



WILL THOSE WHO WARN ALSO HEED?  
*"The rocket's red glare . . ." at a U.S. missile test*

NATIONAL  
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ROCKET AGE COMES TO POWER

# Moscow's missile: Does it make all defense obsolete?

By Elmer Bendiner

"WHATEVER IT MAY BE, those of us who have spent years in the study and development of rockets have acquired an emotion about them which is almost religious," wrote U.S. rocket expert G. Edward Pendray in the closing years of World War II. He added: "We do not know exactly what we have loosed into the earth, any more than Gutenberg with his movable types, or DeForest with his radio tube. But we feel in our souls that it is magnificent and wonderful, and that the human race will be richer for it in time to come."

Last week if there was a religious note in the coming of the rocket age, it seemed to many to be a solemn warning of doomsday, and the question was not whether the human race would be richer but whether it would be at all.

"IT IS POSSIBLE": The coming of age

of rocket power was announced in Moscow on Aug. 26 with a communique noting the successful performance of "a super-long-distance intercontinental, multi-stage, ballistic missile." In sentences which seemed to render obsolete most other weapons and all known defenses, the Soviet bulletin said:

"The results obtained show that it is possible to direct missiles into any part of the world. The solution of the problem of designing international ballistic missiles will make it possible to reach remote areas without resorting to a strategic air force, which at the present time is vulnerable to up-to-date means of aircraft defense."

The Soviet statement gave no statistics but from specifications of U.S. intercontinental rockets under development it was possible to piece together a picture of what most experts call "the ultimate weapon." As a ballistic, not a guided, missile, it is launched as a shell is shot from a cannon. Its trajectory is worked out as in an artillery problem and once its course is chosen, there can be no corrections. (Guided missiles are steered by remote controls from ground or air stations.) As an "intercontinental" weapon, it has a range of at least 5,000 miles. Most of the flight is at an altitude of at least 500 miles. Its speed at that height is from 15,000-16,000 miles an hour.

**HOW IT OPERATES:** By "multi-stage rocket" the Soviets mean that it is a combination of several rockets. The ground launcher sends the whole mechanism into the air. At predetermined altitudes other rockets go off, boosting the missile's speed by new rocket power plus the speed at which the missile was flying at the time. Air resistance would be at a minimum at upper altitudes. The rocket engines fall off as they do their work, until, in the upper reaches of the iono-

(Continued on Page 4)

WATERY CIVIL RIGHTS AND VAULTED FBI FILES

## Congress winds up in a blaze of inglorious

By Lawrence Emery

AT 11 P.M. ON AUG. 29 the Senate by a vote of 60 to 15 adopted a civil rights bill for the first time in 82 years. The measure now goes to the President. To many the occasion seemed historic, but the bill finally passed after eight decades of famine was as weak a broth as could be brewed. It corresponded neither to the appetite of 16,000,000 Negroes hungering for full freedom, nor to the nature of a bill that might have been passed if the Senate majority—and the Administration—had used its powers to the full limit.

What emerged at long last was a measure molded and remolded to a form not totally intolerable to the sons of the old Confederacy. The molding was done with the willing aid of Northern and Western liberal Democrats.

The measure sets up a bipartisan commission, with subpoena power, to conduct a two-year investigation of charges of civil rights violations; establishes a Civil Rights Division in the Dept. of Justice under a full-time Assistant Attorney General; and authorizes Federal prose-

cutors to seek court injunctions against threatened or actual interference with the right to vote.

**THE FBI FILES:** In another last-minute action, the Senate adopted, 74 to 2, a compromise measure to modify the Supreme Court's Jencks ruling which granted defendants in criminal prosecutions access to certain limited reports of informers, used as witnesses, to the FBI or other governmental investigative agencies. Both bills, if signed into law by the President, are certain to be subjects of hot legal dispute in months to come, and both are likely to end up eventually before the Supreme Court.

The final version of the FBI bill as

passed by the Senate was far less tough than what was demanded by the Justice Dept. and J. Edgar Hoover, but it weakens the Supreme Court decision considerably and still leaves a loop-hole for the FBI to avoid disclosure of any of its material. The bill expressly prohibits pre-trial disclosure as is provided under certain circumstances by the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. It orders a trial judge to decide what is relevant to the defendant's case, as against the Supreme Court ruling that the defense is entitled to a first look. It permits a trial judge to strike a witness's testimony, or declare a mistrial, if the government refuses to divulge the relevant material

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HE DIDN'T HAVE TO GET DULLES' O.K.

## Belfrage: First dispatch from Peking

By Cedric Belfrage

PEKING  
 "A MAN WHO CALLS himself an American correspondent," cabled AP angrily from Tokyo (8/15), "today made a radio speech from Peking." The impostor in question—who, however, calls Peking by its right name—was none other than your editor-in-exile. I can sympathize with the mounting frustration of respectable editors in face of how Dulles' two-way curtain policy works out in practice. Wanting only to say "the right things" from China, they are nonetheless curtailed-in by Father John while a GUARDIAN editor moves freely beyond U.S. borders due to having been curtailed-out.

Peking realizes it won't be too long before the U.S.'s "Far East experts" pour in to tell all about the new China. But

China is used to hostile foreign newsmen. It allows booksellers to sell works of wrong-guessing "China experts," from Freda Utley to Chiang Kai-shek, for whatever they will fetch. It has become used to "Western observers" of various types: the one who devotes a morning to "getting the lowdown on Confucianism," the sophisticate who has absorbed all the art, history and political tomes except those offering an insight into the theory and practice of China's revolution.

**NON-UNDERSTANDERS:** In his cluttered hotel room overlooking the cheerful, purposeful bustle on Peking's main avenue, Rewi Alley remarked to me of these experts: "They know the answers to everything but understand nothing as they never listen to ordinary people." We had been talking of one such, who had said to me that morning: "I love the

Chinese but above all one mustn't generalize—for instance, one can't really say whether these peasants are any better off now than before."

Alley is the New Zealand poet who has built his life as a brick into the new China. Understanding the ordinary people's "longing for peace, time to grow things, build things, and do it all together," he has toiled and fought with them against the

. . . fools, knaves, fat little bottoms on swivel chairs, fat little faces slyly watching for profit, yet all so immaculate, so charming, and so remote from anything as clean as a machine or a peasant's mind.

**TRANSFORMATION:** After the first  
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### The Sobell Brief

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Our most heartfelt thanks to all who are helping us carry the case of my husband, Morton Sobell, to the U.S. Supreme Court. This summer we have had meetings in union halls, churches, universities, in areas and among groups which we have never reached before.

In one short month our Amicus Brief has gathered two-thirds of our goal of 10,000 signers, most of whom are newcomers to our cause. As good as that is, however, we are still very concerned. We feel that it still is not strong enough to let the Supreme Court know that thinking American people want their highest Court to look at this case.

Fortunately, a short postponement (this is the beginning of the 8th year of Morton's imprisonment) changes the date of filing of our Amicus Brief to September 21.

If you have been away, if you have missed signing the Amicus Brief for any reason, if you haven't asked your friends and neighbors to sign it, we most urgently request that you do so as quickly as possible. Look through your Aug. 5 GUARDIAN, or call a Sobell Committee friend or office, for one of the thousands of Amicus Curiae Briefs distributed throughout the country.

Helen Sobell

### L. A. Sobell Committee

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Friends of Morton Sobell have organized a committee in the Southeast Area of Los Angeles. If any of your readers live in South Gate, Huntington Park, Compton or nearby areas, we hope they will join us.

Readers of the GUARDIAN are already familiar with the almost incomprehensible tragedy that has befallen the Sobell family. Those in our area who want to help may contact Los Angeles Sobell Committee, 463 N. Western Av., Los Angeles, or Dorothy Platt, 9222 San Carlos Av., South Gate.

