



YOU SEE, SON, THERE WAS A FELLOW NAMED VLADIMIR ILYICH . . . This little boy won't be the first young American seeing a likeness of Lenin (on display at the Soviet Exhibition at the New York Coliseum) for the first time. And if the East-West exchange keeps up, he might even one day hear the real story of the Bolshevik Revolution without reaching for his Buck Rogers gun.

HOW 'RESPECTABLE' CAN YOU GET?

Agonizing reappraisal due for the leadership of labor

By Robert E. Light

AT ABOUT THE TIME of the AFL-CIO merger, the leaders of American industry drew up plans for a new offensive in their cold war with labor. Strategy called for this policy: (1) containment of unions where they were already deeply entrenched; (2) liberation of union shops through passage of right-to-work laws; (3) massive retaliation against organizing drives.

To win over the neutral or uncommitted public, a propaganda campaign was launched with the most modern Madison Avenue weapons. Its purpose was to create an "image" of unions as vast empires with enormous treasuries controlled by corrupt men. In some places the image could be tailored. For "racketeer" substitute "socialist" or "grabber" to blame labor for the high cost of living. In the South, link the

drive for unionization with the push for integration.

But the decisive battles would be at the bargaining table. There, a get-tough policy was called for.

THE RESULTS: Thus, United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther reported last month at a conference of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept.: "1958 was the most difficult year in the 20-odd years of our collective bargaining experience." Intl. Union of Electrical Workers president James B. Carey told the same meeting: "Class warfare, as we see it, is being provoked by big business

(Continued on Page 4)

TO PREVENT A GERMAN VETO ON PEACE

Action deadline approaching on nuclear giveaway

UNLESS CONGRESS ACTS before July 18, the U.S. government will transfer nuclear weapons equipment and information to West Germany and six other NATO countries.

Even as the foreign ministers' conference and nuclear test ban discussions were going on in Geneva in May and June, the U.S. concluded pacts with West Germany, Britain, France, Turkey, Greece, the Netherlands and Canada to transfer a variety of material "to make possible the operational uses and maintenances of the [nuclear] weapon," in addition to information on the use of atomic weapons, defense plans, delivery,

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A COMMENTARY ON PEACE HOPES

The Soviet Exhibition marks a key change in the U. S. climate

By James Aronson

THE HEADLINE IN THE N.Y. *Herald Tribune* on June 30 read: "Nixon at Red Fair Calls U.S.-Soviet Rift 'Basic'". That isn't what the Vice President said at the opening of the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology and Culture at the New York Coliseum the night before; nor was it the news. What he actually said was this:

"We know that there are basic conflicts of interest and deeply clashing ideologies that cannot easily be removed . . . On the other hand, because we do have differences and because we both recognize the folly of allowing those differences to develop into a conflict which would result in the destruction of our civilization, it is all the more important that we increase exchange and contact between our two peoples so that the differences can be discussed in the best possible climate of understanding."

The news was—and is—that Soviet Premier Khrushchev said the same thing in his message of greeting; that Deputy Premier Kozlov, sitting on the platform, applauded Nixon's remarks with genuine enthusiasm; that the 1,500 invited guests at the opening of the Exhibition, the hundreds of thousands pouring into the Coliseum to see the superb show, and the millions who saw Nixon and Kozlov on television and read the accounts of the Kozlov tour—all these except a distinct minority agree with the sentiment.

And the biggest news is that neither the Exhibition, nor the Kozlov reception, nor the Nixon remarks could have taken place a scant two years ago. For all the gloom over Geneva, and the lack of desire in many Washington quarters for peaceful negotiation, there seems little doubt that the popular climate has changed in the United States. It is becoming increasingly difficult to portray the Soviet Union as a threat to anything except the theory and practice of monopoly capitalism.

NOT SINCE THE WORLD'S FAIR of 1939 has the Soviet Union had an exhibition of this kind in America.

Spread over three floors and six acres (see p. 3), the 10,000 items tell of the economy and culture of the U.S.S.R. and of the progress and aims of its people. They range through industry, agriculture, science and technology, radio and electronics, peaceful uses of the atom, optics, public education and public health, sports, construction and public welfare. On view are the latest models of Soviet cars and the latest Moscow fashions modeled by beautiful Soviet women, a candy box in the shape of a piano with a color photo of Van Cliburn, Hi-Fi equipment, perfumes, sturgeon, books, periodicals and astronomical equipment. And lots more. It takes at least three visits to absorb it all.

Each day about 40,000 Americans



Horizons, Paris

stream in to admire or to criticize; but whatever their reaction they take away with them, to hundreds of cities and towns across the nation, a window on a world they never knew, an impression (Continued on Page 2)

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On July 2 the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee heard these people testify against the agreements: Clarence Pickett of the American Friends Service Committee; Rabbi Isidor Hoffman of the Jewish Peace Fellowship; Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.); Donald Keys of the Natl. Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; William Davidson of the Fedn. of American Scientists, and William Price, exec. secv. of the United Independent-Socialist Committee.

On July 13, the N.Y. SANE Committee is sending a delegation to Washington. Further information may be obtained by calling GR 7-5970.



Flesh-and-blood Christs

CIRCLE, MONT.

My favorite commentator rants about the "freedom-destroying" Russians. I love this. It gives me such a lift—almost as much as a Camel. I feel good—like a freedom-fighter should!

All ideas are born of comparison. The goodness of God can only be conceived when compared to the badness of the Devil. Thus the great myth of American and capitalist superiority is born and nurtured to "beanstalk" proportions, as against Russian slavery.

Of course, I am modestly proud of my part in this myth-making. Like 170-odd million other Americans, I only gave silent consent, but after all nothing more is needed to give our semantic scientists experts status.

Occasionally, some rebellious soul tries to unmake the myth. Two gentle, loving souls did deny the myth a few short years ago. Victims of the atom spy hoax (part of the great myth), Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were officially crucified by capitalism's need of the myth. One hundred seventy odd million Americans and I washed our Pilate hands in the hogwash of mythology, that real flesh-and-blood Christs might be crucified by modern methods in our day. Sometimes I simply wish to fall upon my sword!

Hobart McKean

All but ostriches

CANTON, O.

