosenbergs' behalf reports that cooperative responses from Negro ministers formed a high percentage of the total response. The Negro masses have traditionally looked to their ministers for leadership; and, since this ministry depends more directly upon its followers for its livelihood than is true of any other Negro leadership, it more faithfully reflects the people's will. If thousands of Negro ministers saw the true meaning of the Rosenberg persecution and Rosenberg martyrdom, millions in their congregations must have understood.

Negro Methodist bishops such as W. J. Walls and Frederick Jordan, with mandates from their congregations to keep contact with Methodist missionaries in S. Africa, know from experience with the neo-fascist Malan government the deeper meaning of their own government's action in the Rosenberg case. These Negro leaders are considered "subversive" in S. Africa, and in certain circles at home, because they not only understand but fight against the causes of oppression.

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"ANOTHER BARRIER LOST": The Pittsburgh Courier, conservative Negro weekly, whose editorial policy in the Rosenberg case parallelled the Hearst

and Scripps-Howard chain admitted June 13 that "thousands of Negroes have joined the cries for clemency . . . Negro Baptist ministers of Washington, Chicago, Camden, San Francisco, along with Mary Church Terrell, have joined in the pleas."

These leaders reflected the understanding of countless ordinary Negro Americans that, while "this country is killing" them—and has been for more than 300 years—its execution of the Rosenbergs signifies an extension of the killings to the Negroes' friends. They see this as a threat of terrible danger.

A Negro, Rev. Dr. Daniel Rideout, was among the clergymen's delegation to Eisenhower three days before the execution. Hundreds of neighborhood Negro men and women stood in 17th St. on that last Friday; thousands passed the biers Saturday and Sunday for a last tribute. It was a Negro woman delegate to last November's Natl. Negro Labor Council Convention who said:

"If they are killed, we Negro workers will have lost another barrier between ourselves and

the growing fascist menace.

LABOR'S SILENCE: Some of the earliest, best-organized and most effective leadership in the fight came from Negro trade unionists like William R. Hood of Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers; Coleman A. Young, Natl. Negro Labor Council; Asbury Howard, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; and Mrs. Vicki Garvin, formerly of Dist. 65, New York. But these are labor leaders who have been under fire as "subversive"; Negro leaders in the CIO and AFL like Willard Townsend and A. Philip Randolph were as hostile or as silent as the white leadership to which they owe allegiance.

Christian ministers, rather than union leaders, expressed the Negro majority's feeling mainly because more working men and women are organized in Negro churches than in trade unions. Race hatred, which has kept them out of most unions until recently, once kept them out of the church—so they organized their own.

"NO ANGLE": The reason for the almost total lack of sympathy and understanding in the Rosenberg case by the Negro press—on the whole a wealthy press—was implied by G. James Fleming of the N.Y. Amsterdam News. His paper had "not found any angle" linking the case to the Negro question. He told the GUARDIAN:

"Editorial writers don't usually take up matters with which they are not directly concerned, especially when they don't have to."

Did not he and other Negro editors realize that the Rosenberg killing represented a stage in our society's development approaching Germany's under Hitler? On that he had nothing to say; most of his readers, however, not only realize it but are ready to do something about it. To white progressives they say this:

"If you had fought harder to stop the official murders of Willie McGee, the Martinsville Seven, Raleigh Speller and Clyde Brown, the government would have found it harder to murder Julius and Ethel Rosenberg."

THIS IS AN URGENT MESSAGE TO ALL READERS

What must be done to save the Rosenbergs

THE PROTEST AGAINST the U.S. government's intention to execute Julius and Ethel Rosenberg has reached worldwide proportions. But for the best chance of success, special steps are required immediately on the home front.

GUARDIAN readers, we believe, need no further convincing of the savagery of the unprecedented sentence, or that its carrying out can mean the sacrifice of wholly innocent people to the propaganda needs of the cold war.

But there is a vast area of humane American opinion which has not been mobilized in the campaign for clemency. It includes especially liberals of the sort who have traditionally joined the great struggles against injustice,

from the days of Sacco-Vanzetti to the Scottsboro case and even most recently the case of the Trenton Six, where broad participation helped save the lives of all six with complete freedom for four.

The other most important segment of opinion to be urged to action is that of Jewish organizational life—B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress and similar groups.

