



ROBESON SINGS IN ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL IN LONDON
For a report of this historic event, see Peggy Middleton, P. 8

Photo by Roz & Joe Balcombe

FOSTER DULLES FLIES AGAIN

U.S. flip-flops on Taiwan rekindle dangers of war

By Kumar Goshal

EVEN AS SECY. DULLES was winging his way to Taiwan, in a flight that ominously recalled his trip to Korea in June, 1950, just before the war broke out there, the truce in the Taiwan Strait was broken. After two weeks of a scheduled three-week cease-fire, the Chinese resumed their shelling of Quemoy from the mainland and Chiang Kai-shek's forces returned the fire.

In an order of the day, issued an hour before the shelling was resumed, China's Defense Minister Peng Teh-huai said the resumption was "a measure of punishment" for U.S. naval vessels escorting

Chiang Kai-shek's supply convoys to Quemoy in "open violation of the condition of our temporary suspension of shelling." He added: "It is absolutely impermissible for the Americans to meddle with Chinese affairs."

Peking seemed to be saying it was not bluffing when it laid down conditions for the cease-fire extension. The Oct. 13 directive to Chinese forces on the Fukien coast stated that one reason for the extension was "to see what the opposite side is going to do." It also said that "shelling shall start at once" if there were any "American escort operations," and

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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ORGANIZED CONSPIRACY SEEN

Bomb outrages laid to 'rabble-rousing' Southern politicians

By Louis E. Burnham

IN JANUARY, 1957, Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild of Atlanta's Hebrew Benevolent Congregation reported to an audience at New York's Central Synagogue on the "macabre and disquieting parallel between the South today and a totalitarian state."

A long-time resident of the South, Dr. Rothschild pointed out: "There is the curtailment of the right to speak freely and openly if what you say disagrees with the popular point of view."

He deplored the violation of law and the challenge to constitutional government. He saw control in the South passing to the hands of "extremists and rabble-rousers." Despite the growing difficulties, Dr. Rothschild urged the Jewish communities of the South to work for implementation of the Supreme Court integration decision with "patience and idealism."

THE FIRST TARGETS: In the 22 months since Dr. Rothschild's speech Southern racists have responded to the patience

of the moderate defenders of legality with 46 known bombings. First targets were the unpretentious homes and the churches of Negroes demanding equal rights. But soon the terror spread. By September, 1957, the dynamiters had moved on to public buildings: they blew up the Hattie Cotton Elementary school in Nashville because a lone six-year-old Negro girl had been enrolled.

Intermittent bombings of Negro homes continued in Montgomery, Atlanta, Birmingham and other cities without causing much nation-wide clamor. Then, last March 16, apparently emboldened by their "successes," the dynamiters blasted a Jewish school in Miami and a community center in Nashville. On April 28 they blew up a synagogue and a Negro school in Jacksonville.

SHARP REACTION: Mayors of 20 Southern cities met in May to coordinate their defenses against what was finally officially recognized as a well-organized conspiracy—southwide, if not national, in

(Continued on Page 9)



PRO-FASCIST TERRORISTS ARE ON THE PROWL AGAIN
Part of the bomb-damage to the Jewish Temple in Atlanta, Ga.

INDEPENDENT-SOCIALISTS DEFEAT TAMMANY HALL

'A political miracle' in New York State

NEW YORK'S INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST Party, defending its right to a place on the state ballot by virtue of some 27,000 petition signatures filed in accordance with the law Sept. 9, has won a crushing victory over Tammany leader Carmine De Sapio, N.Y. Secy. of State, and the law committee of the state Democratic party. On Fri., Oct. 17, Supreme Court Justice Kenneth S. McAffer ruled in Albany that challenges filed by the Democrats' lawyers and sustained by De Sapio were "erroneous" and that the new party was entitled to its place on the state ballot. Justice McAffer ruled that in the three upstate counties—Schoharie, Wayne and Yates—where De Sapio ruled that the new party had failed to obtain the legal minimum of 50 valid signatures, the Independent-Socialist petition effort should be credited with 76 signatures in Schoharie, 57 in Wayne and 97 in Yates.

The Tammany contingent, led by the Secy. of State, immediately moved to appeal Justice McAffer's decision in the Appellate Division, the next higher level in the state courts. Failing there, they

could go on to the topmost Court of Appeals, but Justice McAffer's decision, based on previous court rulings and on his own scrutiny of the registration books in one county, seemed to close most doors to a successful appeal based on the evidence brought before him.

The Independent-Socialist Party's state chairman, Henry Abrams of 11 Riverside Drive, issued a statement which the New York press ignored, pointing out that Justice McAffer's decision "will give the voters in our state a chance to vote on the question of peace and foreign policy in a year when all dissent is frowned upon by the cold war statesmen of both parties."

"The colossal expenditure in time, effort and money required to obtain a basic democratic right points up the injustice of our election law that is beset with technical traps for the plain citizen who wants to make his political voice felt," Abrams said.

"To produce the evidence necessary to refute the 192 pages of challenges was truly a political miracle, particularly since the entire

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Formosa and China

SEATTLE, WASH.
I do feel that I am a liberal—but Kumar Goshal's "Taiwan & a Unified China" (Oct. 13) is a bit thick for my blood. We must not forget that the Formosans are not Chinese by nationality. Formosa has not been ruled by China for more than 50 years. The allied powers "gave" Formosa to China following World War II and anyone (even a Marxist) can see that a Red Chinese base on Formosa is something the U.S. isn't going to go for.

So many times the Left winds up talking to itself because it strays so far into never-never land. Why postulate impossibles?

Phil Thornburg

Goshal replies: "The Taiwan population is over 10,000,000. The early non-Chinese population numbers some 100,000. The rest are made up of descendants of Chinese immigrants, mostly from Fukien, and 2,000,000 Chinese who went there after 1945. Taiwan was a part of China for centuries; the 50-year Japanese occupation no more qualifies it for severance from China than the 200-year Portuguese occupation of Goa and the 300-year Dutch occupation of West Indian qualify them for severance from India and Indonesia, respectively. China, with memories of past Western invasion, has more reason to worry about U.S. bases in Taiwan, Okinawa and the Philippines than the U.S. has to worry about Peking ruling Taiwan, thousands of miles from the U.S."—Editor.

What price logic?

NEW YORK, N.Y.
That is an excellent idea you have of referring to foreign countries by the names used by their peoples—Taiwan, Ghana, etc. Why not complete the logic and use the true spellings of national and city names? Danemark, Norge, Italia, Roma, Firenze, Napoli, Praha, etc. Cyrillic, Polish, Greek, Chinese, etc., could be transliterated into the Latin alphabet to words acceptable to the nations concerned. I think such a policy would be correct, polite, and help remove insular attitudes here.

Name Withheld

Frugivore

MELBOURNE, FLA.
In the "Spectator" column, (10/6) Cedric Belfrage reports that in Britain they are experimenting with a "Mechanical Cow" to help feed a hungry world. How ridiculous can Man be in his thinking? Nature provided an abundance of food for us to eat, and running grass thru machinery isn't the right way to feed us.
Man is physiologically NOT a grass-eating animal; it is not his normal (ideal) food. Man is real-

Ten years ago in the Guardian

THE HEADLINE OVER THE STORY by William A. Reuben asked: Is There A Scottsboro Case in Trenton, N. J.? The story opened: "Six men now wait in the death house while justices of the New Jersey Superior Court consider their appeal from a conviction for murder." The story closed: "While the prisoners wait in Trenton's death house, the Civil Rights Congress and the Progressive Party in that city have rallied to the defense of the six. The nation's press outside of Trenton is silent."

IN AN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW with Marshal Tito, British Labor MP Konni Zilliacus wrote: "The talk about ideological differences between Yugoslavia and the Cominform countries, Tito said, was just eyewash. The real issue was the relations between socialist states. That was an issue of principle that had to be raised and settled sooner or later."

—NATIONAL GUARDIAN, October 25, 1948

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

If we need a dramatic example of the difference between the two Berlins, the flourishing West under free enterprise and the dreary, depressed East under Soviet control, here it is: the Berlin Hilton's storage room for empty bottles, until they are carted away, is bigger than an apartment on Stalinalee in the Communist sector two miles distant.

—Syracuse Herald-Journal, Oct. 14.

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: R.M., Syracuse, N.Y.

ly a FRUGIVORE, a fruit-eating animal (fruits, nuts, and tender leaves of vegetables). If this is so, the answer to the world's hunger problem is for every person, family, community and state to plant all kinds of fruit trees.

But no, our civilization bulldozes out the trees for housing projects, business areas, etc. Even public parks contain ornamental trees instead of food-producing trees.

How do I know Man is a frugivore? Scientifically my authority is Huxley, the English biologist, in his book *Man's Place in Nature*; Biblically (questionable source of authority) it says (Genesis: 1-29): "Behold I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree, in which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed; to you it shall be for meat."

Man should use his head and eat the food Nature intended for him. It's easy and simple, and health-promoting. And this world would be a Garden of Eden instead of the barren mess that it is.

Plant fruit trees! David Stry

'The Defiant Ones'

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.
Your perceptive review of *The Defiant Ones* (Oct. 13) stated the premise of this film with tremendous clarity. However, I was surprised at one glaring omission—the authors.

The writers are Nathan E. Douglas and Harold Jacob Smith. They have been in Hollywood writing the usual stuff for

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TAMMANY HALL DEFEATED

'A political miracle'

(Continued from Page 1)

machinery of the Democratic Party was mobilized against us."

JUSTICE McAFFER'S DECISION, although buried and scantily reported in the New York press, brought a flood of congratulatory messages to the new party and gave a big lift to party workers for the closing weeks of the campaign.

In between street meetings and rallies in New York City and a busy program of "equal-time" radio and TV appearances, the candidates planned a brief upstate swing Oct. 26-27-28. Corliss Lamont, candidate for U.S. Senator; John T. McManus, candidate for Governor; and Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac, candidate for comptroller, will speak at rallies, church services and on television in Buffalo, Oct. 26. They will be joined in Syracuse the next day by Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, and Scott K. Gray Jr., candidate for Attorney General, for a reception and radio broadcasts. The full ticket will appear in Albany Tuesday, Oct. 28.

The final campaign rally will be held in New York City at Palm Gardens, 306 W. 52 St., on Thursday eve. Oct. 30, but campaigning will continue by radio, TV and sound-truck throughout Election Eve, Nov. 3. Artist Rockwell Kent; Charlotta Bass, 1952 Progressive candidate for vice-president; and Rev. William Howard Melish were expected to speak at the Oct. 30 rally.

THE INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST candidates and the comparative handful of workers they have had up to this point in the campaign have fought an uphill battle against tough odds. Their petition effort, obtaining some 27,000 signatures in six weeks to meet a statewide requirement of 12,000 and then licking Tammany to a standstill when challenged, has impressed even the most seasoned political experts in the New York Left.

Against an absolute blackout in the press, the candidates have taken to radio, TV, street meetings and expensive mailings to let the electorate know there is a ticket in the field standing for peace, jobs, rights and social change.

On the issues, the candidates have met every test. They have campaigned unequivocally for peace, for withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Taiwan area, the Middle East and from upwards of 1,000 bases throughout the world; for recognition of China both by the U.S. and the United Nations; for abolition of nuclear tests and weapons; for full civil rights including federal government operation of schools closed down by segregationists in the South; for an end to the state witchhunt by the Harriman and Wagner administrations in New York state and city; for a complete ban on segregation in housing in the state; for public works, tax relief for wage-earners, for the 30-hour week at 40 hours pay; and for consideration of socialist solutions to end the cycles of boom, bust and war which have plagued our country for a half century and more.

The new Independent-Socialist Party has indeed earned its spurs in the few months since a conference last June brought it into being. It has also earned, in our opinion, the full and active support of every socialist and advocate of socialism, of every peace-lover, of every defender of constitutional rights and liberties.

Its winning fight against the De Sapio machine has won it the respect of trade unionists, liberals and others who have seen their own independent programs and political efforts crushed by the Tammany-De Sapio steamroller.

WE URGE AN END now to the partisan bickering which has kept segments of the New York Left at loggerheads through much of the campaign. A consistent effort by all, from now until Election Day—with canvassing, contributions, talking candidates and program to neighbors and shopmates—can crown an astonishing effort with astonishing success at the polls.

