



Forgotten man at Bermuda

After the "Big Friendly Three" (Christian Science Monitor) met at Bermuda, Paris' Combat said France had gone to war in the past over affronts scarcely greater than Premier Laniel (left) suffered there. The band welcoming Laniel played an operetta tune instead of the "Marseillaise"; Churchill shoved him into a car, preventing him from making a speech of greeting, and later hardly spoke to him; Laniel retired to bed with a "diplomatic chill." Churchill himself suffered "hurt feelings . . . wounded pride" (N. Y. Herald Tribune) because Eisenhower's insistence on priority discussion of his UN speech turned Bermuda "into a springboard for something else . . . [meant] that another should play the lead role."

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WAR & PEACE

New York Edition

Ike mutes cold war after Bermuda fiasco

By Tabitha Petran

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER's atomic-peril address to UN was a fitting conclusion to the General Assembly's do-nothing 8th session. The Bermuda "unity" conference, which produced no unity. What finally emerged from the mountain of ballyhoo about "Operation Candor" was an ineffectual mouse to divert attention from Washington's growing difficulties in holding together the capitalist alliance, from its refusal to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons and to negotiate such crucial problems as Korea and Germany. But the speech, which showed evidence of careful preparation, was relatively moderate in tone (Churchill was reported to have insisted on elimination of saber-rattling). It proposed that "governments principally involved . . . make joint contributions from their stockpiles" of atomic materials "to an international atomic energy agency . . . under the aegis of the UN," for peacetime uses.

All the press pundits wrote essays on the speech but were unable to indicate what it practically offered—perhaps because, as David Lawrence suggested (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12/9), it was "one of the craftiest" of White House psychological warfare efforts. For Canadian officials (N. Y. Times from Ottawa, 12/9) "the primary question was whether [he] had really offered anything new toward breaking the deadlock. . . ." At UN opinion was divided as to whether the proposals for an atomic pool and private "disarmament" talks represented any retreat from the Baruch Plan. But some delegates pointed out that the proposals were made within the context of the recent UN disarmament resolution reaffirming the Baruch Plan and that the "ratios" of contributions to the pool would require disclosure of

atomic resources, without any ban on atomic weapons.

KOREA & BERMUDA: The speech was significant in its recognition that the U.S. monopoly has been broken, and the fear it reflected of Soviet peacetime atomic development.

In the U.S. it overshadowed the fact that with the Korean armistice in grave



Carrefour, Paris

"And if they don't like this arithmetic, we can propose the U.S. plus Britain plus France plus the USSR plus China."

jeopardy because the U.S. is blocking a political conference, Washington forced the UN General Assembly to agree to indefinite postponement of the Korean question.

The speech also took the headlines from the fiasco of the Bermuda Conference which failed to heal the widening split in the capitalist coalition. Its only result was Western agreement to foreign ministers' talks with Moscow in Berlin in January. This will be the first such conference since December 1947, when then Secy. of State Marshall walked out of the London parley on Germany, scrapping the Foreign Ministers Council set up to implement the four-power Potsdam agreement. That Washington is now forced to resume the

(Continued on Page 5)

THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASES

Supreme Court weighs the fate of 'separate but equal' doctrine

By Eugene Gordon

A MAN named Plessy, $\frac{7}{8}$ white and $\frac{1}{8}$ Negro, took a New Orleans train nearly 60 years ago for a trip to a neighboring town. He was arrested when he refused to leave his place for a seat in the jimcrow car. He sued for writ of prohibition against Judge Ferguson, who was to try him; the Louisiana high court denied it. Plessy appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. The opinion of the highest tribunal in "Plessy v. Ferguson" concluded:

"Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal, one cannot be inferior to the other civilly or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the U.S. cannot put them upon the same plane. . . ."

THE "PATHETIC MYTH": This Supreme Court judgment is historically known as the "separate but equal" doctrine. It is "regarded with almost religious reverence by most white southerners," said *Business Week* (7/25). It is used (N. Y. Amsterdam News, 12/5)

"... to justify every conceivable form of discrimination in public affairs for over 50 years [even though it is] a standard and pathetic myth, just as unreal as the Magnolia Set is today in the Dixie way of life."

But an end to that doctrine may be near. A suit by 66 Clarendon County, S. C., Negro parents and children early in 1951, which was considered by the Supreme Court last week, may be the means. The *Amsterdam News* wrote of the suit:

"Clarendon County . . . reported a white enrollment of 2,375 and a Negro enrollment of 6,531 for the school year of 1949-50. However, the State's

(Continued on Page 3)

Sobell group asks Senators probe Atty. General office

A BRIEF was filed Dec. 4 with the Senate Judiciary Committee requesting the Committee to investigate the conduct of the U.S. Attorney General's office in the case of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and Morton Sobell.

The 35-page brief with documented charges was handed to Chairman Wm. Langer by Joseph Brainin for the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case. Brainin is co-chairman of the committee with Daniel G. Marshall, Los Angeles attorney.

Brainin said Langer indicated his awareness of the gravity of the charges by authorizing him to quote him:

"I have received your petition and shall present your request to the full Senate Judiciary Committee at the earliest possible date, which will probably be in January. I shall not allow it to gather dust. I shall insist on a yes or no answer."

JUSTICE FOR SOBELL: A letter accompanying the brief said:

"We charge the Attorney General's office with obstructing justice in the courts by resorting to the un-American procedure of substituting accusation for evidence and by resorting to falsifications in order to influence public opinion."

It said such practices would make it impossible for Morton Sobell, who maintains his innocence and is now appealing his case, to receive justice.

PREJUDICE CAMPAIGN: Seven charges were listed in the brief:

1. The Attorney General's office knowingly used and encouraged perjured testimony in both cases.
2. It promised and gave rewards to several chief witnesses.
3. It deliberately engaged in an unlawful campaign of misrepresentation of facts through press releases prior to the trial and thus falsified essential aspects of the case, influencing public opinion to prejudice the defendants.
4. It attempted and still attempts to keep from the courts documents that reveal the perjuries and its role

in obtaining these perjuries.

5. It engaged in the use of mental

Say 'No' to Joe

Since Sen. McCarthy has invited you to tell President Eisenhower you don't like his policy on "communists-in-gov," we invite you to write Ike telling him you don't like Joe's. Cost you a three-cent stamp.

The press is making a careful tabulation of the McCarthy mail. But there was another occasion when they ignored mail coming to the White House: the Rosenberg clemency campaign. According to the *Washington Post* (12/6) the White House has received about 200,000 letters and wires this year, most of them urging clemency for the Rosenbergs. The telegrams alone hit a peak of 21,500 during the week of June 16-21.

torture against the Rosenbergs, and mental torture as well as physical

violence against Sobell.

6. By deception and misrepresentation it interfered with the courts' handling of the case.

7. By withholding information, by deception, and by outright falsehoods, it misled two Presidents who had before them appeals for clemency.

APPEALS WITHHELD: The letter to Langer said:

"The fact that the U.S. Supreme Court never reviewed the Rosenberg-Sobell case, and therefore never passed on the fairness of the trial, was deliberately misrepresented by the Attorney General's office to create a world-wide impression that the Rosenbergs and Sobell had had the benefit of several reviews by the Supreme Court.

"It has been shown irrefutably that the Attorney General's office suppressed clemency appeals by eminent church and lay leaders and that most of these appeals, instead of being communicated to the White House, for which they were intended, were permitted to gather dust in the Pardon Attorney's office."

The Committee has called for a vigorous campaign in support of an investigation.

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No abridgement

PERKASIE, PA.
Basically, the Constitution is founded upon principles revealed in divinely-inspired Holy Writ. Laws based upon the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are about as just as is humanly possible to detail and enact. It is up to all of us to defend that document and all laws in harmony with it, and to resist by non-compliance and every legal means any and all abridgements or annulling processes regardless of the personality involved. Let them railroad a communist, or any other dissenter, and our own liberty and security goes into the prison with them.

I personally do not fear McCarthyism or the agencies at its command. (At the worst it can but promote me toward my goal.) I believe no one else should fear either McCarthy the man, or McCarthyism and the forces for whom he fronts. Their motives are based upon ruthless self-interest and the acquisition of power and still more power, based on lies, force, intimidation, blackmail, libel and violence. A little truth judiciously applied can topple the whole structure. Your little paper can be that agency, but not if it withholds the whole truth, not if it sets a limit on how far it will go because of expediency. George A. Bentzley

Talk with a stranger

CINCINNATI, O.
If you've been reading your newspaper lately, how would you explain our present democracy to a stranger?

"Who is the head of the country?" his first question would be. "It used to be the President," your honest answer would be, "with the leader of a second party as his chief critic. Now the head of the FBI is the top boss, for he decides between President and parties, who is American, who is pro-Russian."

God in the Circuit Court

In Greenville, S. C., Circuit Judge J. B. Pruitt sentenced Robert Edward Newman, 23, to two years' imprisonment for stabbing a Negro to death. Judge Pruitt said he thought Newman should serve some time for associating with Negroes. "God made us different," the judge remarked. "He (Newman) could have found some white people to associate with."

Knoxville (Tenn.)
Knoxville (Tenn.)

How crazy can you get dept.

Mr. Malenkov and almost all the high-ranking members of the Soviet High Command have never left Russia. No wonder they have become introspective, ruminative, suspicious and fearful. Think how much good it would do Mr. Malenkov to travel around a bit and attend meetings such as we do, especially such a one as the African Violet Growers Assn.

—From a speech by J. Ridgeway Trimble, M.D., Baltimore, before the Section on Surgery, General and Abdominal, at the 102d meeting of the American Medical Assn. As printed in the AMA Journal, Nov. 28, 1953. One-year free sub to the winner of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: J. J. S. Idin, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

"Who makes the laws?" "It used to be Congressmen and Senators. Now there is only one unwritten law, and it is unconstitutional; this is the Un-American Activities Committee smear of all citizens who may disagree with them as 'disloyal,' 'spies,' 'traitors' and 'saboteurs.'"

"The FBI sounds like a wonderful idea," he might then remark. "Do they investigate who has too much and who has too little and why; who wants wars and why, and who doesn't want the people to read the books that give these answers, speak their thoughts or hold democratic meetings. . . ."

"Oh no," you would reply, "the FBI investigates the American people who are interested in these things. These people are the subversives!" Cincinnati

Anti-Joe activities

NEW HAVEN, CONN.
The best way to keep the torch of liberty burning and McCarthy out of my business is to see that the GUARDIAN stays in business. Here is \$5 for the great work you are doing. Louis Sanaggaro Conn. Dirt Farmer

Soap in our ears

NEW YORK, N. Y.
May I call your attention to an article by Lucien O. Hooper, broker, published in the Sept. 3 Financial & Commercial Chronicle and also in the U. S. Investor, Sept. 12. The article is "Economic & Investment Trends." Here is one extract: "Here in America . . . most of us . . . are living in the afterglow of a counter-propaganda about Russia, which in the cool light of history will make modern cigarette and soap advertising look like high culture." M. M.