Pat Frank's *Alas Babylon* (reviewed in the *GUARDIAN*, May 4) should be must reading for all but ostriches. Elmer Fish

The sources

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

All the news printed as authentic in the first reports from Tibet came from newspapers and commentators hostile to the Chinese. Why do people who consider themselves liberal or radical accept such news as the truth? Haven't they learned that just before every conference between the Western allies and the U.S.S.R. and its followers there is always a furious barrage in our newspapers, etc., of anti-Soviet propaganda? It should prove that there is a desire to keep the present cold war going, on the part of those who are profiting by the huge defense program and also by our Pentagon leaders who have gained enormous prestige in recent years. E. Hedden

Man-made drugs

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Referring to a statement in "A report on Tibet" in the *GUARDIAN*, "herdsmen" of Tibet fight against inoculation of their livestock against epidemics which have ravaged their herds for centuries." The real cause of epi-

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

None of the entries submitted this week was judged worthy of a free sub. Is the nation becoming that sane? —Ed.

demics is lack of minerals in the foods the herds eat. These minerals will never be replaced by shots or inoculations.

If these herdsmen would grow the food with organic fertilizer, with full supply of organic minerals, then the animals would also be nourished with full supply of minerals which would result in disease-free animals.

I think China is making a huge mistake in vaccinating their babies, giving shots to the public and chemically fertilizing their land.

All shots are drugs and man-made. G. Ulrich

The best source

ESCONDIDO, CALIF.

There are plenty of *GUARDIAN* readers who are vegetarians or natural-food, Scott Nearing-type dieters and health "cranks." I am one. Instead of selling artificial vitamins, publishing articles on the dubious narcotic novocaine "Vitamin" H3 longevity treatment from the brain of some Bulgarian woman doctor, why don't you give a break to the people like us—people, who, like the ancient Greeks, see man as a unit and nature as the best source of healing, if wisely studied. M. Terry [Rumanian—Ed.]

Pakistan's prisoners

LONDON, ENG.

Thank you for the plea for the Pakistan poet, Faiz Ahmed Faiz.

Faiz is loved and respected among every section of our people, and is well known in all parts of the world. Protests at his arrest have come from every quarter, and your readers now know that he has as a result been released. But hundreds of others continue to rot in Pakistan prisons without trial, and news is continually reaching us of more arrests being made.

The voices of those who are not in prison have been effectively muzzled by savage martial law regulations—under which a comprehensive list of offenses is provided for which the penalty may be death or long imprisonment. Flogging has been introduced along with prison sentences. Arrests are made with hardly any formality and at any hour. Courts of law are denied any jurisdiction over these arrests or over sentences passed by military tribunals.

Recently, following a one-day strike of 20,000 workers of the Adamjee Jute Mills at Narayanganj in East Pakistan (the largest jute mill in the world), 10 strike leaders were sentenced to six years imprisonment with flogging.

At such a time as this, the people of Pakistan look to democratic opinion everywhere for support. The people of the U.S. have a special interest and a special responsibility in this. Military pacts, dollar "aid," and several hundred American ad-

visers have subordinated the government of Pakistan to the wishes of the State Dept. and the Pentagon. The fight for democracy in Pakistan has become as much a part of your struggle as of ours.

Mrs. Barbara Haq, Intl. Relations Committee, Natl. Awami Party of Pakistan, 220 Sandringham Flats, Charing Cross Road, London, W.C. 2

Overhead

JENKINS, MINN.

When publishers of a paper work for the interest of the masses as you are continually doing, it is the duty of the readers to contribute as much as possible to the support of your good work.

I have spent most of my life in the Far West, and I can almost compare my condition to the fate of stock being ruthlessly driven over the parched prairie. There is always some of the stock which is in a weak condition and cannot endure hard drive. They are left to their fate which often is the closing in of a wolf-pack eagerly waiting for an easy kill, while overhead soar the buzzards who will pick the bones when the coyotes are through.

One more year should decide my fate. In fact it might decide the fate of the nation, or possibly the world. This may be an eventful year and some drastic changes may take place and it is in such times that the masses will appreciate having a paper which will give them the facts. Robert Scherlie



London Evening Standard

"I'm afraid I've twisted my leg."

'A walk in Togo'

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

Please give our belated thanks to Ursula Wassermann for her *Spectator* article, "A Walk in Togo." It is a gem, even for the *GUARDIAN*. Conrad Edises

Vols. 1 & 2

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

May we ask some of your readers whether they would be willing to sell us back files or copies of the *GUARDIAN*, Volumes 1 & 2. We would like to have our library files of the *GUARDIAN* complete. We will, of course, pay costs for obtaining the missing issues.

Jiri Pilar, Director, Institute of Journalism, Stalinova 3, Prague XII

How It Grows

BERKELEY, CALIF.

It starts in with nothing—you're black, I'm white. It doesn't mean a thing when you're a little mite, But soon you can't go to the school where I go, And then you have a separate section in the movie show, And then you can't eat in the restaurant with me, And next thing I'm hanging you on the lynching tree. Malvina Reynolds

Add P.O. woes

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Here's what I wrote to the Postmaster General, who withheld some foreign publications addressed to me:

"1. The job of the Post Office Dept. is to deliver mail. It is none of the Department's business what I read.
"2. Under the Constitutional guarantee of freedom of the

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July 13, 1959

A COMMENTARY ON PEACE HOPES

The Soviet Exhibition

(Continued from Page 1)

which no amount of deliberate misinformation in the press and over the radio can change. Add to this the picture of Kozlov in a Steve Canyon helmet, a cowboy hat, clutching a doll, taking a poke at Harry Truman in an early morning stroll (there's a switch for you!), and it becomes very difficult to create an ogre.

IT'S TRUE THAT SEEMING IS BELIEVING. But that's only part of the battle. The next step is to do something about it. A start is being made in areas where, again, two years ago they never would have happened:

It is reported in Washington that Secy. of State Herter is seeking to recall from his Dulles-imposed "exile" in the Philippines to a key advisory post in Washington the State Dept.'s leading authority on the Soviet Union, Charles D. Bohlen. Doris Fleson said in the *N.Y. Post*, June 29: "The project [is] an indication that Herter wants to make the best possible exploration of Soviet intentions . . . It is no secret that [Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman] Fulbright wants to let fresh air into the State Dept. He feels it is trapped in rigid attitudes and has been too inflexible respecting change."

Sympathy for this point of view was reflected sharply in replies to queries put to 50 former Foreign Service senior officers by the Fulbright committee. After making the usual genuflection to the "lack of new ideas" such as the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the replies added up to a devastating attack on the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization and the Baghdad Pact alliance ("Provocative without adding commensurate strength" to the "free world"); on the Central Intelligence Agency ("Every senior officer has heard of the CIA's subversive efforts in foreign countries . . . most of them blundering . . . espionage agents masquerading as diplomatic and consular officials"); on the State Dept. security apparatus ("There is a large organized body of men in the State Dept. whose sole business is to spy on their colleagues and associates").

