



AND SHE REALLY WAS GOING TO GRANDMOTHER'S HOUSE
Seems Grandma had promised to take Lona Johnson, 4, of Brooklyn shopping for a new Easter dress. Lona couldn't wait and went in search of Grandma, when she was apprehended by a wolf of a cop. But this wolf had no teeth and Lona got Grandma AND the dress.

UNION LEADERS START TO WORRY

Restrict-labor laws pushed by headline-happy probers

By Lawrence Emery

THE SENATE PROBE of racketeering and other wrongdoing in the labor movement by last week was the biggest Congressional show since Joe McCarthy gunned for Reds and Sen. Estes Kefauver flayed crime. Saturation coverage by most of the U.S. press, with magnification of some of the more lurid details, was so heartening to the probers themselves that legislative timetables were being moved up.

Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.), chairman of the investigating committee, earlier in the hearings had said that since the probe was scheduled for a year's duration, legislative proposals would be held until its completion. But on April 14 he announced that the committee very likely would press for new laws to be enacted in this session of Congress and indicated that specific recommendations

would be made by June:

THE PAIN SETS IN: Employer organizations like the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers and the Chambers of Commerce were turning on the heat and it was reported early this month that at least three government departments—Commerce, Justice and Labor—were studying proposals to put labor under the anti-trust laws.

Even without new legal restrictions, labor was beginning to feel adverse effects from the investigation. Union spokesmen in Washington reported organizing efforts bogged down or not even started, and one official was quoted as calling the probe "a stunning blow to union organizing programs." Another said resistance to unionism in the South is now the worst in 20 years. Prospective members were sending back appeals to join signed "Dave Beck," and unions

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WILL THE BOOM KEEP BOOMING?

What's with the American Economy?

By Tabitha Petran
(First of two articles)

AS THE POSTWAR BOOM, entering its 12th year, stretches out into one of the longest in U. S. history, a flurry of business forecasts testifies to the growing interest in one big question: Will it last? The developments which have promoted this widespread interest include:

- The nervous performance of the stock market in recent months, apparently reflecting business concern over profit margins.
- The levelling-off of production for the last seven months and the failure of the usual "spring upturn" thus far to materialize.
- The 12,686 business failures in 1956—highest in any year since 1940.

- The month-to-month rise in consumer prices—to a point almost 17% above the 1950 level—and the consequent pressure on living standards and consumer demand. For example, although prices today are higher than this time last year, the dollar volume of retail trade is hardly greater.

- The decline in housing activity and the slowdown in production and sales of

things that go into homes—television sets, radios, refrigerators, home appliances.

- The continued slump in auto sales.

PREDICTIONS ARE BRIGHT: If predictions at the beginning of the year tended to strike "the greatest-year-in-history" note, the business press is now pointing to "signs of a shift in business." Nearly all forecasts, however, remain strongly optimistic. The worst that is envisaged is "a pause in the boom" later this year, or an "adjustment" milder than those of 1947 and 1953-54.

Y & last December, J. P. Morgan partner Henry P. Alexander warned: "Histor-

(Continued on Page 10)

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NEW YORK, N. Y., APRIL 29, 1957

WAR & PEACE

Easing of tension in East and West hinted by leaders

By Kumar Goshal

MAYBE BECAUSE IT WAS SPRING. Perhaps some genuine relaxation of tension was in the air. In any case, leading statesmen both East and West made cautiously conciliatory statements during the last few days.

At a Syrian Embassy reception in Moscow April 17 Soviet CP secretary Khrushchev expressed regret at the transfer of U.S. Ambassador Charles E. Bohlen from the U.S.S.R. to the Philippines. He said: "We do not understand why they are taking you away from us and sending you so far away. We understand you and you understand us. We hate to see you go."

The same day Soviet Premier Bulganin, noting that both Egypt and Hungary were quiet, said that "there again appears a possibility of relaxation of international tension, improvement of relations and development of contacts between nations."

"BETTER ATMOSPHERE": At his April 17 press conference President Eisenhower spoke optimistically about progress at the London disarmament conference and at the Cairo negotiations on the Suez Canal. The President said his disarmament adviser Harold Stassen "believes that the atmosphere is better, and there is more indication that we are really . . . trying to get at some kind of a reasonable answer than we have been in the past."

"We think we have made progress" or, the Suez Canal issue, the President said. "We haven't given up hope that some arrangement can be made." He advised American shipowners to be "prudent" about sending their ships through the Gulf of Aqaba and "not try to bull their way where they are forbidden to go." He still felt that dispute over passage through the Gulf should be settled by the World Court. He said "it is up to the individual shipping company absolutely" to decide on plying the Suez Canal.

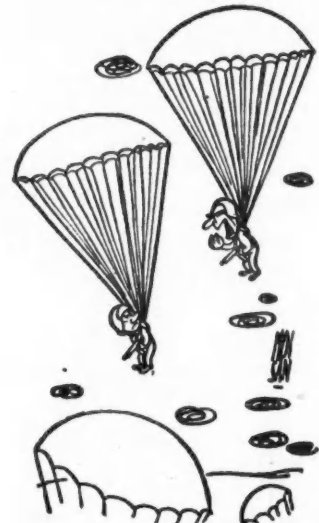
However, while last week's statements were all springlike, not all of its events were.

DEBATE IN LONDON: Parliamentary debate on the British White Paper on de-

fense disclosed glaring contradictions and modifications already forced by Britain's NATO allies. It also gave the impression that reduction in the number of troops and reliance on guided missiles and nuclear weapons were made partly to blunt the Labour Party's criticism of Tory policy (see Konni Ziliacus, p. 5).

The White Paper "frankly recognized" that Britain would be defenseless in a nuclear war and that "the overriding consideration . . . must be to prevent war rather than to prepare for it." The logical step for Britain to take, therefore,

(Continued on Page 5)



Canard Enchaîne, Paris
"Orders countermanded! The Colonel says, 'Unjump.'"



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The night is long BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

Will the day ever dawn when traffic in arms is made illegal by international agreement and is everywhere looked upon as subversive and anti-social—as slave trade and dope traffic already are (except possibly in picturesque parts of the world like Saudi Arabia)?

A March Hare notion prevails that H-bombs, guided missiles and so forth have a protective value, whereas the exact opposite is the truth.

Rhoda Clarke

Arm-twisters

DETROIT, MICH.

The arm of the American consumer is being twisted until it is in danger of coming loose at the shoulder. While the breadwinner groans in his effort to pay the grocery, rent and service bills, inflationary pressures continue to undermine the entire economy. Big business is quick to lay the blame on wage increases.

Eino Hiltunen

Realignment

PAHOKEE, FLA.

Once upon a time Minnesota had a good name for a political party: Farmer-Labor! Suppose the 1960 election should turn out a hundred million votes this way: 30 million Republicans, 30 million Democrats, 40 million Farmer-Labor. Accordingly the Senate and House would be 30% Republican, 30% Democrats, 40% Farmer-Labor. Try to find out what you are really getting for your vote.

R. E. Boe

Ought to be a law

HAVERHILL, MASS.

If the scheme is carried out of drafting all able-bodied men into the army, so that all but the old men become subjects of the military, what becomes of civilian rights?

Whether men are trainees, part-time soldiers or privates, all will lose the right to be tried in civilian courts every time they are faced with charges, criminal or political.

In the old days in Mexico there were laws called "fueros". According to these laws, soldiers and churchmen could be judged only by their fellows, not by the laws of the land.

Benito Juarez, when he was president, passed the Ley Juarez which abolished the "fueros". According to the Ley Juarez, churchmen and soldiers enjoyed the same legal rights as other citizens, no less and no more. The Church opposed the Ley Juarez, calling the supporters of it "atheists" and "enemies of religion."

(The statements are contained in the book *Juarez, Hero of Mexico* by Nina Brown Baker,

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Calling Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer a "moron," Thomas J. Curran, Manhattan Republican leader, has put a blast on Harvard University for letting the scientist speak on campus.

Curran spoke yesterday at the annual communion breakfast of the Catholic Guild of the Liquor, Beer and Wine Industry.

—Long Island

Star Journal, 4/15

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: P. Young, New York, N.Y.

Vanguard Press, New York).

This country needs to pass laws to ensure the legal rights of soldiers if any able-bodied man is ever to have full freedom again.

M. I. L.

Middle East policy

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Marxist philosophy teaches that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism, hence it is necessary to fight it and side with the nations under its control. However, this point of view unfortunately negates the fact that Arabians are terribly exploited by such feudal rulers as King Saud. These rulers maintain slavery, ruthlessly suppress uprisings and continue to bargain with the anti-communist West. Nasser, Saud and other rulers of the Middle East do not give a hang about the average Egyptian or Arab. They seek greater power for themselves. They fear Israel because it is a modern state that shows how a better standard of living can be obtained in a backward, feudal area.

Let progressives side with the exploited Arabs, Egyptians, etc., of the Middle East but not with out-dated rulers who live in luxury on the backs of the poor, backward populations of that area. Should Nasser or anyone else take an anti-imperialist stand against the great powers, this does not necessarily make them the benefactors of their own people who go on living in poverty.

Seymour Koff

Salutatory

BARD COLLEGE, N. Y.

For a college student, your paper is extremely valuable. It always interests me to compare articles on the same subject with the N. Y. Times. One suggestion—more articles on cultural activities, reviews, etc., would increase GUARDIAN value.

E. I.

Maze

SAPULPA, OKLA.

The doctrines and teachings of each religion are a maze of foolishness, falsehood, fiction, fallacy and contradiction, and they are coming more and more into discredit as travel increases and scientific knowledge and general education drives out the shadows from the human mind.

The true approach to religion,

in my opinion, consists in recognizing our own limitations in time and space, which are illimitable, and the futility of trying to solve the riddle of the universe; in trying to make the best of the only existence of which we have any assurance, by observing such rules of conduct as will bring happiness, here and now, to as many as possible of our fellow creatures—trusting the future, as we have been forced to trust the past, to the incomprehensible.

James A. Mooney

Silver lining

PORTLAND, ORE.

Thank you for Belfrage's book and still more for his articles. How wonderful that you could have somebody on the spot in Accra! Whatever it is to him, his exile, for GUARDIAN readers, is a cloud with a silver lining.

Martha Swanson

Big Parade

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.

The Greeks sat down and talked about

A system for the free;
To let the people run the show;
'Twas called democracy.

Today we brag of fusion bombs,
Atomic subs at sea,
And how King Saud and Franco
Will work to keep us free.

We tax the poor and pay the rich
To show that we are free,
And give our dimes and dollars
To the aristocracy.

Eisenhower leads us onward,
Lyndon Johnson guards the rear,
Richard Nixon waves the banner
—And I'll have another beer.