For Michael and Robbie

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
The thought of two little orphaned boys will overshadow for thousands of people the world over the joy of Chanukah and Christmas festivals. But fortunately for all of us, our pain and bitterness need not be frozen into the despair of frustrating inaction. For on that night of June 19 two parents left on our

hearts and consciences a commanding obligation—that Michael and Robbie Rosenberg become the sons of us all—ours to cherish spiritually and care for materially.

There is a compelling reason for speed in raising the \$75,000 trust fund to be set up for their support and education. For if funds only dribble in over an extended period, current expenses may well consume a substantial portion of these assets, instead of making it possible to treat them as capital, which invested in securities legal for trust funds, would perpetuate itself.

This is the immediate obligation of US ALL! Let's go to work—all of us. We cannot restore Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to life. But it is in our power to requite their heroic sacrifice in some measure. And common justice demands that at least we relieve Emanuel Bloch, devoted guardian of the boys, and his associate trustees of gratuitous material anxieties. Contributions may be sent to Emanuel Bloch, 401 Broadway, Rm. 810, New York. Muriel I. Symington

That says it

COEUR D'ALENE, IDA.
The GUARDIAN is like a stream of pure cold water in a desert of capitalistic sterility, moron conformity, confusion and intellectual dishonesty. May your tribe increase. Thomas B. Wood

Memo to Immigration Dept. CHICAGO, ILL.

Apropos the letter to its congregations of the Gen. Council of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. (GUARDIAN, Nov. 23), and the comments in connection therewith by Joseph Harsch of the Christian Science Monitor to the effect that Roman Catholics in government are not being harassed by McCarthy, it would be interesting to know if Roman Catholics in general are escaping also the terror of revocations of citizenship and deportation. Z. Mendum



Carrefour, Paris
"It's a guy with a red nose who admits to contact with Mr. White and his associate Mr. Black."

Back to Twain

ST. PAUL, MINN.
"The French are polite, but it is often mere ceremonious politeness. A Russian imbues his polite things with a heartiness, both of phrase and expression, that compels belief in their sincerity." Mark Twain made this character appraisal in his *The Innocents Abroad*. Our ruling class mouthpieces could learn many more lessons by going to Mark Twain. Sam Pavlovic

Try a niblick, Ike

TOPEKA, KAN.
Well, we have had nine months of Eisenhower trying to shoot par 72 while: (1) the Rosenbergs were murdered; (2) the farmers are told in brusque tones that there is no aid intended for them; (3) the Werewolf of Washington, McCarthy, is still fouling the country; (4) we struck out in Korea because the N. Koreans and the Chinese had a better team. Waiter F. Saar

Beggars and butter

SCAPPOOSE, ORE.
Recently Mrs. Pat Nixon toured S. Korea and became horrified and sickened at the terrible misery and agony of its people. In a shop she visited the Vice President's lady saw one-legged workers making wooden legs for other Koreans, who, like themselves, had their other leg "liberated" by our fireworks. She was particularly distressed by the horrid fact that many of the legs under construction were fashioned to replace the missing legs of children. Orphanages having been long since crowded beyond their capacity, thousands of homeless children are left roaming the streets. Armless or legless derelicts are not rare curiosities among them. Because these pitiful beggars are vastly outnumbered by any probable charity



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"Is a democracy such as we know the last improvement possible in government? Is it not possible to take a step further toward recognizing and organizing the rights of man?"—HENRY THOREAU.

REPORT TO READERS

Our 6th Holiday Letter is in the mails to you

MOVED BEYOND EXPRESSION over the way our readership has enabled our paper to stand the gaff for the last five years, the GUARDIAN put into the mail to you this week our Sixth Annual Holiday letter. The first was sent out in December, 1948.

The letter asks you to stick with us for our sixth year as a subscriber (or as a newsstand or bookshop buyer)—and to add what you can throughout 1954 to the Guardian Sustaining Fund, by monthly pledge or in whatever way is simplest for you.

WE KNOW YOU MUST SHARE our deep gratification at heading into a sixth year of publication because together throughout the years past, the staff and readers of the GUARDIAN have dared to tackle the toughest assignments of our time.

In 1948-49 we forced the Trenton Six case to public attention, saved six innocent men from execution and won eventual freedom for all but one, who died in prison while the fight was on.

We fought the demagogy of the Korean War with facts which eventually became the common knowledge of the whole American people, despite an almost complete press blackout against them.

Together we won the entreaties of a compassionate world in behalf of the Rosenbergs, a campaign which has honored every participant and which one day will bring vindication for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg and freedom for Morton Sobell—and the contempt of the world for their persecutors.

THE NEED FOR FACTS is the most vital need of the American people today. It is the GUARDIAN's purpose to meet this need as far and wide as we are able. And it is for this purpose—and not for the mere satisfaction of survival—that we urge your fullest cooperation for 1954; with new readers, and with the extra help required to keep the presses turning and the facts available for the people who need them most.

We know you will do your best. —THE EDITORS

dispensers, death in the gutters seems to be their ultimate end.

Our Hon. John F. Dulles is grimly determined to dump our "surplus" butter into E. Germany. But he is not much concerned with feeding German beggars; he proposes to give the butter to any German who can be coaxed to accept it. This gives rise to grave suspicions that Dulles doesn't want the Koreans to live. Dulles knows, or ought to know, that the Koreans have indisputable priority, not only on our surplus butter, but on any food that we can conveniently spare. The Koreans are the beggars of our own making. They are the victims of our national anti-communist policy. Vincent Noga

For Canada too

SASKATOON, CAN.
Rather sad that us poor Canadians must help to fight for a free paper in a free country—but keep it up and keep the paper coming. H. Vindeg

Readers' clubs

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
I would like to see every community across the land alive with big and little activities to keep the GUARDIAN going and to extend it. Perhaps this idea will help. In every community or area where there are, say five or more readers, let us organize Guardian Readers Clubs. These groups to invite their non-reader friends and

fellow-workers to discuss the contents of the GUARDIAN, in its role of defending the best interests of the people and plans to enlarge the circle of readers in each group. Frank Kondray

3d and 4th parties

ST. LOUIS, MO.
I am afraid I must disagree with Vito Marcantonio, Reuben Borrough and the GUARDIAN. Sen. McCarthy's speech about political parties may be the opening gun for a real fascist Fourth Party. Thus old-line American conservatism becomes "left-wing," "radical," "red." We may live to see Herbert Hoover rebaited. It is a time to forget parties—certainly it is no time for third parties. We must put the spiritual freedoms first—press, religion, speech and personality. We must not be "unequally yoked" with those who sacrifice these for even the highest material purposes. This may mean supporting a God-fearing old-line American conservative against pure fascism. (Rev.) David W. Janes

Or any other shade

NEW YORK, N. Y.
I see that certain veterans' organizations have started a drive for a million signatures protesting China's admission to the UN. Now, let the GUARDIAN start a drive for a million signatures favoring China's admission. Red or any other shade, today's China is not the skulkers on Formosa. Samuel Buck

THE KEY ISSUES BEFORE THE NEW CONGRESS—II

The Butler Bill: Knife at the throat of all labor

By Lawrence Emery

WASHINGTON spy scares serve multiple purposes. They can distract the gaze of the populace while its pockets are picked of the public domain (GUARDIAN, Dec. 7); they can be manipulated to justify annulment of all progressive New Deal legislation; they are excuses for war-like moves; they can be turned directly against the labor movement. No spy need ever be found, no charge ever proved, to promote these ends. On the eve of a new session of Congress, labor is now getting the full treatment. As Labor's Daily put it on Dec. 5:

"The Chamber of Commerce, the NAM and lesser satellites of Big Business are busily engaged right now in planning strategy, bringing up their heavy guns and stockpiling ammunition for a concerted campaign to destroy the last vestige of organized labor in this country."

EAGER BEAVERS: There were two major goals: making the Taft-Hartley act tougher, and passing the Butler bill. The Eisenhower Cadillac Crusade wasn't even waiting for Congress before taking practice shots. Only court injunctions last week restrained Natl. Labor Relations Board chairman Guy Farmer from adopting, by decree a major provision of the Butler bill; as for toughening T-H, the United Mine Workers Journal for Dec. 1 pointed out that the law

"... is gradually but steadily being amended day by day by the NLRB

... to favor the employers and to whittle away at the rights of union members. . . . Just give them time and they will get around to destroying the last vestige of labor's protection under this law."

The Journal cited nine recent reversals of previous NLRB policy, all detrimental to labor, and described the process as "a kind of creeping reactionism."

LET'S BE REALISTIC: Last illusions of top labor leaders that there is any hope to "improve" the T-H law under this administration went glimmering when Eisenhower's Labor Secy. James Mitchell urged the recent CIO convention to

"... agree to start from the point of realism—which is that the T-H Act in many of its features is sound, fair and just—and preclude further talk of repeal. . . ."

Next day the convention unanimously went on record for outright repeal, charged the President with betraying his campaign pledges. Said chief counsel Arthur Goldberg:

"You will have a fair labor law when you return to the Senate and the Congress men who believe in the principles of the Wagner Act."

On Dec. 1 Sen. James E. Murray (D-Mont.) of the Senate Labor Committee insisted that full-scale hearings be conducted on Eisenhower's recommendations for T-H changes, whatever they may be; but Sen. Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.), key member of the committee, announced that such hearings will



JAMES MITCHELL
Realism with a meat-ax

be held "over my dead body." Other key GOP leaders are already on record as favoring such measures as making unions subject to anti-trust laws, granting legal supremacy to state anti-labor laws, outlawing the secondary boycott, and increasing government control over unions in so-called "national emergency" strikes.

BROWNELL HELPS: Atty. Gen. Brownell himself set the tone for the new attack on labor in August when

he charged:

"There are more [communists] in labor unions than anywhere else. . . . We expect to work in cooperation with the new Congressional committee which is to investigate that in coming months."

The new committee: Sen. John Marshall Butler's (R-Md.) "task force," a unit of Sen. Jenner's Internal Security subcommittee. Butler was elected to the Senate in a back-alley campaign master-minded by Sen. McCarthy, who also campaigned for the election of Sen. Herman Welker (Ida.), the other Republican on the "task force." The Democratic member is Sen. Pat McCarran.

Key provision of the Butler bill is that unions shall be stripped of collective bargaining rights and placed on trial before the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Board

"... whenever it is charged that any 'labor organization' . . . is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by any individual or individuals (whether officers of such labor organization or not) who are or ever have been a member or members of the Communist Party or of any communist-action organization, or communist front organization or who have consistently aided, supported, or in any manner contributed to or furthered the activities of such organizations. . . ."