Dorothy Platt

### On crusades

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Anna Louise Strong is living proof today of her just criticism against Stalin, and, in her own decent and independent way, despite her horrifying experience, has attempted to appraise Stalin in proper historical perspective.

Before we enter the lists about the pros and cons of this crusading business, outside the U. S. the Crusade against nuclear weapons has involved tens of millions from all economic levels, including whole bourgeois governments. No class struggle.

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

In the not-too-distant future your favorite newspaper may not only read well but smell good too.

The Printing Industries Assn. of Los Angeles says it is now possible to print food ads that smell like fried chicken and wedding announcements that have the scent of orange blossoms.

—Hollywood Advertiser, 8/8  
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: M. Goldstein, Los Angeles, Calif.

According to M.T.C.'s reasoning (Mailbag, 8/19) these bourgeois governments are class traitors. Their one naive crusadic consideration is "for the survival of the human race and its planet."

Who initiated the first steps in the U.S. for—we hope—a crusade against nuclear weapons, despite the government-imposed deep ocean of conformity, and vacuum-packed silence? The working class? The trade unions? Factually, 2,000 bourgeois scientists, most of the middle-class Protestant churches of America, and the never-to-be-forgotten Quakers, of whom Miss Strong is one.

We find that virtually the total leadership of the suffragette movement for equal women's rights was from the middle class, though sections of the trade unions added their support, as did the greatest Negro leader in American history, Frederick Douglass.

Right this minute, in So. Africa, some of the most effective crusading against the shameless government apartheid policy is being carried out by middle class white women. No class struggle.

I, for one, have looked high and low in every nook and corner of the U.S. for a conscious class struggle. I'm afraid it is a dead issue for some time to come.

G.B.

### For ex-I.W.O.'ers

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

As secretary of the I.W.O. Policyholders Committee (inactive), may I request space for the following information of interest to the members of the former International Workers Order and Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order?

1. Cemetery Department. In recent days a printed form letter from the N.Y. State Insurance Dept. was sent to all members of the IWO Cemetery Dept., Inc. This letter is a mere legal formality and does not require any action by the recipient (with very few exceptions). It merely indicates that the members in good standing will some day receive a small cash dividend out of the remaining assets of the Cemetery Dept. There is no change in the status of those members who bought graves and now hold legal deeds to them.

2. Concerning Distribution of Surplus Assets of IWO. Out of some 88,000 members in good standing when the IWO was liquidated on Sept. 1, 1954, some

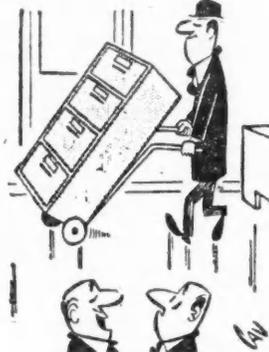
13,000 elected to discontinue their insurance benefits and receive their share of IWO assets. The balance had their life insurance and sick benefits reinsured by the commercial company. These 75,000, by court decision, were not entitled to any share of IWO funds. The 13,000 withdrawing members will receive, probably around the end of 1957, a certain sum of money, depending on the amount of insurance or sick benefit held and the length of membership.

The reinsured policyholders are being charged the same premiums they would have paid to IWO and the company is paying benefits as required by the agreement.

3. The Home Fund. All claims of contributors to the Jewish Peoples Home which were approved by the Insurance Dept. have been paid out. In cases where claims were disallowed there is nothing further which can be done. An equal per capita payment will be made in the near future to all members of the JPFO who paid the annual tax for the home. No action is required to get this money; it will be paid out to all entitled to it at the same time.

4. Requests for Information. Former members of the IWO can contact me.

Jerry Trauber  
2356 Bragg St., Bklyn 29, N.Y.  
SHeephead 3-7889



Reynolds News, London  
"I admire Hancock's spirit, he always takes work home with him!"

### Levittown outrage

LEVITTOWN, PA.

Being a resident of Levittown, and finding it a most beautiful, friendly and peaceful community, I was outraged at the recent demonstration of racial bigotry by some of my neighbors. The full responsibility for these demonstrations I feel rests with Levitt & Sons for their discriminatory policy in establishing an all-white community. This policy not only encourages and fosters anti-Negro attitudes.

While the purchase—second-hand—of a home by the first Negro family has kicked up such a storm of racial protest, it has likewise stirred the deep well of humanitarianism and democratic sense of a large segment of the community. A citizen's committee has recently been formed composed of church and civic leaders to prevent violence and create an environment favorable to all races and religions living in Levittown. Aaron Stutland

### Atomic waste

WASHINGTON STATE

Your recent brief mention of the canisters of radioactive materials the U.S. Govt. had difficulty sinking in the Atlantic makes me think you might be interested in looking into the contributions of the U. of Washington to the IGY. The university-owned ship is presently cruising in Alaskan waters studying a long trench under the ocean to see if the waters there remain still for a long enough time to absorb atomic waste.

If they find that these waters do go deep enough and remain still long enough, this area, so near to our West Coast, may well become the dumping-ground for future such "unsinkable" canisters.

Name Withheld

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### REPORT TO READERS

## Foster's folly

**F**EARLESS FOSTER HAS DONE IT AGAIN. He has succeeded in fouling up the question of an exchange of correspondents between this country and China to the point of howling absurdity. Whether there is a point beyond this it is difficult to say; but if there is, Secretary Dulles will be sure to reach it.

Of course American reporters—and photographers—should have the right to go to China, just as Chinese newsmen should have the right to come to the U.S. without being fingerprinted like suspected criminals. The GUARDIAN supports the principle of free and full news coverage anywhere in the world in the interest of a better-informed people, but . . .

We think that a far more important question has been overlooked in the Dulles-press hassle: that is the right of ALL Americans to an American passport without the power of veto resting with the Secretary of State. We could work up a lot more indignation about the right of a Hearst reporter to go to China if the American press in general had raised its voice even to squeak pitch in the fight of other Americans for the right to a passport.

We think of Paul Robeson, whom all the world wants to hear, but who has to sing by trans-Atlantic phone to a hall in London; of Dr. Otto Nathan, the distinguished teacher and economist, who suffered the indignity of slander and threat of prison because he dared pursue his fight for the right to travel; of Dr. Corliss Lamont, outspoken and intelligent critic of American foreign policy, who cannot leave the country to pursue studies which have contributed so much to a humanistic understanding of world affairs. And so many more whose names are not news.

**W**ITH THE BEAUTIFUL IRONY that characterizes much of his writing, the GUARDIAN's editor-in-exile Cedric Belfrage arrived in Peking in the very week of Foster's folly. Belfrage, with a British passport, is able to travel to any country in the world except the U.S.A. His arrival in Peking allows the GUARDIAN to make a claim that no other U.S. publication can make: it has its own correspondent in China.

We recall with sharp memory that—with a few honorable exceptions—the American press was silent and undisturbed over the injury to a free press when Belfrage was deported just over two years ago. Nor have we noted any outcry in the press against one of the State Department's latest acts of censorship—the refusal of a passport to Anna Louise Strong, GUARDIAN contributor, who knows more about China than perhaps all the American reporters straining at the barrier in Hong Kong. About this we will have more to say.

**S**PEAKING OF THE RIGHT of Americans to full and honest information, we might look into the coverage of a couple of elections in our own hemisphere, one in British Guiana, the other in Wisconsin.

In British Guiana, the U.S. press in its sporadic pre-election coverage, portrayed an apathetic electorate, yawning through a campaign in which it hinted former Premier Cheddi Jagan (one of the most attractive figures on this continent, politically and personally) might make a passable showing. He won by a landslide, carefully set in motion, the post-election stories said, by an alert and perceptive electorate.