Name withheld



Lancaster in London Daily Express
"He says you'd better watch your step—his tribe had some oil fields once."

No stitches

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Your reprint of the neo-operative gem *The Marxist-Leninist's Song* (Spectator, April 3) wouldn't appear to have the entire West Coast in stitches.

The GUARDIAN, of course, has never been any great shakes for venturesomeness in the matter of publishing domestic poetry; yet here was a foreign import the content of which the editors obviously felt could be gambled on to carry the burden of the form.

Maybe the GUARDIAN needs another editor-in-exile—this time to China, where Marxist-Leninist dialectics is still regarded as a science, and where it proved a good enough tool to knock out the domination of such countries as are currently mothering the authors of songs like the above.

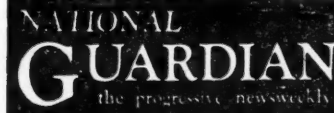
George Bratt

Peace Navy

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The attached reprint of the GUARDIAN article on the "Peace Navy" (April 8) was mailed to some 500 friends, mainly in Southern California. We sincerely hope that it stimulates some of these to extend a fraternal and helping hand to the people of peace and goodwill in Britain who have hit upon such an excellent idea.

Some of us are contemplating a "Peace Navy Ball" complete with



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VOL. 9, No. 28 401 April 29, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Slogan for May Day '57: Get off your apathy!

WE ARE TICKLED PINK that a suggestion published in our Mailbag April 1 has resulted in the scheduling of a New York May Day meeting unique in the modern history of these affairs, featuring for the first time in perhaps 20 years joint participation by diverse currents in the American Left.

Furthermore, as far as we can find out, there were no May Day plans at all in New York this year (at least for the first time in the GUARDIAN's nine years we had learned of none) until the Committee for Socialist Unity picked up the ball from GUARDIAN reader Nan Dickman and undertook the staging of next Wednesday evening's affair at Central Plaza.

We urge our New York and nearby readers to turn out in force for May Day evening, the proceeds of which will go to help with expenses of the forthcoming Pilgrimage of Prayer in Washington May 17 on behalf of civil rights for Negroes in the South (see p. 6).

SPeAKING OF GUARDIAN READERS, we could pack quite a big hall just with those GUARDIAN readers who still owe us their 1957 renewals. As of March 1 there were something like 10,000. At this writing the number is down to 5,000 but these are playing very hard to get.

As a special inducement (why is it that special inducements always are offered only to the hard-to-gets?) we offered with our Second Notices a bargain combination: (1) renewal and (2) a copy of Cedric Belfrage's new book *The Frightened Giant*, both for \$5. The acceptances are drifting in, but not like driven snow.

In faraway Bombay, they think very highly of *The Frightened Giant* (and also of the GUARDIAN). Reviewing Belfrage's book for the Bombay *Sunday Standard*, Sunder Kabadi says of our paper: "In India, its policy would be described as Conservative. It is outspoken in its criticism of imperialism, of Cold War, the arms race, racial discrimination, monopoly capitalism and the whittling down of civil liberties in the name of American security... In America it is called 'progressive' or 'independent'."

It's called lots of other things, too, Brother Kabadi, not including "Conservative", but let's see what you have to say about Belfrage's book:

"VIVID, ENTHRALLING AND MOVING... For judging the American way of life from such a standpoint Belfrage was among those ferreted out as a heretic and excommunicated. Soon after this President Eisenhower, together with Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev and Sir Anthony Eden, was sitting down at Geneva discussing peaceful coexistence, cultural exchanges and disarmament.

"In the main the crime of Belfrage and those who share his outlook was to urge the desirability of such a course before the men with power were ready for it.

"Such independent spirits, who are prepared to suffer for their beliefs, are vital to any society. They make up for the apathy that is so often common to the mass."

That word "apathy" (thanks, Brother Kabadi) is the one we want to end on; we hope that's all that's holding up those 5,000 renewals and not something more serious, such as thinking we've become too "Conservative".

Send us that renewal now and pick up Belfrage's book at extra cut-rates in the bargain. And as for anybody else who wants to renew in advance for \$5, *The Frightened Giant* is yours for the asking with your \$5 remittance.

All out for May Day!

—THE GUARDIAN

a galley, heads and the captain's focle. We may even exchange commissions for some of the green stuff which are needed by all good causes.

We have heard reports that the British government may tear a page out of our State Department's book of tricks and forbid British subjects to leave the country, i.e., those who might want to sail in the Peace Navy.

We would like to suggest to all

GUARDIAN readers that they support the Peace Navy and write to President Eisenhower calling for a joint agreement among the atomic powers to end nuclear bomb tests.

Jim Burford

West Newman

Copies of the reprint may be obtained by writing to Burford and Newman, 5154 South Van Ness Av., Los Angeles 62, Calif.

—Editor

JAPANESE PROTEST TO MOSCOW

New warnings on radiation fail to deter H-bombers

SCIENTISTS AROUND the world were issuing grim warnings last week while politicians, unshaken, went ahead with programs that seemed certain further to contaminate an already infected globe.

In London Japanese physicist Prof. Tadayoshi Doke calculated that even if not another atom bomb were to be tested, the amount of radioactive strontium now in the earth's atmosphere would exceed the safety limit in five years. (Strontium-90 sent into the stratosphere by the first atom blasts is still sifting down on the world). If tests continue at the present rate, he said, even the safety level set for atomic workers (ten times that for the general population) would be exceeded in ten years.

D. G. Arnott, secy. of the Atomic Science Committee of the British Assn. of Scientific Workers, told a reporter from the British weekly *Reynold's News*, interviewing him in his office in London Hospital:

"There is an invisible film of radioactive dust on every piece of equipment in this room. Four years ago I could go up on the roof and collect a can of non-radioactive rainwater. I can't today."

CHILDREN FIRST: Background radiation, he said, had grown so thick that it threatened to make impossible further medical experiments with radioactive isotopes. He said it was doubtful that there was a "safe" dose of strontium-90 and predicted that thousands would die of cancer as a direct result of the bomb-tests.

The Atomic Scientists Assn. in a formal report said that it was not established that there is a "threshold of safety" for strontium-90, an amount which could be absorbed without any harm. If no such threshold exists and the damage is proportional to the amount of strontium-90 that seeps into human bone, the report said, the hydrogen tests might be producing bone cancer in 1,000 people for "every million tons of TNT or equivalent explosive power." The 50 million tons already exploded into the earth's atmosphere would therefore cause approximately 50,000 additional cases of cancer in the next decade or so. The figure might be a very conservative one, the scientists said, because it did not take into consideration the tendency of children, before and after

not being exceeded, radiation's effect on the genes seemed past dispute. In the U.S. Michael Amrine, former managing editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, wrote in the *Progressive*: "There is no such threshold for damaging a gene by radiation. There is no minimum; the slightest amount is dangerous."

PROTEST IN JAPAN: The alarm was worldwide, though everywhere the politicians played it down. The U.S. Public Health Service began dredging up shellfish from harbor bottoms to measure radioactivity there and sampled milk and soil, though warning that the move was not prompted by any fear that we are nearing a danger point. Canadian researchers were experimenting with rats to test the effects of radiation on mind and memory. As film-maker Pare Lorentz, working closely with the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, wrote in *McCall's*: "It is not a question of whether we have polluted the earth, it is a question of how much we have polluted it."

In Tokyo police loudspeakers warned housewives to boil drinking water and wash all fresh fruits and vegetables because the atmosphere over Japan was "rapidly becoming contaminated". The new radioactivity was laid to the series of five bombs recently tested by the Soviet Union in Siberia. The Welfare Ministry said radioactivity in Japan was already one-fifth of the way toward the danger point. The Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs which has sponsored the "Peace Navy" and other protests against impending British tests, sent a delegation of protest to the Soviet Embassy.

Some 7,000 Japanese have already volunteered to sail with the "Peace Navy" through the waters near Christmas Island which the British plan to destroy in their tests set for early in May.

WORLD APPEAL: The Bureau of the World Peace Council issued its "Berlin Appeal" on April 2 and called for a flood of signatures like the one that responded to the Stockholm Appeal. The Appeal said:

"Atomic war is certain to exterminate millions of people and devastate continents. No country, no people, wants such a war. Yet it is openly being prepared. Fatalism is growing. The U. S. and the Soviet Union are continuing their H-bomb tests. Great Britain is now joining in. We demand that these tests should cease. We demand an immediate truce."

APPEAL TO MOSCOW: In Moscow Japanese Ambassador Suemitsu Kadowaki told CP secretary Khrushchev that the Soviet Union would win wide international support if it announced a suspension of bomb tests. Khrushchev reportedly repeated previous appeals to Japan to join the Soviet Union in pressing for an international agreement banning the tests. Then he proposed a joint Japanese-Soviet appeal to the West to go along with the ban.

The Columbia Broadcasting System reported on April 22 that the next Soviet move at the disarmament talks in London might be announcement of a unilateral suspension of the tests, which would put U. S. and British spokesmen on the spot just as they are about to start their new series of test explosions. The British have rejected all protests from the Japanese and from the Labour opposition at home and have gone ahead with preparations for the destruction of Christmas Island.

In Washington Secy. of State Dulles told Prof. Masatoshi Matsushita, the Japanese premier's personal envoy, that U. S. responsibilities in defending the "free" world made a U. S. suspension of testing "impractical." A new series of U. S. tests is set to begin May 15 in Nevada.



Casals at the final rehearsal
Pablo Casals, world-famous cellist and conductor, who would not play under Franco or in any land that supported fascism, is shown here before a rehearsal for the Music Festival in San Juan, Puerto Rico. Shortly after the picture was taken Casals was stricken with a heart attack. President Eisenhower's heart specialist, Dr. Paul Dudley White, attended Casals, said he would live to play again. The Festival went on as scheduled last week. Conductors led the orchestra from the first violinist's position, leaving the podium empty by way of tribute to Casals.

WAS THE CHURCH INFILTRATED?

Louisiana ignores the Supreme Court in Jenkins 'criminal anarchy' case

A YEAR AGO this month the Eastland subcommittee on Internal Security held a stormy hearing in New Orleans. Among the witnesses were Mississippi-born Grady Jenkins and his wife Judy, a native of New Orleans. Both declined to answer questions about their beliefs or associations; Grady Jenkins invoked the First, Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth amendments to the Constitution. Among the questions asked Mrs. Jenkins was whether she had been ordered by the Communist Party to "infiltrate" the Parent-Teachers Assn. or the Istoma Baptist Church in Baton Rouge.

Shortly after the hearings Grady Jenkins was hospitalized for tuberculosis; he now faces major surgery in the near future. He was an ambulatory patient; an important part of his treatment was that he should not be confined to bed.