BUT CHANGE WILL NOT COME EASILY. The same rigid State Dept., replying to questions submitted last February by Sen. Fulbright on the possibilities of increasing trade with the Soviet Union (a prime purpose of the Kozlov mission), indicated there was neither prospect nor reason for an increase. It added with a straight face that it was only coincidence that the reply, five months later, was made during Kozlov's tour of the U.S. In every city he visited Kozlov was cheered by American businessmen for his plea for more trade. At present we export a piddling \$3,000,000 worth of goods to the U.S.S.R. each year; they send us \$16,000,000 worth.

Nor is the State Dept. alone in its rigid position. In an attitude closely resembling rigor mortis (an attitude we'll all be in if war comes), a fat-headed Congress bumbles along, passing bill after bill consigning billions of dollars to build weapons of destruction.

Largely unreported in the U.S. press was a cry from the soul by one of the few voices of reason on Capitol Hill: Democratic Rep. William H. Meyer of Vermont. He spoke during the debate on the \$38,000,000,000 defense appropriation bill; 26 members were present. He said:

"In all the debate we have had, we develop nothing but propaganda, a war spirit and a spirit of hate. These old military methods will not work, yet we do not have the courage to find a new way . . . I think it is about time this Congress does something constructive about the issue of war and peace . . ."

TO THE AUDIENCE ASSEMBLED in the Coliseum on June 29, Premier Khrushchev said: "May the competition in producing means of destruction be replaced by competition in producing material benefits and accumulating spiritual values. May the peoples of America and the Soviet Union join their efforts in safeguarding peace and creating on our planet conditions under which people will have no fear for their future and that of generations to come."

For our own sake, and for the sake of our children and our children's children, may we all resolve, in this summertime of good sense, to do all in our power to make this wish come true.

press American citizens have a right to read any political material whatsoever. Your action is an outright attack on the Constitution.

"3. You will kindly hereafter deliver to me all mail addressed to me."

Florence H. Luscomb

CORRECTION

In a prelude to the reprint of a broadcast by Peter C. Whitehouse on "people's capitalism" (June 29), it was stated that Whitehouse had been a staff reporter for the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. and had been fired by the CBC for making the broadcast. In fact, the Whitehouse talk over the CBC was "free-lance" and he was fired from a private corporation for making the talk.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

YEARLY PURCHASES by Russia of \$2,000,000,000 would provide direct jobs for 400,000 workers here in heavy industry alone. But Russia is only one segment of the market closed to the U.S. by the cold war.

Credits to Eastern Europe enabling it to purchase a billion dollars a year in the U.S. markets, and to China for the purchase of two billion dollars' worth of U.S. goods a year, would provide another 600,000 jobs here. The increased purchasing power of these one million workers would in turn insure jobs for two million more.

So an end to the cold war and resumption of normal trade relations on a businesslike basis would mean job security for three million workers.

The cost: total credits of not more than \$3,500,000,000 a year.

—Tabitha Petran in the *GUARDIAN*, July 11, 1949.

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND CULTURE

The Soviet Exhibition

Text and pictures (except as noted) by Robert Joyce

THE SOVIETS WERE FIRST to penetrate outer space and their exhibition (at the New York Coliseum, June 30 to Aug. 10) naturally reflects this fact. But that inner space which consists of man's group relations and his social and individual subjectivity also draws our attention.

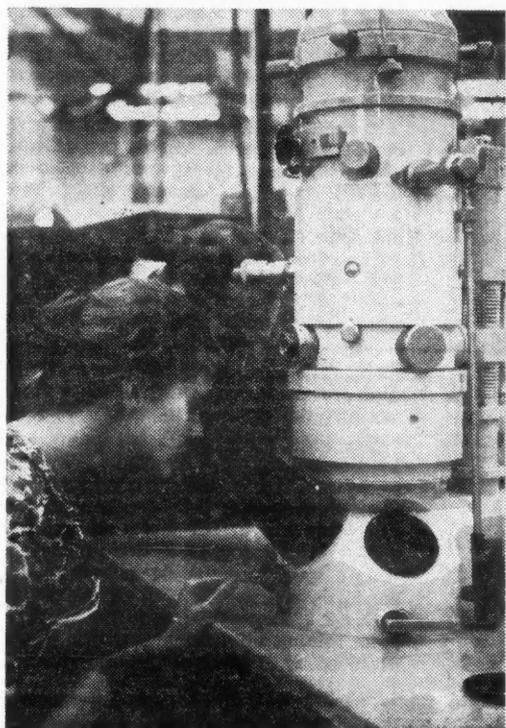
Thus at the Coliseum one's attention is drawn to sewing machines on display, a method for treating arterio-sclerosis, a model for the Lenin sports stadium in Moscow; and to apartments under construction, furniture, the handicrafts and carpets, food and vacation plans, furs and automobiles, as well as an atomic ice-breaker and a model showing the five systems of automation and telemechanics in railroads.

Daughter Margaret and I, as model and photographer, went to cover the press-preview of this great show. Electrons and rockets would naturally interest a college student, but smart Russian clothes and fabrics and the theatrical arts communicated a universal human interest most directly to an American girl.

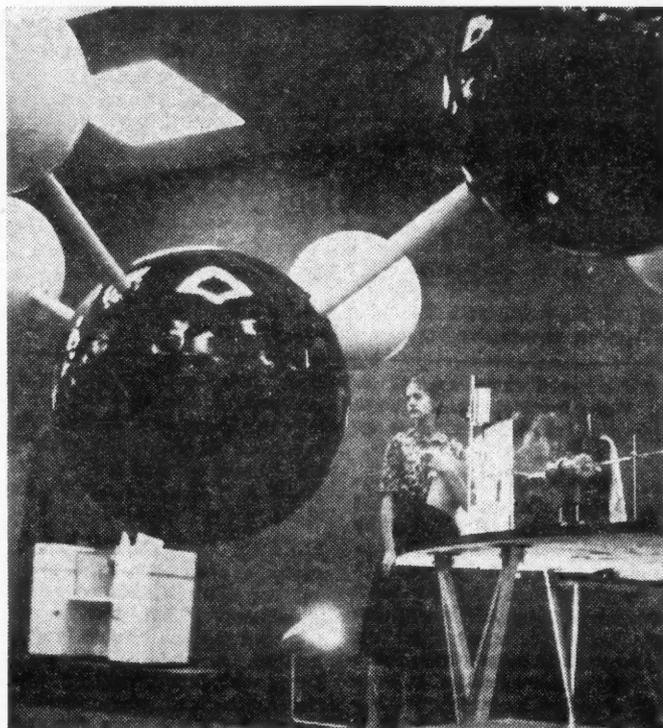
Science may be universal in an objective sense. Nevertheless, it is the arts, including dress and puppets, which speak across language barriers, oceans and political curtains from one human heart directly to another. As with the commonly inherited elements of our cultures, no less than the socialist land's phenomenally successful Moiseyev dancers and Bolshoi Ballet, the ability to communicate and to share emotions may yet point the way through which we can give substance to the idea of a peaceful world brotherhood.