In Wisconsin, it was another yawn in the press. Republican former Governor Kohler was a shoo-in for the U.S. Senate seat made vacant by the death of Joe McCarthy. In the vote on Aug. 27 Democrat William E. Proxmire licked the pants off him. Day after election the press discovered a whole flock of dissatisfied farmers in the state and scads of people disgusted with American foreign policy who voted for Proxmire.

Would it be amiss to suggest that the U.S. press discover China AND America?

—THE GUARDIAN

### Un-Christian

EL CAJON, CALIF.

It was, I believe, Ike who called us a "Christian Nation." See how a "Christian Nation" acts.

When refugees from a U.S.S.R. satellite, Hungary, seek refuge we open our borders to them, feed them, clothe them and give them jobs, and pride ourselves

on being a "Christian Nation."

When five sailors, refugees from one of OUR satellites, Spain, seek refuge in a neighboring country, not here, we shanghai them into this country in order to deport them to certain persecution—and continue to pride ourselves on being a "Christian Nation."

Robert Karger

WASHINGTON'S POWER PLAY SLIPS

# Syria's left turn foils Ike Doctrine

By Kumar Goshal

**T**HE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE suffered a severe setback two weeks ago when the Syrian government took a turn to the left and said it had foiled a U.S.-supported attempt to unseat the present coalition regime.

Washington has never concealed its dislike for the Damascus government since Syria lined up with Egypt's policy of "positive neutralism." During the invasion of Egypt last fall, U.S. oil interests in the Middle East were alarmed by Syria's cutting the pipelines through which flows a third of the region's oil. After the withdrawal from Egypt, Washington's policy of isolating Nasser necessarily required the establishment of a pro-U.S. Syrian government.

When a display of U.S. naval and air power saved King Hussein's throne in Jordan and American fighter planes with live ammunition flew practice missions within a stone's throw of Syria, it was freely predicted in the Western world that Syria was next on the list of countries Washington planned to "save from communism."

**THE TIGHT SCREWS:** Last May, as Baghdad Pact member Turkey massed troops on Syria's border, *Newsweek* foresaw "a showdown" in Syria between Right and Left; *Business Week* looked forward to "another test of the Eisenhower Doctrine" in Syria; the *Paris Liberation* saw the possibility of "political personalities more conciliatory toward U.S. policies in the Middle East" being brought into the Syrian government.

Meanwhile, under pressure from the U.S. and its Middle Eastern and Western allies, the Syrian economy was rapidly running downhill. With the Turkish, Iraqi, Jordanian and Lebanese frontiers virtually closed, Syria's foreign trade was reduced to a trickle. Its highly promising experiments in modern agriculture came to a standstill as France withdrew her financial aid. Washington tightened



LOY HENDERSON  
Traveling salesman

the screws, as the London *New Statesman* said (8/14), by "manipulating the Syrian pound in the Beirut free market and undercutting Syrian exports in Italy." The Syrian pound dropped 30% of its value. Simultaneous with the stick of economic warfare, Washington dangled the carrot of a loan to Syria if the government embraced the Eisenhower Doctrine.

**MOSCOW MOVES:** The situation seemed ripe for a Rightist coup.

Early in June, 60 deputies of the 114-member Syrian Assembly tendered their resignations, hoping to precipitate a crisis. Most of them were members of the Al Sha'ab party, which represents the Syrian landlords and urban businessmen with Western ties. They were soon supported by inflammatory broadcasts from Saudi Arabia and Jordan. There was a split in the ranks of the army officers: younger nationalist officers supported the coalition government; a group led by Commander in Chief Gen. Nizamuddin sided with the landlords and business-

men. In this conflict the *New Statesman* said, "there was no doubt which faction America was backing [and] it looked as if American policy would succeed."

Then the Soviet Union moved into the Syrian economic picture. A commission headed by Defense Minister Khaled el-Azm went to Moscow and obtained a \$300,000,000 loan and Soviet technical cooperation for the construction of railroads and highways, oil refineries, a dam on the Euphrates River and irrigation projects, new industries and a survey of Syria's natural resources.

**CHANGE IN THE ARMY:** Events followed in rapid succession. Damascus expelled three U.S. Embassy officials on charges of plotting to overthrow the Syrian government. Washington vehemently denied the charges; but Joseph C. Harsch said (*Christian Science Monitor*, 8/22) that the U.S. had been searching for some "person in high place in Syria with the courage to play the role which King Hussein played in Jordan." The search "was unavailing." Washington retaliated by asking the Syrian ambassador and the Embassy's second secretary to leave the U.S.

The Syrian government ousted Gen. Nizamuddin and his supporters from the army. Youthful Col. Afif Bizri, a left-wing nationalist (he has publicly denied he is a Communist) was made a general and named as the new Army Chief of Staff by President Shukri al-Kuwatly. The 60 dissident deputies reconsidered and remained in the Assembly.

**CONFUSED CAPITAL:** There was consternation in Washington. Opinion was divided on what steps to take. The Eisenhower Doctrine seemed inapplicable, since no Syrian had appealed for military aid. It was pointed out, however, that the Sixth Fleet—with the giant carrier *Forrestal*—had rushed to the Middle East during the Jordan crisis although King Hussein had not asked for U.S. aid. Harsch noted that "the U.S. was ready to take whatever measures were necessary to prevent a Communist lodgment in Guatemala and presumably will be ready to take whatever measures necessary to prevent one in [British] Guiana."

The State Dept. rushed troubleshooter Loy Henderson to Turkey to consult with Premier Adnan Menderes and visiting Kings Hussein of Jordan and Faisal of Iraq. From Turkey, Henderson went to Lebanon. Washington sources said he might go to Egypt in an attempt to woo back Nasser and isolate Syria—a policy advocated by some in the Eisenhower administration. The President himself said his policy was: "Always give your enemy a line of retreat if you can."

**HENDERSON'S ODYSSEY:** In a series of interviews with Western correspondents, top Syrian government officials denied that Syria was becoming a "Soviet satellite" and a base for Soviet aggression. They pointed out that Syria was encircled by Turkey, Iraq, Jordan, Israel and Lebanon—all of whom have endorsed the Eisenhower Doctrine—while

## Iran rocked—and rolled

TEHRAN, Aug. 11 (UP)—Rock 'n' roll has been banned in Iran as a threat to civilization.

"This new cancer can very easily destroy the roots of our 6,000 years' civilization," police said before launching a "hate Elvis" campaign.

The decision was founded on Moslem custom which forbids undignified behavior of women in public. It also was based on doctors' reports that young people had been sustaining serious injury in the hip-jerking motions of rock 'n' roll.

Two boys were known to have bitten off their tongues. One broke a knee, his neck and spine during one spin, authorities said . . .

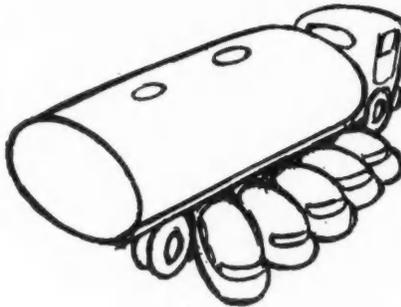
But one of the rock 'n' rollers declared defiantly: "It's the best clean fun we've had and those who think otherwise should send their minds to the laundryman. We'll see who'll win in the end."

the U.S. Navy commanded its coastline. They were disturbed by Henderson's travels: they remembered him as U.S. ambassador to Iran during the oil crisis and a participant in all the Baghdad Pact conferences.