GUILTY UNTIL . . . : Charges against a union may be brought by anyone—employer, stoolpigeon, or a rival union. To find a union guilty, the board need only have "reason to believe that allegations therein contained are meritorious." The union is presumed guilty from the moment the charge is lodged, and stays out of business unless eventually cleared by the Supreme Court itself;

(Continued on Page 7)

Separate but equal

(Continued from Page 1)

own appraisal of white school property in the county was placed at \$678,859 and Negro school property was valued at \$104,575. Viewed in another way, 73.3% of the pupils had only 13.4% of the school property, while the white students, who made up 26.7% of the enrollment, had 86.6% of the school property. The Negro parents of those pupils at first had sought a court order directing that the county's colored schools be brought to a level equal with that of white schools. But the original petition was withdrawn and the petitioners requested an outright decision outlawing segregation as such."

"EQUALITY" ORDERED: The suit was tried before an all-Southern three-judge bench which (AP, 6/23/51), in a far-reaching 2-to-1 decision, held that

"... segregation of the races in the public schools . . . is a matter of legislative policy for the several states, with which the federal courts are powerless to interfere."

However, the court majority ordered that Negro schools be made "equal" and requested a progress report in six months. Dist. Judge J. Waties Waring, in his minority opinion, said that if segregation was wrong, "then the place to stop it is in the first grade and not in the graduate colleges" into which Negro students had been fighting their way. Waring said he was

"... of the opinion that all of the legal guideposts, expert testimony, common sense and reason point unerringly to the conclusion that the system of segregation in education adopted and practiced in the State of S. Carolina must go and must go now."

BYRNES PLEASED: The Clarendon County petitioners, contending that the "separate but equal" thesis was "obnoxious" and unconstitutional, appealed to the Supreme Court. But, said AP (6/25/51):

"Gov. Byrnes hailed . . . the opinion upholding racial segregation in public schools as 'unanswerable,' adding that S. Carolina 'would immediately proceed in the Clarendon district and in other counties to do everything possible to carry out the policy of the law,' for the court's

'well-reasoned opinion justifies the separate-but-equal doctrine.'"

The Negro press, explaining "Plessy vs. Ferguson" in relation to the 14th Amendment, assailed the idea that equality and jimcrow could exist side by side. The Baltimore Afro-American called Waring's opinion an "historic dissent [which] will be remembered and quoted long after the majority opinion is forgotten." It polled Negro and white opinion in the 17 States and the Dist. of Columbia which, since they make



Carolina Times, Durham
A Supreme Court decision in the school case can put an end to this.

segregation mandatory, can be affected by the Supreme Court ruling. (Four other States including Kansas permit segregation.) It repeated that this was "a momentous period in history for the Supreme Court." The Pittsburgh Courier in a series headlined its articles: "Integration is Working in New Jersey Schools" and "Equalization is Impossible; Integration is the Answer."

WHITES ON FENCES: The white press in general sat on the fence. A story from Charleston in N. Y. Times read:

"There are some who say that if segregation in the public schools is abolished by court order, the gains that hitherto have been made in racial relations would be lost."

In Jan., 1952, the Supreme Court postponed a decision and asked for further details. Justices Black and Douglas dissented, holding that

"... enough details were available

and that the additional facts of the report 'are wholly irrelevant' to the constitutional questions presented to the court" (NYT, 1/29/52).

The Times speculated that the delay was given "to put off a decision by the court until the next term, well beyond the national political conventions of July and the Presidential campaigns."

NEGROES UNDETERRED: Meanwhile, AP (1/28/52) told of crosses "burned on the eve of today's scheduled admission of Negroes into Cairo's (Ill.) hitherto all-white schools." UP brought news of the retirement of Judge Waring, "acclaimed by many for trying to equalize racial rights but shunned by his neighbors here [Charleston]." But Negroes in S. Carolina were "undeterred by recent developments in the Clarendon County case—or by the rejoicing of state officials" (Assoc. Negro Press, 2/16/52). They were paying "very little attention to the threats to abolish public schools." Some educators were pointing out that

"... multitudes of whites [are] too poor to maintain their children in private schools as assurance against such a move."

Parents were now going to court in D. C., Delaware, Kansas and Virginia. A federal court in Richmond (NYT, 2/25/52) heard "a petition making the first direct attack on the state's segregated school system." AP (3/27/52) reported:

"The court unanimously upheld the constitutionality of Virginia laws requiring separate public schools for whites and Negroes. . . . Attorneys for the plaintiffs said . . . they would appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court." S. Carolina, Kansas and Virginia cases were docketed in the Supreme Court while the D. C. case was still pending in the Court of Appeals. The four were to be heard at the same time.

SOUTH GANGS UP: The fight against segregation was intensified; but S. Carolina, whose public school system was organized by the Reconstruction government of ex-slaves and "poor whites," adopted a constitutional amendment "paving the way for a private school system if the Supreme Court outlaws public school segregation"—a decision which would simply restore democratic education to its Reconstruction status. Georgia passed a

law "that would cut off funds to any publicly supported institutions of whites that admits Negroes" (UP, 12/6/52).

After a series of further postponements, the Supreme Court finally heard reargument last week. It had posed five questions on the meaning of the 14th Amendment with reference to school segregation. The D. C. case is based on due process within the 5th Amendment. (All questions have been answered in a brief by the NAACP legal dept. and the answers filed with the court. Copies may be obtained by writing to NAACP Legal Defense Fund, 107. W. 43d St., N. Y. C. 36, N. Y.)

GOVERNMENT EXPLAINS: Atty. Gen. Brownell, for the Administration, is represented in briefs filed with the high court "on both sides of the case—for and against segregation" (Federated Press, 12/1). Reflecting the confusion as to where the Justice Dept. stands, Justice William O. Douglas in last week's hearings asked if it was "the Dept.'s position that the court could decide the question either way." Asst. Atty. Gen. Rankin replied: "No . . . the court must say that the 14th Amendment does not permit" segregation based on color.

A source quoted in the Pittsburgh Courier said "the Republican Party's chance of recapturing the Negro vote is now materially increased by the Ike-Brownell action." The NAACP brief asked that segregation be banned now; Brownell, in one year.

Since last June these things have happened:

- The Topeka, Kan., board of education took a first step to end segregation in public schools.
- Mississippi Gov. White told the legislators they "couldn't wait" for the U. S. Supreme Court decision and must rewrite the laws in a series of 32 bills and 3 resolutions. The plan was to spend \$100 million on "equalization."
- Georgia's legislature was asked by Gov. Talmadge to prepare a constitutional amendment permitting abolition of the state's public schools if the Supreme Court outlawed jimcrow schools.
- Negro and white student delegates from all Charlotte, N. C., high schools adopted resolutions urging abolition of segregation in schools.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE WHITE AFFAIR — III

Nation DOES need a probe — of the FBI

By C. B. Baldwin

(This is the third article on the "White Affairs" implications by the natl. secy. of the Progressive Party.)

NOT a single one of Roosevelt's cabinet members or close associates has come to his defense, or spoken out for New Deal achievements, in face of the spies-in-government crusade whose aim is to erase both from American minds. Their silence testifies to the "devastating corruption of the democratic process" (H. H. Wilson, Nation, 11/12).

With his TV-radio speech Nov. 23 McCarthy has proclaimed his march to power. It is no coincidence that this came on the heels of J. Edgar Hoover's emergence, before the Jenner Commit-



J. EDGAR HOOVER
The cloak dropped away

tee, from behind his 30-year cloak of political aloofness—openly to espouse McCarthyism, which is the end product of the corruption Hoover has done most to father.

THE MAN: McCarthys may come and go, but Hoover remains—the link between all administrations, countenanced even in the New Deal's heyday, and now the most powerful political-police chief the world has known.

Hoover's FBI—responsible to no-one—has only to visit your neighbors to break up your community relations, or call on your employer to cost you your job; has invaded the privacy of your home to wiretap your phones, open your mail, pick through your garbage. It is Hoover's FBI which has put what Justice Douglas in Philadelphia, Nov. 24, called "a cloak of anonymity over a growing underground of informers"—informers virtually mass-produced by the FBI's gigantic blackmail racket.

THE GARBAGE: As head of the Farm

Security Administration under Roosevelt I saw many FBI files. I can only say that descriptions of them as full of gossip, rumor, anonymous poison-pen letters and every conceivable kind of information and misinformation tend toward understatement. These files—on literally millions of Americans—are weapons of blackmail, collected for precisely that purpose and used to intimidate, to force people to become stoolpigeons, to bring more and more people under the FBI net.

The 390-odd laws the FBI boasts it has to enforce take considerably less than 10% of its 5,500 agents' time and effort and its \$77 million known appropriations. (It gets also sub-appropriations from other departments.) The FBI's chief business is to "investigate" labor and progressives. Beyond its own formal apparatus, it controls the "red squads" of almost every local police force. Its entire fingerprint apparatus is used for internal political espionage.

LIES SINCE DIES: The FBI began spying on the New Deal from the day FDR arrived in Washington. What most people don't realize is that, from the Dies Committee on, Hoover fed material from these "inviolable" FBI files to Congressional witch-hunt committees. Recently, the City Charter Committee in Cincinnati raised the question of how an FBI file had got into the hands of its opponents, the Republican Party, who used it during the municipal elections—and pointed out that a former board member was now a Republican member of the House Un-American Activities Committee. This is not new. When Atty. Gen. Brownell and the Jenner Committee use selected excerpts from FBI files, they are bringing into the open a long-time surreptitious practice.

But Hoover insists his files are "inviolable," must never be seen—insuring that the accused cannot confront his accuser; that material can be put into the files retroactively if need be; that he can lie about their contents—as he did in his 1946 letter stating that a high Canadian government official had warned the FBI about Harry White. (External Affairs Minister Lester Pearson told Canada's House of Commons that this was a security official of a third country merely reminding the FBI of its own warnings on White.)

THE BLUEPRINT: During World War II, reactionaries in government worked with the FBI toward saving the country from liberalism after the war. The people named by Whittaker Chambers, who had told his story to the FBI in 1939, were already under surveillance. If the FBI had turned up anything at all on

them, it would have acted quickly; instead, Hoover waited until after Roosevelt died to produce his spy-ring stories. The fact that the Truman administration, already embarked on the cold war, and looking for opportunities to turn the American people against the Soviet Union, did not itself exploit these charges shows that no-one outside the

When McCarthy was slipping after his attack on Protestant clergy, Hoover lent him a top FBI agent, Frank Carr, who is now conducting the Monmouth probe. Hoover himself said of McCarthy:

"I have come to know him well, officially and personally. I view him as a friend and believe he so views me. . . . He is earnest and honest."

THE END? Hoover may feel his time has come at last. The laws Brownell is demanding, to legalize wiretapping and abolish the 5th Amendment, are laws which Hoover has long demanded. It is inconceivable that spies would use tele-

MUD
BATH
IN
THE
U. S. A.



Eidstrup in Land og Folk, Copenhagen

FBI could take them seriously.