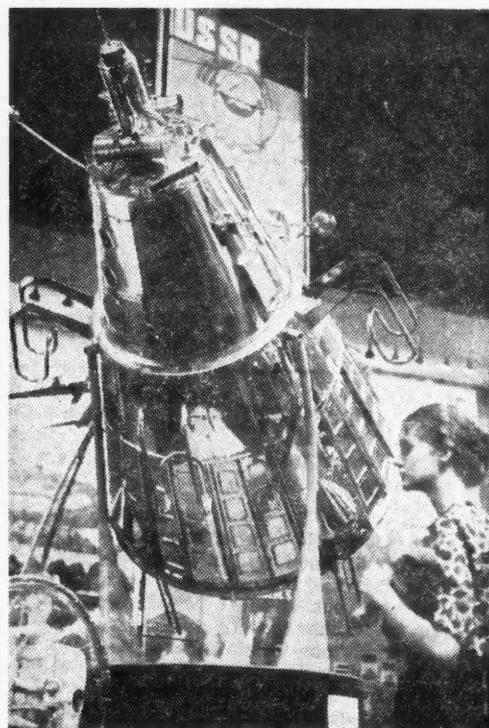
Photo by UPI
Four decades of Soviet scientific, technological and cultural progress are hailed as Nixon and Eisenhower greet Deputy Premier Kozlov in New York.



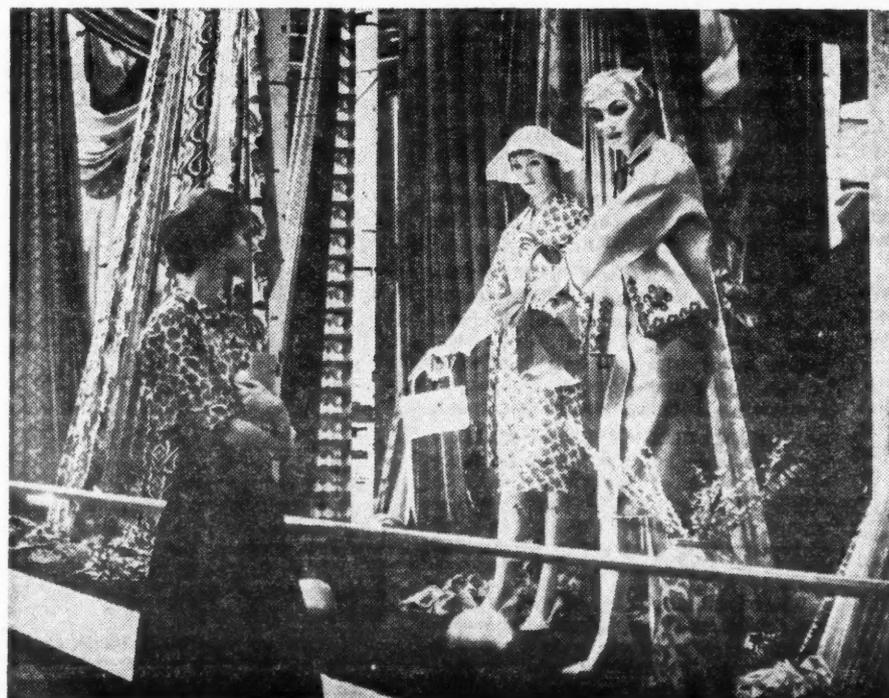
A technician shows Margaret a crystal enlarged 5,000 times in an electronic microscope.



The atom looms big in all our lives but in power plants and great ice-breakers its uses can be peaceful.



A model of a Sputnik reminds us that science cannot be monopolized—or kept secret.



And who can restrict good-looking clothes and beautiful fabrics to the few when the arts are democratized and made available to all?



From the flourishing puppet theaters of the Soviets the doll-actors of "The Extraordinary Concert" appeal to the young at heart of all ages.

A CHALLENGE TO THE WORLD TO HEAR

South Africa: The breaking point is near

By Kumar Goshal

THE SOUTH AFRICAN government's relentless campaign to deprive the non-white native population of their minimum rights and facilities is threatening to engulf the entire country in violence.

Since June 18 Durban has been the scene of brutal police attacks on Africans. Violence was feared in other cities as the African National Congress, with the support of the South African Indian Congress, on June 26 launched its long-threatened boycott campaign.

Trouble began in Durban when armed police raided the ramshackle tin shacks of Africans to enforce a government ban on home-brewed beer. Africans are legally allowed to buy watery beer only at government-owned beer halls. Proceeds from these sales are supposedly

for the benefit of Africans, but they rarely derive any. Poverty-stricken African women try to supplement their husbands' meager income by selling home-made beer.

NEW PROVOCATIONS: When the police destroyed their equipment, thousands of women attacked the municipal beer hall. Police opened fire, killing and wounding many of the women. In the next days men joined the women and set fire to public buildings. Casualties mounted. Before the bitterness could subside, the government announced a plan to meter the African quarter's water supply; this placed an unbearable and disproportionate burden on the Africans. A new protest and a bus boycott brought new police attacks.

Two days after the Durban trouble started, the government ended all hope

of peace by passing the Bantustan Bill. This gave constitutional form to the government's racial segregation policy. It empowered the white rulers to group ethnically into eight autonomous units the 264 scattered areas into which the Africans have been herded.

Subservient tribal chiefs would rule with the help of white "advisers." Africans would not have even indirect representation in the central government because the bill abolished the three seats in Parliament reserved for whites representing "African interests."

NON-VIOLENT ACTION: By this device the white rulers hope to keep the Africans divided even as they concentrated them in inhumanly limited quarters. (Comprising two-thirds of South Africa's population, the Africans are herded into reserves making up 13% of

the country's area.)