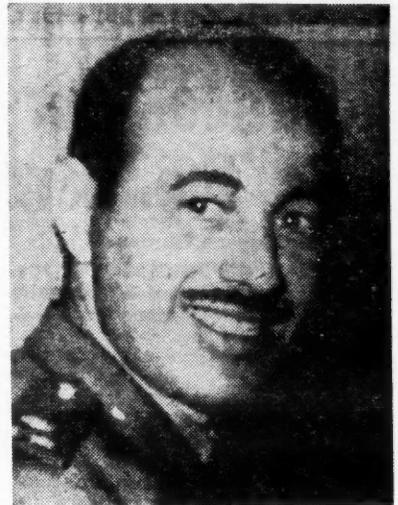
Returning from a hurried trip to Cairo, Syrian President al-Kuwatly reaffirmed the policy of "positive neutralism," regretted that "the West seems to regard those who do not follow its orbit as Communists." Public Works Minister Fakher el-Kayyaly revealed that the Syrian government had sent a mission to Moscow after the World Bank had demanded 5% interest on any loan and had insisted on the right to nominate the firms which would get contracts for projects financed by the loan. The Soviet Union was charging only 2½% interest, with no strings.

**THERE IS A LIMIT:** Foreign Minister Salah el-Bitar castigated "imperialism and Zionism" and accused the U.S. of trying "to replace French and British influence in the Middle East with its own and to guarantee . . . oil companies and other monopolies a world-wide field for their activities." Asserting that Syrian policy was still based on "positive neutralism," he said: "We are at the outer edge of that policy—do not force us to go beyond it."

At *GUARDIAN* press time, Henderson was still traveling in the Middle East; there was speculation in Washington (*CSM*, 8/24) that "[John Foster Dulles] and his brother Allen Dulles of the Central Intelligence Agency are preparing



Paris Match



GEN. AFIF BIZRI  
A move to the left

some operation in that part of the world that must remain unadvertised"; some were pondering the advisability of a U.S. naval blockade of the Syrian coast; the U.S. Sixth Fleet was again ordered to the Eastern Mediterranean.

**ONLY ROAD TO PEACE:** Regarding naval blockade, Prof. Frederick Schuman of Williams College, in a letter to the *N.Y. Times* (8/27), observed that under international law blockading ships of a third state bound for Syria would be considered a "belligerent blockade" and thus an act of war. Schuman said that an arms embargo by all states to the entire Middle East—a proposal made by Moscow twice this year but rejected by Washington — and "an understanding among Washington, London, Paris and Moscow, preferably so framed as to be acceptable to Israel and the Arab states alike," were the only roads to peace in the Middle East.

To Walter Lippmann "the Syrian coup is only one of many signs that the Dulles pacts and the Eisenhower Doctrine do not come to grips" with Asian-African desire for a modern economy and higher standard of living. "It is here," Lippmann said, "that the Soviet Union has the advantage of us." Moscow is practicing "peaceful competition" in the Middle East.

"In the age of 'peaceful competition,'" the *New Statesman* said, "the Sixth Fleet is the wrong kind of hardware."

## FREEDOM VS. 'OBSCENITY'

# West Coast censorship trial draws big audiences in support of poem

By John G. Roberts  
Special to the Guardian  
SAN FRANCISCO

**T**HE HOWL censorship trial plays to packed courtrooms here. The defendants are poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti, proprietor of the City Lights Bookshop, and Shigeoyoshi Murao, a clerk. They are accused of violating California obscenity laws by selling Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems* and a Berkeley magazine, *The Miscellaneous Man*.

Defense attorney J. W. Ehrlich asked Judge Clayton Horn to read the material and make his own determination as to its "obscenity." The Judge recently required five lady shoplifters to see de Mille's *The Ten Commandments* and write reviews of the film; he based his punishment upon the quality of the essays. Judge Horn declined to say if he found the books pornographic, but he pointed out that prosecutor Ralph McIntosh had presented no evidence that either defendant had knowledge of the content of the books, necessary to prove lewd intent. The Judge rejected a motion to dismiss all charges.

**BLUSHING JUDGE:** The arrests were made by the Juvenile Bureau, which contended that the books are "unfit for children to read." But McIntosh made it clear that the juvenile issue will not

be pressed, indicating that he considers the banned literature unfit for anyone to read.

Ehrlich argued that words, in and of themselves, do not make obscene books, and that a work must be judged in its entirety. To demonstrate that suitability of content must be determined by the purpose of the author and the nature of his intended audience, he read an excerpt from a trial involving an operation on the male genitalia. The descriptive passage in some other context might have been considered salacious; the audience found it irresistibly funny and Judge Horn, blushing, threatened to clear the court.

Ehrlich proposed to read statements by a number of pundits testifying to the literary quality of the books, but the court would not admit solicited statements. Judge Horn later agreed that testimony from literary critics might be admissible, but barred sociologists and psychiatrists.

After continuing the case until Sept. 5, Judge Horn ruled that further testimony will be confined to the book *Howl*. The defendants seem confident of acquittal, particularly if they are successful in introducing testimony from some of the many writers, poets, critics, editors and professors who support Ferlinghetti and Murao against police censorship.

## DEEP SOUTH SCHOOLS STILL HOLD OUT

# Outlook for integration as the new term begins

By Eugene Gordon

WHEN THE SUPREME COURT on May 17, 1954, outlawed "separate but equal" public education, the white supremacists threatened violence and bloodshed. In the years since, as the schools of the South opened in September, there have been ugly demonstrations—in Delaware, Kentucky, Texas and Tennessee. A corollary to these outbreaks on the grade- and high-school level was the lynch atmosphere that surrounded Autherine Lucy's attempt to enroll at the University of Alabama.

This year the spotlight was on Nashville, Tenn., where the city was integrating the first grade of the public schools. At GUARDIAN presstime the children were being registered without any show of violence, although phones were ringing in some Negro homes with threats; the voice of John Kasper, recently convicted in the Clinton, Tenn., case for inciting violence, was being heard again in the Nashville area.

**CLINTON A YEAR AFTER:** Last year Clinton High School principal David J. Brittain Jr. was forced out because he defended the right of Negro students to enroll in the high school. Last week in Clinton, the N.Y. Times reported, "registration of white and Negro students occurred without incident." Except for a story about unsigned postcards to white parents suggesting a school boycott, reports from the little Tennessee town suggested an atmosphere as peaceful as that prevailing in Brittain's exile home of Elizabeth, N. J.

In general in the South, some 350,000 Negro and 2,000,000 white children in

707 school districts in 17 states and the District of Columbia will attend classes together this term. Twenty-three districts in six states will have integrated classes for the first time. The total adds up to a gain of 57 districts over a year ago. But the fact remains that 2,450,000 Negro and 7,000,000 white students in the South will still be segregated.

**ARKANSAS TROUBLE?** On the eve of school opening in Little Rock, Ark., Gov. Faubus ordered the National Guard and state troopers to surround the Central High School to "maintain order." Start of integration was ordered postponed. Little Rock was scheduled to begin gradual integration on Sept. 3. The Governor's action was in defiance of a Federal Court order that integration proceed.

Elsewhere in the border states at presstime, there were no reports of disorders, although troublemakers were active. In the District of Columbia the schools were wholly integrated.

Louisville, Ky., and Jefferson County both have integrated pupils but have balked at integrating faculties at this time. The NAACP had requested a plan of teacher desegregation to accompany student desegregation.

**MARYLAND PROGRESS:** The NAACP is appealing a U.S. District Court order upholding the Hartford County, Md., "selective integration," or screening plan, for prospective Negro students. The Maryland Commission on Interracial Problems and Relations, a seven-year-old bi-racial state agency, said in its 1956 report that Baltimore City had made rapid strides toward integrating its schools. State Supt. of Public Instruc-



DIXIE CAN'T TRUST THE TOTS

They'll sell out jimcrow for two lollipops and a chaser

tion John H. Fischer said that, excluding Baltimore, 138 of the state's 794 schools had mixed enrollments and that "three of the desegregated schools are new ones which opened on a mixed basis."