Write or telephone the campaign headquarters, 799 Broadway at 11th Street, GRamercy 3-2141, to find out what you can do. New Yorkers should pack the Oct. 30 rally at Palm Gardens. Friends should be urged to tune in the radio and TV appearances of the candidates. And all should be urged to Vote Row D in New York on Election Day—for peace, jobs, rights and social change; and in protest against machine efforts to rule these issues off the ballot.

WE URGE THE SUPPORT of all other independent candidates, some for lesser offices in New York (where write-in votes will be necessary) and for all independent and socialist candidates on state ballots elsewhere in the country.

Specifically we urge our readers and their friends in the areas indicated to support the following candidates:

WASHINGTON: The United Liberals and Socialists Party: Jay Sykes, U.S. Senate; Jack Wright, State Senate, 37th Dist.; Clyde Carter, State Representative, 33d Dist.; Thomas Jerry Barrett, State Senate, 32d Dist.

PENNSYLVANIA: Workers Party (ballot designation for Socialist Workers Party): Ethel Peterson, U.S. Senate; Herbert Lewin, Governor; Eloise Fickland, Lt. Governor; Louis Shoemaker, Secy. for Internal Affairs.

MICHIGAN: Socialist Workers Party: Frank Lovell, Governor, Evelyn Sell, U.S. Senate.

MINNESOTA: Socialist Workers Party: William M. Curran, U.S. Senate.

WISCONSIN: Socialist Workers Party: James Boulton, U.S. Senate; Wayne Leverenz, Governor.

NEW JERSEY: Socialist Workers Party: Daniel Roberts, U.S. Senate.

COLORADO: Independent: Philip Isely, Congress, Denver area; Margaret Isely, General Assembly, Denver area.

NEW YORK: Peoples Rights: Benjamin J. Davis, State Senate, 21st Senate Dist, Manhattan (write-in); Socialist Party: David McReynolds, Congress, 19th Dist., Manhattan (write-in).

—THE GUARDIAN

films and TV for some years. Three years ago they discussed the theme and decided to collaborate on an original screen story. They were advised against spending energy and time in this pursuit, for, said the Hollywood wiseacres, there was absolutely no market for original material. Nevertheless Smith and Douglas worked nights and weekends. The story was completed in July of '57. Producer-director Stanley Kramer saw it in the fall. Thirty-six hours after reading the script, he made a firm offer of \$75,000 plus a percentage for the story. This was the first time since 1941 that an original was sold at such a price.

The way is open after more than a decade for writers who have something to say.

Sylvia Ashton

Once again

LAWRENCE, MASS.
Once again in France the liberal who speaks so eloquently for truth in the assemblies has deserted it in the line under fire.

It is time the liberal saw that no matter how you groom a jungle beast, and no matter how friendly he looks, he is always deadly. When, oh when, are those who espouse truth going to see it can never exist in a jungle atmosphere?

John Mill



Eccles in London Worker
"I've solved all our staff problems—I've fired everybody!"

Wait and see on France

CUMMINGTON, MASS.

In March, 1946, I was in Paris discussing the French situation with two French friends, sisters whose political views had always been diametrically opposite—one was nearly a radical, the other solidly conservative. The conservative one said to me: "If the Communist Party would put forward concrete proposals, however radical, that would really clean up the situation, do you think we wouldn't vote Communist? We would like a shot! But they don't. They are just like all the other parties, they talk and they talk, they promise and they promise—and they don't do anything."

Since then, 12 years of hog-tied do-nothingism in France. To me that is explanation enough of the De Gaulle landslide.

Also, I wish to remind Anne Bauer that Big Business went all out for F.D.R. in 1932, thinking they could do as they liked with him or kick him out when they wanted to. They got him in and could neither control him nor kick him out. At last someone in France has the power to do something. Let's wait and see.

Margaret A. Fellows

FORMOSA MAY LOSE A SEAT

California labor out to bury Knowland's political hopes

By David Harris
Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

A PROGRESSIVE would have to be a perfectionist not to get some satisfaction out of the California election prospects. The state is almost certain to give a shellacking to one of the most pompous and heavy-handed reactionaries, William F. Knowland, the "Senator from Formosa," now seeking the governorship as a step to the White House. And here organized labor is really in a political campaign with energy for the first time in a long time.

The labor leaders hadn't planned to be so active politically, but were forced to by the threat of a "right-to-work" initiative and straw-vote evidence that it had a better than even chance to win. The stake was sizable, for the threatened union security provisions are written into 89% of collective bargaining agreements covering 1,399,000 workers.

Labor staged an intensive registration drive, not only among its own members but on a door-to-door basis. This helped boost the state total of registered voters to an all-time high of 6,752,421, with a record edge for the Democrats of more than a million. Democratic voters have been preponderant in California for some time, but they haven't elected a governor in 20 years.

OWN INITIATIVE: In Los Angeles County, which has a remarkable 41% of all the voters in the state, and where support for the "right-to-work" meas-

ure was reportedly strong, the AFL set up 50 field campaign headquarters to "Save Our State" from the initiative.

Union seems to be the only group giving it active support and its chances of passage are slim.

Knowland's all-out support of the compulsory open shop initiative is one of the things that has alienated him from some of his fellow Republican campaigners who believe that a more "Warrenesque" approach to politics is the only way to win.

Another reason for lack of GOP harmony was Knowland's curt announcement that he would run for Governor, although the Republican incumbent, Goodwin Knight, was anxious to stand for re-election. Knowland let Knight run for the Senate seat he had vacated but that didn't heal any wounds.

There are differences over Knowland's use of hate literature aimed at labor by pro-fascist Joseph P. Kamp and the extremist Committee for Constitutional Government. The literature was withdrawn but never genuinely repudiated. Knowland's "attack, attack and again attack" approach may be the cleverest one available to him, particularly since his Democratic opponent, Edmund "Pat" Brown, appears guided by a desire not to rock his own victory boat.

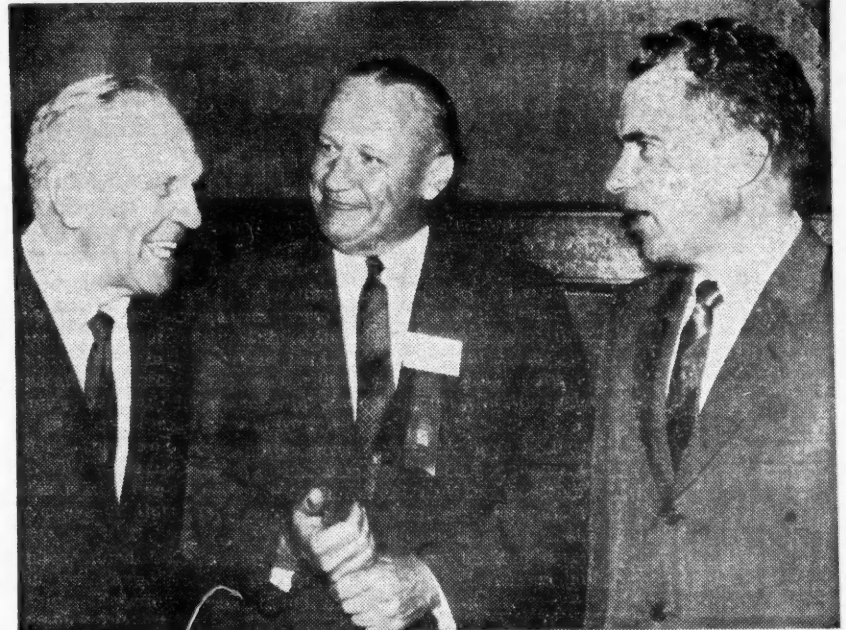
STRANGE SUPPORTERS: This victory boat has been boarded by a rather motley crew, including the Hearst newspapers and others usually associated with the Republicans. The need to appeal to these unexpected guests is likely also to rob Brown's campaign of some of its force. But Brown's positions on labor, civil rights and civil liberties clearly makes him a popular candidate.

The case of Brown's running mate, Rep. Clair Engle, who is vying with Goodwin Knight for the U.S. Senate, is not so clear-cut. Engle since 1943 has represented the second largest district in the country.

Vincent Hallinan, in a recent article in the GUARDIAN (Oct. 13), pointed out that Engle voted in 1947 for the Taft-Hartley Act and to override President Truman's veto of the measure. He also pointed out that Engle battled hard in June, 1958, to prevent the California Young Democrats from calling for the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Lebanon.

NEW SONGS: Since his campaign for Senate began, Engle has termed his Taft-Hartley vote "a mistake." And in a recent debate with Knight, Engle came out generally against loyalty oaths and the administration's "brinkmanship" in Quemoy and Matsu, whereas Knight denounced any "appeasement tactics" in the Far East and recalled with pride his fight for the loyalty oath at the University of California.

Most recently Engle has called for the formation of a United Nations committee



THREE-HEADED ELEPHANT

Sen. Knowland (center) surrounded by Vice President Nixon (r.) and Gov. Knight

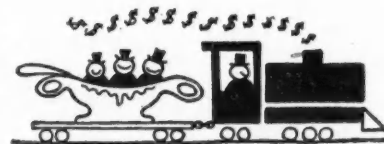
of neutral nations to work out a settlement of the Quemoy-Matsu crisis. Engle said: "We must try to find those areas of agreement which, honorably implemented, will lead us step by step back from the brink of the world holocaust upon which we now stand."

So—is he for real?

Many of those on the left who support Engle's candidacy do so on the basis that his campaign will help forge farmer-labor unity in California. Engle's main efforts in Congress have been in behalf of his largely rural constituents and he has been an active spokesman for the Central Valley and the 160-acre limitation on the usage of water from that project. He has repeatedly attacked President Eisenhower's partnership power policy as a giveaway of natural resources and he also led the fight for a law which requires Congressional approval of any military withdrawal of more than 5,000 acres of land.

PROGRESSIVES' ROLE: In the final analysis, what the progressives themselves do will help to determine the extent to which farmer-labor unity or labor's independent action will be shaped from the raw stuff of California politics.

The recent formation of the Independent Voters of California—designed to campaign on issues, act as an information agency and possibly run independent candidates in non-partisan elections—seems to be a step in the right direction, although occurring too late to influence the Nov. 4 elections.



NEW EVIDENCE

T-H defendants in Cleveland ask new trial

A MOTION for a new trial for seven persons convicted on a charge of conspiring to falsify Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits was filed in Federal District Court in Cleveland on Oct. 16. The prosecution has announced it will oppose the move.

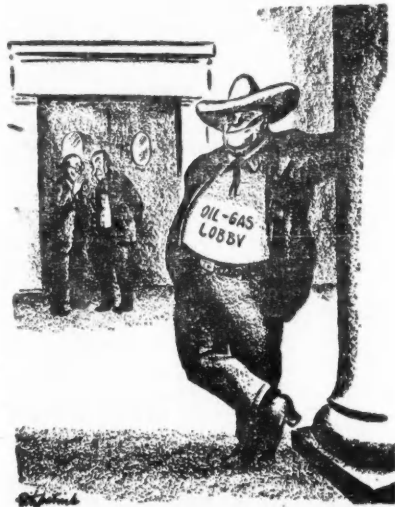
The motion was based on a defense claim of new evidence to show that Fred Gardner, a key government witness, testified falsely when he said under oath that he had never served in the armed forces. The defense now charges that Gardner served two enlistments in the Army between World Wars, that he was court-martialed for being absent without leave during the first and deserted in 1926 during the second.

A defense affidavit says Gardner's testimony was "obviously given in order to conceal from the defendants and the jury his criminality" in respect to his Army service and adds that "had the jury known of his desertions from the U.S. Army it could have under the trial judge's instructions ignored his entire testimony as unworthy of belief."

FIRST OF ITS KIND: The affidavit notes that Gardner's "credibility as a witness was a critical element in the case," and that "without his testimony, there can be little doubt that the case could not have been submitted to the jury."

The seven, in the first trial of its kind, were convicted last Jan. 29 and were sentenced to 18 months in prison and \$2,500 fines each. All are free in bail pending appeal. The seven are Fred and Marie Haug, James West, Sam Reed, Andrew Remes, Eric Reinthaler and Hyman Lumer.