The Africans now have no constitutional means to fight for their rights. But they decided to enlarge their non-violent tactics in their struggle to be free in their homeland. Their newest plan was a boycott of goods manufactured by those who support the government's policy of racial segregation.

They designated June 26—Freedom Day—as a "day of sacrifice and self-denial" and urged Africans and Indians to turn it into "a great demonstration against Nationalist tyranny" by buying nothing from any shop, by staying away from movies and taking part in bonfire ceremonies in African areas. Africans and Indians were asked to continue to boycott a selected list of goods—to be augmented.

LOUDER VOICES: The government, aware of the boycott threat, banned public meetings and implemented the "Suppression of Communism Act" which allows it to suppress leaders as well as organizations at will and without trial, on the pretext that they furthered "Communist aims."

Under this Act, the government has already ordered Duma Nokwe, secretary general of the African National Congress, to refrain from attending any meetings for five years. It has banished Zulu chief Albert Luthuli, president general of the Congress, to his home village for five years. Luthuli said: "Muzzling me does not muzzle the African people. Their challenge now is to make their voices louder than ever. They must not despair but must be inspired to greater efforts."

Rev. Michael Scott, who was thrown out of South Africa for his pro-African sympathies and his tireless support of the Herreros of Southwest Africa (whose land was grabbed by the South African government) said in London:

"The time has come when the civilized world should consider whether sanctions should be imposed on the government which perpetrates such policies."



IN A POLICE STATE THE POLICE EMPLOY THE TACTICS OF THE BRUTE
This is what happened to African demonstrators in a suburb of Durban.

Labor reappraisal

(Continued from Page 1)

and industry."

In this setting the steel companies, united as never before, went into negotiations May 5. Their profits at an all-time high, they told the union that wage increases were out of the question. In response to Washington Administration appeals for a "non-inflationary settlement," the companies proposed a one-year wage freeze and elimination of a cost-of-living escalator clause.

As the June 30 contract expiration date approached, President Eisenhower stepped in. In reply to a letter from United Steelworkers president David J. McDonald urging him to set up a fact-finding committee, Eisenhower proposed that both sides continue negotiating until a settlement was reached. McDonald agreed to hold off a strike and continue talks until midnight July 14. The companies agreed but made no new offer. The union scaled down its original 250 demands to a 10-15 cent package.

A SHAM BATTLE? Some believe (see GUARDIAN, June 15) that the battle in steel is a sham. They say both sides have already agreed to a ten-cent package which the companies will exploit for a \$4-a-ton price increase. This, they say, is the script:

The companies will make an 11th-hour offer too small for the union to accept. The union will then call a strike just long enough for steel users to get rid of inventories and for the smaller steel companies to feel the pinch. Then, in a grandstand play, a settlement will be announced. Union leaders will tell the rank and file it is a victory "under the circumstances." The companies will publicly re-affirm their dedication to the fight against inflation.

Holdings of this viewpoint note that in 1949, 1952 and 1956 the union struck for four to eight weeks. Each strike came when the industry faced a seasonal slump necessitating mass layoffs. Each

time the strike lasted about as long as the slump. Wage increases were always followed by price rises three times as large.

THEY WHO WAIT: Negotiations in copper mining, rubber, aluminum and meat packing will be immediately affected by a steel settlement. Contracts in the copper mines expired June 30, but negotiations are in suspension. All proposals by the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers have been rejected as "out of the question." The owners have made no counter offer. Union leaders, authorized to call a strike by a membership referendum, and the operators seem to be awaiting the steel outcome.

But whatever the steel agreement, the other industries insist that it will serve as a top limit for the concessions they will make. In the fall railroad negotiations, the union will seek a 14% increase. The owners will propose a 15-cent-an-hour wage cut.

Against this show of industry muscle, labor has retreated. Reuther's answer to industry's "hardening of attitude" was to join steel union counsel Arthur J. Goldberg in an appeal for a "summit meeting" with Big Business to discuss peaceful coexistence.

THE RESPECTABLE ONES: What has cut most deeply with many labor leaders has been the challenge to their respectability.

To gain access to "respectable" circles, they became ardent joiners and social climbers. The trend began after World War II when labor leaders, to gain "respectability" in Washington, accepted the premises of the Cold War. Proof of loyalty was the expulsion of left-wing unions from the CIO. This may have won temporary friends for the labor brass, but it also removed from the labor federation the unions most willing to fight for labor rights. In the intervening years, AFL president George Meany and Reuther, among others, have kept from being blackballed in the cold war club by outdoing Dulles in their hostility to the socialist world.

The labor leadership's answer to the

latest industry offensive, reinforced by government, was to expel the 1,500,000-member Teamsters Union. This action cut from its ranks the union which is organizing unorganized workers at a faster rate than all other unions combined.

LABOR'S INFLUENCE: The AFL-CIO executive committed itself in advance to support John F. Kennedy's (D-Mass.) "labor reform" bill. But the measure, as amended by the Senate, reforms little. Instead, it endows the Secretary of Labor with broad, vague powers to control unions and union officials. Many consider it worse than the Taft-Hartley Act.

Labor's political influence, described in Chamber of Commerce propaganda as powerful and widespread, is really negligible when compared with its potential. For many labor leaders political influence is measured by the number of politicians with whom they exchange cigars. Politics, to them, means private caucuses and backroom deals. Rank-and-file pressure on local legislatures and on Congress today is almost always organized by local unions, often against the objections of top labor brass.

In recent years—and until 1958—labor's role in electing or defeating candidates was relatively small. But last year, operating on a local level, labor helped defeat "right-to-work" legislation in five states and to send to Congress a majority of the candidates it favored.

LABOR AND CONGRESS: But the leadership of labor has put almost no pressure on "the most liberal Congress in 23 years." It has spent more time in Washington countering the "image" of labor corruption than in pushing for legislation in its own interest.

When local unions forced a mass labor conference on unemployment in Washington last May, Meany vetoed visits to Congressmen by delegates as a "communist tactic." Instead, at the conference, Meany endorsed Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson's proposal for a Presidential commission to "study" unemploy-

ment. The commission was never set up and is no longer even mentioned in Washington.

But despite labor's back-tracking and industry's enormous resources, the offensive against the unions has been relatively unsuccessful thus far. Surrounded by corruption in all levels of government and industry, revelation of another labor "crook" seems to provoke only headlines and yawns. The drive has had its biggest "success" in discouraging some from joining unions, particularly in the white collar field and in the South.