A Missouri survey showed nine more school districts desegregated, with six planning desegregation this month.

**OKLAHOMA POLICY:** Tentative settlement in a Federal court case opened the Oklahoma School for the Deaf to Negro registrants. Oklahoma City School Supt. Barnes, meanwhile, indicated that two local schools may each get one Negro teacher owing to the closing of two Negro schools. He said such assignments would be made on the basis of "good sense, educationally," and not "simply to promote integration." The policy of the state education board is to promote integration no faster than pressure forces it.

W. Virginia school superintendents predicted to Southern School News that

there would be no trouble in two districts where flareups occurred last year. The publication observed that "this appeared to be the picture throughout the state."

**THE DEEP SOUTH:** Despite the progress in the border states, there is unyielding opposition to integration in such strongholds of White Citizens Council and KKK counter-pressure as Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida and S. Carolina.

Efforts to implement the Supreme Court order in each of these states have been frustrated by "states-rights" laws. Florida, however, seems to be a weakening link in the anti-integration chain: Negroes in Palm Beach and Miami appear to have a good chance of winning their court fight to force compliance with the Court's decree.

The total outlook for the South as the new school year opens is better than ever before.

## Belfrage in China

(Continued from Page 1)

week's onslaught of impressions, how to convey the atmosphere of history's greatest transformation scene in this most ancient of capitals? The Peking I visited 21 years ago can hardly be recognized. Of that feudal-colonial Peking with its oases of blind and cruel luxury I recall most vividly the smell—of mountains of garbage and excrement over which naked children, doomed to die of imperialism, crawled in search of "food."

Some of yesterday's Peking remains: notably, for me, the rhythmic work-songs of men sweating together on a job challenging the strength of elephants, and the street-vendors' traditional cries like the "Cries of London" in my boyhood days. Since my first visit there have been the Japanese, and the Chiang nightmare of corruption and inflation; now one sees and feels everywhere the even and secure rhythm of progress.

Although humans still share with mules and shrieking donkeys the burden of hauling goods and fellow-humans, Chinese-made trolley-buses, trucks and bicycles (which almost anyone can have) promise an early end to such hangovers of exploitation. The freshness of the air and quick disappearance of seasonal downpours show there is a drainage system and it works. Household water, light and power flow generously through hill tunnels from the new reservoir, dam and hydroelectric station 12 miles away. Forestation projects have almost eliminated dust-storms.

**"LIBERATION":** On a vast scale slums have been cleared, streets widened and surfaced and landscaped, swamps turned into pleasant lakes, palaces refurbished as parks for the people's leisure. The kids swarm to magnificent swimming pools and gymnasiums instead of over garbage heaps.

Everywhere—mostly of plain design, but beautiful just by being there—are new department stores, hospitals, libraries, hotels, office and apartment build-



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch "It may fall down—sometime"

ings, clubs, factories, theaters, schools, universities and technical institutions; a huge radio station—to start sending TV next year—nears completion. (Floor-space in Peking since 1944 nearly equals the total existing in that year.)

Farmlands about the city, cooperatively run by peasants who responded to demonstration of its benefits, produce greatly increased yields. Government loans and partnership have brought security and efficiency out of anarchy and bankruptcy to small handicraftsmen and storekeepers.

All this has been done, by methods whose primitiveness none will deny, since the event the West calls "Communist seizure of power." The Chinese CP—whose leadership in the renaissance is likewise denied by none—doesn't have to feel hurt; but the word here for what happened in 1949 is "liberation." No reporter who rejects the reality of that word is very dependable.

**THEIR OWN PATH:** Those who don't recognize it here—foreigners as well as Chinese—are a tiny, head-wagging minority amid a multitude "all coming together" (as Alley sees it) "to find the collective way . . . to love each other, blot out our smallness, cut down pride." I will try to write later of the new social morality which this multitude is bringing painfully to birth, in countless "rectification" or "brain-washing" meetings. Meanwhile be it noted that in moving ahead along their own path to socialism,

the Chinese people are not weakening but strengthening their ties with the U.S.S.R.

At the simplest level these are, as an Indian diplomat said to me, ties of "the same self-interest that is decisive in all nations' policies." An "imperialism" which, with an outpouring of both plant and technique, helps China industrialize—which helps find and develop oil and then bows out of the joint corporation formed to exploit it—is a pleasure to deal with.

Defense considerations, and universal recognition of the U.S.S.R. as the first and leading socialist country without whose existence China's feet would still have been bound, further emphasize the fancifulness of the "split" theory in the West.

**SORTING OUT:** Certainly among foreigners here the Russians occupy a special position. As Peking citizens move freely along "Embassy Street," formerly barred to them by armed Western troops, they get a big bang out of the predominance of Russian (and other E. European and Asian) diplomats' families on its shady sidewalks, where once "native" nurses shepherded the pink darlings of arrogant imperialists.

What is happening now is that China—after some initial confusion which history easily explains—is sorting out what is Russian in the Model T socialist state from what is socialist. Reacting emotionally and too far against cultural and social patterns identified not only with the West but with their own feudal past, the Chinese adopted some Russian patterns which don't suit them.

Examples of this linger on in Peking's bazaars and recent architecture, but now they are borrowing and developing what is best for them from their own past and from all over. Chinese living patterns differ far more from the Russian than do Russia's from the West. There is an essential "puritanism" in any socialist revolution but it doesn't call for Chinese men or women to stop wearing shorts or pants, or for the Russians to stop resisting these—to them—improprieties.

Nor do the two nations' differing translations of Marxism into life mean any difference about basic Marxism.

**TWO WORLDS:** Both countries are part of a world the West never knew nor thought possible. The other world, reported in Hong Kong and Western papers which come to hand, seems from here like another planet. There subject peoples still fight and die, spy and treason trials echo Alice in Wonderland, and Society, "Sex" and the Stock market are presented as Life.

U.S. Army planes deliver jovial brass to Formosa; Hiroshima and Nagasaki observe the 12th anniversaries of their not-yet-ended horror. The London Times couples a lecture to China's "rectifiers" with one to Ghana's Nkrumah, who may "stray into dictatorship" by "forcing his own ideas" of democracy and should settle for a Haiti-like "peasant republic with a low level of development." Britain's Peter Fleming sighs about how tired "one" got of "one's quasi-Martian status" driving a Ford into the U.S.S.R.; the "most damning indictment of Communism" by Yugoslavia's Djilas begins to deploy in the extreme-Right Wing press; and advertisers offer a Rolls for \$8,825.17.0 and a Monte Carlo flat "overlooking palace" at \$100 a month.

The new China has no metal money; no flies because the people are "doing it all together"; not a single sign in English outside the big hotels. Without much of anything by Western standards, it stands on its own feet, offering friendship to all and returning it when it is given. To find what they have they have "thrown themselves against a world of bayonets," but as Alley wote just after liberation:

. . . At last, at long last,  
the people have a way; and the  
ancient gates lift  
up their heads; the everlasting doors  
swing  
open proudly; the sun shines  
exultingly  
into the faces, the strong sure faces  
of these the real world loves,  
shines and envelops  
so all can see; all good common men  
recognize as one with them.

'THE FBI STORY'

# The Hoover myth is created

By Albert E. Kahn

(Second of a three-part review of The FBI Story, by Don Whitehead, an "approved" history.)

IT IS DON WHITEHEAD'S contention in *The FBI Story*\* that under Hoover's directorship, the Bureau assumed the "leadership in the drive against the gangsters" in the Roaring Twenties, and that their "clean-up" was due primarily to the Bureau's all-out anti-crime crusade.