TO discourage the participation of these groups, government and press have cooperated to the fullest: (1) to red-bait the worldwide campaign to save the Rosenbergs; and (2) to stress the fact that the Rosenberg conviction was won and confirmed by a virtually all-Jewish succession of prosecutors and judges, from the trial on through the Circuit Court and Supreme Court denials of reversal or review.

In addition, the American Civil Liberties Union has in effect joined the propaganda campaign against the Rosenbergs by two unwarranted and unprecedented actions. The first was a letter addressed to Jewish organizations such as the Anti-Defamation League over the signature of ACLU counsel Herbert Monte Levy (GUARDIAN, 5/29), volunteering as ACLU's opinion that no civil liberties issues were at stake in the case.

THE second action occurred last week when, after months of discussion, ACLU made public an 18-4 vote finding no violation of due process in the case. The statement ignored other contentions made by the defense—abuse of discretion by the trial judge; and cruel and unusual punishment forbidden by the 8th Amendment (Bill of Rights), a contention advanced on the ground that no other participant in the alleged conspiracy had received a death sentence, nor had outright traitors such as Axis Sally, Ezra Pound and others.

The dissenting four on the ACLU board included some of its most distinguished members. Two leading ACLU board members had previously taken open positions for clemency on the basis of civil rights violations in the trial. However, to dissent publicly from an ACLU executive board finding is tantamount to resignation from the board and probably for this reason there have been no published dissents thus far.

GUARDIAN readers can—and most certainly should—take the lead in gaining the participation of liberals and of leaders as well as rank and file in Jewish life.

THE red-baiting campaign—joined in last week by the State Dept., in a statement attempting to tie the clemency fight to the Vienna Peace Conference—is one that GUARDIAN readers can themselves answer best; for it was they who brought into existence the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case in response to a proposal for such a committee made in these columns by the editors.

The GUARDIAN's original concern with the case was prompted solely by our own conviction, after full investigation, that a grave and deliberate injustice had been done. No committee or organization, political or otherwise—and

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A Holiday Wish from the Death House

An excerpt from a letter dated Dec. 9 from Ethel Rosenberg in the Death House at Sing Sing Prison, Ossining, N.Y., to her attorney, Emanuel H. Bloch, 401 Broadway:

"I see by the papers that the holiday season is in full swing, and since 'justice' enjoins me from doing my shopping early, late or otherwise, it will have to be undertaken for me. . . .

"Let me assure you that I have been positively wallowing in advertisements, pencilling here, clipping there, now accepting, now rejecting!

"You see, I am determined to go on living and planning, as though naught awaited me save a husband's fond kiss, a son's noisy welcome. . . . All my love."

ETHEL

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URGENT TO ALL READERS

What must be done to save the Rosenbergs

(Continued from Page 1)

no other publication—had started a fight for real justice in the case. Hence we started the fight.

The abstention of liberals from the Rosenberg Case—perhaps the most palpable political frame-up ever to get by the courts in our nation's history—falls into the dangerous pattern of withholding or withdrawing cooperation from any cause supported by the Left.

This is literally a suicidal stand where the Rosenberg Case is involved, since every liberal condoning conviction by hysteria, without genuine evidence or proof of guilt, in effect puts his own neck in the noose. Furthermore, the Left will always be found in every fight for justice; hence the liberal who abstains because of Left participation is in effect quitting the fight forever.

THE Editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, after consultation with the Rosenberg legal defense and the Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, most strongly urge you to present these views to your friends and associates who have not joined in the fight thus far. Furthermore we urge the following immediate actions:

(1) WRITE OR WIRE THE PRESIDENT AT THE WHITE HOUSE IN WASHINGTON TO GRANT EXECUTIVE CLEMENCY.

(2) WRITE OR WIRE FEDERAL JUDGE IRVING R. KAUFMAN, FEDERAL BUILDING, FOLEY SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY, TO GRANT JUDICIAL CLEMENCY.

Both actions are most urgent. Judge Kaufman will receive a request for judicial clemency within 10 days. He has the right to alter his sentence of death, and may do so if he is convinced of a broad public desire for such an action.

If judicial clemency is not forthcoming, a Presidential commutation of sentence is the final resort after all attempts at legal remedies have been exhausted. The White House mail has been tremendous for executive clemency but has thus far received no public acknowledgement from the President. The weight and breadth of the appeal must determine his answer.