Spokesmen for the Ad Hoc Committee, which has been raising funds for the appeal, have asked that contributions to pursue these new legal developments be sent to the Committee, P.O. Box 2461, East Cleveland Station, Cleveland 12, O.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
"No, better not. We might find other senators in his pocket."

Another action by AFL leaders to defeat the measure has had interesting results. The unionists sponsored an initiative of their own that they knew would be both generally popular and violently opposed by big business. By so doing they hoped to siphon off some big business money that would have supported the compulsory open shop campaign.

The AFL measure calls for a reduction in sales taxes and redistribution of the state income tax to place a greater share of its burden on the wealthy. It succeeded in forcing the opposition to divide its political contributions, even though the AFL spent only \$800 on the measure and then cut it adrift.

GOP DIFFERENCES: But the measure didn't promptly sink. The people liked it when they had a chance to hear about it. And now, although its creators have abandoned it, the measure maintains some vitality, particularly as a way of exposing the lopsided soak-the-poor state tax structure. However, the independent Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's

O, you know how politicians are

The Spectator last week reported on a meeting of Republican leaders with the President at the White House on Oct. 5, after which they issued a statement saying that "nationalization, socialization of industry would inevitably follow" a victory for the Democratic Party in the Congressional elections next month. Meade Alcorn, GOP National Chairman, after the meeting said he had never seen the President "in a more fighting or hard-hitting form." At the President's news conference on Oct. 16, the following dialogue took place:

RAY L. SCHERER of the National Broadcasting Company—Mr. President, your meeting with Republican leaders last week was followed by a statement which said: "Nationalization and socialization of industry is the clear alternative to a Republican Congress." Do you subscribe to this?

A.—What? Read that quotation.

Q.—That "nationalization and socialization of industry is the clear alternative to a Republican Congress," following the meeting of a week ago Monday. I was wondering if—

A.—Well, I read the statement and I don't remember that it used that exact language. I believe it said that unless you supported the Republican program, that there would be a lead or a direction towards the left that could eventually become socialism, or something of that kind, but I don't believe it was in the same language you gave it, Ray. Now in any event it was not my statement, it was theirs, and I think politicians do love to make things very positive. [Laughter.]

For 3 new readers—

GUARDIAN READERS can now get —free of charge—Abraham Polonsky's novel, *A Season of Fear*, simply by sending us three new \$1 subs (see coupon, p. 7). You will want to add to your library this penetrating story of the effect of cold war America on neighbors like yours and ours. 224 pp. Hard cover.

IT WAS THE CLIMAX OF A LONG POPULAR STRUGGLE

The Iraq revolution--and what made it

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BAGHDAD

TWO DAYS BEFORE the July 14 Revolution, the Communist Party of Iraq issued a leaflet alerting people to probably imminent "great changes."

This fact underlines a point repeatedly emphasized by Premier Abdul Karim Qassem—that July 14 represented not an army coup but the culminating phase of a long and popular struggle.

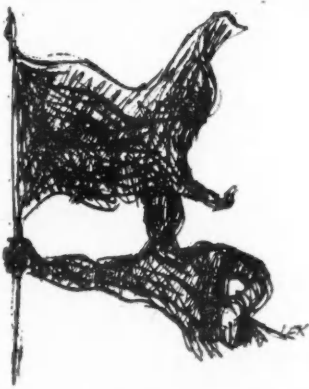
It is not a class but a national revolution against feudalism and imperialism, with a certain class character defined by (1) the extreme weakness of the merchants and the middle class; (2) the extent of the involvement of peasants and workers; (3) the bitterness of their struggle against the ruthless ruling oligarchy—the Iraq Petroleum Co., the palace and the landlords.

PEASANT UPRISINGS: Of Iraq's 6,500,000 people, 4,100,000 are peasants. Before and after the British occupation they were nomadic, and still retain the love of liberty and the militancy of the nomad. Between World Wars I and II, when British policy strengthened feudalism and bought off the rising middle class by giving it land, peasant insurrections flared with growing intensity.

Some were direct class revolts against feudalism and poverty. Others originated in conflicts between feudal groups, allied with this or that politician. Each group would promise the peasant better conditions if he fought against the other and the bitterly anti-government peasants readily responded. In these revolts the peasants were always brutally crushed, and the feudal barons untouched.

It was not until 1946 that the Communist Party—formed in the mid-1930's—began to organize "peasant societies." These developed unevenly in different parts of the country, becoming widespread in the next two years. The first united peasant-worker action took place when a strike at Iraq Petroleum's K-3 pipeline station was supported by local peasants who gave the workers food and defended them with arms.

"OUR REVOLUTION": The severe repression which followed had by the end



Lex in De Groene, Amsterdam

of 1949 liquidated practically all active progressive groups in Iraq and sent thousands of workers and peasants to prison. But new action groups developed. Peasant uprisings occurred every year since.

When the Revolution came, the peasants considered it "our Revolution," and many were prepared to get rid of the big landowners as a class. The new government promptly decreed that the peasant should receive a net 50% share of the crop—a substantial gain, since hitherto the peasant's share had varied from a fifth to a 20th. Some peasants, however, could not see why they should give the landlords anything at all and at first stood guard over the crops, refusing to permit their division.

Communists and progressive elements moved quickly to restrain the peasants. "We told them," a progressive related,



IRAQIS TAKE A LOOK AT THE RESULTS OF ANOTHER REVOLUTION
A delegation visits the former Imperial Palace in Peking

"that the government had appointed a Committee on Land Reform; that we must not ourselves do anything against feudalism now because there is danger to our Republic from imperialism. We explained that we should make our demands in the future and do it legally." Peasants, shopkeepers, lawyers, workers

and others began organizing Defend the Republic Committees.

THE ILLEGAL PRESS: These committees, like other democratic organizations, have had a curious semi-legal position. For all political parties, mass organizations and public meetings continue to be banned (although the recent government

Danger at Taiwan

(Continued from Page 1)

added: "This order is to be strictly observed."

DULLES SHIFTS AGAIN: What the "opposite side" did hardly indicated a desire for a peaceful solution of the Taiwan conflict. Dulles, who had previously intimated a willingness at least to thin out Chiang's garrison in Quemoy, reverted to his tough position the day after Peng extended the cease-fire on Oct. 13. He said then he had "no plans whatever" to urge Chiang to reduce the Quemoy garrison or "to do something against his better judgment."

Chiang's provocative judgment apparently was that Peking had in effect admitted defeat over its attempt to blockade Quemoy. He seemed to feel Peking would automatically extend suspension of shelling indefinitely. Emboldened by Dulles' tough talk, Chiang used the cease-fire for a massive military replenishment of Quemoy.

He poured fresh troops, supplies, big U.S.-made eight-inch howitzers and 153 mm Long Tom Artillery into the island, and evacuated civilians by the hundreds to Taiwan. *Newsweek* reported that "within a few days the battered island had a much larger military build-up than before the Red siege began." Chiang told his followers in Taiwan: "Our national goal now as before is to . . . recover the mainland . . . We are definitely determined to hold the offshore islands."

THE 12-MILE LIMIT: U.S. military authorities on Taiwan seemed to agree with Chiang that Peking "was motivated by weakness," and that its warnings against violations of its territorial waters within 12 miles of the Fukien coast need not be taken seriously. *Newsweek* noted that the U.S. did not recognize the 12-mile limit. It said: "But there was no reason why U.S. warships should approach the China coast as long as the cease-fire was on."

Nevertheless, Rear Adm. Miles Hubbard, commander of Cruiser Task Force 75, said on Oct. 19 that the U.S. fleet was paying no attention to Peking's warning. He added: "Our patrols are going within 12 miles of the mainland all the time." The same day, China issued its 35th warning against U.S. intrusions in its ter-

ritorial waters. And the shelling of Quemoy was renewed the next day.

THE REASONING: Ever since Peking announced its first cease-fire Oct. 5, speculation has been rife in the U.S. about the significance of the cease-fire and, later, the reason for Dulles' trip to Taiwan.

All kinds of motives have been attributed to Peking to explain the truce.

- Chiang and his supporters at home and abroad saw Peking calling off its attempt to take Quemoy and Taiwan in the face of U.S. determination to protect them.

- Others believed the cease-fire, following intense bombardment of Quemoy, was part of a war of nerves against Chiang, a demonstration of China's might for the benefit of the Chinese in Taiwan, and an invitation to those who were disenchanted with Chiang to bypass him and negotiate directly with Peking.

CHINA'S RECORD: If the past is any guide, it would seem safe to accept Peking's statements at face value. For example, during the Korean war, China gave clear warning through Indian diplomats that it would enter the war if U.S. forces crossed the Yalu River and threatened its borders. A cease-fire in Quemoy waters was predicted by India's Defense Minister Krishna Menon, who had been urging the U.S. to accept Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's desire for peaceful negotiations as sincere if Washington would give some sign it would reciprocate. Peking ordered the cease-fire when the U.S. seemed veering to the conclusion that

No discussion needed

AUSTIN, Tex., Oct. 11 (AP)—The University of Texas student assembly has voted 17 to 1 to ask that integration be extended to all business establishments patronized by students near the campus.

With almost no discussion the student group approved a resolution last night asking restaurants, cafeterias and other services be opened to Negro students.

The University has been integrated for some years.

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Oct. 11

changes suggest these restrictions may soon be lifted). Yet the government in effect told these organizations to continue operating illegally. How openly they operate depends on local authorities.

Similarly, democratic groups have yet to receive licenses to start newspapers. But the Communist illegal press—including a central newspaper and many regional workers and peasants papers—continues to flourish.

KEY TO THE FUTURE: In the long run, the best guarantee for a real change in the social and economic relations prevailing in the countryside lies less in the government-proclaimed land reform than in the existence of these militant, democratic and politically conscious organizations.

Iraq, relatively speaking, is a rich country with an annual oil revenue of \$200,000,000 and 20 times as much agricultural land per head as Egypt. Corruption, graft, mismanagement, bureaucracy and inefficiency of the old regime ravaged the country and destroyed just about everything. What they could not destroy—and what has grown and developed—is the militancy and political consciousness of the people, now released by the Revolution.

Quemoy was not essential to the defense of Taiwan.

In the Oct. 13 cease-fire directive, Peking clearly spelled out its policy, and appeared to be carrying it out to the letter.

WHY DID DULLES GO? What Dulles hoped to accomplish in Taiwan remained to be seen. He was said to be worried by Peking's appeal to the Chinese in Taiwan for direct talks. This, the *N.Y. Times* said, had "hit a sensitive spot." He apparently sought to check defections in Chiang's ranks.

Some in the U.S. believed that Dulles went to Taiwan to coax Chiang into gradual evacuation of Quemoy; others thought his purpose was to reassure Chiang of unqualified support. Chiang was said to be willing to reduce his forces on the offshore islands only if Washington publicly pledged to defend them. He held the trump cards if Dulles kept to his determination to hang on to Taiwan, which in turn would require upholding Chiang.

THE CRUCIAL ISSUE: Relations between Peking and Washington, as China has often noted, remained the crucial issue. All evidence pointed to the fact that Peking was utterly frank when it said that the U.S. had no business flexing its muscles in the Taiwan Strait and interfering in the Chinese civil war; that the U.S. should withdraw as gracefully as possible on the basis of peaceful negotiations with China, and let the Chinese decide their own destiny.

If the world was to be spared the agonies of a third world war, sober observers said last week, it would be wise to take Peking's words at their face value.

TV-Radio listing for N.Y. Independents

HERE IS THE SCHEDULE of radio and TV appearances of New York's Independent-Socialist candidates:

SAT., Oct. 25, 1 p.m.: John T. McManus, candidate for governor; interviewed by League of Women Voters, WCBS-TV, Channel 2.

SAT., Oct. 25, midnight: Annette T. Rubinstein, candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, interviewed by Barry Gray, WMCA-Radio, 570 kc.

SUN., Oct. 26, 12.30 p.m., McManus interviewed on "Between the Lines." WNEW-TV, Channel 5.

BARRY GRAY, WMCA, at midnight, Oct. 27, will interview Capt. Hugh Mulzac, candidate for Comptroller; midnight, Oct. 29, John T. McManus; midnight, Oct. 31, Scott K. Gray Jr., candidate for Attorney General.