NELSON RULING IGNORED: Early this month charges were filed against the Jenkinses for violation of an old state "criminal anarchy" law and a newer state statute patterned after the Federal McCarran Act. Louisiana authorities took no notice of the Supreme Court ruling in the Nelson case which nullified all such state laws against "subversion."

Mrs. Jenkins was first charged in Baton Rouge, where she was freed in \$3,000 bail. In the same week she was re-arrested in New Orleans and held in \$15,000 bail, which she managed to post. But the family could not raise \$15,000 for Grady. Too ill to be moved from the hospital, he was shackled to his bed. Local protests had some effect: on April 21 it was reported that bail would be reduced to allow the \$15,000 posted by Mrs. Jenkins to cover her husband, too.

Baran debates NAM man at Berkeley forum May 3

DR. CLAUDE W. FAWCETT, educational director for the Western Division, Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, and Dr. Paul A. Baran, professor of economics at Stanford U., will debate "The Future of Individual Freedom Under the American Economy" at 8 p.m. Friday, May 3, Odd Fellows Temple, Oxford and Bancroft Sts., Berkeley, Calif. The meeting is sponsored by the Berkeley Socialist Forum.

and his shackles would be removed. Mrs. Jenkins' arraignment was scheduled for April 22 in New Orleans. An earlier arraignment in Baton Rouge was postponed indefinitely; no date was set for the arraignment of Grady Jenkins.

DEFENSE COMMITTEE: Three other persons, all called before the Eastland subcommittee a year ago, are under similar charges but have long since left the state.

By last week a defense committee for the Jenkinses was being formed in New Orleans and attorneys for the defense were preparing to argue on motions to quash the charges on several grounds, the main one being the Supreme Court ruling in the Nelson case. Friends urged that Get Well cards be sent to Grady Jenkins, Dibert Tuberculosis Hospital, 1532 Tulane Av., New Orleans, La.

Keep calm, Doc

IN BEVERLY HILLS a busy psychiatrist confessed that he sometimes pops down a tranquilizer himself to prepare for the nerve-wrenching drive home from the office. Said he: "I wish the Government would subsidize slot machines for tranquilizers on every corner."

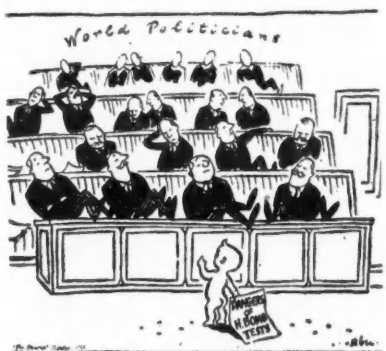
Time Magazine, March 11

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Observer, London

Question time

birth, to absorb much more than the adult share of strontium and suffer a greater incidence of bone cancer.

NO MINIMUM: They estimated that when the fall-out from bombs already tested takes effect by 1970 it will have added from 9 to 45% of the amount of radiation already in the world. If the existing radiation may be held accountable for some of the cancer incidence, then the bomb tests will have greatly increased that rate.

Though some still clung to the hope that there might be a "safe" dose of strontium and that the safety mark was

SOCIALIST VIEW vs. 'PEOPLE'S CAPITALIST' VIEW

Automation - the problems it presents

By Elmer Bendiner

CHARLIE CHAPLIN'S frustrated proletarian who tightened bolts on an assembly line until he went hilariously, pathetically mad and tightened everything around him, summed up an era that seems to be dying. The factory of *Modern Times* is already old-fashioned and Charlie's man may be part of a vanishing class.

The automaton was born when the industrial revolution turned craftsmen into factory hands, often reducing skills to an ability to repeat endlessly a particular motion. Machines in time did the job the worker had done with his hands—but still the worker was needed to start the machine, direct it, adjust it to slight departures from the routine, correct its errors, stop it. Now come the machines that know when they are wrong, correct themselves, make their own adjustments; machines that do what Dr. S. Lilley of Britain calls "low grade brainwork in a high-speed way."

A DEEP CHANGE: The automaton is at last giving way to something called automation and the change-over may be as profound and as far reaching as that primitive industrial revolution that first created the working class.

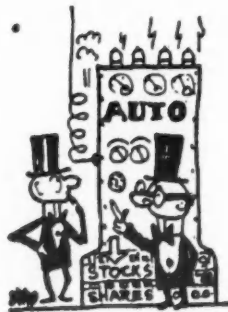
Dr. Lilley in his book *Automation and Social Progress** describes a piston plant in the Soviet Union, built in 1950, when automation was still in its infancy: Aluminum ingots are loaded onto the line at one end. The machinery speeds it along and at the end produces car pistons—3,500 a day. On the way the machine makes its own paper cartons and at the end of the line packs the pistons into them ready for shipment.

The entire factory is staffed by nine men on each shift. The only unskilled man is the one who loads the ingots onto a conveyor belt. A controller sits in front of a panel which reports the machine's steady progress in blinking lights. Two other men watch over different sections of the machinery. Five men form a maintenance crew who spend most of their time playing chess. They actually work an average of 20 minutes a day but must be on hand in case of breakdowns. When there is a hitch the machine itself signals the precise trouble spot so that there is no delay in setting matters right.

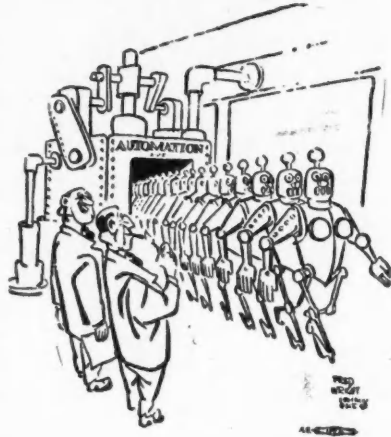
BRICKS BY ELECTRICITY: There is a record company in the U. S. which is in the process of turn-over from the old to the new. On one floor 250 men work with the old presses. On the floor below, in an automated plant, four men produce eight times as many records. In another U. S. company which has adapted radios for automation by having the wiring circuits stamped into the sets, two workers turn out 1,000 sets a day, formerly the rate set by 200 workers.

In Warsaw an electrically-driven brick-laying machine, operated by one man without any brick-laying experience, spreads mortar, places the bricks where they ought to go, leaves space for doors and windows.

The chain of Lyons tea shops in London has a calculator called Leo that digests daily reports from all the shops, considers the weather and the state of the roads and comes up with a full report



Drawing by Dyad, London
"Actually, it does away with the Stock Exchange."



Drawing by Fred Wright
"And this will go far in the elimination of that Labor Day holiday."

on what items are going unexpectedly well or likely to go well and in what shops; where there are unlooked for slumps. It turns up no routine information where things are going as usual but produces for the boss only the exceptional circumstances he ought to know about. It prints the order for each shop, then itemizes the day's production schedule. It does it all neatly, accurately, writes the right amount of reports and duplicates—all in an hour or so. It replaces 50 clerks.

PILOT PROJECTS: Every industrial country in the world is on its way toward automation. The Russians leaped years ahead in heavy industry and have the most advanced factories, but most are experimental pilot projects. The trend is slower but more general in the U. S., France and Britain. The big plants have the great transfer machines which link many processes into one integrated machine. The little plants are installing program-controlled "electronic brains" that can handle short runs, change swiftly from one line of production to another.

Automation is not costly to the producer. It replaces not only men but other machines. It reduces equipment, maintenance, floor space; slashes production costs aside from labor costs. Even now, when a fully automated assembly line is still far off, productivity in some plants is multiplied five, 10 or 100 times. No other technological advance in history has promised so much for so little.

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY: It would seem the mechanism for plenty is at hand and also the leisure to enjoy it. Automation enthusiasts talk of a golden age when man's pre-occupation with earning a living will be reduced to a spare-time matter and living will be his full-time concern.

The prospect presents problems for philosophers, economists and sociologists, not because automation is a new factor but because it so vastly speeds up all economic and social processes. It dramatizes and emphasizes the impact of science upon society. Milton H. Aronson, a theoretician of the automation revolution, wrote in *Automation Age* that automation "can make a healthy economy still more healthy—and it might conceivably make a sick economy more sick. But it cannot be a fundamental cause for economic stability or instability."

UNIVERSAL ROBOTS: Automation is currently being viewed hopefully by men of varying points of view. Dr. Lilley in his book presents the first rounded treatment of the subject from a socialist standpoint. And economist Peter F. Drucker, in his *America's Next Twenty Years***, looks at the new age as an exponent of enlightened, peculiarly American, capitalism.

Dr. Lilley and Drucker agree that to drift into automation is to invite disaster. Dr. Lilley recalls Karel Capek's play *R.U.R.*—standing for "Rossum's Universal Robots." These are living machines and a character in the play envisions the bright future: "The Robots will clothe us and feed us. The Robots will make

bricks and build houses for us. The Robots will keep our accounts and sweep our stairs. There'll be no employment, but everybody will be free from worry, and liberated from the degradation of labor . . . The servitude of man to man and the enslavement of man to matter will cease . . . Nobody will get bread at the price of hatred."

But when the workers go on strike, the Robots are armed and sent against them. In the end the Robots almost completely destroy the human race. The man who envisioned the golden era says then: "It was not an evil dream, to shatter the servitude of labor that men undergo." He is answered: "That was not what the two Rossums [partners of R.U.R.] dreamt of. Old Rossum thought only of his godless tricks, and the young one of his millions. And that's not what your R.U.R. shareholders dream of either. They dream of dividends. And their dividends are the ruin of mankind."

NO PERFECT MODEL: The socialist Lilley thoroughly documents automation's possibilities. They seem far more glowing than—and possibly as disastrous as—those recorded in *R.U.R.*

He writes that "there is no need to assume that the U.S.S.R. provides a perfect model of everything that a human society should be. I, for one, find a good many things in the way they have arranged their affairs that I should strongly object to. But these faults and failings are irrelevant for the present argument. All we have to discover from our examination of the Soviet Union is whether a socialist economy . . . gets rid of the difficulty of selling what is produced, whether it does away with unemployment and slumps, whether it abolishes restraints that hold back technological progress, whether it succeeds in educating technologists and technicians needed to make the best industrial use of modern science, and of course our main question: whether it is proving successful in using automation as a way of rapidly raising the living standards of the country."

Lilley offers the idea that Britain, with a great industrial head start over the Soviet Union, even after its decades of socialism, could do a better and faster job of building a socialism using automation.

'PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM': Drucker does not argue the question of socialism. He finds a "people's capitalism" adequate to chain the robots. He foresees no unemployment problem for the next decade or so in an automated U.S. because, though the total population will grow enormously, the population of working age will grow only slightly, and the number in the 25-45 age group, preferred by employers, is expected to shrink somewhat. This is due to the drastic slump in the crop of babies during the depression years, the generation now coming of age. That, plus a rising college enrollment and a longer period of preparation needed for industry, should make mass unemployment unlikely before 1965, Drucker says, though he will not discount the possibility of unemployment in some industries while workers are being retrained for other jobs.