We respectfully urge your immediate and fullest cooperation on what we deem to be the most significant issue of justice before the American people today. THE EDITORS

CARREFOUR

QUATRE FONCTIONNAIRES DIENNENT LES CLEFS DE LA CRISE ET DE LA CAISSE

EUX, EN TOUT CAS, SONT INNOCENTS...

LE DOSSIER COMPLET DE L'AFFAIRE ROSENBERG

THEY ORDER THESE THINGS DIFFERENTLY ABROAD

A recent page one of the Gaullist (rightwing) Paris newspaper "Carrefour," with photo of Michael and Robbie Rosenberg, and complete factual account of the Rosenberg Case. The headline says: "These at least are innocent."

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JEAN-PAUL SARTRE WRITES FROM PARIS

The Animals sick with rabies — a European looks at America

The following article was published in the Paris daily Liberation on June 20. Jean-Paul Sartre, who wrote it, is the most important author and playwright to emerge in France since World War II; he was the idol of Western "anti-communist liberal intellectuals" until last year when he attended the Vienna peace conference.

By Jean-Paul Sartre

THE Rosenbergs are dead and life goes on. That is what you wanted, isn't it? Only yesterday we were their comrades and you have killed them as fast as you could so that we should only be their survivors. You count on time to make us every day a little more forgetful, a little guiltier toward them to make you seem a little less cruel. Of course it will cost a little: there will be broken window panes in your embassies. But you will put in new ones and, with a little luck, the cops will shoot on the European crowds and we'll have brand new corpses all our own to turn our thoughts away from your two.

You already played that trick on us with Sacco and Vanzetti and you won.

This time you won't.

ON one point you will win: we want to harm no one; the horror and contempt you awake in us we refuse to turn into hate. But you will never make us swallow that the execution of the Rosenbergs was nothing but a "regrettable incident," or even a judicial error. It was a legal lynching which smears a whole nation with blood and which once and for all lays bare the bankruptcy of the Atlantic Pact and your inability to lead the Western world.

Let me tell you what your mistake was: you believed that the murder of the Rosenbergs was a private settling of accounts. A hundred thousand voices cried out: "They are innocent." And stupidly you answered: "We are punishing two of our citizens according to our laws. It's none of your business."

Well, now, that's just it—the Rosenberg case is our business: innocents who are sent to their death are the business of the whole world. The spokesman of the Vatican himself was saying only last Thursday: "Civilization has before it a choice on which depends its acquittal or its condemnation." Everywhere people cried out to you: "Watch out! You judge yourselves in judging them; we shall have to decide whether you are men or beasts."

DO you understand now why we begged you for a new trial? When we asked for justice for the Rosenbergs we meant also: "Make sure that your cause is just." When we begged you to spare their lives, it meant also: "Spare your own." Now that we have been made your allies, the fate of the Rosenbergs could be a preview of our own future. You, who claim to be masters of the world, had the opportunity to prove that you were first of all masters of yourselves. But if you gave in to your criminal folly, this very folly might tomorrow throw us headlong into a war of extermination. No one in Europe was duped: whether you gave life or death to the Rosenbergs was the measure of whether you were preparing for peace or world war.

There had been the sinister clowning of MacArthur, the bombings on the Yalu, McCarran's cops: each time you doublecrossed Europe and stood alone. And yet, your friends kept a small hope: if our governments were not able to get across their points of view it was because they disagreed among themselves, it was because France had not stood by England, it was because they were not backed by the people. But yesterday, it was the whole of Europe that moved as one—its masses, its priests, its cabinet ministers, its heads of state—to ask your Presi-

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JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

Animals sick with rabies

(Continued from Page 1)

dent to make the simplest gesture of humanity.

We were not asking for your dollars, nor for your armaments, nor for your soldiers; only for two lives, two innocent lives.

HAVE you even understood the scope of this extraordinary truce? Class conflicts, the oldest bitternesses—all were set aside: the Rosenbergs had produced European unity. One word from you, and you too would have reaped the benefits of this unification. The whole of Europe would have honored you. You answered: "To hell with Europe." Very well. But don't come to us any more with talk of an alliance. Allies consult one another, talk matters over, make mutual concessions. If you answer "No" when all we ask you is not to dishonor yourselves to no purpose, how can we believe that you will allow us to speak out when our larger interests are at stake?