TUES., Oct. 28, 1-1:30 p.m., Dr. Rubinstein on "Meet Your Candidates," WNEW-TV, Channel 5.

In addition, WNEW-Radio, 1130 kc., on its "People's Choice" program, 9:35-10 p.m. nightly, will broadcast a series of statements by McManus Oct. 26-27-28-30 and Nov. 2.

THE GOP'S 'RIGHT TO WORK' CRUSADE

'Wreck labor' bid may wreck its supporters

CANDIDATES CAMPAIGNING hotly for the Senate, House and governorships in six states have been reduced almost to also-rans by a proposition on the ballot. Most of the record registration, the excitement and the big campaign contributions are occasioned by the proposed "right-to-work" laws.

These propositions, which could demolish union security, will be voted up or down on Nov. 4 in California, Ohio, Washington, Idaho, Colorado and Kansas. In effect the proposals would cancel all existing contracts and outlaw all future ones that provide for the union shop. The union shop clause allows the employer to hire anyone he pleases—but all those hired must join the union within a specified time limit and stay in it for the duration of the contract. It is the only effective safeguard against company unionism.

In a campaign built on wild phrasemaking, anti-labor politicians are denouncing the union shop as "serfdom" and characterizing the right to take the benefits of unionization without the responsibilities as "the right to work."

SECTION 14 (b): The Taft-Hartley Law of 1947 outlawed the "closed shop"—another loaded phrase—under which the employer agreed to hire only union members. Taft-Hartley also paved the way for

by union "bosses." This particular "spectacular," without benefit of charging horses, is not regarded as effective.

REPUBLICANS SPLIT: The campaign for Proposition 18, the Californian form of the "right to work" law, is in the hands of a Los Angeles promotion firm, the Stephen L. Wells Agency, which has a \$700,000 kitty to work with. Part of the money goes into gigantic billboards depicting a gagged union man over the message: "Unseal his lips." The pitch is based on the McClellan hearings on union corruption. The argument seems to be that the way to get rid of corruption in the unions is to get rid of unions.

The issue has split the Republican Party in California and may decide the career of Sen. William Fife Knowland (see p. 3). Opposition to the proposition is so great in California that both President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon have refused to get off the fence. But Knowland has leaped right in, not only supporting the proposition but making it a key point in his platform. His long-range campaign for the Presidency in 1960 could be stopped dead on this issue.

BATTLE OF BILLBOARDS: Gov. Goodwin Knight, with his ear better attuned to California reactions, has come out against the proposition. Knowland's Democratic opponent Pat Brown is firmly committed against it. Labor is campaigning vigorously throughout the state. Answering the promotion agency's billboard is labor's own, drawn by Ben Shahn. It shows a gagged union man, too, but this one can't speak because the hammy hand of Big Business is clapped

across his mouth. The message is simple: "Vote No."

There are Hollywood trimmings to the campaign. The "right to work" forces have Irene Dunne to speak for them, but Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt has countered gently with the opinion that Miss Dunne's "warm heart" has been "betrayed by fraudulent arguments . . . aimed at the destruction of human rights." The reformed New Dealer Donald Richberg, who long ago changed his mind about the value of unionism, has been trotted out for the proposition but he has been checkmated by actresses Linda Darnell and Dorothy Lamour who urge a "No" vote.

OHIO IS EXCITED: In Ohio, the "Ohioans For the Right To Work, Inc." are spending half a million dollars to put the proposition over. The campaign has all the Madison Av. techniques, featuring "hard-sell" radio and TV shows. When Ohio voters piled up a record off-year registration, politicians of both major parties were alarmed since nothing can be safely predicted when voters turn out in such numbers. Observers predict a record off-year vote of 3,450,000.

Democrats later took heart when Republican Gov. William O'Neill, up for re-election, made the proposition his prime campaign issue. The issue completely overshadows O'Neill and Sen. Bricker, also up for re-election, who has come out for the proposition, but gingerly. It could wipe out O'Neill and cut greatly into Bricker's vote. Democrats now feel that the increased turnout of labor voters, aroused as no candidate could manage to stir them this year, will



Conrad in Denver Post
RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

be to their advantage on Nov. 4. Not since Prohibition was an issue 40 years ago has the Ohio electorate been so excited by a ballot proposition.

A CRUCIAL TEST: In both states the tide is running against the proposition but labor leaders were nonetheless running scared. Union headquarters in Ohio were distributing 8,000,000 pieces of literature to defeat the measure. In all states where the proposition is being offered, but particularly in Ohio and California, labor was fighting a crucial battle.

In 11 years of Taft-Hartley it had accommodated itself, retreated, suffered set-backs with minimum resistance. But now many doubted that organized labor could long survive this latest and deadliest implementation of Taft-Hartley.



the current rash of "right to work" proposals in its Section 14 (b) which says:

"Nothing in this act shall be construed as authorizing the execution and application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any state or territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by state or territorial law."

Gov. George M. Leader of Pennsylvania said of 14 (b): "No 44 words ever written contains any more anti-union ammunition."

The section allows the states to pass legislation that is more anti-union than Taft-Hartley but rules invalid any state action that seeks to soften Taft-Hartley. From the start the "right to work" laws were pushed in almost all states by business interests which wrapped union-busting in the banner of states' rights to make a tidy and pernicious package.

18 STATES HAVE IT: "Right to work" laws have reached the stage of decision by ballot or legislative action in 39 states. They have been rejected in 21 states, adopted in 18. The 18 "right to work" states are, with few exceptions, in non-industrial areas, where the labor vote is small and unorganized, where there is a record of backward social legislation, comparatively low wages and low living conditions. They are: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Iowa, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia.

This year the "right to work" proposition makes its major offensive in the industrial centers of California and Ohio. If it wins in either state, labor leaders say, most other states will follow suit within four years. The fight is in its second round in California. A "right to work" constitutional amendment was defeated there in 1944.

Movie tycoon Cecil B. De Mille began to prepare for the big push 10 years ago when he founded his "Committee for Democracy in Labor Unions." In the current campaign he casts his somewhat doddering image on TV screens, describing himself as a union man persecuted

TEST BAN IS NO. 1 ITEM

Hot issues bring UN sessions to life

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.
THE OFTEN SOPORIFIC United Nations sessions suddenly came to life last week. Alignments shifted and sharp words were exchanged as the various committees took up such hot issues as South Africa's racist policies, the UN Human Rights Covenants and a special UN economic aid fund.

Discussion of nuclear weapons test suspension generated the most heat in the Political Committee, which had before it three resolutions: (1) A U.S. proposal for test suspension during the Geneva talks on a test ban control system, opening Oct. 31; (2) A Soviet proposal for an immediate and permanent "cessation" of tests; (3) An Indian proposal for an immediate and universal suspension of tests "until agreement is reached" by the Big Three.

The Soviet Union accused the U.S. of not being sincere in its approach to the Geneva conference, asked that it demonstrate sincerity by halting tests at once and forever. The U.S. retorted that Moscow was indulging in propaganda and dared it to accept the Anglo-U.S. offer for the Big Three to suspend tests for a year beginning Oct. 31.

SWEDEN WARNS: U.S. allies Sweden, Iran and Liberia were critical of the American position. Swedish delegate Osten Unden deplored Moscow's resumption of tests, also observed that one year was too short a period to set up a fool-proof inspection system. After noting that France was preparing tests in the Sahara and that West German armed forces were ready to begin missile training, he said:

"If a prohibition of tests becomes universal, it has the important effect that states which have not yet manufactured nuclear weapons would desist from carrying through plans for future production."

Unden appealed to all states not to conduct tests. He broadly hinted that, if an immediate and universal test ban

was not forthcoming, Sweden might start making tactical atomic weapons.

COMPROMISERS: Iran's Djalal Abdoh also thought a year's suspension was too brief, urged a two-year suspension beginning now. Liberia's Henry Cooper objected to the scheduled French test in the Sahara. Others opposed to the U.S. proposal noted that the Indian plan would put a test brake on all countries.

The Indian clause, "until agreement is reached," seemed to be an open-end commitment which could last indefinitely even if agreement on an inspection system appeared unattainable in the near future. At GUARDIAN press time, the U.S. was trying to reach a compromise with India, while Unden was trying to reconcile all three proposals.

SECOND THOUGHTS: In the UN Special Political Committee, the U.S. reversed its seven-year old position and at

least mildly rebuked South Africa for discrimination against Africans and Asians. The U.S., which had abstained in the past, supported the resolution condemning "apartheid." It was jointly sponsored by India and 30 other nations. Meanwhile, delegates at the UN Fourth Committee continued to attack South Africa for taking a leaf out of Britain's imperialist book and suggesting partition of Southwest Africa, a mandated territory it has illegally annexed.

When the Third Committee was discussing details of the UN Draft Covenants on Human Rights, U.S. delegate Mrs. Oswald B. Lord backed away from a boner. She had proposed deletion of this sentence:

"In particular, no one should be subjected without his free consent to medical or scientific experimentation involving risk, where such is not required by his state of physical or mental health."

NAZI ECHOES: There was a flurry of objections from Australia, Israel, Norway, Peru and others who said that the reference to medical or scientific experimentation was intended to prevent a repetition of the Nazi-type atrocities perpetrated in World War II. Mrs. Lord hastily withdrew her proposal. Observers wondered why she wanted the sentence deleted, especially since the U.S. has already stated it would not sign the covenants under any circumstances.

The Second Committee approved an equivocal resolution for setting up a special UN fund for very limited aid to underdeveloped countries. Asian-Africans have been demanding a Special UN Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED) which would extend loans and grants for basic industrial projects that did not bring immediate financial return. What they got was a \$100,000,000 fund for surveys of water, mineral and power resources and regional training institutes in public administration. The Asian-Africans let it be known that they considered the present fund only a step to SUNFED.

—Kumar Goshal



Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier
"But darling, what does it all mean . . . why do they keep chanting, 'Littlerock, Littlerock, Littlerock?'"

EDUCATION THEORIES REVISED

Russia re-examines schools to train students for work

By Elmer Bendiner

AFTER SPUTNIK-I went into orbit, U.S. educational experts acclaimed the Soviet school system. It was probably no more than coincidental that shortly after such envious praise poured from the U.S., the Soviets reappraised their schools to see what was wrong with them.

They are now engaged in thoroughly re-examining the schools, weighing a new departure in Soviet educational theory and offering a controversial answer to those educators in the U.S. who approach the problem with the question: What do we want to educate our children for?

The dissatisfaction with the schools began to take shape shortly after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. As with all other aspects of Soviet life, schools too came up for close inspection. Educators conferred, wrote letters. The talk grew more excited and more urgent until early this year it achieved the proportions of a nationwide discussion. *Izvestia's* letter columns were filled with blasts and new approaches. The trend of the discussion was clear from the start: Soviet schools were "removed from life." Secondary schools were turning out students who were fit only to go on to college. Colleges had no room for them. Those who couldn't make college were unfit for work in the factories or the farms and took such work as a let-down, a disappointment. Schools had better train students for the work they would do and teach them respect for it.

FACTORY AND FARM: Workshops were set up in some schools. Students spent some hours during the week at factories which, in some cases at least, drew protests from managers that the kids were getting in the way. In 1957 some 50 schools worked out a joint school-work program and, beginning this year, ninth and tenth grade students in 200 schools in the Russian Republic spent only half their week in school, the rest of their time at production jobs. In rural experimental schools the seniors spent most of their school weeks in the autumn, spring and summer on collective farms. During the winter months they would be in school four or five days. (All Soviet schools are on a six-day week.)