He makes no prediction as to what will happen when the bumper crop of war babies hits the labor market; but he says that although fewer men will be on the factory floor, more will be employed making automation machinery, manning it, maintaining it. Drucker offers no figures to support that claim and Lilley disputes it. He indicates that if that were so, automation would be unprofitable in either the socialist or the capitalist world. Automation could not effect such drastic reductions in production costs if the expense of labor and machinery were merely shifted backward in the production picture to processes involved in gearing a plant for automation.

STANDARD OF LIVING: The problem of how to distribute what comes out of the horn of plenty is even more troublesome. Lilley tells of the time when UAW President Walter Reuther was shown over a

new automated Ford plant. An executive said: "Mr. Reuther, you are going to have trouble collecting union dues from all these machines." Reuther answered: "What is bothering me is that you are going to have trouble selling them automobiles."

Both Lilley and Drucker see the need for swiftly raising the standard of living in what Drucker calls the "growth" countries, preferring that word to "underdeveloped." Short of socialism, says Lilley, Britain must abandon every sort of imperialism. For its own salvation it must trade with the socialist world and help build its former colonies to a point where they can buy the stuff that pours off the automated assembly lines.

Drucker has an added reason for urgent economic aid, even to the point of industrializing the former colonial world. He warns that the U. S. is draining its supplies of raw materials and will need more. To keep a trade balance it must be able to sell goods to the raw material producers. Therefore they must be put into a condition to buy. He makes no mention of trade with the socialist world but sets this goal: "to harmonize our own self-interest with the aspirations and interests of the peoples of the Free World. Increasingly we will be dependent on their willingness to be closely integrated with the American economy."

SHIFTING POLITICAL LINES: Drucker sees new issues arising in American life, changing the political battle lines: public



Vicky in London Mirror

vs. private power in atomic energy; the need for more schools to train technicians; extension of medical care. He expects unions to decline as white-collar and professionals come to dominate the labor force. He expects the fight for Negro equality to shift from the South to the Northern cities where, he says, young Negroes are heading. Under automation, he forecasts, the demand must change from "equal employment opportunities" to "equal opportunities for advancement." He writes:

"While this would represent a tremendous achievement—nothing less than the attainment of economic equality for the American Negro—it would also encounter more resistance. Certainly a national policy focused on the steady and courageous pursuit of Negro equality—and based upon a firm insistence on the Negroes' civil and economic rights—will be badly needed during this period."

THE HORN OF PLENTY: While socialist Lilley and "people's capitalist" Drucker chart varying ways to tap the automated horn of plenty, throughout the capitalist world businessmen are installing mechanical hands, feet and brains with more thought to the cash register than to philosophy. And the American Left has yet to apply its 19th Century lexicon to the vast new changes under way.

'AUTOMATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS' by S. Lilley, Lawrence & Wishart, London, 224 pp. Published in the U. S. by International Publishers, 381 4th Av., N. Y., \$3.75.

'AMERICA'S NEXT TWENTY YEARS' by Peter F. Drucker, Harper & Bros., N. Y., 114 pp., \$2.75.

Keep the waves down

"OUR new rose wave, non-ammonia permanent, formerly \$25, now available at a new price, \$20. A new low price on this lasting wave to comply with President Eisenhower's request to help fight inflation."

From an ad for Coulter's shop in the Los Angeles Times, Feb. 24

Konni Ziliacus explains 'international McCarthyism'

Following are excerpts from a speech by Labour MP Konni Ziliacus in the House of Commons April 1. Made three weeks before Secy. Dulles' major address in New York April 22, it seems to answer it directly.



Lancaster in London Daily Express "Mr. Van Hamburger, will you please realize, once and for all, that there are certain British assets which will forever remain beyond the reach of dollar-imperialism."

BRITISH TORYISM wants the same things as its big brother in Washington. Under the present dispensation in the United States, it is my belief that the Anglo-American alliance has become a sort of cross between international McCarthyism and the Holy Alliance backed by hydrogen bombs. It is simply an engine for implementing Mr. Dulles' policy of anti-Communist liberation—what I call his policy of inverted Trotskyism, or permanent counter-revolution. This policy of intervention and aggression is contrary to the Charter, incompatible with the maintenance of peace and, if pursued long enough, quite certain to land us in a world war.

Let us see how this works out in the Middle East, where we have entrusted our interests to the United States . . . Joseph Alsop says with pride that a new and serious American policy for the Middle East is emerging that closely resembles the old British policy, and is not based on moralistic prating. He can say that again. This new-old policy consists, as he puts it, in "rallying and reinforcing the Arab leaders who are not implacably hostile to the West—the 'good Arabs' as Sir Anthony Eden calls them."

A "GOOD ARAB" is a technical term. It means "an oil-bearing Arab." A good Arab is a sheik, sultan, king or other Oriental potentate or despot who is willing to hand over the oil resources of his country to foreign concessionaires in return for a fat rake-off from the oil revenues and military protection against his own people, who might get funny ideas about using a little of these oil revenues in order to raise their standards of living

million a year in oil revenues, of which two-thirds is spent on himself and his family; he has more than thirty palaces, in the courtyard of one of which Buckingham Palace and grounds could be dropped without being noticed; he has thirty-five four-engined transport planes and an uncounted number of Cadillacs and blondes. Altogether, he qualifies as a distinguished champion of the free world under Anglo-American Tory patronage.

ONE OF THE EFFECTS of Bermuda is that the Baghdad Pact has been married to the Eisenhower doctrine and the President and the Secretary of State have presided over the nuptials . . . We shall have the privilege of fighting for the American oil companies and the oil-bearing Arabs against their peoples.

The way in which the policy will work out will be that the American oil companies will get the oil, as they did in Abadan, the good Arabs will get the royalties, and the good satellite will provide the cannon fodder . . . The point about this policy is that we are backing everything which is corrupt, reactionary, and dying, in the Middle East, and sooner or later the peoples of those countries will demand their share of the wealth which is pouring in from the West and being wasted on high living by these feudal potentates.

If we want access to the oil—we have to make terms with the new progressive forces that are growing up there. We have to stop treating as enemies the only forces with any future in the Middle East—the longing for national independence and the longing for social justice. We must get in ahead while there is still time to negotiate and compromise . . .

I beseech the Government rather than going on plunging further and further into this business of being a satellite of the United States committed to policies of aggression and intervention and piling

up arms which are ruining us and will slow up the human race if they are ever used, to make another effort. Try to make peace. Do not stick to the policies which do not work and have failed, but try something else and accept the obligations of the Charter seriously for once. The same applies in the Middle East. There we shall never settle these problems unless we are prepared to try to negotiate with the Soviet Union on the basis of the Charter, which means East-West regional agreements for economic cooperation, for political cooperation and for insuring navigation through the Canal.

THE SOVIET UNION is not going to back Egypt blindly. It is only backing Egypt in order to win recognition of its right to be treated as a Power with Middle Eastern interests on the same footing as the United States and Great Britain. The moment we are prepared to negotiate on the basis of the Charter we can make the United Nations work . . . If we are to make the United Nations work, we must be prepared to adopt a genuine policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of those countries. We must try to work out international arrangements based on equality of status, giving economic help and assuring access to oil resources and the technical maintenance and development of these resources on terms compatible with the national aspirations of the country concerned.

If we took an independent line, and if we could deliver ourselves from the fear and hate which paralyze us and make us accept the humiliating conditions of the alliance, we could be the leaders in making peace, and both the Americans and the Russians would pay far more attention to us than anybody is likely to pay if we diminish our moral stature without increasing our military power by blowing off that miserable bomb over Christmas Island.

and raise themselves from destitution, disease and oppression. It is these "good Arabs" who want arms to fight Israel.

The Baghdad Pact carries the matter a step further . . . It pledges us to defend the territories of those countries against both Communist aggression and internal Communist subversion . . . Of course, we know perfectly well that these good Arabs regard the mildest stirrings of democracy as Communist subversion.

After all, the goddest of good Arabs, Saudi King Saud, still rejoices in being the ruler of the only country in the world which legally maintains not only slavery, but the slave trade. He beheaded fourteen slaves in the public market place recently because they tried to escape. According to the International Labor Office he also practices the quaint old Arabian Nights custom of throwing recalcitrant workers into pits of scorpions. He also has £100

Easing of tension

(Continued from Page 1)

would seem to be to avoid exposing itself to the frontline of attack.

The most obvious way to achieve that, the London New Statesman & Nation pointed out (4/13), "would be to demand the withdrawal from Britain of the American strategic air bases," even if it would mean "contracting out of the Atlantic [NATO] alliance." Instead of this, by turning Britain into a guided missile arsenal and a producer of nuclear weapons, the government was "not only preparing for war, but making certain that it is attracted to these shores."

MACMILLAN RESISTS: Another way for Britain "to prevent war" would be to explore every possibility for nuclear disarmament and avoid evidencing its determination to manufacture nuclear weapons. The Macmillan government, however, has "resisted the various approaches which the Russians have recently made on this subject," depending instead, the New Statesman said, on "ministerial evasions and pious platitudes." It has already told NATO that armed forces reduction would be very gradual.

During the parliamentary debate Defense Minister Duncan Sandys gleefully parried the Labour Party's attack by recalling that many Labour MP's in the past had urged a British H-bomb. "It is fascinating," he said, "to watch the fission-fusion-fission on the opposite benches. One only wonders which way the fall-out will go."

The Labour MP's prudently refused to rise to Sandys' baiting. They said that approaches to nuclear weapons tests were bound to change with fresh information about their dangerous reaction. Their dissection of the White Paper made it plain that Macmillan had not really worked out a concrete defense policy. Nevertheless, the Labour resolution on postponing the Christmas Island bomb tests was defeated.

HOME FOR EASTER: Opinion abroad was that the London disarmament talks looked promising. As Harold Stassen and

Soviet Delegate Valerian A. Zorin went home for Easter, Leonard Ingalls reported from London (N. Y. Times, 4/19): "It is believed that sufficient progress has been made . . . for them to feel that personal consultations with their governments are required."

There was fear, however, that Washington might put the leash on Stassen, who now reports to Secy. of State Dulles. Dulles may use his brinkmanship tactics to make new demands—as in the past—if he sees that Moscow is willing to meet Washington half-way.

Throughout Europe there were reports of a growing resentment over Washington's foreign policy, of an increasing belief that Moscow really wanted peace. Times correspondent William Jordan wrote from Moscow (4/9) that retiring Ambassador Bohlen believed "the desire for peace among Soviet leaders . . . to be genuine," that while Soviet leaders would drive a hard bargain, they really wanted disarmament. Bohlen, said Jordan, thought "it might be wise to explore Soviet intentions more fully" on disarmament and for "a settlement of Middle East differences."