TIME TO TAKE A LOOK: As automation increasingly is replacing workers, and more and more industry is moving to



Steel Labor, Indianapolis
"My last name is PRAUFITZ!"

the unorganized South, it would seem overdue for labor to undertake an agonizing reappraisal of its leaders' policies. Victor Hoffmann, professor of government at Valparaiso U. in Indiana, offered a philosophical beginning in the New Republic (July 6):

"It may be that they [unions] have already accommodated themselves too much to the general pattern of American life. I doubt if being 'respectable' is usually compatible with being 'imaginative' or with 'idealism.'"

THE PEOPLE ARE BEGINNING TO PIECE THE PICTURE TOGETHER

Why all of Latin America is in a ferment of rebellion

By Harvey O'Connor

THE CONTINENT to the south of us is flaming with rebellion, strikes, acute discontent. "Democracy," concedes the New York Times, "is in the air and so is social revolution." From Mexico where a railwaymen's strike was put down with ruthless ferocity to Argentina where a pseudo-democratic dictator has imprisoned hundreds of union leaders and is himself in deep trouble, the continent is convulsed. Hardly one of the 21 republics has escaped revolt against rising misery.

The constant factor underlying this particular outburst of unrest is the effort of Latin America to escape from the semi-feudal colonial 18th and 19th Centuries into the 20th. The Wars of Independence there merely shifted the power from enfeebled Spain to the local landlords and clergy. The immediate factor is the economic scissors in which nearly every country is caught—low prices for their export products, high prices for their imports.

While the rich get richer in the fat United States, the poor get poorer in lean Latin America. This fact is underlined in every economic report from the republics to the south of us. Whether it is Mexico or Argentina, Bolivia or Brazil, the standard of living of the people is being pushed down relentlessly by the operation of

O'Connor in contempt indictment

ON THE NIGHT of Sept. 3, 1958, in Newark, N.J. Harvey O'Connor, who is co-chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, addressed a meeting protesting hearings by the House Un-American Activities Committee in that city. A U.S. marshal walked in and tried to serve a subpoena on O'Connor to appear before the Committee Sept. 5. The press reported that he threw it to the floor. Wrong, said O'Connor: "It fluttered, like a wounded bird, helplessly to the floor." The action set the stage for an unprecedented challenge of the Committee's authority.

On June 30 a Federal grand jury in Newark indicted O'Connor on a charge of contempt for refusing to appear before the Committee. The ECLC, in a statement pledging full support of O'Connor, said the indictment "will test the right of a Congressional committee to punish citizens."

In December, 1956, a Federal Court of Appeals reversed a contempt conviction against O'Connor for defiance of the McCarthy Committee in July, 1953.

the economic scissors, abetted by regimes which decree "austerity" for the masses and more profits for those on top. In nearly every country a conscienceless ruling class, backed by guns from the United States, sits precariously on the lid while the pot boils.

INTERNATIONAL EXPLOITATION: The real rulers of Latin America are not to be found among the landlords and big importers holding the reins of power but among the financial powers—that-be of Manhattan, who are sucking a continent dry for the bloody juice on which they fatten. To name names, they are the Intl. Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the Export-Import Bank, which among them represent the financial greats of Wall Street and Western Europe. In this way Wall Street itself avoids being charged with sole responsibility for bankrupting Latin America; it's an international operation.

It works this way. The currencies of the countries below the Rio Grande are falling into the pit. The Argentine peso has just gone below one cent; the Brazilian cruzeiro is a dime a dozen, the Bolivian boliviano is no longer quoted on the money market and fetches around 12,000 to the dollar. The dizzy plunge of Latin American currencies reflects the financial exhaustion of the continent under the remorseless economic scissors which decrees low prices for coffee, bananas, tin, copper, cotton, cacao, meat, wool, or whatever it is that these countries have to sell. On the other hand the managed price system of the monopolies assures a



POLICE BRUTALITY VICTIM IN PERU
Most of the guns bear a U.S. label

steadily mounting cost of the manufactured goods which Latin America imports. So the balance of payments is always against Mexico, Guatemala, Chile or whatever country you pick.

Nearly all these countries belong to the Intl. Monetary Fund, which was created to stabilize currencies. So in order to balance payments, these governments go hat in hand to the Monetary Fund for new loans to pay off old ones. But the gods of the Fund decree that there will be no new loans unless the countries affected balance their budgets. This means that appropriations for health, welfare and education must be slashed, even though military expenditures rise. This means there must be "austerity" which will cut back the already pitiful living standard of the masses. This is achieved by raising prices on food, rent and utilities in order to force people to consume less.

FORCE AND VIOLENCE: Argentina, under President Frondizi, is doing exactly this. The price of meat (Argentina used to be the biggest meat consumer per capita in the world) has doubled in the past year so that now Argentine beef is sold more cheaply in England than at home. Also, the Intl. Monetary Fund looks around to see what natural wealth a country may have. Does it have oil, as does Argentina? Then it must be handed over to the U.S. and British cartel. Frondizi has handed it over while imprisoning the leaders of the union and ordering the Army to occupy their headquarters because the oil workers put up a fight to save Argentine oil for their own country.

The story is the same in Chile, Peru, Colombia and other countries where quasi-democratic regimes fronting for landlords, big importers and the Army use force and violence against their own people. In Brazil, so far, the orders of the Intl. Monetary Fund have been defied, because the government doubts if it can prevent revolt if it imposes more "austerity" on the ragged Brazilian people. Brazil is so big—bigger than the U.S. minus Alaska—that it has proved the hardest nut for international finance to crack.

A leading newsletter on Latin America, published for U.S. business men, quite cynically reviews the situation.

Referring to "the abdication of democratic processes under Frondizi," it points out that "the Brazilian people would not stand for such a surrender." "Lacking this capacity to wipe out democratic processes," the Intl. Monetary Fund and its associates must look forward to "a military dictatorship" in Brazil.

STARVATION BY DECREE: The Hispanic American Report, published by Stanford University, in its current issue refers to "the deliberate sacrifice of the working class to gain economic progress" in Mexico. It adds that while the lot of privileged workers in oil and on the railroads is worse now than in 1939, "the living standard of the poorly organized mass of labor has declined spectacularly."