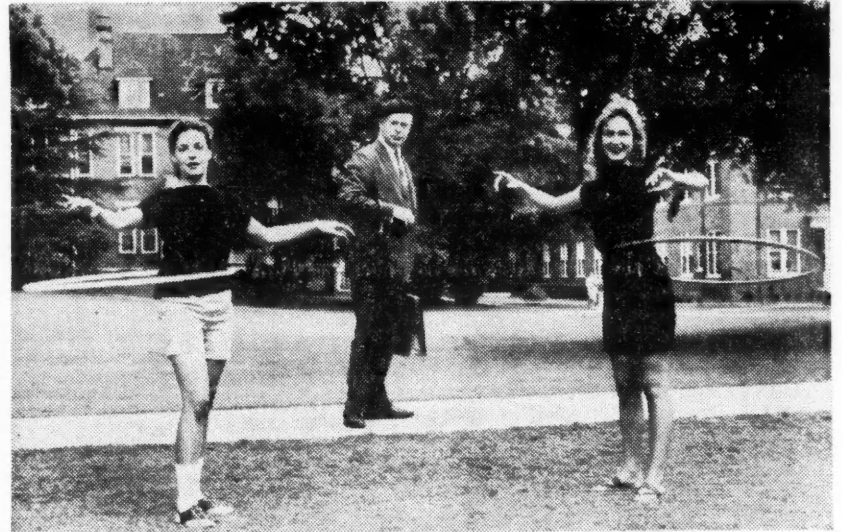
At a conference in Moscow last July, some educators thought that academic subjects were being neglected but the pendulum was clearly and inevitably

proach to education in a memorandum last September entitled: "Strengthening the Ties of the School with Life and Further Developing the System of Public Education." It was approved by the Presidium of the CP's Central Committee and the discussion has turned to ways of implementing it.

DIGNITY AND WORK: Khrushchev assailed the schools as hangovers from "pre-revolutionary gymnasiums," said the attitude they developed toward manual labor was "lordly and scornful and wrong" and "an insult to the working people of a socialist society." Those who went on to college, he said, felt that work was "below their dignity." Those who had to go to work with their hands felt they had not "made the grade." College entrance was achieved in many cases through pull. After the students take their college entrance exams "a contest among the parents begins and this often decides the whole matter."

The picture was given partly in statistics. There are over 28,000,000 students in Soviet general education schools. Some 80% graduate from the seventh grade. But the colleges can take in only 450,000 and even then half of them must go to evening schools. It is therefore "absurd," said Khrushchev, for the secondary schools to prepare all students for college entrance, leaving most of them "unprepared for life."

The class distribution of the colleges disturbed him, too. As an example of the power of family influence, he said, only



'IT'S SIMPLY FANTASTIC,' THE PROFESSOR GASPED
And from the looks of things, it seems that Dr. George Monks, watching a hula hoop seminar at Mississippi State College for Women, would be in favor of some changes in educational theories in America too.

40% of the students in Moscow colleges come from worker or farmer families. The rest are children of "office workers and intellectuals."

He proposed an educational system dedicated to training "well-prepared, full-fledged workers of communist society" under the slogan: "Any honest, useful work for society is sacred work."

NEW EMPHASIS: The present law provides the compulsory education for all through the tenth grade. Khrushchev would reduce that compulsory requirement to seven or eight years. The curriculum would consist of "fundamentals of knowledge," polytechnical training (industrial and agricultural production), teaching of "work habits," "Communist ethics," physical development and "good

aesthetic taste."

There seemed little room for much of the present Soviet elementary and high school curriculum which includes literature, foreign languages, history, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, physics, chemistry, botany, zoology, Darwinism, geography, anatomy.

Girls are to be given a slightly different course. Though men and women get equal pay for equal work in the Soviet Union and all fields are open to a woman, said Khrushchev, "the woman has many other duties which are, moreover, quite inevitable." Therefore girls would learn how to nurse a child, keep house and cook. There would be courses in dress-making, needlework "and other female occupations." He predicted that public catering would be more extensive in the future "but it appears that even in this field the woman's work will predominate."

SPECIAL TALENTS: After the eighth grade everybody but the most gifted will either go directly into factories or collective farm work or special vocational schools. The only exceptions would be those who demonstrate special talents for mathematics, music or the arts. These will go on to special courses which will prepare them for college.

In the interim period while the schools are reorganized some 10-year schools would be kept going to accommodate selected gifted students in physics, mathematics, biology and drafting so that there will be "no gap in the training of the necessary contingents for filling up the higher educational establishments."

When the 8-year system is fully developed, colleges will draw students preferably from those actively engaged in production who have demonstrated their real "thirst" for education by taking evening or correspondence courses, who have worked in production for two years and passed an entrance examination. They will be selected by the trade unions and the Young Communist League who will make sure the candidate "will justify the expense he incurs, that he can really be a useful director of production."

'LIFE-ADJUSTMENT': College too will be geared to practical production work so that only in his last two years will a student spend more than half his week in a classroom or lecture hall.

The sweeping change now in prospect echoes similar trends in the U.S. toward "life-adjustment courses." The difference is that our courses—car driving, fly-casting, hair-dressing—adjust our children to middle-class life. The Khrushchev approach seeks an adjustment to working-class life.

America needs a new foreign policy

The following statement, under the headline above, appeared as an advertisement (almost a full page) in the N.Y. Times of Oct. 16, 1958. An accompanying coupon asked readers who agreed with the statement, and wanted to do something about it, to write to Clarence E. Pickett, Room 809, 1201 Chestnut St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.

- For twelve years the United States, under administrations of both political parties, has followed a policy of cold war. This policy has carried us time and again to the edge of disaster. Within the past three months, on the beaches of Lebanon and in the Formosa Strait, we have been committed to undefined and dubious missions which twice have led us to the brink of war.
- War with modern weapons means total destruction and therefore offers no solution to anything.
- Though we are loaded with arms and have laid great store by the deterrent effect of threatened retaliation

Communism has not been contained
Democracy has not been extended

A position of strength has not been achieved.

- We are in greater peril of annihilation than we were when the cold war started.
- The world's belief in the United States has been undermined.
- We find ourselves trapped in tight corners where we desperately assume rigid positions that make negotiation virtually impossible.

It is time we faced reality. Whether we like it or not, more than one-third of the earth's population is governed by communist regimes and there is no indication that this situation is going to change any time soon.

Since the people of the world must either live together or die together, it is imperative that all the world be opened up, and that travel, trade, and cultural exchange be encouraged among all peoples.

We who join in signing this statement are unwilling to let our country be dragged from one crisis to another.

We are unwilling to remain, along with the Russians and the Chinese, captives of cold war.

We are unwilling to sacrifice our country in pursuit of a policy which has been tried and failed.

We reject the dogma that humanity stops where the iron curtain begins.

We believe that a solution can be found.

Therefore, we urge that the Government and the people of the United States, through every possible means, enter into a discussion and a reconsideration of our entire foreign policy.

Clarence E. Pickett
John A. Mackay
Lewis Mumford
Charles C. Price
Stringfellow Barr
Sarah Gibson Blanding
Peter Blume
Alexander Calder
Stephen Cary
Stuart Chase
Robert A. Childers
L. C. Dunn
Kermit Eby
D. F. Fleming
Erich Fromm

Harry Golden
Donald Harrington
Brig. Gen. Hugh B. Hester (U.S.A., ret.)
B. W. Huebsch
James Imbrie
Howard Mumford Jones
Freda Kirchway
Eric Larrabee
M. Stanley Livingston
Robert J. McCracken
Lenore Marshall
Stewart Meacham
Seymour Melman
Donald Michael
Walter Mills

C. Wright Mills
Walter G. Muelder
A. J. Muste
Claud D. Nelson
Jay O'Rear
Mrs. Arthur Paul
David Riesman
Eleanor Roosevelt
Elmo Roper
Frank Rosenblum
Ben Shahn
Mark Starr
J. David Stern
Norman Thomas
James P. Warburg



London Daily Herald
"We were thinking of sending Junior to France next holidays. Everyone used to get a chance of being Prime Minister there."

Swinging toward a severely practical educational goal: to equip students for work in factories or farms.

Premier and CP Chairman Nikita Khrushchev summed up the criticism and gave it an official blessing in a speech to a Young Communist League convention in April. He outlined the new ap-



CHINA'S YEAR OF THE BIG LEAP FORWARD

Peking's new reservoir: Of, by and for the people

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING
THE MING TOMBS RESERVOIR is only one of several reservoirs around China's capital and by no means the largest. But it is the one that Peking built in the year of the "Big Leap," and all China learned from it new ways of working. Everyone in Peking built it, and anyone who didn't get in on it goes around apologizing and explaining why.

We drove on a bright Sunday morning on the road northwest of Peking that leads to the tombs of Thirteen Ming Emperors. This has always been a favorite trip for tourists, but it used to be hard and costly on a rough road. The road is now paved and has a regular autobus which takes Peking residents for picnics in the hills. Some 30 miles out we turned to the right to see the new sight which 1958 made famous: The Thirteen Tombs Reservoir.

Bumping over rough ground, we alighted by a cluster of temporary buildings, made of split bamboo with dirt floors. The chief of the administration met us: Tang Tse, in blue denim, looking like a student.

THE DECISION: The river, he said, was the Wenyuh, which means Warm Jade River, and most of the year it is dry. But in the rainy season the water rushes down bare hills and makes a river, and, presently, a flood. "In 1933 there was a very destructive flood that destroyed crops and buildings on 40,000 acres. Many people were drowned and many more wandered off to live as beggars."

The national plan called for building a dam here some six years hence, as part of the Third Five Year Plan. But when the "Big Leap" slogan started, the peasants around here said: "Why should we be flooded out five years more? This is our Big Leap."

They discussed it a couple of weeks, then took it up with the Peking municipal government, which in turn took it up with factories and offices of the city and found wide support. Then the request went to the central government, which agreed to furnish surveying implements and transport.

VOLUNTEERS: "If the government had built the dam itself," said Tang Tse, "it would have cost them 19,000,000 yuan (about \$8,000,000.) But when the people and government built it together, the government had to pay only 4,000,000 yuan. The labor was mostly volunteer."

Remembering the charges of "forced labor," I asked whether people worked without pay. Tang explained that everyone got paid but they were paid by their organizations and not from the government budget. The farmers who initiated the project were members of cooperative



farms, and their work on the dam was counted as work for the farm, and paid by their share of the joint harvest. The city volunteers were already employed in some city enterprise, and their salary kept on.

People could not just volunteer by themselves: they did it through their place of work. Each coop farm or city organization decided how much manpower could be spared and for how long, and then called for that number of volunteers. It was easy to get volunteers, for while the work on the dam was hard, it



EVERYBODY WORKED TO BUILD THE MING TOMBS RESERVOIR
Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself (right) put in a full 8-hour day.

was also exciting to be working on a big community project.

ALL TOOK PART: Everyone I knew in Peking confirmed this. My girl interpreter had worked two weeks on the dam, as had most people I met. The government chiefs, including Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, also came and worked, not in symbolic lifting of a shovel, but in a solid eight-hour day. So did all members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

The interest spread even to foreign embassies. The Egyptian Embassy worked on the dam and so did the new embassy from Iraq. Even I found myself looking around for a shovel, but they weren't taking people for less than an eight-hour stint. Besides, the dam was done.

"Work began Jan. 21," said Tang Tse. "It began in a new way. Usually you would first do half a year preparatory work and then take two or three years to build. But we began surveying, supplying materials and digging all at the same time. The engineers couldn't give us blueprints fast enough. We worked under slogans like 'Build against time. Beat the floods.' We built the dam in 160 days and nights before the rains came."

The main task was the building of the big dam itself. It might have been called "the moving of a hill." No cement or iron went into it: but it contains 1,810,000 cubic meters of earth and clay and rock. A total of 400,000 working days also went into it, equal to 2,506 people working 160 days. Towards the end 100,000 people were camped there, working in three shifts. They were moving sand and gravel and clay and granite and making a long, low hill to block the exit from a valley, so that the water would rise behind it into a lake.

BEAUTY: They worked with the crude implements of their ancestors, picks and shovels and baskets on poles to carry the earth. One foreigner who saw the building told me it reminded him of a great colony of ants.

The finished dam is a beautiful structure: it connects the two sides of the valley with a long slope of grey granite,

2,070 feet long and 95 feet high. It is based wide, like a natural hill, so that at the bottom it is 600 feet from front to rear, while at the top there is only a narrow road across, 25 feet wide, with pillars of electric lights. On the front of the dam four huge Chinese characters are set in white rock into the gray slope of the face, marking it as the "Thirteen Tombs Water Reservoir." Except for the straightness of line and slope, it seems like a part of the landscape, grown here for a thousand years.