But Hoover had other resources. Beginning in 1946, the Chamber of Commerce's Committee on Communism made a series of reports on **Communists in Government, Communists in the Labor Movement**, etc. These turn out to have been a remarkably exact blueprint for the subsequent loyalty investigations, the Taft-Hartley law, the Un-AAC's drive against Hollywood, the whole campaign to drive "communists and fellow-travelers" out of government, industry, unions, the opinion industry, schools.

THE ALLIANCE: The C of C reports bore earmarks of having been prepared in collaboration with the FBI. The 1947 report—referring particularly to a "handful" of men in the Treasury—said that "exhaustive study" by Congressional committees of foreign policies

"... which appear to be more pro-Soviet than pro-American... could get into the influences which entered into such important decisions as the Potsdam agreement, the Argentine policy and the China policy."

The reports were blueprints, which were implemented—and not without FBI help. Witch-hunt committees hired FBI agents as investigators. Ex-FBI agents set up **Counterattack** to provide a blacklist in the entertainment field.

phones for their activities when even Senators refuse to discuss business over the phone. But legalizing wiretapping does, as Max Lerner pointed out (N.Y. Post, 11/27), afford "a boundless opportunity for blackmailers." Similarly the 5th Amendment offers no protection to persons actually engaged in espionage—but abolishing it provides still another method of extorting stories from people and intimidating them to swell the underground of informers.

Hoover's stable of informers accounts for the grotesque answers people sometimes have to give before Congressional committees. Whatever the question, the victim must consider whether it would be worth Hoover's while to produce an informer to contradict the answer. Last January the Alsop brothers called for an investigation of "the professional informers who now flourish in this country," pointing to the contradictions and inconsistencies in the testimony of Budenz, Crouch, Matusow etc. (N.Y. Herald Tribune, 1/18/53).

What the country must demand is an investigation of Hoover and the FBI; a destruction of these files, which otherwise will remain a blackmail weapon held over the heads of people in and out of government. This is a key job if the democratic political process is to be restored.

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Ordered yours yet?



"NICEST CARDS I EVER SAW"

That's what one reader wrote about the 1953 Christmas cards. Have you ordered yours yet? Set of 8 for \$1. Turn to page 8 for details.

What is "infiltration"?

A word... has come to have a sinister meaning in the present excitement over Communist activities in our country. It is the word "infiltration," implied by those who use it is the practice of Communists who are said to have "infiltrated" labor unions, Hollywood, the Writers Guild, the professions, among which is that of the clergy.

... What is it? No one seems to know except that it is a specious form of atheistic materialism and that it might include the violent overthrow of our government.

One side of the problem never seems to have been touched. It is that our Christian duty and practice is to infiltrate society and its organizations with the Gospel of Christ... to minister the mercies and providences of God in aid to the poor and underprivileged in their struggle to rise out of poverty and misery. Any man who undertakes that needs people who will work with him, whether Christian or not. We shall not be carried away by this nonsense regarding "infiltration."

... Why should not—the press, the churches, the fraternal organizations, and other beneficent elements of our great democracy begin a drive for respect of common sense and the establishment of mutual confidence? We shall make this a better country by believing in each other, not by the cooking up of suspicion, malice, and injustice.

—Editorial in The Watchman-Examiner (Baptist weekly), Nov. 19.

THE PRESS

What newspaper strike means to 20,000 workers on dailies

By Elmer Bendiner

FOR 11 DAYS the city's 20,000 newspaper workers seemed to have their bosses over a barrel. They closed down six papers in the middle of the Christmas advertising bonanza, forcing the Times to suspend for the first time in 102 years, the Post for the first time in 152 years.

They did it by the simple strategy of sticking together. When 400 photo-engravers walked out, members of other unions refused to cross the picket line. Though officially only the photo-engravers were on strike, all the unions had a stake in the results. The craft unions were either in negotiation for a new contract with the publishers or about to begin them in January. The CIO Newspaper Guild was about to begin wage reopener talks. The rank-and-file of all unions held

would pay a \$3-a-week raise, 25c more to the union's welfare fund, grant Washington's Birthday as a paid holiday—reckoned within the package as worth 50c a day. Total: \$3.75, precisely what the publishers had offered before. The inch the publishers were willing to go was the establishment of a three-man fact-finding committee to recommend improvements, if any; the recommendation not to be binding on either side.

On Tuesday afternoon Burke put that offer before a membership meeting. Burke told the strikers the negotiating committee had been divided on the question but that he now favored the settlement as "the best we can get from the publishers." He indicated the other newspaper unions shared his view, pleaded for consideration of thousands of newspaper workers "who have nothing to do with this strike." (Later it was clearly shown that they had as much to gain or lose as the photo-engravers.)

THE VOTE: Burke had to speak over a running barrage of shouts from the floor: "Hold that line." "Hold it." But when the vote was tallied, it was clear the members could not buck their leaders. They accepted the terms: 198 to 77. Absent or abstaining were some 75 who had figured in earlier balloting during the strike.

Federal mediators and officials of other newspaper craft unions quickly announced that the settlement would make a pattern for pending negotiations and would be put before the membership for approval. Another pattern was being made, however. If the publishers sign up simultaneously with all newspaper unions (except the Guild which has a contract still in force) it will be the closest thing to industry-wide bargaining the newspaper business has seen and makes the unity born in this strike a pattern for other years.

FAT AND THIN: The Wednesday morning newspapers rolled off the presses in early editions Tuesday night, some fat with ads, like the Herald-Tribune which had stock-piled them during the strike, some still thin. The Mirror's streamer at the bottom of page 1 advertised: "Roundup of News and Comics" to fill New Yorkers in on what had happened in the interim to Joe Palooka and Steve Canyon.

Actually the city had seemed calm in the strike. People had been seen reading books in subways but the N.Y. Times, indicating the strike had ended just in time, reported:

"With no Sunday paper to take up their time, husbands and wives found themselves getting into arguments out of sheer boredom. Several persons interviewed conceded this."

SAVE US
the first waltz,
Angel,
at the Guardian's
WINTER BALL
Thurs., Feb. 11
Manhattan Center
(more next week)

the line well with only scattered scabbing.

THEY WERE WORRIED: Before the strike the photo-engravers had demanded a \$15 a week package increase and rejected arbitration; the Publishers' Assn. offered \$3.75 or arbitration. During the strike the workers cut their demand by half but still resisted arbitration. (The last time an arbitrator was accepted, in 1931, he came up with an offer worse than the publishers'.)

Throughout the strike the union's intl. pres. Edwin J. Volz had urged acceptance; the president of the striking local, Dennis Burke—until the final showdown—had stood for fighting it out.

At the end of the first week the publishers were talking like U.S. Steel. Editor & Publisher, management's spokesman in an editorial (12/5) feared for the national defense, urged that the Taft-Hartley Act be amended to bar all strikes in any communications industry. The publishers, losing millions, were clearly worried.

Last Tuesday Federal mediators proposed a "compromise" which, they said, involved a "sacrifice of self-interest on both sides." Actually the publishers had moved an inch, the workers a mile. These were the terms accepted by negotiating committees of both sides:

SAME \$3.75: The publishers



There was no Noose, no Mirrah, practically no nothin'
A newspaperless New York made the street-cleaners happy and the news vendors glum. This is the way one looked, framed in a sea of bosomy cheesecake magazines which made the barrenness of American journalism stand out in naked relief (pardon). The GUARDIAN was there (also the Wall St. Journal and Daily Worker) and our newsstand sales doubled.

TEN PER CENT, PLEE-UZ

4th phone rate increase in 3 years in prospect

NEW YORKERS face an imminent 10% boost in their telephone bills, the fourth in three years.

The proposed new rates, if approved by the N.Y. State Public Service Commission, would mean 75c more a month on the basic telephone bill, increased prices on additional calls (from 1/4c to 5c) and on certain additional services. For business houses, basic rates would be upped \$2.10 a month in addition to other price rises. Extension phones would cost 10c more in homes, 25c in businesses.

OVERALL RESERVOIRS: In May, 1950, the N.Y. Telephone Co. received an 11% rate rise amounting to \$18,500,000 a year. In Jan., 1951, it doubled the telephone booth toll, bringing in an additional \$10,100,000. Later that year the company bid for another \$57,000,000 and was whittled down by the

P. S. C. to \$20,700,000, awarded in Nov., 1951.

Throughout the years of ceaseless pleading for more revenue the telephone business chalked up record-breaking profits. The N.Y. T. C. can go on pleading and profiting thanks to an ingenious bit of monopoly engineering. The P. S. C. in Oct., 1951, described the telephone system this way:

"The financial picture of the system may be likened to a main reservoir with subsidiary reservoirs, and the storage level of any one may be raised and lowered at will to best meet the needs as determined by the overall management of the system as a whole."

FISCAL GIMMICKS: The level of profits in the N.Y. T. C. can be lowered in the books submitted to the P. S. C., while the real profits are drained off into other parts of the system no less nourishing to stockholders.

The P. S. C. says that by decisions of the courts it can consider only the books of the company asking for rate revision, concern itself only with investments and profits made entirely within N.Y. State. (The big profits are made on long-distance calls; these go to the Long Lines Division, a separate company.) Furthermore, the Commission says it cannot consider corporate profits but only the return on the total investment required to furnish service. In that way profits could and did skyrocket while the Commission handed out rate rises.

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N. Y. Telephone Co. ad, Dec. 2

DON'T LOOK NOW: In considering the currently proposed boost, the P. S. C. will have to wear the same blinders, ignore the fact that American Telephone and Telegraph stock still

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)



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NEW YORK CALENDAR

DISCUSSION ON FOOD RESOURCES AND THE HUNGER PROBLEM. Speaker: Prof. Harry Grundfest. Film. ASP Science Div., Fri., Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m. 35 W. 64 St.

XMAS BOOK FAIR. Meet the authors, buy their autographed books: Shirley Graham, Philip Bonosky, Eve Merriam, Millicent Selam, Howard Fast, others. Writers & Publicity Div., ASP, 35 W. 64th St., 3-7 p.m., Sun., Dec. 13. Adm.: 50c.

Stuyvesant Town Committee to End Discrimination celebrating fifth anniversary with **SQUARE & FOLK DANCE**, Sat., Dec. 12, Downtown Community School, 235 E. 11th St. Bob Carey sings. Evelyn Halper calls. Contribution \$1.25. Refreshments and fun.

DINNER ON THE 162nd ANNIVERSARY OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS
DR. CORLISS LAMONT will be cited for his courageous stand for full constitutional rights for all.

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Cover \$5. For reservations: Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1
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SYLVIA HAHN entertains at Film Division weekly Surprise Party. Social, refreshments and surprise package. Sat., Dec. 12, 9 p.m., at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: \$1.