NOBODY, BUT NOBODY: Traveling through Europe, columnist Walter Lippmann also found (4/18) "a remarkable amount of agreement, almost a consensus, about the Soviet Union, about the Middle East and about the U.S." He saw "no one who thinks the Soviet Union is planning and is preparing for a general war. For that reason, the resounding declarations of the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine are received with puzzled incredulity."

Lippmann observed "a general disillusionment with President Eisenhower himself [and] an extraordinary lack of confidence in Secy. Dulles." Many thought that both "are living in an unreal world"; they shared a general anxiety "that the fate of Europe should so much depend upon them." The more farsighted Europeans, he found, "think the West should keep on trying to negotiate, offering the Soviet Union terms which Moscow . . . could find reasonable."

EVENTS IN JORDAN: Far from offering



THEY DON'T LIKE THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE
Demonstrators in Amman, Jordan, carry placards protesting U. S. interference

such terms, Washington seemed determined to spread the Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East. It was becoming more evident that the recent Jordan crisis was precipitated by King Hussein's efforts, encouraged by U.S. officials on the spot, to seek the doctrine's protection to maintain his throne.

Jordan's "young urban population, tutored by the West to the principles of democracy and progress . . . are by nature anti-Western because they believe big-power politics, imperialism and colonialism [have] denied them the freedom and equality they were taught to expect" (Times, 4/21). They have been attempting to get rid of British-imposed King Hussein, whose only interests have been racing cars, airplanes and uniforms with medals. This latter earned him the nickname "brazen Hussy" at Sandhurst.

At a press conference held by Jordan's Premier Khalidi and Foreign Minister Nabulsi April 21, Nabulsi again charged "certain foreign diplomatic missions" with "interfering in our internal affairs."

On April 16 the Times' military analyst Hanson Baldwin wrote: "U. S. officials in Jordan have been trying for a long time to encourage and strengthen the King's slow acquisition of . . . power."

THE KING AND U. S.: Joseph C. Harsch (Christian Science Monitor 4/18) indicated Washington had assisted "the royal coup d'etat in Jordan" as it had done in Iran and Vietnam. He thought it "likely" that Hussein had "received some specific assurance" of support from the U. S. and "persuasive information and advice" from American "diplomats on the spot" about "who was loyal" to the King.

But Hussein's troubles were far from over. His new Cabinet affirmed the policies of the previous one, including establishment of diplomatic relations with Moscow. Asked by correspondents if this would not "open the door to Communists," Khalidi and Nabulsi replied: "Why should we fear a Soviet diplomatic mission more than . . . Lebanon or Libya, or even Britain and the U. S.?"

HOW CHINA IS THINKING

A hundred schools contend

In the ferment of the changes taking place in the socialist world, the big debate hinges on two main discussion points: (1) the question of intellectual freedom and civil liberties and (2) the relationship between the officials of the socialist nations and the people. In the debate, which draws on the lessons of the Soviet Union under Stalin, the changes in Poland and the tragedy of Hungary, the Chinese have taken a leading part. Primarily they have drawn their lessons from their own experience.

Last week in Moscow the newspaper Pravda printed in full, obviously with the approval of the Soviet CP leadership, an editorial from the Peking People's Daily. The editorial was a blast at a long-standing Communist claim: that there is complete unanimity of views among the masses of the people, the CP and government officials. The editorial laid most of the blame for the differences of opinion to party and government bureaucrats who do not understand the conditions prevailing among the people and who refuse to heed public opinion. It called on the officials to get back to the people, permit free expression and exchange of opinions, and to carry out the people's wishes wherever possible.

A description of the debate in China on freedom in literature, art and the sciences was given in a recent issue of the Chinese publication China Reconstructs, entitled: "A Hundred Schools Contend." The author is Chang Chih-ching, editor of the Peking Kwangming Daily. Excerpts are printed below.

By Chang Chih-ching

PICK UP any newspaper or magazine in China these days and you will read clashes between different views in literature, art and science.

What is the real value of the poems of Li Yu? He was a tenth-century emperor who lost his kingdom while he revelled in music, dance and women. His early verses were about the gay life and loves of the court. His later ones, written in captivity, were full of yearning for his native land. One school of thought denies hotly that Li Yu has anything to say to the Chinese people of today. What is there in common, they ask, between the joys and woes of a feudal ruler and those of the working folk? And Li Yu's later poems, they argue, were only the sighs of a monarch who had lost his domain.

The other side takes the opposite view. No one can dispute, they say, that Li Yu's poems are beautiful and moving. They have inspired patriotism in generations of readers. The love poems breathe genuine feeling. Just because the feudal system provided princes with harems, there is no reason to assume that such men had no real personal attachments. Two or three years ago, very few people would have said publicly that poems written by a dissolute emperor were anything but "feudal culture" to be swept away.

This debate involves two questions. What is the proper attitude, in our socialist society with its Marxist historical-materialist ideas, toward the classics of China's past? What is the relationship between the ideas of an author and the artistic value of his work?

IN SCIENCE, dogmatic preconceptions are being blown away by free, hard-hitting exchanges of ideas based



Long in Minneapolis Tribune
DIPLOMATIC EXPLORERS

on fact. There is a resounding debate between geneticists of the Michurin outlook and those of the Mendel-Morgan school, once not given a fair hearing or amount of research facilities. The issue is whether acquired characteristics (in plants and animals) can be transmitted by inheritance. It has obvious practical significance for agriculture and stockbreeding. Now that the wrong, arbitrary labelling of Michurinism as "Marxist" and Mendel-Morganism as "bourgeois" has been abandoned, it is possible to argue their merits in deliberate scientific fashion, carefully examining the results obtained by each.

Historians are debating various versions of the development of Chinese society, ancient and modern. The Communist Party has announced that it will produce no "authorized" version of its own history; instead it will publish material from its records. Professional historians, both Party and non-Party, can do the writing.

On May 2, 1956, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued the call: "Let flowers of all kinds bloom together, let diverse schools of thought contend." On May 26, Lu Ting-yi, another member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, explained the policy further to a large body of China's leading intellectuals. Among these were hundreds of scientists and scholars assembled in Peking to draft a 12-year program for the development of natural and social sciences. Lu advised his hearers to "study Marxism-Leninism and learn better ways of



The people like many flowers. The dogmatist thinks they need only one — the one he likes. Drawing by Liao Pin-hung

IN WASHINGTON MAY 17

Pilgrimage will demonstrate solidarity of Negroes on civil rights fight

THE May 17th "Prayer Pilgrimage" to Washington is not meant to be a "substitute" for the speech President Eisenhower refused to make in the South against anti-Negro violence, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. said at a press conference last week. He said the Conference of Negro Leadership, which originally made the request to the President, still wanted Mr. Eisenhower to make the speech; "but the purpose of this pilgrimage is broader than getting the President to make a speech."

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins and Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters president A. Philip Randolph, co-chairmen of the Pilgrimage, were also at the press conference. Rev. King is president both of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., which successfully conducted the year-

long anti-jimcrow bus movement, and of the Leadership Conference. Wilkins outlined the purpose of the pilgrimage:

- Demonstrate Negro-community solidarity behind civil rights demands.
- Demonstrate support of the Supreme Court May 17, 1954, decision outlawing jimcrow public schools.
- Protest terror-intimidation of Negroes in the South.
- Appeal to the conscience of America.
- Reiterate Negro Americans' determination to become first-class citizens.

DRAMATIC EVIDENCE: The Pittsburgh Courier (4/20) commented editorially: "Spokesmen for the group are said to expect 50,000 people to join the Pilgrimage 'to protest the intimidation and terror un-

der which colored people are living,' but denied it is a 'March on Washington.' . . . Undoubtedly this demonstration will dramatize the Negroes' protest against Southern opposition to and disobedience of the U.S. Supreme Court's revolutionary decree with the hope of spurring enactment of a meaningful civil rights law, and will be so understood and publicized at

home and abroad. Whether this demonstration is a pilgrimage or a march . . . it will offer dramatic evidence of the solidarity and determination of the pilgrims (or marchers) in the fight for fullest citizenship for all."

Local NAACP branches throughout the country are arranging transportation to Washington May 17.

They don't need guns

ACCORDING to an AP report (3/27), U.S. Chamber of Commerce board chairman Clement D. Johnston made a strong attack on Washington's military aid policy to South-East Asian governments. Johnston, who had visited the area for the Senate committee studying foreign aid, accused some S-E Asian governments of using U.S. arms to keep themselves in power.

In S. Vietnam, Laos and Thailand, Johnston said, "the time seems ripe for substantial reductions in troop and equipment levels. More than one of these nations is using U.S. funds to build and equip armed forces [only to settle] ancient hostilities and rivalries.

"Communism and Communist aggression obviously do not constitute the primary menace, nor provide alone a sufficient challenge to motivate current military training programs . . . [These people need to be] let alone militarily so as to devote maximum effort to correcting a deplorably low level of education, sanitation and economic productivity."

applying it to the conditions in China." But, he said, "idealists opposed to Marxism-Leninism can voice their ideas too—they have every right to say what they like . . . the way to take is that of free discussions, a battle of ideas, a battle of theories. We are not afraid to accept the challenge . . . We combat the idealism of the bourgeoisie through free discussion."

IN A RECENT article published in the Peking People's Daily, Prof. Cheng Hsin of Peking University, a follower of Kant in philosophy, spoke of the mistake of automatically "linking idealist philosophy and ideas with reactionary politics."

Naturally, it is the desire of every person to reconcile his philosophy with the things of which he approves in action. Without open contention, people like Prof. Cheng could not argue things out in the way they wished.

Some intellectuals, on the other hand, confined their reading to a few Marxist-Leninist works. In the sciences, they consulted only those published in the U.S.S.R. Building engineers in Wuhan, which has stiflingly hot summers, constructed houses according to specifications used in the Soviet Union, where the chief problem through most of the year is to keep in the warmth. Parrot-minded people applied the epithet of "idealist" to critics of the scientist T. D. Lysenko when his ideas held sway in Soviet biology. When Lysenko was criticized in the U.S.S.R., they cried down anyone who still thought he was right in many things.

"People are dogmatists in scientific research because they are too lazy to think," Lu Ting-yi said. "They fob us off with quotations in place of hard work."

Now facilities are being provided for every kind of useful research. Scientific journals and books are being brought in from all countries and translated into Chinese on a large scale. Publishers and editors are urged to print varying views on scientific subjects, and to do so promptly.

STILL ANOTHER QUESTION was how far contention should go in the universities. Should not teachers keep their disagreement to themselves until one side or another was conclusively proved right? Was it right to expound un-Marxist theories to young students, un-equipped for correct analysis?