Actually, it was dedicated last July 1 as a gift to the birthday of the Chinese Communist Party, with 150,000 people at the opening.

SIX PURPOSES: They beat the rains and the floods and now beyond the dam a lake is rising, already two miles long. A seven-mile road to encircle the lake is being built, and a power plant and administration office of hewn stone is growing next to the dam on the hill. Since the dam was finished, 6,500,000 evergreen trees have been planted, also by volunteers, on the slopes of the 80-square-mile watershed. Many of my Peking friends are among the 7,000 volunteers who go out this autumn to cover the upper slopes with fruit trees of 20 varieties.

According to Tang Tse, the dam has six purposes. It controls the floods; it will irrigate 40,000 to 50,000 acres; it will give light to 5,000 rural homes. It will furnish annually 1,800 tons of fish. It contributes to the afforestation plan which already improves the climate of Peking.

Lastly, the entire area, together with the Thirteen Ming Tombs, will become a great Recreation Area for Greater Peking.

People as such

DENVER, Sept. 27 (AP)—Dr. Marvin A. Block, chairman of the American Medical Association committee on alcoholism, says people are drinking more as a necessary adjunct to conversation.

Among the reasons, Dr. Block says: "People can't stand each other as people any more."
—Los Angeles Mirror-News, Sept. 27

capable of holding half a million people on a weekend.

As we turned to leave the dam we saw at one side of the road a great stack of picks and shovels, all neatly lined up, and beyond them, a heap of used dirt-stained baskets, 40 feet long and ten feet high. They were awaiting transportation to the next job. This will doubtless be the Mi Yuan Reservoir—the name means "Dense Clouds"—which will be 40 times as big as the Ming Tombs Reservoir, with seven dams, two big ones and five small ones. All the wild rivers around Peking are to be tamed.

MAKE WAY! Leaving the dam, we zig-zagged back at a higher level to the tomb of the Third Ming Emperor, buried some time in the Fifteenth Century. We drove down the long avenue guarded 500 years by lions and elephants carved in stone. Past gates of increasing size and magnificence, we came to the highest building, whose burial tablet was stolen centuries ago but whose curving roofs and glorious color remain, restored and freshened in the past two years.

Looking down from the walled garden with its 500-year-old evergreens, we saw below us the new lake and, at its far edge, the thin edge of the new dam. It was a work worthy of the setting. It made a Recreation Park such as few cities on earth may hope for, where nature and art and labor have created a shrine of beauty framed by lofty hills.

All day I had been thinking of one of the popular songs of today's builders, which was sung without doubt by those who added a lake and a dam to this beauty:

There is no Jade Emperor in Heaven.
There is no Dragon King on Earth.
I am the Jade Emperor!
I am the Dragon King!
Make way for me, you hills and mountains!

It seemed, as it has seemed in the weeks I have been in Peking, that these builders make not only a new China, but a new heaven and earth.

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Go down, Moses, tell old Pharaoh, Let my people go!

EVERY SUNDAY, the year 'round, between 400 and 500 people attend evening service in St. Paul's Cathedral. On Christmas Eve and at Easter four times as many people come. But on Sunday, Oct. 12, 1958, more than 4,000 came—to support Christian Action and give freely in the collection to its South African Treason Trials Fund, and to hear Paul Robeson sing the hymns and spirituals of his long oppressed people.

Never before has a Negro stood at the lectern of this Cathedral. Great men have been praised here and equally great men persecuted. Here John Wycliff was tried for heresy and Bishop Tyndal's New Testament was publicly burned. And now, with a golden figure of Christ in the East, his black hands gripping the outspread wings of a golden eagle, Paul stood and read the First Lesson "... and let there be war no more."

HIS MAGNIFICENT VOICE, all the more moving because of the simplicity with which he spoke, soared 100 feet high to the very roof of the great Dome, to the farthest shadowed corners packed tight with people, black and white together I sat in the front row, and I could see before me that even the choir lofts were filled with late-comers and the young choirboys were unusually still.

The Rev. Crisp, Vicar of St. Mark's, Marylebone, gave the Sermon: "I was a stranger and ye took me not in." He reminded us of the words of Pitt: "Let no one say that Africans labor under a natural incapacity for civ-

ilization. Remember Britons were once sold as slaves in Rome."

Then Paul, with Larry Brown accompanying, sang his first group: "I Am Climbing Jacob's Ladder," "Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel," and "Balm in Gilead," and, with Larry, "Every Time I Feel the Spirit." Not a single cough came from the huge congregation, no child fidgeted.

Canon John Collins, whose work for Christian Action places him high on any list of good men, made the collection appeal and thanked Paul from the pulpit. He said: "We are tremendously grateful for the magnificent experience and joy of hearing Paul Robeson give his art to the glory of God and to the service of

S. Africa treason trial off

SOUTH AFRICA'S two-year-old mass "treason" trial took an unexpected turn Oct. 13 when the prosecution withdrew the indictment and the court adjourned indefinitely. But the 91 Africans, Europeans, Indians and other defendants (they originally numbered 156) were not completely free; they were released in bail. Attorney Gen. W. J. MacKenzie was reported to be preparing a new indictment with charges under which the government believes it can get a conviction. Among the defendants are a member of parliament, a Methodist minister and others well known for their opposition to the government's racial policy.

his fellow men." The congregation concurred.

A HYMN, AND THEN, led by the verger with his staff of office, Paul went forward, so quietly, to sing again. "Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child." There were tears on many faces and few of us will ever forget, when he reached the last spiritual, the nobility of his person, the renewed poignancy of the appeal as from this unique platform, with determination but with infinite compassion, he sang to the world, "Go Down, Moses, Tell Old Pharaoh, Let My People Go!"

When every little choirboy's book had been signed and the priests had removed their cassocks, the Cathedral still held groups of waiting men and women. Outside, the broad sweep of steps was crowded. To avoid disturbance Paul left by a side door, but this tall symbol of human dignity can be seen a long way off and the flood swept sideways to salute him, and men and women, European and African, embraced him.

AFTERWARDS, PAUL SAID: "This has been one of the great honors of my life. To sing in this historic Cathedral is a wonderful thing for me. I have sung and preached in church before—my brother is a Methodist minister. But this has been something I shall never forget. I am close to tears"

Now, as I write this, my radio tells me that in South Africa 91 prisoners for the first time in two years have a chance for real freedom.

Go down, Moses, tell old Pharaoh, Let my people go!
—Peggy Middleton

CEDRIC BELFRAGE REPORTS FROM TASHKENT

Afro-Asian Cultural Conference

By Cedric Belfrage

TASHKENT, UZBEK S.S.R.

THE LIFE OF W. E. B. Du Bois received a crown of tribute here at history's first gathering of writers from all Asia and Africa. With Mrs. Du Bois (Shirley Graham) and one deported editor to record the occasion for his own country's press, the 90-year-old American scholar drew the only standing ovation to an individual in Tashkent's magnificent Navoy theater where the five-day conference was held.

Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois, whose invitation to be Prime Minister Nkrumah's guests in Ghana last year was declined for them by Dulles' passport division, were among the Asian-African Writers Conference's many literary guests from the European and American continents.

National freedom was the conference keynote and the unanimously approved "Appeal to Writers of the World" said: "Literature cannot flourish without it." Dr. Du Bois warned the delegates of the new economic imperialism, and to defeat it urged techniques of organized boycott which would call for patriotic sacrifice by colored peoples. His voice rang clear from wall to intricately carved wall of the auditorium, speaking for the freer, friendlier, brinkless America for which he and his ancestors fought.

SOCIALIST AFRICA: In an informal discussion of African unification problems with writers from Madagascar, Nigeria, Ghana, Somaliland, Senegal and Angola, he said a socialist Africa was inevitable "because this is a socialist era." He was fervently applauded for his insistence that "village socialism" in Africa could pass directly to modern socialism, and the capitalist stage should and could be skipped.

From 36 countries abroad came 140 writer-delegates. Delegates from the Soviet Asian republics—mostly poets in this traditionally poetry-conscious part of the world—brought the total to 185. Western guests and visitors found themselves rubbing shoulders with writers almost or wholly unknown to them whose work is read by millions, such as Burma's U Kyaw Lin Hyunt, China's Mao Tun, Cambodia's Ly Theam Teng, India's Yash Pal, Indonesia's Amanta Toer, Japan's Shuichi Kate, Vietnam's Pham Huy Thong, the United Arab Republic's Mohamed Khalaf Alla Ahmed. Book buyers mobbed bookstalls lining the great square between the theater and Tashkent's new luxury hotel, offering classical and modern Asian works in several languages



DR DU BOIS SIGNS UP I-SP
John T. McManus (l.) gets an assist
(the U.S.S.R. publishes books in 124).

One stall in a single day took in 10,000 rubles' worth of orders for books in the Tatar language. Delegates passed from hotel to theater and back between multitudes of applauding and autograph-hunting Uzbeks. Tashkent's excitement could only have been paralleled in a Western city invaded by movie stars.

GREAT SILK ROAD: Ghana's poetess Efua Theodora Sutherland described the conference as "a step toward unification of the disrupted soul of mankind." The reports brought home the extent to which colonialism not only pillaged, distorted and frustrated Asian and African cultures, but erected walls between them in seeking to "integrate" them with white "motherland" cultures. India's Mulk Raj Anand recalled that in his country imperialism cut contacts even between provinces. Delegates noted the appropriateness of Tashkent as the seat of this wall-tumbling conference, lying as it does near the "great silk road" over which ancient cultures contacted and fructified one another.

With an interpreter corps translating from and into English, French, Russian and Arabic, conference commissions exchanged ideas on children's books, plays,

radio and movies, and women's contribution to literature. The main commission, on "friendly contacts" between cultures, decided to set up a permanent Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau with headquarters in Ceylon, to promote translations, publish books, a journal and an encyclopedia.

SCARECROWS FLOP: In some more influenced countries Western propagandists had raised scarecrows against the conference, but with poor results. UNESCO contributed \$6,000 toward the expenses. A few Indians were frightened off, but still India sent the biggest delegation (30) and an eminent one, with Bengal Senate president Chatterji as a leader. China came next with 21, including several writers in its "minority" languages. Afghanistan, Thailand and Pakistan were represented, the latter with official blessing although it had skipped the recent Afro-Asian conference in Cairo. "French" African countries were represented by adherents of the partly anti-communist "Présence Africaine" movement.

Somaliland, Nigeria, Jordan, Palestine and Uganda were represented by expatriates at present living in Cairo. Israel was not invited. An Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee official from Cairo explained: "There is no room for Israel until the Arab refugee problem is solved."

There were no anti-Israel diatribes from Arab delegates, who gave an impression of a new sense of stability and confidence since recent middle Eastern events. Ethiopia, which sent half its royal family to Cairo last December, failed to show here. Turkey was the one country officially rejecting the invitation, but was represented by its outstanding poet, the exile Nazim Hikmet.

INDIA MODERATES: Argument was sharp and long over the wording of agenda and resolutions, with India's delegates pressing for a more moderate political tone than the Chinese would settle for. Chinese pressure for bitter denunciation of imperialism was not surprising

From mouse to missile

NO GIANT Mickey Mouse, Popeye or Red Nosed Reindeer will soar above Macy's annual Thanksgiving Day parade this year. Macy's said that the helium for the huge balloons was needed for missiles and nuclear weapons. Parade managers will try to find substitute attractions—perhaps a synthetic mushroom cloud for the kiddies.



Eccles in London Worker
"Jenkins, I must have more exercise—a couple of more times around the block, please."

in view of the Quemoy situation. A delegate from Peking spoke in almost savage terms about U.S. cultural exports of "pornography, harmful comics and yellow films," without mentioning the better U.S. films of which 10 have just been bought for showing in the U.S.S.R.

The Indians failed to alter an agenda formulation specifically directing discussion toward culture's role "in the struggle against colonialism." They wanted to let all delegates discuss their culture in any way they liked, but their concern proved groundless for this happened anyway.

In avoiding any kind of chauvinism the conference showed considerable maturity. As a poet of the mountainous Soviet republic of Dagestan put it: "We must not confuse colonialism with culture and Dreiser with Dulles. . . . A beautiful carpet must not be burned because of dirty marks on it." The poet told the conference that books of Soviet, Western and Eastern origin are published in nine of the 36 languages spoken by Dagestan's 1,000,000 people.