The truth is that it was the Great Depression that brought hard times to the underworld. Repeal of Prohibition killed the multi-million dollar racket of bootlegging. Growing numbers of criminals turned to less lucrative and more desperate trades like kidnapping and bank robbery. Hoover's Bureau had done very little to interfere with gangsters during Prohibition. But with the children and property of the wealthy menaced, Congress enacted laws in 1934 granting new powers to the Bureau and extending its jurisdiction to cover these and various other crimes.

J. EDGAR HOOVER and his Special Agents, popularly known as "G-men," were soon the talk of the nation, as press, radio and movies glamorized their battles with desperadoes like John Dillinger and "Pretty Boy" Floyd. Overnight, the FBI became a household word. FBI publicist Courtney Riley Cooper wrote in

parts of the country, which he described at a convention of the Natl. Assn. of Police Chiefs: "There will be courses in fingerprinting . . . ; practical field problems will be studied, methods of attack, of surveillance. . . . The gun range of the U.S. Marine Corps at Quantico, Va., will be used for firearms training, the use of tear gas, riot guns, and machine guns. There will be practice . . . under conditions simulating those of actual battle."

Hoover seemed to be thinking of various forms of civil warfare. He was less well prepared for the war against the Axis, when the FBI was placed in charge of all counter-espionage work in the country. Whitehead writes: "In startling contrast to World War I, the FBI was alert to Nazi espionage, and spy rings were broken up long before the U.S. entered the war. There was not a single case of foreign-directed sabotage throughout the war."

THE GERMAN ESPIONAGE, sabotage and propaganda apparatus in America in World War I was negligible in comparison with that of World War II. Throughout the 1930's, German intelligence agents streamed into the U.S. and set up a nationwide network of pro-Axis organizations, Nazi propaganda centers and military-espionage cells. By 1939, more than 700 fascist organiza-

America First Committee, an organization characterized by Dr. Goebbels as "truly American" which in the pre-Pearl Harbor years flooded the country with isolationist and anti-democratic propaganda, much of it emanating directly from the Nazi Propaganda Ministry.

The Bund organ, *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, instructed its members, "Join the America First Committee!"; and dozens of other pro-Nazi groups issued similar orders. Paid Nazi agents assumed positions of leadership in the AFC or worked closely with it. A Japanese agent was a leading AFC spokesman and a member of the editorial boards of its chief propaganda organs.

LACK OF FBI ACTION against the AFC is not hard to understand, however, when one considers that the Committee was headed by some of the most influential reactionaries in the country and included among its secret financial supporters such personages as John Foster Dulles. Moreover, as Harry Hopkins confidentially advised President Roosevelt, "the real brains" behind the isolationist movement appeared to be J. Edgar Hoover's old friend, Herbert Hoover.

FBI chief Hoover's frequent claim that there was no Axis sabotage in America during World War II is not true. Sabotage is often impossible to prove, since an act of sabotage frequently destroys all evidence of it. (Not until 1937, 20 years after the Black Tom explosion of World War I, was the U.S. government able to establish conclusively through the confession of German agent Fiodore Wozniak that it resulted from sabotage.) Hoover himself stated in 1940, when seeking increased FBI appropriations, that there had been "many mysterious efforts at incendiarism, injury to working parts of warcraft, and other activities of the 'sab cat' to cause destruction . . ."

IN 1942, when Michael Sayers and I wrote *Sabotage!*, we listed scores of mysterious explosions, fires, accidents, and other disasters that had occurred in American war plants, military installations and ships, many of which were ascribed by experts to sabotage. The most famous of these disasters was the burning of the great liner *Normandie* while it was being converted into a U.S. Navy vessel. After the war, a Nazi agent who had worked on the ship told American newsmen in Germany he had helped set the blaze.

In his carefully documented book, *The Federal Bureau of Investigation* (now out of circulation, allegedly bought up by the FBI), Max Lowenthal points out that in almost every case in which Hoover claimed credit for breaking up Axis espionage rings or capturing Nazi saboteurs, the FBI first learned of their presence through private citizens or other intelligence agencies, including the Boy Scouts. Effective intelligence operations, noted Hanson Baldwin, military editor of the *N.Y. Times*, "call for less publicity than J. Edgar Hoover usually gives them."

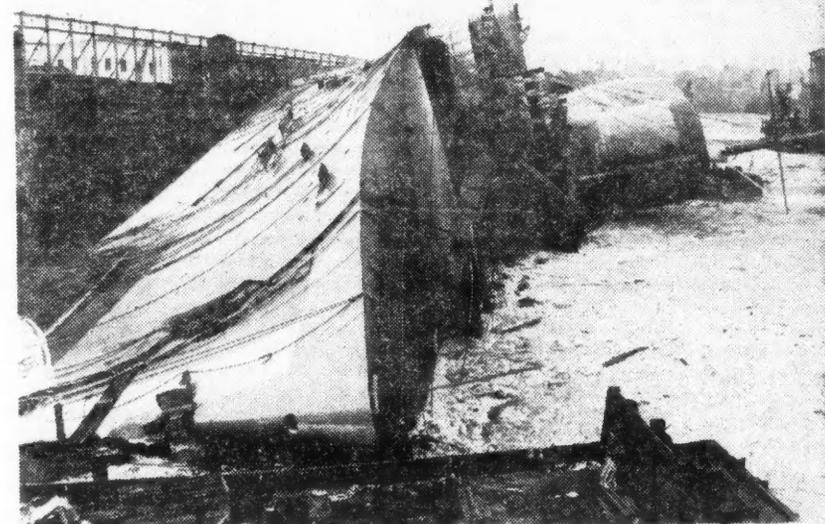
HOW HARMFUL to the U.S. war effort were certain of Hoover's glory-

seeking-practices is indicated in an enlightening if little-known book, *The Scarlet Thread*, by Donald Downes, a former British Intelligence and OSS agent. (The book was published by the British Book Centre after being accepted and then turned down by several American publishers, one of whom "admitted to the author that he was afraid of 'political reprisals.'")

Downes reveals that because "the FBI, with its police mentality, was jealous" of British and OSS counter-espionage activities, "there was always the danger of a knife in the back by the FBI;" that OSS agents "were constantly hounded by the FBI" with "baseless and indiscriminate charges of communism and disloyalty;" and that the FBI often deliberately sabotaged the anti-Axis work of other intelligence agencies.

After one particularly disastrous case of FBI interference, Downes asked a top OSS official: "Won't the President do anything about such near treason?" The answer was: "No, he won't. No President dare touch John Edgar Hoover. Let alone Congressmen. They are all scared pink of him."

NEXT WEEK: The FBI and the paid informer system today.



SABOTAGED: THE LINER NORMANDIE LIES ON ITS SIDE IN N.Y. IN 1942  
But J. Edgar claimed there was no Axis sabotage here in World War II

1938: "Five years ago, J. Edgar Hoover was practically an unknown as far as the general public was concerned. Today he heads our best-known group of manhunters—the G-men. The small boy is rare indeed who does not look upon its director as his ideal."

This portrait of himself was cultivated by Hoover. "He's the greatest publicity hound on the American continent," said Sen. George Norris. "Unless we do something to stop this furor of adulation and omnipotent praise, we'll have an organization of the FBI that, instead of protecting the government from criminals, will direct the government itself."

With growing Congressional appropriations, the FBI mushroomed during the mid-1930's. The dossiers Hoover had started to compile at the time of the Palmer Raids became voluminous. An "Identification Division" soon had millions of fingerprints on file. "They come from the crossroads of America," Hoover proudly declared, "from the villages, from the towns, cities and metropolitan centers, to be concentrated in Washington, and there form a vast cross-index . . ."

THE FBI CHIEF set up a Crime Laboratory and a Natl. Police Academy for training police officials from all

tions were flooding the nation with pro-Axis propaganda. These groups functioned virtually without interference by the FBI.