The Hispanic American Report quotes a Venezuelan deputy, member of the Republican Democratic Union party, that the U.S. is "exerting each time stronger and more powerful pressures to invalidate any proposal initiated in Latin America to consolidate its economic recovery." What angered the deputy especially was the veto on the proposal to have the headquarters of the new Inter-American Development Bank in Caracas. On the first ballot, nine nations favored Caracas to eight for Washington; after that the diplomatic steam roller began moving, the Caracas vote declined to six, and on the third ballot to none.

Or take Bolivia, where the Intl. Monetary Fund has decreed outright starvation for the tin miners. The N.Y. Times reported that all the tin miners now get at the mine commissaries is tea and coca leaves (coca leaves against hunger and pain). They can buy milk for their children only occasionally and meat almost never. The Monetary Fund, acting on behalf of U.S. financiers, reported the Times, was charged with "deliberately provoking the strikes against the Siles Zuazo regime in the hope that this would lead to the restoration of private ownership."

THINGS TO COME: The Hispanic American Report of Stanford mentions casually that in Guatemala the leftist opposition "probably has the support of the majority of the population"; in other words, the Arbenz regime overthrown by Allen Dulles' CIA would, under any democratic set-up, be back in power were it not for State Dept. arms for dictator Ydigoras. In Mexico, according to the Latin American newsletter already quoted, Petróleos Mexicanos, the national oil company, must admit Standard Oil and Shell participation and "the U.S. must insist on publicizing the basis of its policy . . . apparently to indicate the nature of the victory over Mexico." The same newsletter refers to "Bolivia's Foreign Minister, whom the State Dept. will support for the Presidency in the next Bolivian election."

One could pile such facts mountain-high to document the economic prostration of Latin America and



the ruthless conspiracies of the State Dept. and the Wall Street financial overlords against the sovereignty of the rest of the continent. The one comforting thought is that the peoples of our neighboring lands are beginning to piece together the picture, as they have done recently in Cuba, and are beginning to know how to deal with it. When that time arrives, the State Dept., having "lost" Africa and Asia, can also be credited with "losing" Latin America as its people take over the power.

THE POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE

Will the treason charges be dropped?

THE DISMISSAL of a special Federal grand jury and the admission by a U.S. Attorney that the Government has encountered difficulty obtaining evidence in the Far East has led to speculation that the Dept. of Justice may drop its effort to secure a treason indictment against John W. Powell, his wife, Sylvia, and Julian Schuman.

The San Francisco Chronicle reported that on June 25 Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman dismissed a grand jury that had been held over at the expiration of its regular term last March with the

comment that it had not transacted any business during its special term. On the same day U.S. Atty. Lynn Gillard conceded that, despite trips to the Far East by U.S. officials, the Government was finding it difficult to meet the Constitutional requirement that there be two witnesses to overt acts of treason.

"There has been no determination by the Justice Dept. as yet, to my knowledge, as to whether to seek an indictment of the three for treason," Gillard said.

The Powells and Schuman, who edited

a Shanghai news magazine during the Korean war, had been indicted for sedition in 1956 on the Government's contention that articles reporting the use of germ warfare by U.S. troops in Korea had injured the U.S. After numerous delays, the sedition trial ended in a mistrial last January and the Government immediately entered its informal complaint of treason.

Despite dismissal of the special grand jury, there is nothing to prevent the Government from presenting such evidence as it may secure to a regular grand jury. If this is done, Gillard said, the original sedition indictment will be combined with the treason charge. If the treason complaint is dropped the Powells and Schuman will still face the

possibility of another sedition trial under the original indictment.

Dr. Holland Roberts talks to Berkeley voters July 24

DR. HOLLAND ROBERTS, who received 400,000 votes in last year's election for State Director of Education, will speak at a public meeting in Berkeley, Calif., called by the Independent Voters of California, Friday evening, July 24.

Dr. Roberts recently returned from a tour of Europe where he spoke with citizens of many countries on their attitudes toward America. The meeting will be held at the Anna Head School, 2538 Channing Way, at 8 p.m. There will be no collection, but a donation at the door will be received.

JOHN L. ON JIMMY HOFFA

The mob and I

On May 31 United Mine Workers president John L. Lewis took on a panel of newspapermen in a radio and television show, Meet the Press. The questioners included Clark Mollenhoff of the Des Moines Register, Mrs. May Craig of the Portland (Me.) Press Herald, A. H. Raskin of the N.Y. Times and Lawrence Spivak, the show's producer. Below are excerpts of the questions and answers dealing with Lewis' attitude toward Teamsters president James R. Hoffa.

RASKIN: Mr. Lewis, in your appearance before the House Committee you expressed some rather flattering thoughts and sentiments with regard to Mr. Jimmy Hoffa, a man about whom certain people in the Senate, and the united labor movement as well, seem to have a great many reservations. Do you regard him, sir, as the coming John L. Lewis type in the younger school of labor leaders?

LEWIS: Mr. Raskin, I don't think that your words, flattering statements or compliments, are quite in order. I replied to certain questions about Mr. Hoffa—interrogatories addressed to me by the members of the committee. I said that Mr. Hoffa had not been convicted of any crime; no felonies lie against him. And I said that if he was as guilty as some of his critics say, why wasn't he proceeded against in courts of competent jurisdiction and proven guilty of them?

RASKIN: Mr. Lewis, I believe, however, that you also said you don't have the slightest doubt that if the members of the Teamsters Union had an opportunity to vote on his retention that they would vote him into office and vote him in by a very substantial majority.

LEWIS: It comes from a little experience, a little knowledge, a little observation, and it sums up into an opinion that I hold that the Teamsters Union—the members thereof, who are the beneficiaries of the virtuous work of the Teamsters—would gladly reelect Mr. Hoffa as a president if they have a chance to vote for him.

SPIVAK: Did you say "virtuous work of the Teamsters," Mr. Lewis?

LEWIS: As far as Mr. Hoffa is able to negotiate a contract that means higher wages and better conditions and more privileges for those engaged in his vocation, I call it virtuous.

MOLLENHOFF: Mr. Lewis, I am wondering whether—are you afraid to criticize Jimmy Hoffa? You have been very forthright in criticizing other labor unions around the country. Walter Reuther, Meany—you'll say anything you want to, but you never say anything—are you afraid of Jimmy Hoffa?

LEWIS: I am neither afraid of Hoffa, nor you.

MOLLENHOFF: I am asking you whether you feel free to—

LEWIS: The question of my courage isn't involved here; but I think it would be ample to get me through the evening!