The importance of the conference did not lie in the wording of resolutions but in the fact that it took place. The "great silk road" of cultural contact between two-thirds of the world's people had been reopened.

Committee for Lamont

AN INDEPENDENT Citizens Committee for the support of Corliss Lamont for U.S. Senator on the Independent-Socialist ticket in New York has issued a statement terming Lamont the only Senatorial candidate in the field "with a positive approach to the problems of civil rights and of a foreign policy based on international friendship and peace."

Sponsors of the committee include James L. Brewer, W. E. B. DuBois, Daniel S. Gilmor, Rve. Clarence V. Howell, Leo Huberman, Rev. William Howard Melish, Prof. Philip Morrison, Russ Nixon, Rose Russell, Prof. Marcus Singer, Dr. Randolph B. Smith, Dr. Olive Van Horn and Alice-Holdship Ware. They welcome concurrence. Write to Rev. C. V. Howell, Suite 3J, 552 Riverside Drive, N.Y.C. 27.

Bomb outrages

(Continued from Page 1)

scope. But then month followed month, and not one suspect was brought to trial. On Oct. 5 the bombers struck again, wrecking the handsome new integrated high school at Clinton, Tenn., and displacing its 860 students.

One week later they triggered the biggest blast of all against religious property, knocking out a wall and 40 windows and spreading debris far and wide in The Temple, home of Rabbi Rothschild's Hebrew Benevolent Congregation on Atlanta's famous Peachtree Street.

The reaction was instantaneous and vigorous. Letters, telegrams and phone calls poured in to Dr. Rothschild from all over the country. Many contained contributions toward restoring The Temple, a \$1,500,000 structure which had sustained damage estimated at \$200,000. Harold Martin, Atlanta Constitution columnist, said that sending contributions "is the least we can do. For when we have heard men preach hatred in the past, and allowed them to go unrebuked, by our silence we jointly share the guilt."

THE GODFATHERS: Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield's criticism of Gov. Marvin Griffin's rabid defiance of the Supreme Court was all but explicit. "Whether we like it or not," he said, "every rabble-rousing politician is the godfather of the cross-burners and the dynamiters, who are giving the South a bad name." The Constitution's executive editor, Ralph McGill, pointed out: "It is not possible to preach lawlessness and restrict it."

Public revulsion was so strong that it moved even President Eisenhower to speak up. He interrupted a political foray into New York to announce that he "deplored" the bombings and that he had asked J. Edgar Hoover to make the FBI's

facilities available to state and city authorities in tracking down the criminals.

At a subsequent press conference, however, the President made it plain he intended no infringement of states' rights. Bombings were not primarily a national concern, he said. And he demurred at the suggestion that the Federal government provide funds to restore the bombed-out Clinton school. He told reporters: "If the Federal Government undertook, every time anything went wrong, from a water faucet on up, to put its funds down there, then we would be doing the kind of thing that all of us condemn, that is, getting the Federal Government's nose into places that it shouldn't be."

AND THE BAND PLAYED 'DIXIE': The President's concern for the national nose seemed matched only by his high regard for the Gone-With-the-Wind image of the Confederacy. Reminded that on several occasions dynamiters had called their prospective victims or the newspapers and described themselves as members of the Confederate underground, Mr. Eisenhower responded:

"From babyhood I was raised to respect the word 'Confederate' very highly. For hoodlums such as these to describe themselves as any part or any relation to the Confederacy of the mid-nineteenth century is, to my mind, a complete insult to the word. Indeed, they should be described as nothing but Al Capones and Babyface Nelsons."

Whatever they were, the dynamiters seemed under greater pressure last week than ever before. With all of Atlanta's 100 detectives, agents of the FBI and the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and law officials of other states pooling their efforts, five active local anti-Semites were thrown into the Atlanta jail. On Oct. 17 a grand jury returned an indictment against Wallace H. Allen, George Bright, Kenneth Griffin, Robert A. Bolling and Richard Bolling.

WHO'S THE FAT CAT? The trail led from them to other centers of anti-Negro, anti-Semitic agitation throughout the country. Police found in the home of one of the suspects a letter, postmarked Arlington, Va., which mentioned a "big blast" and said: "Thanks to one man, one 'fat cat' financier, we can now do the things we've been planning to do."

In Jeffersonville, Ind., Mrs. Peter Cowan, an official of the National States Rights Party, admitted that one of the men held, Kenneth Griffin, was Georgia state organizer for her outfit. She regarded possible casualties in the bombings as battle casualties: "This is a time of war, and war justifies a lot of things." If it turned out that "one of our segregationists" had set off the dynamite, she said, "Well then, I think they have served a warning on the integrationists. Aren't they asking for it?"

THE MOVEMENT: In the chilling light of the dynamite blast at The Temple, the nation was beginning to take a good look at the shape of the anti-Semitic movement which has gained momentum in the last several years. While most of the virulent anti-Semites who plagued the country during the Thirties had gone into hiding during World War II, they came back into the open during the Cold War period. They were quick to jump on McCarthy's bandwagon; but even during his heyday the low national tolerance of anti-Semitic bigotry forced a change in their tactics. They replaced the large public meetings which Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith had previously held with an endless flood of provocative literature.

Conde McGinley's Christian Educational Assn. put out Common Sense, a semi-monthly slander sheet, from headquarters in Union, N.J. "Oldtimers" like Smith and Lyril Clark Van Hyning made California and Chicago the bases for dis-

tribution of The Cross and the Flag and Women's Voice.

THE SWING SOUTH: These and other operators seized on the Supreme Court 1954 decision to form a three-way alliance to help hasten their long-deferred aim of a fascist-like U.S.A. For money, they set out to strengthen their links with the extreme right-wing in American politics, such as Merwin K. Hart of New York, head of the National Economic Council. For numbers they turned to the mushrooming White Citizens Councils and Ku Klux Klans of the South.

Their line has been painfully simple: Negroes are the dupes of Jews and Communists who are out to "mongrelize" the races, destroy states' rights and undermine private enterprise. They have found a ready audience in the South and important media for their propaganda in the North. David Lawrence, right-wing pundit of U.S. News and World Report, told millions of readers of his syndicated newspaper column that the Atlanta bombing had "all the earmarks of a Communist plot." The N.Y. Daily News echoed this view.

TERROR PROGRAM: Time and again the American people have rejected the anti-Semites at the ballot box. Their immediate program, therefore, is terror, symbolized by the stick of dynamite and the lighted fuse. In their hate sheets, however, they press for long-term goals: "repatriation" of Negroes to Africa, secession from the UN; a new declaration of independence by the states against the Federal government; and, for the Jews, pogroms.

The President may think that policing the acts of a determined, nation-girding conspiracy of neo-fascists is primarily a state matter. But the people of the U.S. can concur with him only at great peril to the nation.

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the SPECTATOR

Eclipsing A.P. Herbert

THERE IS A NEW ISOLATIONISM rampant in certain circles and the GUARDIAN, in its Oct. 20 issue, gave aid and comfort to it by reprinting a manifesto by British novelist A. P. Herbert. The crux of this sinister philosophy is that each one of us is to be confined to a kind of global house arrest, forbidden to set foot beyond the earth's atmosphere. Specifically, Herbert undertook to defend the moon and its magnetism against man, missiles and space ships.

This is plainly a new and deadening deviation, neither right-wing nor left-wing but anti-wing. It would make groundlings of us all. It sets out to defend nature against man and it is high time that each of us chose sides in this fight. I think moons are fine in their place but I am unashamedly pro-human.

HERBERT SAYS: "We have no more desire to see the other side of the moon than we have to see the inside of the earth." That's all very well for Herbert, and I will defend his right not to look at the other side of the moon, but that doesn't mean I would declare the dark side off-limits. There may be people who don't want to see the other side of A. P. Herbert. But that's no reason why he should stand with his back to the wall.

He says defensively: "We have done very well for many centuries without knowing much about the moon's magnetic field." That is at least debatable. Many of us don't think we've done very well at all. He refuses to swallow "the parallel of Columbus," noting that his explorations "did not recklessly endanger the Earth or offend the majority of the human race." There, I think, he is splitting his own forces. There are people in the world who look upon the fruits of Columbus' discoveries as less than an un-mixed blessing and would probably cite it as the final proof of Herbert's thesis: when in doubt, stay home.



Lancaster in London Express
"My dear Maudie, you musn't start thinking that a loony's escaped every time you hear a siren—it's just as likely to mean one of those laughable mishaps at some new atomic pile."

THE FACT IS THAT HERBERT has missed his century. If we were going to say, as he does, that there must be a halt to knowledge, we should have said it long ago in the mists of time when everyone knew that the world and the cosmos were run by demons, elves, pixies, gods and goddesses and that, to use Herbert's quaint pagan phrase, it would "offend the majority of the human race" to inquire more deeply. Herbert obviously did not see Adam leave the Garden in suspicious association with a snake and a woman.

Man has gone down the road now feeling bad, no doubt, but still he can't turn back to the halcyon whimsy so cherished by Herbert. For many years scientists were not supposed to concern themselves with the origins of life or the mechanism of sex. Now Herbert says we can't even examine moonshine. As earlier Herberts have said, we are supposed to confine ourselves to rhapsodies only.

It is also said by stay-at-homes that maybe some day we can probe the universe, but only after we've set the world in order and people have solved the problem of living together. If we had waited for that we would never have invented the wheel. We consider the simple problem of men and women getting on together. We have devised laws, religions, codes. We arranged people under polygamy, polyandry and monogamy, and we haven't licked the problem yet. We've invented the automobile so that people can escape from each other—even if they kill each other—with a degree of facility.

SCIENTISTS MAY NEVER FIND a happiness formula but they have found ways of reducing infant mortality, lengthening the life span, sheltering people, feeding them and teaching them to read novels by A. P. Herbert. They could not do these things under a limited license.

In the process, it is true, they may have torn up some picturesque spots and Herbert is afraid the moon may not be so pretty after a while. But though scientists now know the chemical composition of sea water, the mechanisms of the tides and the biological components of the sexual urge, people still enjoy making love on the beach. I don't think that moonlight will lose its appropriate cover for that sort of thing just because a rocket flies around it.

Restrictions on the use of science to blow up people is something else again. It doesn't have much to do with science though. The fact that we have electric chairs is not really to be charged against science but against the lack of science in social fields.

Science can make it possible to live with nature without worshipping it, to pat sacred cows, milk them and in time convert them to hamburgers. I'm for that just as I am for looking at all sides of the moon—not for baying at it like a dog-ma.

—Elmer Bendiner

RESORTS

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PUBLICATIONS

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A HOLIDAY SUGGESTION — SUBSCRIPTIONS MAKE HIGHLY WELCOMED CHRISTMAS & NEW YEAR'S GIFTS

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We Didn't Say It!

Book advertising appears widely, and too often claims for a book are made in such ads that aren't justified by the book itself.

Thus it was that when a pre-publication ad appeared some weeks ago, we could have said (but didn't):

"This may be the most important book since the first Kinsey Report. It is *Sex Without Guilt* by Dr. Albert Ellis. By autumn of this year, it may well become one of the most talked-about books in America."

We didn't do it.

Rather, we offered to sell pre-publication copies to readers who would agree to give us a comment on the book. We have now received such comments.

The enthusiasm for this book is so unusual that all but four of the seventy readers have granted us permission to quote their comments and to use their names!

And here is a random sampling:

"If persons with sex problems will dare permit themselves to read this plain-spoken expose of sex fetishes, their conflicts will be well on the way to vanishing.

"Sex has been long on its journey up from secrecy and the gutter to which the Puritans condemned it. Now, Dr. Ellis, in one bold sweep, elevates sex to its rightful place as one of the greatest human pleasures to be enjoyed without shame."

Thane Read

Tempe, Arizona

"*Sex Without Guilt* will be of great help to those who have feelings of guilt about sex for the wrong reason, namely the belief that they are deviating from some norm from which few others deviate. This should do much to remove their sense of loneliness and estrangement in their activity."

Rev. A. G. Edward Burgess

New York, N.Y.