The best example was the Berlin-directed German-American Bund. At the time of Pearl Harbor, 71 Bund branches were active in key cities throughout the country, and the membership of the Bund and its affiliates ran into the tens of thousands. From its inception, the organization had served as a recruiting agency for spies and saboteurs. Almost every major spy trial during the war involved Bund members.

Yet it was not until July, 1942, seven months after Germany had declared war on the U.S., that the FBI arrested 29 Bund leaders on espionage charges and rounded up a few score Bundists accused of conspiring to obstruct the Selective Service Act. The Bund then disbanded, but many of its members continued to operate through various other fascist groups.

IN A PASSING REFERENCE to the Bund, Whitehead states that in 1938 Hoover made a "lengthy report" on it to the Justice Dept., but that his investigation "came to a dead end" when the Department "apparently decided that while the Bund's general teachings had a tendency to be subversive, they did not violate any law of the United States."

Whitehead omits all mention of the



\*THE FBI STORY, A report to the people, by Don Whitehead. Foreword by J. Edgar Hoover. 357 pp., indexed. Random House. \$4.95.



### A MISSILE-EYE VIEW OF THE WORLD—PHOTOGRAPHED FROM A RUSSIAN ROCKET

The tiny blots are clouds. The horizon curves when seen from space. This picture is reprinted from the magazine Soviet Union.

## Moscow's missile

(Continued from Page 1)

sphere, the missile travels freely without any engine; at its maximum speed it covers the full 5,000 miles in half an hour or less, plummeting down almost vertically over its target.

Accuracy was the big question. Early U.S. rocket launchers worked on an error of 1% which would make it possible to miss a target, 5,000 miles away, by 50 miles. If the missile carried a hydrogen-bomb warhead, or if enough rockets were launched to blanket an area, that inaccuracy would not be a serious failing. Soviet Gen. G. I. Petrovski reported for the East German news agency last week: "Essential quality of the modern missile is its extreme accuracy of aim. Possible errors are expected to be not larger than six to twelve miles."

**OBSCOLESCENCE:** The missile fell with block-buster effect on the entire U.S. military policy, based on primitive man-powered fighters and bombers, radar lines to pick out aircraft, plane spotters combing horizons with field glasses and far-flung military bases. All seemed antiquated last week.

The first reaction from the State Dept. and from the armed services competing for appropriations was to shriek for calm. It was plain, nevertheless, that Pentagon planners were caught flat-footed.

Fortune magazine in August ran a story seemingly leaked from the Defense Dept. that the U.S. was increasing its technological lead over the Soviet Union, that it hoped to have its own intercontinental ballistic missile by 1960, and that by 1963 the U.S. lead would be so decisive that the U.S. would be ready to "freeze" the race with an agreement on disarmament.

**NO DOUBTING:** Secy. of State Dulles said he did not doubt that the Soviets had successfully tested an ICBM but questioned the rocket's accuracy, doubted that the military balance of power had been tipped or that the strategic air force was made obsolete. The Dept. of Defense issued similar reassurances. Acting Defense Secy. Donald A. Quarles said: "Time differences in terms of operational readiness will probably not be very great one way or another, and the immediate military significance of the so-called race has been greatly exaggerated." (The spy scare in the U.S. has thrived on the notion that if the Soviet Union had a lead of weeks or even days in any aspect of the arms race, it would mean disaster for the U.S.)

There seemed little tendency to doubt the Soviet announcement anywhere. Sen. Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) said of the Russians: "... in the past we have all noticed when they say they have something in the way of this type of weapon, it turned out later to be a fact."

**PUSH A BUTTON:** The Christian Science Monitor noted some other recent shocks to those who belittle Soviet technical advances. The commander of the Soviet cruiser Sverlov recently surprised naval experts by bringing his ship into a British dock "with almost sports-car ease," without tugs, pilots or verbal commands, merely by pushing buttons. The

Soviet jets which are expected to bring delegates to the next UN session landed in London using far less runway space than Western jets customarily require.

During the war the Russian "Katusha" rockets startled the Germans at Stalin-grad and German tankmen called the Russian rocket-firing plane, the Stormovik, "The Black Death." In 1954 Russian rocketeers said that it was possible to launch an artificial satellite and other reports said the Soviet Union had a two-stage trans-Atlantic guided missile that same year.

The U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force for years have been competing with each other to develop rockets sufficiently to take over the program and the appropriations that go with it.

**INTO THE SEA:** Last June 11 the Air Force tested its Convair Atlas at Cape Canaveral, Fla. The 100-foot ICBM climbed to 5,000 feet, then abruptly tumbled into the ocean only two miles from its launching platform. The Air Force has another more complicated ICBM, the Martin Titan, but it is still in the research stage. The only 5,000-mile-range missile now in production is the Snark, also an Air Force weapon, but it is a guided missile which flies at lower speeds and altitudes and can be intercepted by anti-aircraft and defense planes as easily as a manned aircraft.

Now operational are two U.S. guided missiles with a 600-mile range, three others with much smaller range and a ballistic of 75-mile range. There has been

talk of an anti-missile missile but the best announced surface-to-air weapon—the Air Force's Bomarc, now in production—will be a guided missile with a range of 200 miles. It seemed unlikely that such a defensive missile could home in on another missile descending at speeds of several thousand miles an hour or that it could be launched on the moment's notice that such a rocket assault would give.

**WHY THE ANNOUNCEMENT:** The Soviet missile announcement shattered sleepy sessions of the London disarmament conference. The Soviets clearly planned for such an effect. The Soviet news agency Tass attached to the missile announcement an officially authorized statement on disarmament indicating that the Soviet government had been "impelled to take all necessary measures with the object of safeguarding the Soviet state" in view of the Western attitude toward its disarmament proposals. Charging that the West had created "all kinds of obstacles" to an agreement, the announcement said the Soviet Union would continue to press for the "cessation of tests and the prohibition of atomic weapons."

The Soviet statement also disclosed that a series of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions (A- and H-bombs) had been touched off recently in the Soviet Union at high altitudes "in order to insure the safety of the population."

**THE UNCHEERFUL VIEW:** Observers concluded from the joint announcement of atomic and missile tests that the So-

viets could now fit an atomic warhead to their missile. That put the missile into the fearsome setting of atomic warfare which last week brought these new alarms from scientists:

● The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, summarizing the results of hearings held last June, reported that if nuclear weapons testing continued at the present rate it would constitute a hazard to the world. It said that there is no such thing as a "clean" bomb. The report contradicted the Atomic Energy Commission on both points.

● At Palo Alto, Calif., a group of biologists warned that current testing was putting 10 million tons of radioactive material into the atmosphere every year; 50 million tons have been released already. The danger point, they said, was 70 million tons.

● In Baltimore, Dr. Michael A. Bender of Johns Hopkins University said the radiation safety level of 10 roentgens for an individual over a 30-year period, set by the Natl. Academy of Sciences, was perhaps two to three times as high as the actual safety mark.

Amid the dire warnings of fall-out dangers and swift destruction by global missiles, some scientists noted that this is the International Geophysical Year, in which all nations cooperate in the quest for knowledge and that the new giant rockets could explore space as well as destroy mankind.

Last week it seemed hard to take that long, cheery view.

## Congress windup

(Continued from Page 1)

in its possession. Under the Supreme Court ruling, the government was confronted with the simple choice of making the material available or dropping the prosecution, the decision to be the government's and not that of a trial judge.

**A CURIOUS DEFINITION:** The FBI loophole lies in the bill's definition of the kind of statements the defense can demand. Under the Supreme Court ruling any statement by an informer used as a witness, summaries of oral statements or written, could be demanded. The bill uses this tricky language to define an informer's "statement":

"A stenographic, mechanical, electrical, or other recording, or a transcription thereof, which is a substantially verbatim recital of an oral statement made by said witness to an agent of the government and recorded contemporaneously with the making of such oral statement."