The answer has now been given. Courses on the philosophies of Kant, Hegel and Bertrand Russell, all of which are the opposite of Marxist materialism, have been set up in the main universities. In preparation are courses on classical Greek philosophy and modern idealist schools like positivism and neo-positivism. China's juridical faculties will teach Roman law and examine capitalist legal theories. This does not mean we accept the assumptions of idealist or bourgeois schools of thought. It does mean that we intend to study and analyze the works of these schools, discuss them freely and critically, and absorb their useful and rational elements. This will broaden and stimulate our scholarship.

The book-work and class hours required of university students are being reduced to give them time for independent reading and thinking. Marxists are confident that, in open contention with other types of outlook, their viewpoint will win, be enriched and strengthened and attract more adherents.

WHAT WORLD STUDENTS LEARNED ABOUT US—AND THEMSELVES

They found out: 'How much alike we kids are'

THIRTY-THREE teen-agers from 33 countries of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America spent three months in the U.S., beginning last Christmas, as guests of the 11th N. Y. Herald Tribune High School Forum.

A young Israeli girl met with boys and girls from the Arab lands. Boys from India and Pakistan came together in the shadow of the Kashmir dispute. In the presence of the British, French and Dutch students, the Africans and Asians were proudly conscious of their newly won freedom from colonialism. The young girl from Yugoslavia—sole representative of a socialist society—entered directly into the East-West conflict. More than anything else, they were all aware of color and racial prejudice.

SAW THROUGH GLITTER: The students were chosen by the Ministries of Education abroad. During their stay they attended classes in 81 schools and lived with 140 different families. They held bull sessions far into the night among themselves or with the kids in their host families, attended regional high school forums and teachers' conferences, journeyed to Washington to meet President Eisenhower. Their visit ended with a forum and panel discussions held at New York's swank Waldorf-Astoria hotel during the weekend of March 23 and given extraordinary coverage by the Voice of America and the U. S. Information Agency.

Alert, shrewd, lively, mature, the visitors were over-awed neither by America's wealth nor the glitter of the hotel where they met. Racial and color prejudice in the U. S. did not escape their notice.

COLOR OF LOVE: Italy's Diana Bedini, while praising the informal, relaxed atmosphere in American classrooms, found that American students lack an "elasticity of mind." India's Gopinath agreed with her and added that "the student here is not challenged enough." Sudan's Maghoub said that juvenile delinquents are called "Pepsi Colas" in his country; Norma Blum said they are called "Coca Colas" in Brazil; Lim Loong said they are called "Yanks" in Singapore.

Dhanapala, the youngster from Ceylon, admitted that he came to the U. S. fearing racial and color discrimination. He was happy to find that in Northern schools "Negroes and whites moved freely." Yet, he was sad to see that "at the cafeteria and in general, the two groups kept to themselves." He said he was told that cliques inevitably develop in any school. To him, however, "it seemed strange that the cliques were either white or black." "I still have not seen Negroes dating whites," he added. "Surely love is not confined by racial barriers unless there is prejudice to inhibit it."

EYES OPENED: Lim from Singapore was impressed by Negro leaders in the



AT THE HERALD TRIBUNE HIGH SCHOOL FORUM IN NEW YORK
Participating in a panel called "Our Discovery of America" are, l. to r., Jayantha Dhanapala, Ceylon; Diana Bedini, Italy; Lim Heng Loong, Singapore; Pham Trong Le, Viet Nam, and Mohamed Amine Soussane, Morocco.

South, whom he found to be "responsible people who direct the fighting [for racial equality] along the most practical lines." He was "heartened to find out that the younger generation of white Southerners are aware of the injustice in the present system."

Susan Rennie, the white South African, came here "convinced that I was a completely open-minded and 'liberal' person." But she soon discovered she "was riddled with race prejudice." She admitted that she was "suffering a tremendous upheaval" because she "became suddenly and violently aware of the fact by meeting these wonderful people that there is no basic difference between white and black."

Colonialism suffered a defeat as 17-year-old Catherine Orceel of France declared that the companionship of other foreign students had "completely changed my political views." "I now believe," she said, "France should get out of Algeria."

MIMI WOKE UP: But companionship did not remove chips from the shoulders of every student. Sara Chatt from Britain conceded that other colonies must be given their freedom, as in Ghana; but, she added, not the colonies "where the government would not be strong enough to combat communism." To this, Nigeria's Offokaja replied: "It is true that self-government is not an easy thing, in the beginning. But we want to make our own mistakes." Then turning to Amelia Addae from Ghana he asked: "What does it feel like to be free, Mimi?"

"I woke up on March 6 with a wonderful feeling within me," Mimi replied. "The very air I breathed felt fresher. I realized suddenly that my country is free, FREE to do whatever it pleases . . . When at the Town Hall I saw the Brit-

ish Union Jack lowered and the bright Red, Gold and Green Ghana flag raised in its place, I was very glad, and I cried for joy because I knew that we now have the right to govern—or even to misgovern—ourselves. And the feeling is wonderful. I then decided to walk with my chin up because I am no longer in bondage."

THE BIG DEBATE: Many tended to equate democracy with capitalism and free enterprise, and a long debate involving capitalism and communism and socialism was precipitated by Young-Koo Lee from South Korea. When Denmark's Fisch-Thomsen spoke of the futility of war and urged peace on the basis of "a balance of power between Communism and the West," Lee called it nonsense. He asked how "freedom, democracy and other human values could be preserved without facing up to the international Communist conspiracy."

Mirka Mistic from Yugoslavia denied that capitalism and democracy go hand in hand. She said that communism "means the death of the state," and socialism is a phase on the way to communism. She wondered how the students could discuss communism without knowing what it is, without knowing that "to achieve this there must be a high liv-

ing standard and . . . people who will be educated to live in such a society without misusing what that society offers them."

KIDS ARE KIDS: Fisch-Thomsen supported coexistence so that East and West can learn from each other. He said that Denmark and other Scandinavian countries were halfway between the two societies. He "began to believe more in our half-socialist system" after seeing "one of your slums." He reminded the others that, unlike the U. S., the Danish government bought enough Salk polio vaccine to give free shots to every citizen.

Gregory Hewlett, a host and a student at Columbia High School in Maplewood, N. J., expressed the feeling of the Americans who welcomed the foreign students to their homes: "The thing that impressed me most was how much alike we kids are, regardless of where we're from. . . . I think we have learned to look at things, especially our homes and ourselves, with a more skeptical eye [and] feel more qualified to compliment or criticize, as the case may be."

The students undoubtedly returned home with some chips still on their shoulders, but the tour's finale was sure to stay with them: They sang in unison an Arabic and an Israeli song.

MOVE TO END UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

Chicago group endorses Roosevelt bill

CHICAGO
HARVEY O'CONNOR, temporary chairman of Chicago's new Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, has written Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) applauding his proposal that the functions of the House Un-American Activities Committee be taken over by the House Judiciary Committee. Such an action would in effect abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. O'Connor's letter said in part:

"We suffered a visitation of the House Committee here in Chicago a few weeks ago. Editors of some little-known newspapers in foreign languages were hauled before the Committee. For what purpose? At first Messrs. Doyle and Scherer said it was to help Congress frame legislation. When the editors pointed out that under the First Amendment Congress can pass no such laws, the Committee's members then announced their purpose was to pillory the editors. Threats of deportation were bandied about . . .

"The entire spectacle was without dignity or honor, and a disgrace to Congress and the American way."

O'Connor wrote also to Canada's Secy. of External Affairs Lester Pearson expressing regret over the death by suicide of E. Herbert Norman, Canadian ambas-

sador to Egypt, after charges of Communism had been made against him by the Senate Internal Security Committee. He pledged effort by the Chicago Committee to seek abolition of both Congressional witchhunt committees.



Herblock in Washington Post
"What year are we in now?"

The silent generation

DONALD PHELPS, a 24-year-old Utica College senior branded the present generation "a silent one" last night and walked away with a \$75 first prize for oratory.

"We are a generation of conformists and we are security conscious," Phelps declared. "We are non-individualistic and as a result we are non-vocal. Our characteristics are apathy, lack of spirit and acceptance without question."

Phelps said that American business has taken the place of the American frontier and that "individuals join businesses for security alone, only to find they are human parts of a system of automation."

"We are also a silent generation because of politics," Phelps said. "We are afraid to hold any ideas or to express them because we are afraid that 25 years from now they may bring us before a Senate investigation committee where we

will be persecuted for the ideas we formed in the childhood of our generation. We are aware that this has happened in the past and we won't put ourselves in this position."

Phelps said fear causes members of the present generation to hide and that they join groups in order to cover up the fact that they have lost their individuality.

"This generation is not a product in itself, but has been produced by the generations before it," Phelps asserted. "This silent generation is the bulker of generations to follow, and if this generation is silent will not the next generation not only be silent, but deaf, dumb and blind as well? America is in a position of world leadership, but how can a country lead when it is made up of people who are followers?"

Syracuse, N. Y. Post Standard, (4/8).

THE WHOLE SOUTH IS WATCHING

Virginia near last legal ditch in fight on schools

By Eugene Gordon

OFFICIAL VIRGINIA was expecting to sit complacently on all school integration efforts at least until next February, regardless of what the Federal courts said. But she was jolted out of that mood on March 25. On that day the U.S. Supreme Court in a terse order refused to hear Virginia's appeal from lower court opinions that jimcrow in public schools of Arlington County and the city of Charlottesville must end. It meant that the Court of Appeals order of Dec. 31, 1956, to admit Negroes to former all-white schools, would stand.

The Arlington School Board in January, 1956, unanimously adopted a plan to integrate county schools and to hold a \$9,430,000 bond referendum on school construction. Arlington County voters rejected the bond issue and the Governor and the state machine moved to balk the board's integration plan.

THE SUITS BEGIN: By the end of June, 1956, Federal suits to outlaw jimcrow in the schools by the fall term were pending in Arlington and Prince Edward counties and in Charlottesville, Newport News and Norfolk. Defendants in the five cases asked the district courts to dismiss the suits. They contended that (1) the school boards were state agencies and could not be sued without Virginia's permission; (2) segregation neither denied Negro children equal opportunities nor violated the 14th Amendment.

The feeling engendered by the suits was demonstrated in Arlington County. Mr. and Mrs. Jack C. Orndorf and Mrs. Barbara S. Marx, white residents, had joined Negroes in the anti-jimcrow suits. The Orndorfs withdrew their 6-year-old son



Baltimore Afro-American
Thrown for a painful fall

Eugene from the suit "because of the extremely adverse psychological effect the foul and vicious telephone calls we have received have had on our family." Orndorf said he still wanted his son "to grow up in an integrated system."