Us, your allies? Cut it out! Our governments today are your domestic servants. Tomorrow our people will be your victims. It's as simple as that. Of course you will come out with shameful excuses: your President couldn't grant clemency to the Rosenbergs, he had to lighten ballast in order to impose his will in Korea. In Korea? Whom are you kidding? He is being mocked every day there by his own generals and by old Syngman Rhee.

And what sort of country is this, whose statesmen are obliged to commit ritual murders so that they should be forgiven for stopping a war?

WE know now what kind of weight we amount to in your scales. On one side you put the world—on the other, McCarthy. When the Rosenbergs sat on the electric chair, the scales were down on the side of McCarthy.

Do you believe we are going to die for McCarthy? Bleed from every artery to give him a European Army? Do you believe we are going to defend the culture of McCarthy? The justice of McCarthy? That we shall let Europe be turned into a battlefield so that this blood-stained imbecile can burn books? Please understand this right now: Never shall we hand the leadership of the western world to the murderers of the Rosenbergs.

You say that McCarthy will pass and that you are secretly planning his downfall? So what then? Your McCarthy has millions of heads. Chop one off and a hundred will sprout.

Look—I have before me on my table a photo taken last Thursday in Washington: well-fed and well-dressed men, elegant young women, are marching by asking for the execution of the Rosenbergs. In the foreground a young and pretty girl carries a sign: "Fry them and send the bodies to Moscow."

You saw these people walk in your streets at the very moment when a man and his wife were living their last hours in prison, when two desperate children were asking in vain that their parents should be returned to them. You saw them laugh, shout, wave their signs and banners—and there wasn't one among you to go and bash their heads in. Decidedly there is something rotten in America.

DON'T tell us these are only a few excitable persons, irresponsible elements. These are the very masters of the country, for it is to them that your government has given in. Do you remember Nuremberg and your theories on collective responsibility? Well, today it applies to you. You are collectively responsible for the death of the Rosenbergs, some for having sponsored this murder, the rest for having suffered it. You have allowed America to become the cradle of a new fascism. It will be useless to explain to us that this single murder is not comparable to Hitler's mass exterminations. Fascism is not defined by the number of its victims but by the manner in which they are killed.

And why this rage unleashed against a man and a woman about to die? Why this hatred which has dumbfounded the world?

Why—because you had got the notion they wanted to take your bomb! You will not rest until you are the only ones capable of blowing up the earth. President Eisenhower counted in tens of millions the innocent victims of the Rosenbergs: each one of you feels already that he is one of the dead in the war to come. Dead people it is who asked for death, last Thursday, for the thieves of the atomic secret.

UNFORTUNATELY, when we look at you from Europe we see you neither as innocents nor as corpses. We see but two innocent corpses—your victims. As for the atomic secret, it is the fruit of your sick imaginations: science develops everywhere at the same rhythm, and the manufacture of bombs is a mere matter of industrial capacities.

By killing the Rosenbergs you have quite simply tried to halt the progress of science by human sacrifice. Magic, witch-hunts, auto-da-fes, sacrifices—we are here getting to the point: your country is sick with fear. You are afraid of everything: of the Soviets, of the Chinese, of the Europeans. You are afraid of one another, you are afraid of the shadow of your own bomb. Some allies we have!

And you want to lead the way for us! You are dragging us into war through terror—a war you would promptly lose through panic at the first bombardment. I know there are brave people in your country: the lawyer for the Rosenbergs, for instance, this very man who was saying yesterday: "I am ashamed of being an American." Justice Douglas, whom you are no doubt going to persecute. The people of the Rosenberg Committee, hundreds of thousands of others. But what can they do but head toward martyrdom?

AND then there are the masses—still basically healthy, although befuddled by you. There are the Negroes whom you oppress. And above all, there is that small voice which was stilled yesterday, yet which can be heard better than your fanfare—the voice speaking these wonderful words: "We are young and we do not want to die, but we cannot pay this price for our lives."

After all, the Rosenbergs are Americans—and if we can still have some hope, it is because your country gave birth to this man and this woman whom you have killed.

Some day, perhaps, all these people of goodwill will cure you of your fears. We hope so, for we have loved you.

Meanwhile do not be astonished if we cry out from one end of Europe to the other: Watch out! America has the rabies! Cut all the ties which bind us to her, otherwise we will in turn be bitten—and run mad!