SAT., DEC. 12, 8:30 P.M. Come to an evening of music, square dancing and refreshments with Betty Sanders and operatic duo, 927 Elinus Highway, B'klyn. Auspices: Flatbush Rosenberg-Sobell Committee. Subs: \$1.25.

"McARTHYITE FASCISM: What it is and how to fight it." Speaker: Murray Weiss, Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m., Militant Hall, 116 University Pl. (Dr. Union Sq.) Questions, discussion, refreshments. Auspices: Friday Night Socialist Forum of Socialist Workers Party.

FORUM: "McCarthyism Will Be Licked." Speaker: **WILLIAM MANDL**, Fri., Dec. 18, 8:30 p.m., Rozelle Studios, 100 E. 174th St., Bronx. Admission: 35c. Sponsor: Concourse ALP.

Bronx Jewish Young Folk Singers **"CHANUKAH - CHRISTMAS CONCERT"**, Sat., Dec. 19, 8:30 p.m. at New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Road, Bronx. Sections from Handel's "Judah Maccabaeus," songs of America, Africa, Israel. Guest soloist, Pete Seeger. Tickets: 90c, \$1.20, \$1.80.

DRAMATIC READING from "Salt of the Earth" (film script of the New Mexico copper mine strike) by **ANN REVERE**, noted Hollywood actress, Fri., Dec. 18, 8 p.m., at Manhattan Towers, B'way at 76th St. Sponsor: Natl. Council ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Tickets \$1 in advance at ASP, or \$1.20 at the door tax inc.

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Phone rate

(Continued from Page 1)

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Company Asks State to Grant 13 Million Increase on Top of 44 Million Asked in January

N. Y. Times, July 18, 1951

HOME PHONE RATES RISE 25C A MONTH; 75C FOR BUSINESS

N. Y. Times, March 11, 1952

10% INCREASE IS SOUGHT IN PHONE RATES

Brooklyn Eagle, Dec. 1, 1953

It is the principal and controlling stockholder in three other companies; Cincinnati, Southern New England Bell, and Bell Telephone of Canada. It also owns outright the Long Lines Co., and the Western Electric Co. which makes, distributes and installs telephone equipment here and abroad, maintains its own smelting plants and runs as a sideline Western Electric Sound Systems, Inc. **FREE ENTERPRISE!** The company's ads hit a family note, speaking firstly of the family of companies joined in

a great system (although members of the family are as completely controlled by the central body as the fingers of a hand). The company also boasts that it is owned not by a handful of millionaires but by 800,000 shareholders. Actually the top 30 shareholders own over 1,000,000 shares, more than 250,000 small shareholders combined. Some 6% of the shareholders own more than half the stock.

A T & T directly controls 90% of the nation's telephone business, leaving only scattered semi-independents for free enterprise. It grosses annually close to \$3 billion.

CIGARETTE MONEY: The giant has come hat in hand to telephone users for three years running, rarely gone away empty-handed. It has used a variety of arguments, often self-contradictory. In 1951 it predicted a business slump and some consequently silenced phones in 1952, against which it sought to guard itself by a rate boost while the boosting was good.

The P. S. C. objected then that a "temporary or protracted decline" was probable but lacked "the certainty required for rate making." The company at the same time argued that demands for its services might increase, requiring further investment.

It was almost certain that this year, with far more warnings of business decline, the company would make the same plea. But in their newspaper ads the theme is not deflation but inflation. The requested increase is whittled down to a daily rate and estimated by the ad writers at "about the price for a couple of cigarettes."

Figured another way it would come to over \$50,000,000 annually in increased revenue.

ALBANY'S QUIETER: The P. S. C. last week went through the motions of rejecting the company's proposed rates so as to pave the way for hearings. These were then set for Jan. 5 in Albany. In other years hearings were held in P. S. C.'s Woolworth Bldg. office in Manhattan; the move to Albany seemed calculated to discourage popular pressure.

Under Public Service Law Section 97, the hearings must be open. Speakers before the Commission can not only fight a rate rise but press for reductions.

NEVER BEFORE AT THIS LOW PRICE

prize modern



No. 55-22
\$49.50
plus fabric

NOW . . . also available to sleep two (at additional cost.) Patent applied for.

Free delivery in N.Y.C. Mail Orders. Sorry, no C.O.D.'s. Shipped express charges collect. Free catalogue and sample of fabrics on request. Enclose 25c for postage and handling. Satisfaction Guaranteed.

CREDIT TERMS ARRANGED

©right Smilow-Thielle, 1953 modern interiors

Versatile sleep sofa designed for the ever increasing need of double duty sleeping and sitting. Thick 4 1/2" rubber mattress rests on a specially constructed cable steel spring floating platform.

The removable wedge shaped rubber bolsters afford comfortable sitting and easy conversion to 30" x 75" sleeping surface. Mattress and bolsters have zippered covers easily removed for cleaning or replacement. We offer this handsomely designed sleep sofa covered in smart decorator textured fabrics in choice of 6 colors. **\$79.50** (2 bolsters included in price.)

Back support \$9.95 additional.

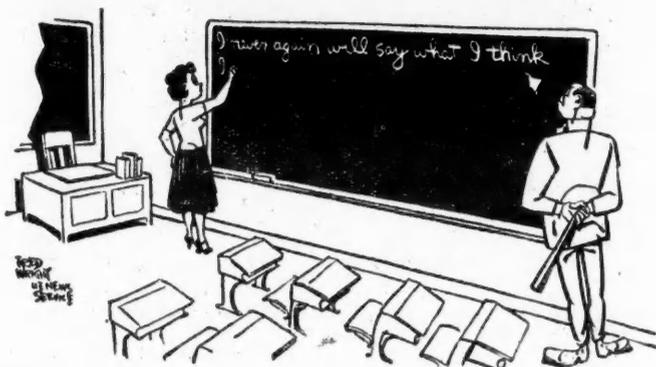
smilow-thielle

856 LEXINGTON AVE., N. Y. 21 (NR. 64 ST.) TR 9-1171

FREE PARKING: Decorator Service Available - Open Thurs. 'til 9

EDUCATION

Nazi snoop system installed in city schools and colleges



THE school system had a Mr. X last week who could dig a pitfall for Chairman of the Bd. of Higher Education Dr. Joseph B. Cavallaro.

Cavallaro said he had no idea who Mr. X is but predicted the Board would gratefully accept his offer.

'A THING OF VALUE': If the Board of Higher Education accepts Mr. X's offer, it may find it a hot potato.

The pamphlets plainly came under the legal definition of a 'gift, loan or thing . . . of value.'

TALLY HO! Undeterred by this or graver legal barriers, both Jansen and Cavallaro rode at full gallop to the witch-hunt.

'Implementation of the Feinberg Law.'

The memo enclosed forms to be filled out in connection with an elaborate system of snooping.

'To the best of my knowledge or belief and with the exceptions noted below, there is no evidence indicating that any employe listed in the Dec., 1953, payroll for (1) . . . (school or unit) is being charged with: 1: subversive activities; 2: Membership in the Communist Party of the U.S. or the Communist Party of New York State.'

Item No. 3, Form A, leaves space for the listing of 'exceptions.'

When Jansen tried to institute his program earlier, Rose Russell, legislative representative of the Teachers Union, said: 'Never before have principals been given such unheard of powers to wreck the career, livelihood and reputation of teachers under their supervision.'

THE QUESTION: On higher educational levels, Cavallaro told a Brooklyn Eagle reporter: 'And because truth means nothing to the dedicated Communist, a recently-formed special committee of six members of our board [Bd. of Higher Education] has retained legal counsel and engaged three expert investigators to work under his supervision in investigating subversive activities.'

He said that soon every college faculty member will be asked: 'Are you a member of the Communist Party?'

ALP state committee resolution

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the New York State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party at its recent meeting after two days of discussion.

The State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party accepts the resignation of Vito Marcantonio as State Chairman with deep regret, and will, in accordance with the democratic will of its members, fill the vacancy at the next meeting.

We recognize the right of men of good will to seek to advance our common aims, or any part of them, through different forms of political action.

We believe that the American Labor Party is the only existing electoral instrument for independent political action pledged to a program of peace, civil rights, civil liberties, rights of the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples, and serving the economic needs of the American people.

We decry the scandalous and unprincipled attack on former President Truman—and we believe that it will alert the American people to the fact that McCarthyism threatens to undermine the liberties of all Americans.

In face of the manifestation of an early economic recession, rising unemployment, and rising prices and rents, the American Labor Party will continue its fight to reduce taxes, rents, transit fares, for a local Fair Employment Practices Committee, for Negro representation and for the expansion of the health and welfare facilities.

We call upon all members of the American Labor Party to join us in building a larger and stronger political organization on the basis of our program.

Dorothy Parker speaks at Amnesty Rally Dec. 17

Playwright Dorothy Parker, civil liberties lawyer Royal Wilbur France, Dr. Edward K. Barsky and Carl Marzani will speak at a Christmas Amnesty Rally at 7:45 p.m., Thursday, Dec. 17, at Manhattan Plaza, 66 E. 4th St.

Tickets (admission is 50c) are on sale at the Amnesty Committee offices, 667 Madison Av.

JACK SCHWARTZ'S ALLABEN HOTEL in LAKEWOOD. CULTURAL PROGRAMS • ENTERTAINMENT FOR A DELIGHTFUL XMAS & NEW YEAR VACATION.

THE WOODLANDS PHOENICIA, N. Y. (Opening Dec. 24-Jan. 3) Skate, Ski, Sled on the grounds.

Camp Midvale Cooperative, interracial camp Midvale, N. J. TRRhine 5-2160 Reserve now for a fine CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S WEEKEND.

PUT YOURSELF AT THE TOP OF YOUR XMAS LIST! OPEN DEC. 24 THRU JAN. 3rd. CHESTERS RESORT

Ridgfield RESORT — Interracial — MID-WINTER VACATION All Seasonal Sports Arts and Crafts

ARROWHEAD LODGE for a HAPPY XMAS VACATION FOLK & SQUARE Dancing with BERNIE.

Cameras Projectors City Camera Exchange 11 John St., N.Y.C. (Between Broadway & Nassau) Digby 9-2956

A NEW SHOP! JEWELRY designed and handwrought by LORE 169 e. 96 st., n. y. c. le 4-2231

Different, But Homelike Shashlik, Beef Stroganoff, Potato Pancakes & other tasty ALEX'S Russian & American Dishes.

BIGGEST DISCOUNT HOUSE & JEWERY EXCHANGE IN THE BRONX! GINGER BROTHERS JEWELRY EXCHANGE

Patent applied for. New Prize Modern SLEEP SOFA Opens to Sleep a Comfortable two. Closed, approximately 30"x75". To sleep two opens to approximately 60"x75".