Both the words "recording" and "transcription" are open to various interpretations, but the "contemporaneous" provision is the wide open door. An FBI agent need only listen to an informer, wait until he departs, and then write his own "summary" of what he heard. Under the bill's definition, such material would automatically become inaccessible to the defense because it would not be a recording or a transcription or substantially verbatim or contemporaneous.

**THURMOND'S LAST STAND:** The great civil rights debate, though it lasted long



Next election she'll be a big girl

and touched on ancient passions, never took on the quality of high drama because all the decisions were made not on the floor of the Senate but in the cloakrooms, the corridors, the private offices and in secret. The final vote came after a curious anticlimax. Sen. Storm Thurmond (D-S.C.), posing as Dixie's last never-say-die martyr to progress, mumbled and droned through a night and a day to set a useless and unenviable record of holding the floor for 24 hours and 18

minutes. He proved only that at 54 he's in fair physical shape but he's likely to become a short-term hero to all the bitter-enders in the deepest of the Deep South.

In the final weary compromises, a provision that would have jailed newsmen for revealing secret testimony before the Civil Rights Commission was deleted, and jury trials in criminal contempt cases were limited strictly to voting cases.

**CASE FOR THE COURTS:** The jury trial issue, over which the Dixiecrats had kicked up the biggest storm, was finally resolved to apply only in cases where a judge might impose penalties in excess of a \$300 fine or 45 days in jail. In such a case, the defendant could demand a new trial by jury. In effect, any Southern judge under this provision would be constrained in advance to impose such a relatively light sentence in any right to vote case before him.

A caucus of Southern Senators toward the end decided informally not to filibuster against the final form of the bill. In fact, they seemed more than willing to have it adopted, because they agreed unanimously that the limited sentence provision is unconstitutional. It seemed clear that the first case invoked under it would be appealed all the way to the Supreme Court.

Another indication of how the new bill might fare came from Ackerman, Miss., where Gov. J.P. Coleman announced he is appointing a committee of lawyers, one from each of the state's 82 counties, to hold a "clinic" and then through mass meetings through the state advise people how to defy the bill. He called it "massive resistance."

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**Actions vs. words SITKA, ALASKA**

We all read in the newspapers of how most of our leaders in Government say that the Russians and the people of China's words and sayings cannot be trusted, and so they advocate continued experimenting with nuclear weapons, but if "actions speak louder than words," then the whole bunch in Washington, D.C., who are supposed to talk for us, the people, are liars and subversives.

I, for one, would like to live out my natural lifetime and not be burned up in a nuclear hell. Owen C. Rademacher

**NEW YORK**

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**Worker vs. State**

**BERKELEY, CALIF.** Class struggle no longer is the prime mover of the workers. Taking its place is political struggle. What is important today is not worker vs. boss; it is worker vs. state.

I used to support any action of class struggle. Today I support any struggle which guarantees 1) freedom to strike; 2) right to vote by secret ballot; 3) right to form as many political parties as is desired by anybody who wants them. In short, I'll support Capitalism over any form of Socialism, if Capitalism gives the above rights. The United States of America gives these rights; the Soviet Union does not, hence my support of USA and not of Russia. George Kauffman

**Equal justice?**

**BROOKLYN, N. Y.** Equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion is carved in rock on the N. Y. County Court House.

1. Merely Madison Av. double-talk?
2. The inarticulate hope of the poor?
3. What the rich and privileged fear?
4. Or just the usual Kipling-esque blather of our nominal democracy?

Nobody has the right to appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court and only the rich have the means for humbly praying its permission to do so.

Veni Vidi

**Sky high**

**CINCINNATI, O.** We read in the papers where the Air Force sent a fellow in a balloon 18 miles into space. This sounds like a very daring effort to have a peek at the top of Ike's budget.

Reuel Stanfield

**NEW YORK**

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# the SPECTATOR

## War is dirty

VIRTUALLY IGNORED by the U.S. press, the Third Intl. Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Weapons and for Disarmament was held in Tokyo Aug. 6-16. Together with 3,981 Japanese delegates, 97 delegates from 25 countries and 10 international organizations from all over the world participated in the conference.

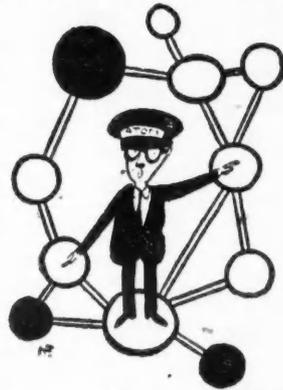
Opening on Hiroshima Day, the conference cabled a message of encouragement to the 11 Americans arrested in the demonstration against nuclear weapons tests in Nevada.

During the plenary session, Rev. Dr. Homer Jack of the U.S. delegation—Pastor of the First Unitarian Church in Evanston, Ill., friend of Dr. Albert Schweitzer and one of the organizers of the Nevada demonstration—explained that the purpose of the Tokyo conference was "to demand of the three nuclear powers, including my own country, the immediate and unconditional end to nuclear test explosions." To those demonstrating against test explosions, he recommended the "technique of non-violent direct action" in the spirit of the late Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi.

A SEAT FOR CHINA: Dr. Jack hoped that the Japanese would emulate "the best traits of American life," but not "by denying your own people passports to travel freely and by denying visas to other people to visit your land." He urged them to maintain the article in the Japanese Constitution "renouncing war as a sovereign right." He also hoped that the Chinese People's Republic would soon gain its rightful seat in the UN, "since no world disarmament agreement can be effective without China."

He called for "ways to reduce tensions without seemingly putting the blame on one ideology or another." He warned against the growing "public double-talk" which refers to the U.S. government project on Strontium 90 as "Operation Sunshine." "They talk of sunshine units of radio-activity," he said, "as if radio-active fall-out gave off vitamins instead of death!"

THE BEST REASON: As the first atomic scientist to address the conference, Britain's Prof. Rotblat deplored the "gradually changing attitude of some people towards the use of weapons of mass destruction, the growing callousness, the almost acceptance of the necessity of using such weapons in certain conditions." He was unimpressed by talks of developing "clean bombs"; he was "convinced that should war break out 'dirty bombs' will be used, because the object of war is to destroy the enemy, and this can be done much more efficiently with 'dirty bombs'."



Die Groene, Amsterdam

Prof. Rotblat did not feel that the danger from radio-active fall-out was "a strong argument against continuation of [nuclear weapons] tests." "The reason why we want tests to stop," he said, "is that each test marks an advance in the preparation for war . . . The major problem is the abolition of war altogether."

British Quaker pacifist and author Reginald Reynolds, who has traveled widely in Britain's colonies, noted that the conference was being held in a country where the effects of radio-active dust or rain and of Strontium 90 in the bones of children "are part of the terrible experience for which my country shares the shame, guilt and the responsibility."

"But I do not think my government is worse than most governments," he said, "and I test the sincerity of people from other countries by their willingness to protest fearlessly when wrong is done and to place human before national interest."

THREE RESOLUTIONS: At the closing session, an audience of 10,000 unanimously adopted three resolutions. They

- Called for the unconditional prohibition of tests, manufacture, stockpiling, use and export of nuclear weapons. Urged "world-wide, controlled disarmament," "dismantlement of all military blocs," "abdication of all military bases" and "withdrawal of all military troops from all foreign territories."

- Urged the UN to "do everything in its power" to promote the objectives of the conference.

- Called on the UN to set a fixed date "in October or November" to conclude an agreement to halt all nuclear weapons tests. Asked for "strengthening of international action at all levels of the population" of all countries to press their respective governments as well as the UN to promote cessation of nuclear weapons tests and disarmament.

The conference closed with a call for more aid to the victims of nuclear weapons.

—Kumar Goshal

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