Mrs. Marx, who joined the NAACP in the names of daughters Ann, 8, and Clair, 11, said she too had received obscene phone calls but she was "sticking it out."

Arlington's pro-segregation "Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties," in wires to the two families, offered to pay the children's tuitions in Washington's integrated schools just across the Potomac River.

DELIBERATE POLICY: On July 12, 1956, Federal District Judge John Paul said he would be closing his eyes "to the obvious facts if I did not realize that the state has been, for months, pursuing a deliberate and well-conceived . . . policy of delay" in the Charlottesville case. He ruled that the plaintiffs were entitled to a decree ordering integration of the Charlottesville public schools effective for the fall, 1956, school term.

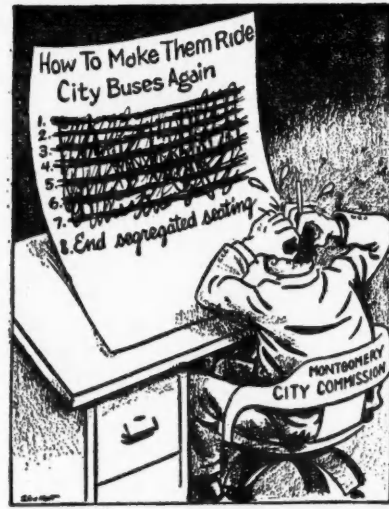
(Charlottesville is the home of the University of Virginia. Income and educational levels are relatively high. The five white elementary schools and the one for Negroes are in the city's center, where most Negroes live. A sizeable Negro community is close to one of the white elementary schools. Twenty-six Negroes were attending Virginia U. last year. The first was admitted to the law school, by court order, in 1950.)

On July 31, 1956, Federal District Judge Albert V. Bryan enjoined Arlington County from continuing jimcrow classes beginning with the 1957-58 school year for junior and senior high.

Virginia appealed both rulings. Southern School News (8/56) reported: "It was generally agreed that [the appeals] would serve to delay the effective date of the [Charlottesville case] decree."

ONE LAST RESORT: It was the Supreme Court's rejection of those appeals on March 28 of this year which knocked Virginia off balance. The N.Y. Times (3/27) said the Pupil Placement Law that day became embattled Virginia's "new line of defense" against integration. The Governor and his attorney general hoped "the line would hold off desegregation for some time." The law to assign or place pupils gives the Governor power to assign them, to determine school attendance districts, to provide administrative procedures and remedies for "the aggrieved." The law cites health, age, and other factors as determinants in assigning pupils, but does not mention race.

On Jan. 11, 1957, District Judge Walter E. Hoffman, denying motions to dismiss desegregation suits against the Newport News and Norfolk school boards, declared the Pupil Placement Plan "unconstitutional on its face." The state appealed this ruling to the Circuit Court, again delaying for some time what is expected to be the final, unappealable decision of the Supreme Court. Virginia is said unofficially to admit that she, who inspired the rest of the South to



Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American
Down to the only plan that will work

fight to the last legal ditch, is approaching the ditch herself.

PROGRAM OF COERCION: Affirming that Virginia is nearing the ditch, the Negro weekly Norfolk Journal and Guide (4/13) denied that resistance to integration was wholly "legal." It said:

"Buses are not being peppered with buckshot; homes and churches are not being bombed and caravans bearing white-robed and hooded Klansmen . . . are not making nocturnal parades through the streets of Virginia towns,

cities and villages. But a well-organized program of intimidation, coercion and practiced racism is going on in the home state of Washington and Jefferson, nevertheless . . ." In support of such a program the Defenders of State Sovereignty last month held their first annual convention in Richmond. They were warned by guest speaker Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss.) that opponents of segregation were concentrating on Virginia "not only because of the great prestige you enjoy among your sister states, but because they know that if they can break the will of the people of your state, other states will capitulate as a matter of course."

The convention adopted a "Declaration of Convictions" urging all Virginia local governments to stand fast and united in support of the state's segregation policies.

FOLLY AND DELUSION: Republican State Sen. Ted Dalton, who got 45% of the vote when he ran for Governor against incumbent Democrat Thomas B. Stanley in 1953, may challenge State Atty. Gen. Almond for the governorship this year. He indicated late last month the extent of disunity on the integration policy among Virginia's top politicians. He told the GOP state central committee the program of all-out resistance to the Supreme Court's 1954 decision was one of folly and delusion and would result in closing all public schools. Specifically answering an exhortation by Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) to keep up a no-surrender fight against integration, Dalton called for "non-violent" defiance of the high court decree. He said: "Keep white schools white under law and order, but keep the public schools."

The vertical Negro

HARRY GOLDEN, editor of the Carolina Israelite, published in Charleston, S.C., has come up with a plan to solve the school integration problem. Whites and Negroes throughout the South, he points out, "stand at the same grocery and supermarket counters, deposit money at the same bank teller's window; pay taxes, light and phone bills to the same clerks; walk through the same dime and department stores; and stand at the same drug store counters. It is only when the Negro sits down that folks become panicky."

Therefore, suggests Golden, instead of passing complicated legislation and constitutional amendments to preserve segregation, all any Southern state need do is adopt "one small amendment to provide only desks in all our public schools, no seats. The desks should be the stand-up type, like the old-fashioned bookkeeping desk. Since no one in the South pays the slightest attention to a Vertical Negro, this would solve our problem completely."

—So. Calif. ACLU Bulletin, March, 1957

THE SECOND TAKING OF RICHMOND

They'll eat (jim)crow at the Governor's table

THE COMMONWEALTH of Virginia on April 1 opened an eight-month celebration of its 350th anniversary as the first permanent English settlement in America. To honor Virginia's native sons who have done her credit, Virginia Chamber of Commerce president Ernst consulted Who's Who in America and other records of achievement and sent invitations to "distinguished Virginians" throughout the country.

Invitations bore Virginia's official seal, and, in gold ink, Gov. Stanley's own signature. They said the guests' homecoming would be marked by an entertainment in the Virginia Room of Richmond's Hotel John Marshall on May 17, and a reception by the Governor the next day.

"Distinguished Virginians" receiving invitations included St. Clair Drake, professor of Sociology at Chicago's Roosevelt University, Cllan B. Powell, M.D., editor-publisher of the N.Y. Amsterdam News, and Mrs. William E. Stewart, Toledo, O., former president of the Natl. Assn. of Colored Women's Clubs. They are Negroes but not so listed in Who's Who.

THE EXPLOSION: Dr. Powell, born in Newport News, is probably as proud a Virginian as either Virginia's governor or her C of C president. A page-one story in his newspaper (4/13) announced that the invitation had been received "from Governor Thomas Bahnson Stanley" and that the editor and Mrs. Powell "will leave New York May

17 . . . for the ceremonies." The story said they and other "distinguished Virginians" would leave Richmond for Jamestown May 18 "to inspect exhibits, have luncheon, then go on to the Cove Theater near Williamsburg for presentation to the distinguished guests on the stage of the theater." Dr. Powell wired for and received reservations at the "exclusive" John Marshall.

Hardly had the paper hit the newsstands when the story hit the press services. Local newsmen sought confirmation of Gov. Stanley at his home. The stunned Governor murmured "No comment" and referred queries to the Chamber of Commerce. The C of C deeply regretted "any inconvenience" caused Dr. and Mrs. Powell, but asked them to "please disregard and return invitation."

THANK YOU, NO: Dr. Powell publicly accused Gov. Stanley of seeking "to hide behind the coattails of a minor official who is not even connected with the state government." He said he would return the invitation only if the Governor himself demanded it. The latest Amsterdam News (4/20) declares: "The Governor of Virginia and the Virginia Chamber of Commerce have officially notified Dr. C.B. Powell . . . that they have rescinded his invitation to dine with 'distinguished Virginians' on May 17 and Dr. Powell has notified them that 'I shall not be present.'"

Writing that the embarrassment caused him was insignificant compared to U.S. embarrassment "before the whole



GOV. THOMAS B. STANLEY
You are cordially uninvited

world," Dr. Powell told Gov. Stanley: ". . . acts based on bigotry rather than on justice, human rights and respect for human dignity are retarding the progress of national peace in the world today and making the work of our national officials and foreign diplomats much more difficult in their dealings with officials of foreign powers, who represent well over two billion people, who, by accident of birth, are not of your race."

Labor laws pushed

(Continued from Page 1)

were calling off NLRB elections because they can't hope to win them in the present atmosphere. The big drive for white collar workers authorized by the AFL-CIO early this year wasn't even started.

In Seattle, Dave Beck's home town, the Washington State Bar Assn.'s Board of Governors demanded a "sweeping" grand jury inquiry into "alleged misconduct, corruption and misuse of funds by labor union officials."

THE SCRANTON SHOW: The McClellan committee followed up its bawdy-house, slot-machine, gambling-dive, horse-racing routine on the West Coast with a strong-arm act from Scranton, Pa. Witnesses told of a teamster-building trades alliance in the town that discouraged non-union practices with stink-bombs, dynamite, general rough stuff and assorted acts of sabotage like sugar in the gas tanks of construction machinery and a threat to pour kerosene over the eggs of a non-union dairy driver. Non-union employers complained that local cops were no help to them, and one witness linked the mayor to the goings-on—he promptly denied it by sworn affidavit.

With some of the charges going back five years, none of this was news in Scranton, where five unionists have been convicted on the dynamite charge and three indicted on charges of extortion (the employer who made the pay-offs went untouched). But coast-to-coast headlines made the story a national sensation. The McClellan committee emphasized that the indicted and convicted unionists kept their posts and were supported by higher officials of their unions. Cited was a \$15-a-plate dinner for four of them attended by, among others, an AFL-CIO vice president and the director of its Committee on Political Education.

SPOTLIGHT ON BECK: But center of attention was still president Dave Beck of the teamsters' union. Suspended from his posts as a vice president of the AFL-CIO and a member of its executive council, he was invited to a May 20 meeting of the latter group to defend himself against charges of misusing union funds. The union as a whole would be the subject of a hearing by the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee on May 6 on charges that it is dominated by corrupt influences.

In mid-April the teamsters' general executive board met in Galveston, Tex., and challenged Beck's suspension as unconstitutional and without authority. The board also challenged the Ethical Practices Committee's procedures on the grounds that no specific charges against the union had been filed, no provisions were made for confrontation of accusers with the right of cross-examination, or for presentation of defense evidence. It also charged in effect that the Ethical Practices Committee had already pre-judged the case against the teamsters.

MEANY TALKS TOUGH: Another motion called on AFL-CIO president George Meany to appoint a committee to meet with a teamster committee to discuss Beck's suspension.

In Washington Meany announced he would not "bargain" with the teamsters



Gray in The Militant, N. Y. "Hey, that slob's not our real target—aim higher!"