Movie Suggestions

Manhattan
AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. Far From Moscow (Russ., color) & Savage Splendor (docum. on Africa), Dec. 17-18.
ART, 36 E. 8th St. Murder on Monday (Br.), cont.
BEVERLY, 3d Av. & 50th St. Lavender Hill Mob (Br., Guinness) & Browning Version (Br.), Dec. 13-16.
BIJOU, 45th St. W. of B'way. Gilbert & Sullivan (musical-biog.), cont. Reserved seats. CO 5-8215.
COLONY, 1519 2d Av. So Big & Moonlighter, Dec. 13-15.
8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th St. 39 Steps (reissue), Dec. 12-13.
55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th St. 2 by Shaw: Major Barbara & Pygmalion, thru Dec. 15.
52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. L.H. cont.
FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. Conquest of Everest (Br. docum.), cont.
GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. Murder Will Out (Br.) & Giselle (Markova ballet), Dec. 15-19.
GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. So Big & Moonlighter (western), Dec. 13-15; Suspicion & Out of the Past (3 mystery reissues), Dec. 16-19.
GUILD, 33 W. 50th. Martin Luther (docum. biog.), cont.
NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. The Little Fugitive (Morris Engel-Ray Ashley Venice winner), cont.
PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. Captain's Paradise (Br., Guinness), cont.
PLAZA, 58th & Madison. Julius Caesar, cont.
72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. Top Hat (1935 Rogers-Astaire re-

issue), cont.
68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. Roman Holiday, Dec. 12-15; American in Paris, Dec. 16-20.
STANLEY, 7th Av. at 41st St. Sadko, by Rimsky-Korsakov & Stars of the Ukraine (both Russ.).
SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. Disney's Living Desert (full-length docum.), cont.
THALIA, B'way & 95th. 2c Worth of Hope (It.) & Last Will of Dr. Mabuse (English speech dubbed in), thru Dec. 15; Symphonie Pastorale (Fr. M. Morgan) & Devil in the Flesh (Fr., Gerald Philipe), Dec. 16-22.

Bronx
CREST, 1145 Ogden Av. Stalag 17 & Francis Covers Big Town, thru Dec. 14.
DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. 7 Deadly Sins (Fr.-It.) & Graduation Ball (ballet), cont.

Special
B'KLYN ACAD. OF MUSIC, 30 Lafayette Av. Moulin Rouge, news & Arts, 8:15 p.m., Sat., Dec. 19. \$1.
CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 8:30 & 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. "The Movies & How They Grew" Satire on Hollywood: W. C. Fields in The Bank Dick, Dec. 11-13. High point of the "real-life" film: Louisiana Story, dir. Robert Flaherty, Dec. 13-20.
MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily. Shaw's Major Barbara, Wendy Hiller, Rex Harrison. Dec. 14-20, 3 p.m. only.



ANNE REVERE
 Anne Revere, noted Hollywood actress, will give a dramatic reading from "Salt of the Earth," Michael Wilson's film script of the New Mexico copper mine strike, Friday, Dec. 18, at 8 p.m. at Manhattan Towers, Broadway at 76th St. The evening is being presented by the Natl. Council of ASP, 35 W. 64th St. The film itself will open in New York late next month. Miss Revere, who has appeared in more than 40 films, won an Academy Award in 1945. She is a direct descendant of Paul Revere. Tickets are \$1 in advance (at ASP) or \$1.20 at the door, tax incl.

Events for Children

Films
AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. Pygmies of Africa & Watussi, Wed., Dec. 16, 4 p.m.; Herders and Hunters of the North, Sat., Dec. 19, 2 p.m. Free.
MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Flight Log (airplane design from Wright brothers to present and future) & International Airport, Sat., Dec. 12, 3 p.m.; Prospecting for Petroleum & The History of the Helicopter, Sat., Dec. 19, 3 p.m. Free.
HENRY ST. PLAYHOUSE, 466 Grand St. Holiday Films: Parade (toys in color); Cops (Buster Keaton comedy); Song of the Prairie (puppet Western); Monkeys, Sat., Dec. 19, 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.
B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. The U.S.A., Sun., Dec. 20, 4 p.m. Lecture Hall, 3d fl. Free.
CHRISTMAS FILMS, New Utrecht Library Branch, 1804 18th Av., B'klyn. Sat., Dec. 19, 11 a.m. Free.
55TH ST. TRANSLUX THEATER, 85th St. & Madison Av. Cross Section of So. Amer.; Dude Ranch Sports & Do or Diet, Sat.-Tues., Dec. 19-22. Special Children's Show: Christmas Carol & Rudolph the Red Nosed Reindeer, Sat., Dec. 19, 11 a.m. (Also playing Dec. 19 at the Colony, 1519 2d Av. & Crest, 1145 Ogden Av.)

Music
FUN WITH MUSIC, second concert in a series of five for children 6-12. Academy of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashford Pl. Sat., Dec. 19, at 3 p.m. \$1.50.
YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONCERT — Philharmonic Society, Wilfrid Pelletier conducting. The Story of Nativity, second concert in a series of five. Ages 9 and older. Town Hall, 123 W. 43d St., Sat., Dec. 19, at 3 p.m. \$1-\$3.

Plays
SLEEPING BEAUTY, Playmart Children's Theatre, Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Performances, Dec. 19 & 26, at 1 & 2:45 p.m.; Sun., Dec. 20 & 27, at 2:45 p.m. 75c-\$1.20.
FIVE LITTLE PEPPERS AND HOW THEY GREW, Junior Theater, Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Performances 2 p.m. on Sats., thru Dec. 26. Admission: \$1.20, \$1.00, \$2.40. CI 6-0224.
ALICE IN WONDERLAND, Stuyvesant Center, 265 Decatur St.,

B'klyn. Dept. of Parks Marionette Theater, Wed., Dec. 23, 3:30 p.m. For perf. in your locality and tickets call RE 4-1000. Free.
PUPPET PLAY, Saratoga Library Branch, 8 Hopkinson Av., B'klyn. Fri., Dec. 18, 4 p.m. Free.

Miscellaneous
STORY HOUR: B'klyn Museum, Eastern Parkway & Washington Av. Lecture Hall, Sat., Dec. 19, 10:30 a.m. B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., Dec. 19, 11:30 a.m. Free.
AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park at 79th St. Planetarium Christmas Show. The Star of Bethlehem. Also giant lollipop tree in planetarium dome with animated toys around its base. Show hours: weekdays, 2, 3:30 & 8:30 p.m. Sats., 11 a.m. 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Sun. & holidays, 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Children 40c, adults 65c mats., evens. 95c.
FOLK AND SQUARE DANCING, at Folk House, 108 W. 16th St. Every Sat. night. 8-11 p.m. For teen-agers. \$1.
CHILDREN'S HOLIDAY CARNIVAL, Museum of Modern Art, 11 W. 53d St. Children 4-8 to play with specially designed toys and paint, take results home. Make reservations in advance. No adults allowed. One hour sessions daily except Sun. at 10 & 11 a.m. and 2, 3 & 4 p.m. Dec. 14-Jan. 17, 20c for a.m. & 45c p.m. CI 5-8900.
AMERICAN YOUTH HOSTEL, Metropolitan Council, 344 W. 36th St. Information and reservations: LO 3-4289.
 Sat., Dec. 19. Bike: Moderate, to Massapequa. Meet 9 a.m. at Sunrise Highway & Woodhaven Blvd. Bike: Ride the Shoreway Parkway and visit Idlewild Airport. Meet 10 a.m. at 69th St. Ferry, B'klyn, or 9:30 a.m. at Ocean Av. & Av. Z. Hike: Beginner's Special. Includes ferry ride across the Hudson. Bring lunch, wear comfortable shoes, dress warmly. Meet 10 a.m., N.Y. side Washington Bridge. 50c.

Where to Go

Music and Dance
JUDAS MACCABAEUS, Handel's oratorio with folk and other music. Hanukkah-Christmas concert. Bronx Jewish Young Folk Singers. 8:30 p.m., Sat., Dec. 19, New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Rd. 90c-\$1.80.
FOLK MUSIC CONCERT, The Villagers quartet, Sonny Terry, guest artist. 8:30 p.m., Fri., Dec. 18, Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St. \$1.20.
PEARL PRIMUS dance group. 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. Sun., Dec. 13, Y.M.W.H.A. Auditorium, Lexington Av. & 92d St. \$1, \$1.50, \$2.
AMATO OPERA, 8:30 p.m., 159 Bleeker St. Free. Reserv: GE 7-2844. La Boheme, Dec. 11-13, 18-19.
LA PUMA OPERA WORKSHOP, 405 W. 41st St. Aida, 8 p.m., Sun., Dec. 13; La Forza Del Destino, 7:45 p.m., Sat., Dec. 20. Free. Write for tickets or call TR 4-9646.
VIRTUOSI DI ROMA, chamber music ensemble led by Renato Fasano. All Vivaldi program, including Four Seasons Concerti. 5:30 p.m., Sun., Dec. 13, Town Hall, 123 W. 43d St. \$1.50-\$3.

Miscellaneous
ART EXHIBIT, works by members of District 65, 4th floor gallery, 13 Astor Pl. thru Jan. 5.
KINSEY REPORT, forum with Dr. Clementina Paolone, Dr. Harry K.

Wells, Rosalie Berry, chmn. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Dec. 13, Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. \$1, students 50c.
WEST INDIAN CARNIVAL, color movies of 1953 Trinidad Carnival, Caribbean refreshments, Edna Smith and her Dots with music for dancing. 8:30 p.m., Sat., Dec. 12, 447 Lenox Av. (bet. 132-133 Sts.) Spons: Friends of Harlem Affairs Committee. Cont.: \$1.
BOOK FAIR, Authors & publishers discuss new works, authors' problems. Shirley Graham, Philip Bonosky, Albert Kahn, Eve Merriam, Arthur Kahn, Henry Meyer, others. ASP Writing & Publishing Div. at ASP Clubhouse, 35 W. 64th St. 3-7 p.m. Sun., Dec. 13.

Drama
ALL MY SONS, Arthur Miller's 1947 play about a war profiteer. Hudson Guild Community Players, "New York's only non-commercial repertory." 8:40 p.m., Fri., Dec. 18, Tues. & Wed., Dec. 29 & 30, Hudson Guild, 436 W. 27th St. \$1, members 50c.
GOAT SONG, by Franz Werfel. Equity Library Theatre, 331 E. 70th St. 8:30 p.m., Dec. 16-20, mat. 3 p.m., Dec. 20. Free. Send stamped, self-addressed envelope to E.L.T.
MADAM, WILL YOU WALK, Sidney Howard's last play, at the Phoenix Theater, 2d Av. at 12th St., with Jessica Tandy and Hume Cronyn.
THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews interracial theater. 141 W. 13th St.

Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv: TR 3-4810.
THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. evens, mass. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.
OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival professional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. evens, 8:40. \$1.20-\$1.80; Sat. mat., 2:40. 75c-\$1.20, thru Dec. 20, TR 9-5480.
N.Y. CITY CENTER, 131 W. 55th St. Tues.-Sun. evens, \$1.20-\$3.60. Sat. & Sun. mats. \$1.20-\$3.
 Shakespeare's Richard III, Dec. 9-20.
SIMPLETON OF THE UNEXPECTED ISLES, by G. B. Shaw. Vaughn-James production, Davenport Theater, 138 E. 27th St. 8:45 nightly except Monday. \$1-\$3. Reserv: MU 4-9485.

GET ONE NEW GUARDIAN READER THIS WEEK.

XMAS RALLY

Xmas Time Is Amnesty Time!

Amnesty For Smith Act Victims
 Speakers:
 • Dr. W. E. B. DuBois
 • Edward K. Barsky, M.D.
 • Dorothy Parker
 • Carl Marzani
 and Earl Robinson

THURSDAY, DEC. 17 — 7:45 P.M.
 MANHATTAN PLAZA
 66 East 4th Street, N. Y. C.
 Admission 50c (tax incl.)

Protest Assault on Robert Thompson
 National Comm. to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
 667 Madison Av., New York 21 Room 611 TE 2-9620

DEC: 11-13:
The Movies: How They Grew "THE BANK DICK"
 with W. C. Fields in a classic satire on Hollywood by Hollywood.
 Dec. 18-20: "Louisiana Story"
 Shows at 8:30 & 10 p.m. Fri., Sat. & Sun.
 Members, \$1; Non-Members \$1.25
 439 6th Av.
CLUB CINEMA Nr. 9th St.



Make a Date!
Saturday Eve December 12
 for the
ANNUAL XMAS PARTY
 and
CABARET NITE
 of
L'UNITA

YUGOSLAV HALL
 405 W. 41st St., N. Y. C.
Make Merry!
 ... while munching on castagne arrostite, antipasto and a host of other Italian delicacies...
Make Friends
 ... while dancing to Italian waltzes, polkas and mazurkas...
 Admission: \$1.25 tax inc.

childplay
 FOR those creative & educational toys so difficult to find.
 FOR those parents who carefully select play materials that meet their child's individual needs.
 203 W. 14th St. (7 Av.) CH 3-3368
 Open evenings till Christmas

SUNDAY FORUM
The New Kinsey Report
"Sexual Behavior in the Human Female"
 a discussion with
 Dr. Clementina Paolone
 Dr. Harry K. Wells
 Chairman: Mrs. Rosalie Berry
 SUN., DEC. 13 — 8:30 P.M.
 Sub. \$1. Refreshments
 THE JEFFERSON SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
 575 Av. of Americas (16th St.)

Bob Carey, Laura Duncan, Elizabeth Knight, Pete Seeger & many more at People's Artists big Xmas eve.
HOOTENANNY
 Thurs., Dec. 24, 8:30. Manhattan Ctr. (34 St. & 8 Av.) Tik \$1.25 in adv., \$1.50 at door, now at bookshops, People's Artists, 124 W. 21 St. WA 9-3907.

CHANUKAH-XMAS CONCERT
 SATURDAY, DEC. 19 — 8:30 P.M.
 New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Rd., Bx.
 ... featuring ...
 • Sections from Handel's "Judas Maccabaeus."
 • Authentic choral folk music from Africa.
 • New arrangements of Jewish and Israeli songs.
 Robert De Cormier, conductor
 Pete Seeger, guest soloist
 Tickets 90c, \$1.20 and \$1.80

salute to a
FREE AFRICA
 fri., dec. 18 — 9 p.m.
 broadway casino
 559 w. 146th st.
 dancing and entertainment
 adm: \$1.20 tax inc., tables \$3
 Ausp: Distributive & Office Workers Committee

the Villagers new voices in Folk Music
 FRI., DEC. 18 — 8:30 P.M. YUGOSLAV HALL
 Admission: \$1.20 405 W. 41st St., N. Y. C.
 GUY CARAWAN, ERIK DARLING, FRED GERLACH, ETHEL GOLDSTEIN
 Guest artist: SONNY TERRY

War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

form at least of diplomatic negotiation with Moscow is a measure of the failure of its cold war policy.

NOISES FROM McCARTHY: Every official and press statement, however, has made clear Washington's determination to torpedo the unwelcome four-power talks and use their failure to speed war mobilization of the capitalist world. But the British and French governments, although wholly dependent on Washington, are increasingly compelled by economic and political reality to try to slow down the war policy. The pressures for an independent foreign policy cannot be downed—the more so as in the U. S. the frustration of the cold war finds expression in McCarthyism.

Sen. McCarthy's call for blockade of China, punishment of allies who won't play ball, pressure on the White House to stop all Western trade with China, represents no real "split" with the Eisenhower Administration which like Truman's has tried for just such goals. As the *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out (12/2), Dulles' claim that McCarthy "attacked the very heart of U. S. foreign policy" was made only on the eve of Bermuda when he could scarcely help it. In this period when U. S. policy is failing, continuance of the cold war (really the preparatory stage of aggressive war) must put the McCarthys in the saddle. Their power will grow with the mounting debacle of U. S. policy.

WHY IT WON'T WORK: Washington's attempt to split the world into hostile blocs is impossible; the debacle is con-

into depression. U. S. comment discounted the prediction but *Business Week* (12/4) said: "Clark has been right too often to ignore."

Economic indicators do not yet suggest the current inventory shakedown is "it." But even the slightest U. S. downturn would be multiplied in Europe and could set off real depression there.

2. Steady growth of socialist-world production at a much faster rate than capitalist production in the U. S. and NATO countries. This is conceded even by U. S. figures which make "allowance of exaggeration" in Soviet statistics.

Soviet economic development has entered a new stage in which it will pass from "sufficiency to abundance." Consumption standards are to rise two to three times in the next few years. Price cuts and other measures added 75 billion rubles (over \$18 billion) to Soviet purchasing power this year. The projected jump in living standards in-

since 1950, is the subject of investigation by Congressional committee and ominous warnings. The impact is just beginning to be felt in world trade.

DOLLARS AND MARKETS: Outside the U. S. and Canada, the capitalist world still suffers a severe dollar shortage despite appearances. Apparent alleviation of W. Europe's dollar shortage was achieved only by: 1) massive U. S. aid (mostly military) of \$6.4 billion in fiscal 1953—more than in any year of the Marshall Plan; 2) cuts in dollar imports. Blocked from U. S. markets by high tariffs and a snarl of customs regulations, W. European countries are

"... beginning to look to eastern Europe, not simply as a source of dollar saving imports but also as a potentially expanding export market" (*UN Econ. Bulletin for Europe*, 11/53).

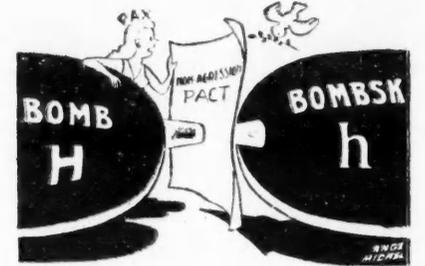
Official figures show no increase in East-West trade this year, largely because of the fall of British purchases of Soviet grain; but Soviet trade agreements with Denmark, France, Belgium, Sweden, Netherlands, Greece, etc., mark the beginning of a trend. So does the 23-nation timber conference in October, which urged increased W. European imports "particularly from non-dollar areas such as the Soviet Union." The *UN Bulletin* said analysis of Soviet trade agreements showed they would "allow W. European countries to make substantial savings in dollar imports"; their most interesting feature, it found, was the Soviet bloc's re-emergence as suppliers of oil to W. European markets. Quantities agreed to or offered point to a rise from Soviet exports of 590,000 tons in 1952 to two million tons a year.

S. AMERICAN TREND: The same processes are at work in other dollar-short countries. Following the Soviet-Argentine trade agreement, for example, agitation for resumption of diplomatic and trade relations with the socialist world increased in Brazil which needs wheat and oil and markets for sold exports. A reported U. S. threat to bar all U. S. exports to Brazil unless it canceled scheduled ore shipments to Czechoslovakia was publicized through Latin America under such headlines as "U. S. DICTATES HUNGER FOR LATIN AMERICA." Chile was forced to bar copper sales to the socialist world as one price of U. S. agreement to buy Chile's copper. But the *N. Y. Times* reported (11/13):

"South American trade with Iron Curtain countries generally has been picking up and appears destined for a considerable increase due chiefly to the general dollar shortage."

RUBBER CRISIS: Also helping to

puncture U. S.-erected trade barriers around the socialist world are the decline in commodity prices in the capitalist world, the threat of dumping of huge U. S. farm surpluses, and U. S. stockpile policies. The price of rubber—largely as a result of U. S. manipulation of its stockpile buying—is down to pre-Korea lows, threatening mass unemployment and closing down of plantations in Indonesia and Malaya. Meanwhile Ceylon, which defied the U. S. to sell rubber to China, is getting



Catrefour, Paris
"They might have used something else as a paperweight."

premium prices and has a sure market. Last month, Indonesia, 52% of whose revenues come from rubber, announced a mission to Peking to try for a rubber deal. Previously Indonesia complied with the U. S. embargo. Britain is also demanding the right to sell Malayan rubber to China.

NEW OUTLETS: U. S. announcement that it had 40,000 more tons of tin than it needed in its stockpile shocked the Intl. Tin Conference in Geneva early this month, foreshadowed what one delegate called "complete and absolute chaos." This is an example of how the U. S. wages economic war and is forcing other capitalist countries to seek new markets to avoid economic disaster.

Prices of timber, which make up 85% of Finland's exports, dropped almost 50% in the last two years, threatening Finland's export earnings. Finland, however, oriented its trade toward the Soviet bloc: Soviet share of its exports increased from 14% in 1951 to nearly 30% in 1953. And Finland is now offering Britain and France 3-way trade deals with the U. S. S. R. Iceland, barred from selling its fish in Britain, signed a trade agreement to sell half its fish exports to the U. S. S. R. in return for oil and cereal.

These are only straws in the wind. Other developments making for defeat of the U. S. effort to split the world will be discussed in another article.



Francois in Tribune des Nations
EDC PACT: IN INK ON WATER

volves expansion of foreign trade. Imports of consumer goods alone will total four billion rubles (\$1 billion) in 1953. In recent months trade agreements were concluded with 11 countries, negotiations are on with others.

The new stage of Soviet development, and the beginning of China's planned drive for industrialization, will have a momentous impact on the weakening capitalist world. Already the expected "psychological" effect of rising Soviet living standards in under-developed areas and in W. Europe, where consumption per head has scarcely risen in 20 years and has actually dropped

The bitter British

Fourteen debating teams from London University will take part in the final regional round of the national student debating tournament on Thursday at King's College. They are to debate the motion "That this House regrets the discovery of America."