"I have learned a great deal from *Sex Without Guilt*. Although my specialty is not psychiatry, I feel that many aspects of sexual behavior presented in this volume are entirely avoided or tersely mentioned in textbooks by reputed authorities.

"The careful reading of this book should be of great value, both to professional and lay

people interested in a frank approach to the sex problems in America."

Edward Gallardo, M.D.

La Salle, Ill.

"Without doubt, I believe that it would be tremendously beneficial if this extremely provocative, challenging and penetrating book could be made easily available to all levels of our adult society. I might add that I was unable to put the book down until I had finished reading it."

William Broadbent

Alexandria, Va.

"As a student of psychology, I possess in my personal library approximately one hundred different titles dealing with human behavior. By far the greatest number of these books deal with some aspect of sexual and family relationships, and they include titles by Freud, Havelock Ellis, Beach & Ford, Fromm, Lena Levine, both books by Kinsey and his associates, etc. I mention these books only by way of pointing out that in my reaction to Dr. Ellis' present book I am not entirely without basis for comparison.

"Of the many authors and authorities in the field of sexual relationships, Dr. Ellis is perhaps not so profound or technical as some others, and in this lies his great strength, because he certainly is not lacking in experience.

"He says simply and forcefully the things that have too long needed saying out loud and in public. . . . Dr. Ellis has done a desperately needed job exceptionally well. I want to do all I can to insure that his views become as widely known as possible. The thought comes immediately to mind of the desirability of buying extra copies as gifts for friends and relatives. . . ."

Harold W. Rollins

Plainfield, Vermont

Perhaps the most incisive comment comes from a man in Chicago who writes: "I have no comment more to the point than my enclosed check for ten additional copies. What a book!"

It is now possible for readers of National Guardian to secure copies of "Sex Without Guilt."

Lyle Stuart, Dept. NG-12
225 Lafayette Street, New York 12, N.Y.

Gentlemen: Here is my \$4.95. Please rush me by return mail a copy of "Sex Without Guilt" by Dr. Albert Ellis.

My name is
(please print)

My address

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From its first chapter ("New Light on Masturbation") to its final chapters on "Sex Fascism" and "The Right To Sex Enjoyment," you will find this a most enlightening and unusual book.

To secure your copy, use the coupon at the left. Mail it together with your payment of \$4.95—and your copy of "Sex Without Guilt" will be shipped to you by return mail.

Once you read it, the probability is that you too will join those who believe this will be one of the most talked about books of the year.

O'Connor to speak

HARVEY O'CONNOR, chairman of Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, who is

challenging the right to existence of the House Un-American Activities Comm., will speak Fri., Oct. 31, 8 p.m., at Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton

Av., Bronx. Subscription is 50 cents and refreshments will be served. The meeting is sponsored by the Bronx Civil Liberties Committee.

CALENDAR

CHICAGO

Dr. Hershel D. Meyer, well-known author of HISTORY AND CONSCIENCE, The Case of Howard Fast, MUST WE PERISH, and the LAST ILLUSION, will lecture on "DILEMMA OF THE JEWISH PROGRESSIVE INTELLECTUALS." Sun., Oct. 26, 7 p.m., Alba Hall, 4814 No. Kedzie. Adm. 90c. Followed by questions and answers. Auspices: Jewish Cultural Clubs.

ROCKWELL KENT speaks at Silver Jubilee of American-Soviet Friendship. Also: Mandel Terman speaks from Moscow; speaker from Soviet Embassy; entertainment; refreshments. Sat., Nov. 15, 8:15 p.m. Hall C-1, 32 W. Randolph. 90c. Ausp: CCASF.

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DETROIT

Michigan Committee for Protection of Foreign Born 9th annual CONFERENCE, Sun., Nov. 2, 10:30 a.m., Nowak Hall, 6705 Chene St. Abner Green, exec. secy., ACPFB, will keynote the Conference. The Conference will run-up at 3 p.m. will feature Rev. Chas. A. Hill, just returned from Europe at a dinner and movie. Delegates, observers and visitors are invited. Information, 920 Charivox Bldg. WO 1-5196.

Station WWJ-TV—Channel 4 Sat., Oct. 25, 7:15 to 7:30 p.m., hear EVELYN SELL, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan, on American Foreign Policy. Don't fall to hear this!

Banquet & Final Election Rally of SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY at Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Av., Sat., Nov. 1. Open House 4:30—Dinner 6 p.m. Hear the candidates and campaigners. Come to dinner or after dinner. Social and informal discussion. Donation for dinner \$1.25.

LOS ANGELES

Make reservation now for 8th ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER honoring the legal panel. Sun., Nov. 23, 8 p.m., at Park Manor, 607 So. Western Av. Guest of honor, Attorney Joseph Forer from Wash., D.C. Talented artists. Admission \$15. Auspices: Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3 St., MA 5-2169.

URGENT, ATTEND! Foreign policy meeting. HEAR—Reuben W. Borough, Martin Hall, Herbert Rosenfeld, Carl Feingold: "Socialist Answer to Bi-Partisan War Policy!" I.L.W.U. Hall, 5625 So. Figueroa, Thurs., Oct. 30. Ausp: United Socialist Political Action Committee.

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MONDAYS

SHAKESPEARE'S POLITICAL THEMES Nov. 10: Shakespeare & Bourgeois Revolution Nov. 17: Authority & Responsibility Nov. 24: Tudor "absolutism by consent" Dec. 1: Free Trade & Human Equality Dec. 8: Dictatorship & Treason

TUESDAYS

FIVE GENERATIONS OF YOUTH IN REVOLT Nov. 11: Art for Art's Sake & the English "decadents" of 1890 Nov. 18: Bohemian Rebellion in Chicago & Greenwich Village before 1914 Nov. 25: The "lost generation" after World War I Dec. 2: Art for criticism's sake—our academic "new critics and writers" Dec. 9: The Beat Generation, The Angry Young Men & Existentialism.

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Wed., Oct. 29, 6:30 p.m. Opening session in new 4-week class "CURRENT PROBLEMS IN NEGRO LIBERATION" with James E. Jackson, William Patterson, and others. FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE 80 E. 11 St. OR 3-6810

Sun., Oct. 26, 8 p.m. The Sunday Evening Forum Presents ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN "The Communist Cases—Where Do They Stand Now?" • New Convictions • New stages of struggle Register for new short-term classes FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av. Adm.: \$1.

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LOS ANGELES

RALLY FOR PEACE

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Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge \$2 per insertion. Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N.Y.

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INSTRUCTION

Jewish Parents of Manhattan—give your child a secular Jewish education. Yiddish language, Jewish history, literature, songs, holidays. TOWN & VILLAGE SHULE, Adelphi Hall, 74 5 Av. (8 floor) every Sunday morning, 10 a.m. For information call GR 5-1916.

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HELP! HELP! The Independent-Socialist Party urgently needs volunteers to get our message by mail to 100,000 voters. Come work on this campaign mailing any day (except Sunday) from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. 799 Broadway, Room 242.

FOR RENT

FURN. APT. 3 rms. Ground floor, 1 block from Bronx Zoo. TV. Sublet for minimum of 6 mos. beg. Nov. 6. \$75 month. Phone: FO 7-7461.



A DARING SAFETY EXPERIMENT by Mayor Guy de la Vasselais of the French town of Saint Symphorien was scuttled last month by the Frenchman's proverbial dislike for cops. To cut down the accident toll at a busy crossroads the Mayor mounted two life-size photographs of traffic cops on the side of the road. Speeders slowed down, casualties were cut to nothing. But the villagers caught on and would playfully shout their worst epithets at the cardboard cops.

A helpless drunk one night joyfully shouted his worst only to find that this time the cop was real. He was jailed. The villagers protested that the cardboard patrol was an ambush. The police complained that it released too many cop-hating inhibitions. The Mayor gave up, and shelved the cardboard cops. The risks at Saint Symphorien's cop-less crossroads are as great as ever.

MAGISTRATE HERMAN LINDARS of Sheffield, England, believes he has the answer to a major argument against corporal punishment: that it is morally damaging to those who inflict it. He has invented an automatic cat-o'-nine-tails which, he says, can "scientifically control" the number of lashes administered to a convict. Presumably the jailer who watches the machine will automatically escape moral damage. . . . Edwin C. Barringer, executive vice-president of the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, thinks what this country needs to lick communism is a large pile of scrap. He told an Institute meeting recently: "American scrap is playing a big part in the production of consumer items which play havoc with communist propaganda. So don't sell those discarded automobiles, streetcars and ships short. They're still working for Americans." And if you think junk yards are marring the beauty of your city, you may be pleased to know the Institute is giving an award for the best looking pile of scrap in the country. . . . The William Penn award for "deep personal sacrifice" was given to Defense Secy. McElroy, who left Procter and Gamble to take the job, by the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. . . . Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas is one of the nominees for the Freedoms Foundation award. The only two other recipients of this honor have been J. Edgar Hoover and Herbert Hoover.



Canard Enchaîné, Paris "Everyone is wearing spots this year."

THE 4TH SUPPLY COMPANY of the Marine Corps Reserve in Stockton, Calif., had 88 men absent from muster at one of its regular Monday evening drills last month. Its newsletter the next week carried the following admonition to members: "With the Red Chinese in a hot lather we never know from minute to minute if our country will be called up to fight, if so you can bet the Marine Corps will be the first and the Reserves second. It would be a shame to be killed because you did not have the skill of how to stay alive which you can have by just coming to the meeting every Monday night. Lets look alive and stop giving the REDS a hand by letting down the reserves as we are doing—show up at next weeks drill—get some of the good dope that's passed out and learn to live in a free world—it's up to you, its your America. Is it worth anything to you? You may think your not attending does not make any difference but remember you might just be the man to stick the finger in the leaking dike some time and save a unit or the country from destruction, no man is so small he is not noted, it takes many men to do the job, it takes you—and you—and you at drills every Monday night to keep America strong and to keep our Marine Corps great. See you next drill night. Semper Pl."

FROM DANIELA OF TUCSON comes an item for the bathroom that has everything: "A frilli-jon—scandalous frou-frou to make your bathroom 'johnny' a femme-fatale! Double nylon net ruffles swirl round a pin-on posey. 'Petti-skirt' fits any lid. Drip-dry fabrics in blue, champagne, shrimp, turquoise, pink, yellow, naughty black, white. \$3.95. Free! An extra posey in contrasting color" . . . Shostakovich's first operetta, to be produced soon in Moscow, is inspired by Moscow's experimental housing district in New Cheryomushki. . . . A Home Office White Paper claims there were 545,562 crimes committed in England in 1957; of those convicted, 70% were under 30. . . . A watchmaker in Naples applied for a patent on an alarm clock for heavy sleepers which, if not turned off after the first rings, starts an electronic tape featuring a honking car horn, a barking dog, several pistol shots and a cannon's boom.

—Robert E. Light

Ray Lev annual concert on Nov. 9

PIANIST RAY LEV'S annual Carnegie Hall concert will be held Sunday eve., Nov. 9, at 8:30 p.m. The program includes the pianist's own arrangement of the Vivaldi-Bach Concerto Grosso in D Minor; a first performance of a selection called "Break-Through" by William R. Mayer; and works of Haydn, Schubert, Brahms, Chopin and Ravel. Tickets are scaled from \$3.60 to \$1.20; boxes seating

eight, \$38.40, at the Carnegie Hall box office.

Concert of classics in N.Y. on Oct. 24

MARGARET McCADEN, concert, will offer a recital of classics Friday, Oct. 24, 8:30 p.m., at YWCA Auditorium, Harlem Branch, 179 W. 137 St., N.Y.C. Admission is \$2. The program will include works of Brahms, Schubert, Strauss, Verdi and Wagner. Lelia Edwards will provide piano accompaniment.

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No. 309. JEWISH FOLK SONGS FROM RUSSIA. 14 songs played and sung by leading Soviet artists: Seven Daughters; The Golden Wedding; Under A Little Tree; Little Shepherd; Play, Musicians; The Day Dream; What Do You Want, My Beloved Child?; Reyzele; What Have You Done To Me?; My Loving Mother; Yankele; Come To Kopresht; Beltz; Toast To Peace. Most of the songs are well known in the Yiddish repertoire, but there are some new, post-Czarist tunes as well.

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