THE SELECT COMMITTEE: CHAIRMAN AND CHIEF COUNSEL
Sen. John McClellan (D-Ark.), seated, with Robert Kennedy

and said that "the applicability of the AFL-CIO constitution and the procedures set up by the executive council to carry out its provisions cannot be the subject for negotiations or bargaining between the AFL-CIO and any of its member units." As for Beck's appearance at the May 20 meeting, Meany said: "At that hearing, the only accuser of Mr. Beck will be Mr. Beck—his own testimony—his lack of testimony and the record."

TAKING THE RAP? While in Galveston, Beck told two newsmen that he had declined to answer questions before the

—"Certainly not, I won't resign"—and insisted he will be a candidate for re-election at the union's once-in-five-years convention in late September.

Earlier the teamsters had signed a contract with a New York public relations firm (which also represents a trucking management organization) at a reported fee of \$200,000 for a year. David Charnay, the new publicity director, held a press conference in the teamsters' building in Washington on April 11 and listed an assortment of enemies of the union.

He said his job was to protect the interests of the rank and file "against any predatory interests that might be at work against the teamsters." These included: "certain interests in the AFL-CIO who would either like to destroy the teamsters' union or take it over"; communists "within and without the U.S. who would like to see the whole labor movement destroyed"; and "certain self-serving interests who are part of Big Business who think this [Senate probe] is a happy circumstance."

Labor's Daily reported that at his press conference Charnay warned newsmen not to wander about the teamsters' building "for their own protection." He also put himself on record that "there isn't a single politician in the U.S. who wants to destroy labor."

THE WORRY BEGINS: By last week other union leaders were beginning to worry about the consequences of suspending or expelling the teamsters from the AFL-CIO. In New York Louis Hollander, president of the State Congress of Industrial Organizations, declared it unfair to "throw the rank and file of unions to the wolves because their officers are corrupt." He was for a "supreme court" of distinguished citizens and top labor executives to pass on charges of corruption against individual unionists.

Al J. Hayes, president of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists and chairman of the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, said expulsions make "innocent victims" of the membership and compared it to cutting a city off from the rest of the country because of a dishonest administration.

In the first of a series of articles in his union's paper (titled "Labor's War Against Crime and Communism"), Hays wrote: "In a very real sense, the expulsion of a wayward affiliate from the AFL-CIO does not solve the problem of unethical practices at all. It is a sort of handwashing ritual by which the greater labor movement publicly absolves itself of any blame for the situation, a situation which continues to exist. The only true remedy for an organization in the grasp of vice and corruption—be it a political entity or a labor union—lies in arousing its citizens to the exercise of their rights. And this end is not furthered by depriving those citizens of the

NEW PRESS AGENT: Beck squelched all rumors that he might quit his union post

benefits of continued affiliation with the larger body politic."

REUTHER'S WATCHDOG: Others were more self-righteously indignant, even though the McClellan committee has not yet turned up anything that has not long been known to the high command of the U.S. labor movement. Speaking at the recent convention of the United Auto Workers, Meany conceded that violations of law are a matter for law enforcement agencies, but added: "We have no intention of waiting for the public authorities to act in order that we may act on our own law of trade union ethics. That is our job and we are going to do it."

Meany did not use the name of Dave Beck, whom he has known for years, but made it plain he considered the teamster head no longer fit to hold a union office.

UAW head Walter Reuther proposed to the 3,000 delegates to his convention the setting up of an elite group to serve as a "watchdog" over the union. He named these six members (a seventh, possibly a Canadian, will be named later) to the new Public Review Board:

Msgr. George G. Higgins, director of the Social Action Dept. of the Natl. Catholic Welfare Conference; Rabbi Morris Adler of Detroit; Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Methodist, former president of the World Council of Churches; Dr. Clark Kerr, chancellor of the U. of California; Circuit Judge Wade H. McCree of Detroit; and Prof. Edwin E. Witte of the U. of Wisconsin. Reuther reported that Dr. Milton Eisenhower, president of Johns Hopkins U., had declined to serve because of other commitments.

LAST COURT OF APPEAL: Board members will receive "reasonable compensation" but the amount was not stated. They will constitute the last court of appeal for UAW members accused of violating the union constitution or other regulations. Although many delegates expressed some misgivings at setting up such an outside body with final and binding powers, the convention approved the move overwhelmingly. One delegate, sharing the general lack of enthusiasm, argued that if the union officers wanted such a group in order to be "taken off the hook, then let's give it to them."

Meanwhile the McClellan committee indicated that its next sessions will be devoted to New York City, which is George Meany's own back yard.

STELLA BROWN

Court weighs case of silent grandma

DETROIT, MICH.

THE CASE of a Detroit grandmother who faces prison for refusing to become an informer against members of her family is now before the U.S. Supreme Court. The grandmother is Mrs. Stella Brown, sentenced to six months for contempt of court during her denaturalization trial in 1955.

Mrs. Brown, 46, was brought to this country from Poland at two and became a citizen in 1946. Denaturalization proceedings were initiated on the charge that she had been a Communist within 10 years prior to her naturalization. At the trial Mrs. Brown denied the charge but balked at answering questions about her activities and associations and those of her family after she became a citizen. She claimed her privilege under the Fifth Amendment. Federal Judge Ralph Freeman revoked her citizenship and sentenced her to jail for contempt. The contempt sentence was upheld by the Court of Appeals.

The case was argued before the Supreme Court by attorney George W. Crockett Jr. The denaturalization order will be contested following the decision on the present appeal.

The Bill of Rights Fund, headed by Dr. Corliss Lamont, has contributed to the legal expenses of the case. The Baptist Conference of Detroit and vicinity has asked member churches to support the appeal. Contributions may be sent to Stella Brown Citizens Committee, 2033 Park Av., Room 920, Detroit 26, Mich.

The economy

(Continued from Page 1)

ically, a capital investment boom such as we are having now has been the culminating phase of the business cycle."

Fortune (January, 1957) explained that the sequence of events in the "classical" business cycle "has gone something like this: Business strains its financial resources to make increasingly large and expensive additions to capacity. The additions to capacity finally outpace demand, and the result is heightened competition and depressed profit margins. Then business must cut back capital outlays and, as a result, the economy slumps."

THE "CLASSICAL" TYPE: The long postwar boom has been of this "classical" type. It was Marx who pointed out that the accumulation of capital and its investment is the driving force of the system; and that when such investment is carried on at a rapid rate—when businessmen, in anticipation of higher profits, rapidly expand capacity—there is a boom period. Government military spending during this period, especially since Korea, had the effect of lifting the boom to a level higher than it would otherwise have reached. But without industry's outlays for plant and equipment, there would have been no boom.

When Alexander spoke of the current

"capital investment boom," he was referring to the great upsurge in business investment in new plant and equipment which took place in 1956. Such business outlays totalled 35 billion dollars last year, and represented a 22% increase over 1955.

Historically, such an upsurge in business investment marks the "culminating phase" of the business cycle. This is why: With every capitalist fighting, more and more intensely, to grab a larger share of the market, the tendency is to invest in capital goods without regard to the ultimate consumer demand for the products to be turned out by the new plant and machinery. Higher profit margins and more intense competition lead to an over-production of capital goods. But the "culminating phase" of the cycle is not necessarily measured in months or even years.

SPENDING LEVELLING OFF: The most significant facts about the economy today are these:

1. Business spending for new plant and equipment is now beginning to level off.
2. New contracts for such plant construction have been declining since last spring.

Business investment in new plant and equipment was at a rate of 37.3 billion dollars in 1956's last quarter and 37.9 billion in the first quarter of 1957. One reason for this continued high rate of spending was the stretchout imposed by

last summer's steel strike, which delayed the delivery of steel needed to accelerate work at construction sites and in machine building.

The fact that business spending is now levelling off reflects the decline in new contracts since last spring. But business spending cannot fall precipitately since many unfinished contracts remain to be completed. (Construction contracts, involving private capital expansion, usually run anywhere from nine to 36 months.) However, unless new contracts begin to increase, business spending for new plant and equipment must begin to decline.

THE OTHER SIGNS: In fact, estimates for business spending in 1957 indicate a decline beginning in the second or third quarter of the year. The government estimate is that such spending for 1957 will show a 6.5% increase over last year. But the rate of spending rose so much in 1956 and therefore began at such a high level in 1957's first quarter (37.9 billion dollars as compared to the 1956 average of 34.9 billion) that a 6.5% increase for the year as a whole means a decline in spending later in the year.

In addition to the decline in new construction contracts already noted, other signs point to a fall in business spending. These include:

- A decline in machine tool orders. In December, 1956, these were down by almost two-thirds from December, 1955. The Natl. Machine Tool Builders Assn.

estimates that machine-tool shipments this year will top 800 million dollars, one of the largest volumes in peacetime, but still 15 to 25% below last year's sales.

• The fact that shipments are running ahead of orders in the plant and equipment industries.

• Reports of stretchout of delivery and completion schedules on machinery and plant expansion by steel and some other industries.

STIMULATING FORCES: U. S. News (4/5) reported: "Business spending will decline in 1957. Businessmen plowed money into new plant and equipment and into inventories at a feverish rate in 1956. Ability to produce goods in many cases has outrun the demand for goods. . . . The rate of decline in business spending at the end of 1957, compared with the beginning of the year, is to be rather substantial."

A decline in business spending does not in itself signal the imminence of a major depression. It might, for example, as in 1954, reflect an inventory adjustment. In other words, there may be forces in the economy which, once the adjustment is made, will stimulate a wave of capital expansion. But if such forces do not exist, if there is a general overproduction of capital goods, then the signs point to a major depression, although the timing of its onset cannot be scientifically predicted.

Next Week: Do such forces exist?

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The Frightened Giant

By CEDRIC BELFRAGE

A NEW BOOK



No sooner had our Editor landed on British soil in 1955 to begin his exile from the country of his choice, than interviews began to appear all over Britain about the return of this native and the circumstances leading up to his deportation. One thing all the interviews stressed was Belfrage's high regard for the menus served in New York's West St. Jail; so much so that we back here used to shake our heads and wish he'd stop talking about how good the food was. We were afraid the British would miss the more relevant points. The reviews of The Frightened Giant now indicate that our fears were unfounded. In the opinion of the London Times Literary Supplement, for example, The Frightened Giant

"... may serve to remind us of the power of American intolerance, and of that streak of cheap despotism which sometimes—though fortunately seldom for long—colours the nobility of the American character.

"At the United Nations the American delegates may always be on the side of the angels; but [Duck! Here comes that food motif.—Ed.] the slightly ludicrous expulsion of Mr. Belfrage, stuffed with prison ice-cream, could (we may congratulate ourselves) never have happened here."

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