—London Times, Nov. 24.

tained in these basic factors:

1. **The economic crisis developing in the capitalist world.** A sign of its development was the collective shudder caused by Australian economist Colin Clark's recent prediction of a U. S. slump in mid-1954 with 6 or 7 million unemployed. In the *Manchester Guardian* Clark pointed to a striking similarity between economic conditions today and those immediately preceding 1929, suggested the present inventory cutback could set off the chain reaction

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3RD ANNUAL XMAS PARTY for the Smith Act children. Dec. 13, 2-5 p.m. 1547 N. Leavitt. Donation: Adults, \$1; children, 25c. Sponsors: Political Victims Welfare Comm.

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It is *American Folk Songs for Christmas*,* compiled by Ruth Crawford Seeger (who died unexpectedly last month in Washington at the age of 52) and beautifully illustrated by Barbara Cooney.

Mrs. Seeger was a noted music educator and authority on folk music and her selection contains melodies and versions of Christmas music which have never before been published except in notebook form. The notation is simple throughout; and one- or two-finger notepicker who can keep time can make it sing out. The songs are drawn from among spirituals, mountain and back country folklore and a few from America's almost extinct Shaker tradition.

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* AMERICAN FOLK SONGS FOR CHRISTMAS, by Ruth Crawford Seeger. 55 songs and one fiddle tune, fully illustrated by Barbara Cooney. 80 pp., music manuscript size. Price \$3. Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N. Y.

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THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK

by
Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

We print below the tribute of an important Negro critic to one of the greatest figures of our time, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. We are reprinting this review from the Afro-American, not only because it says important things about a brave and honorable man and a brave and honorable book, but because we hope it will persuade you to read and own this book.

Book Review, Baltimore Afro-American, Nov. 21, 1953

By J. Saunders Redding

In celebration of the 50th anniversary of its original publication, **The Souls of Black Folk** is handsomely published again. This is a fitting tribute to a book that at the time of its first appearance made articulate, and beautifully so, the protests and prayers of a section of the population that was then inarticulate.

It is also fitting tribute to a man whose idealism has often been mistaken for something much less, and whose courage, undaunted by "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," inspired a movement that might have died a-borning; a movement that, in the last analysis, led to the intellectual emancipation which a better publicized, reactionary and denigrating movement would have delayed indefinitely or thwarted altogether. Suppose there had been no DuBois! One sickens at the thought.

But this is not the thing I wish most to talk about. Everyone grants now, I think, that W. E. B. DuBois was the right man for those poisoned times, and that for two generations he was almost the only man.

What bothers me at the moment is that, granting this, we are inclined to forget something else; and that something else, it seems to me, is the very thing that makes this 50th anniversary publication more than a tribute to the personal integrity of a man and the movement he led.

It is hard for me to have patience with writers who require great effort to get at their meaning. DuBois does not require this. His thoughts are always simply, clearly and precisely expressed . . .

He is sensitive to the beauty of language, yet never is he unduly florid. He attains nobility of expression, yet never errs on the side of preciousness. He is often terse, yet fluid and relaxed.

Few modern thinkers have been so careful as DuBois to communicate difficult thought with illuminating precision.

And to speak of another specific thing that makes republication of **The Souls of Black Folk** worthwhile—how surprisingly fresh, even timely, some of the essays are even after 50 years! ("The problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line," rings true—truer—than when it was first written.)

And how timeless other essays are! "Of the Passing of the First-Born" is, I am sure, enduring. Nor is this an accident. Had DuBois chosen subjects said to have universal appeal, most of his writing would endure as literature.

But he could not do this—personal integrity and his involvement, in a particular struggle would not allow it. Yet, those who think that the causes for which DuBois fought 50 years ago have all been won should re-read **The Souls of Black Folk**.

The regular price of **THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK** in this special, autographed and numbered edition, is \$5.00. However, if you use the coupon below, you can take advantage of our special offer to **GUARDIAN** readers of \$3.00. (Add 20c for postage and handling. N. Y. C. residents add 9c more for sales tax.)

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BOOKS 'Strength for Struggle': Wm. Howard Melish's call to all people of faith to lift up their hearts

By Charles I. Stewart

WILLIAM HOWARD MELISH is the storm-center of the first cold-war attack on pro-



gressive Protestant ministers in America. As a result of civil court action his father was removed as rector of Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, because he refused to dismiss his son as assistant rector for "radical activities." Since then the younger Melish—the choice of the vestry to succeed his father—has continued as temporary pastor of the church on a "day-to-day" basis.

Two things emerge from Melish's book of 25 short essays and a dozen historical interludes: the fiber of his character, and his presentation, in splendid and restrained language, of the burning Judeo-Christian belief in the practical possibility to move mountains. Those of us who share his faith, and have had the high adventure of struggle with him, are startled into a realization of what indeed it is that we have been doing. For those to whom the Melish case has been a legal battle for principles, the book is a revelation of the courage and stubborn zeal which lay behind the cold facade of judicial procedures. This is the story of the victory—and a call to all people of faith, within and without the religious experience, to lift up their hearts.

THE STRONG VOICE: At the time when the N. Y. Board of Education had denied all standing to the Teachers Union as "subversive," this was how Melish spoke of the Union from the pulpit: "A powerful voice, fighting for an efficient and expanded school program. . . ."

Break such a body and you eliminate a bulwark of the democratic school system . . . and leave the Roman Catholic influences unchallenged in the saddle. Our Protestant leaders know this . . . but discretion is the better part of valor and few of them desire to incur the penalty evoked by public protest."

In Sept., 1952, Melish told his congregation: "As I look at the set faces of the throngs around me, I wonder: Do these people never feel as I feel? What do they think about life and death in Korea? Do they worry, as I do, about the trend toward an expanded and disastrous war? Do they see through the glittering generalities and empty promises of the



MELISH: FATHER & SON
John Howard . . . Wm. Howard

political speeches of the current campaign? Do they care about the steady undercutting and whittling away of our civil rights . . . to think and read and make friends . . . ?"

MANY VOICES: Those who have seen in the Protestant churches only a cowardly retreat and surrender to the State Dept. and the Pentagon, must on the basis of this book look deeper to evaluate properly the progressive forces in Amer-

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ica. For Melish is not a voice crying in the wilderness; he is the most articulate voice among an increasing number of parish clergy and religious leaders, whose acceptance of the Gospel of the Carpenter is arming them for the struggle against the drive to war and fascism, forcing them into alliances on specific issues with the masses of the people in their struggle against monopoly capital. (Over 2,700 clergymen supported Melish in an amicus brief before the Supreme Court when the lower court's right was challenged in the Melish case.)

This was what inspired the attacks on the church by Velde, McCarthy & Co. And that is why no one who wishes to understand the present can neglect this book.

STRENGTH FOR STRUGGLE, by William Howard Melish. Bromwell Press, 157 Montague St., Bklyn 1, N. Y. 248 pp., with preface by Dr. Joseph F. Fletcher. \$2.75.

IN MEMORIAM
Harold E. Baughman
b. Aug. 28, 1896 d. Nov. 1, 1953
Of Abolitionist Iowa stock, his forebear Edwin Coppo died on the gallows with John Brown. He spent his time helping his neighbors and friends and doing all he could to further mankind's lot.
A group of Palo Alto friends

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The Butler Bill

(Continued from Page 3)

by then it would be out of business for good.

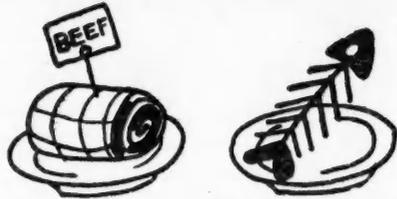
The law is so broad, general and inclusive that it could be used against any union. The very preamble of the AFL would make it suspect, and the CIO would be a natural target under this definition drafted by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Dec., 1951:

"In spite of a partial house-cleaning, the CIO has never rid itself of its Marxist economics. Virtually every important speech and publication . . . is replete with class consciousness, hatred for employers, and is designed to intensify the class struggle. . . ."

KNOCK 'EM ALL OFF: AFL president George Meany said of similar provisions in an earlier bill now supplanted by Butler's:

"It would put communist-dominated unions out of business, just like it would put all other unions out of business."

Research dir. Glenn Slaughter of the AFL's League for Political Education



Canard Enchaîne, Paris

RED MEAT INSTEAD OF HERRING

said:

"It could order out of business any union that ever advocated anything the Communist Party advocated, including income taxes and public schools."

That the measure has Administration blessing was suggested in a N. Y. Times report last Aug. 3 that one Eisenhower proposal for T-H amendment would be this:

"The non-Communist oath required of union officials who want NLRB assistance for the union would be eliminated and the problem of Communist influence in unions would be dealt with in general legislation."

The Butler bill is the general legislation.

MATLES TALKS UP: Current spy-hysteria is perfect breeding climate for this labor-front measure; to whip it up further three Congressional red-hunting units were at work last week. First attacks were on independent unions which, at the moment, were the only ones fighting back. The Butler "task force" itself started a series of hearings around the country in Pittsburgh, with main attention to the United Electrical Workers. Sen. McCarthy pitched in with a series of quickie hearings in New York and Massachusetts. At one closed and secret session, UE director of organization James J. Matles told him bluntly:

"McCarthy, you are a liar. . . . When you accuse me of spying, and when you accuse decent working people in Lynn and Schenectady of spying and sabotage, you are lying, Sen. McCarthy."

The Senator has refused insistent demands that the sensational testimony be made public.

Last week Rep. Velde's House Committee on Un-American Activities got into the show with hearings in San Francisco, with particular attention to the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehouse-

Hallinan: 18 months, \$50,000 in fines

Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952, was sentenced Dec. 8 in San Francisco to 18 months in jail and a \$10,000 fine for each of five counts of income tax evasion on which a jury found him guilty last month. The 18-month jail sentence was imposed on each of the counts but the terms were to run concurrently. Hallinan was also ordered to pay costs of the 11-week trial.

men's union headed by Harry Bridges. The union noted that the hearings were "timed to hamper" negotiations with employers following a strike vote by sugar workers in Hawaii:

"The committee's true purpose . . . is to wreck our union and turn the clock back to the open shop and fink hall."

For answer, 6,000 longshoremen shut down tight the port of San Francisco for a one-day stop-work meeting at the Civic Center near where the hearings were held.

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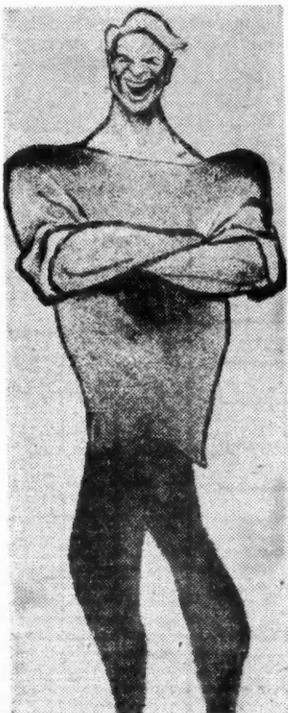
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