MOLLENHOFF: Well, why won't you say one bad thing about Jimmy Hoffa, in the light of the record, or why haven't you—

LEWIS: Because all the forces of the law, the government, supported by the press, the Justice Department, the special committee of Congress, the Internal Revenue, have all combined to try to convict Jimmy Hoffa of something—which they have failed to do.

MOLLENHOFF: He has been convicted twice, Mr. Lewis.

LEWIS: And under our law and under our Constitution, Mr. Hoffa is a free-born American citizen.

MOLLENHOFF: Mr. Lewis, he has been convicted twice, just for your information. You are quite a realist, I understand, from your operations over the years. Now you know what the effect of political contributions by labor unions is, don't you?

LEWIS: It is highly gratifying to have your opinion of me.

MOLLENHOFF: Mr. Lewis, you recall the testimony of the \$20,000 paid to a judge down in Tennessee?

LEWIS: No, I do not. I may have read a headline in the paper.

MOLLENHOFF: By the Teamsters Union, a payoff in a case. That is what happens to law enforcement. Now, I wonder what you think about political contributions to law enforcement officials by labor unions?

LEWIS: Anything that has happened of an illegal or amoral character among the membership of a local union has also happened among the employes of government, in the Republican Party, in the Democratic Party, in the Prohibition Party when we had it.

SPIVAK: Well, Mr. Lewis, wouldn't you be critical of that, though?

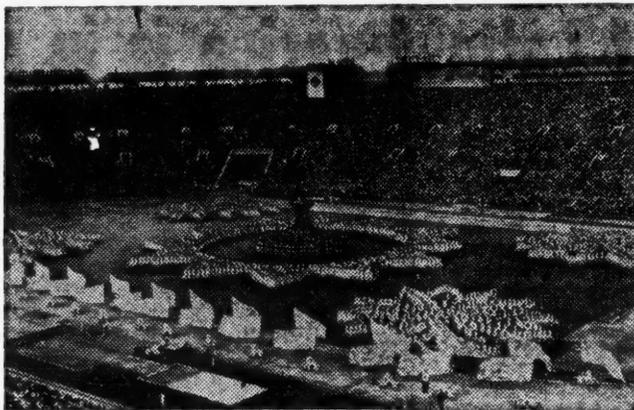
LEWIS: Oh, from a moral standpoint, I stand for the elimination of as much sin as is possible among human beings. But I am not working at the job of abolishing sin, Mr. Spivak.

SPIVAK: Well, is there some reason why you have criticized every other labor leader, but not Jimmy Hoffa?

LEWIS: Yes.

SPIVAK: May we have it?

LEWIS: Because I don't join the mob every time it hollers "Stop thief," and pursues a man down the road and turns the pack on him. And that is what is being done now. The pack is after Hoffa and they haven't got him yet. And I am not doing any running with the pack on this occasion, because he is entitled to have his chance, under our flag, under our law, and to have an equal break before his peers.



The 1957 Youth Festival in Moscow is one of the spectacular scenes in "Great Is My Country," the Soviet Cinepanorama documentary film now playing at the Mayfair Theater, 7th Av. and 47th St., in New York. Cinepanorama, the U.S.S.R.'s Cinerama, coordinates three projectors and nine sound tracks. The film is scheduled to play through Aug. 10.

NOTES ON THE NEW BOOKS

'Big Brainwash' here

NEW CENTURY Publishers has obtained U.S. publication rights to Dyson Carter's *The Big Brainwash*, which U.S. Post Office censorship has sought to bar from the mails as incoming "propaganda" from

Canada. The same publisher announces that *Mansart Builds a School*, part two of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois' trilogy, *The Black Flame*, will be published in August. Also, that its scheduled book by Anna Louise Strong,

The Rise of the Chinese People's Communes, will be published instead by Cameron Associates.

CITADEL PRESS, 222 Fourth Av., New York 3, will bring to publication this fall a commemorative volume of the essays of the late Prof. Bernhard Stern, Columbia sociologist and editor of *Science and Society*. The works include unpublished papers, as well as those appearing over a period of 25 years in scientific journals.

Sources of Our Liberties, a source book of documents of the origins of the Constitution and Bill of Rights, is nearing publication by New York University Press. The work was prepared for publication by Richard L. Perry, Washington lawyer, under auspices of the American Bar Foundation.

DYSON CARTER, editor-publisher of *Northern Neighbors* and author of *The Big Brainwash* as well as many works on science and health developments in the U.S.S.R., has announced publication of a handbook on the Rumanian Vitamin H-3 in collaboration with his wife, Charlotte. He hopes to offer it for 50c, three for \$1. Address: Northern Book House, 1334 Bloor West, Toronto 4, Ontario, Canada.

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THE GALLERY

WHEN OSKANA KASENKINA, a teacher from the Soviet Union employed by her country's consulate in New York, jumped from a consulate window to asylum in the U.S. in 1948, she landed in a pile of cash. During her first year as an American she earned more than \$45,000 from the sale of her "leap to freedom" story. But in the last 10 years she has not done so well. According to reports in Washington, she has applied to the Russian embassy for a visa to return home. She was said to have stated that she was "fed up with the free world." Her attempt to leap backward is believed to be giving ulcers to some Washington officials. . . . Leo Cherne, director of the Research Institute of America, told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee last month that evangelist Billy Graham's statement that he found more morality in the U.S.S.R. than in Britain was "superficial, false and damaging." . . . Arkansas Revenue Commissioner J. Orville Cheney says his office is being deluged with bad checks averaging \$40,000 a month . . . Major Gen. Normando A. Costello, commander of the Seventh Infantry Division in Korea, is concerned because his men are not spending their leisure time in service clubs which offer "model planes, photography, weight-lifting, bowling, swimming, baseball and reading." Instead the men have been visiting off-limits "tea rooms," called Happy Valleys, where camp followers and their "mama-sans" offer black market beer and other entertainment. One chaplain complained: "There is no real solution to the woman problem in this half-war, half-peace situation." But Gen. Costello thinks he has the answer: "My kids are happiest when they work; it's then they begin to feel like men. We teach them to kill or be killed, and like it."

BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE officials asked the Film Producers Assn. to withdraw as "unsuitable" a movie from the Moscow Intl. Film Festival Aug. 3-17. The film was **Carlton-Browne of the F.O.**, a satire on the Foreign Office produced by the Boulting brothers. "I have an idea," said Roy Boulting, "that the chap behind this decision is a chap called Carlton-Browne." . . . About 300 years ago King Charles II of England for a tidy cash sum "leased" Fillingharne Castle in Wales to the family which then owned the Buckminster estate. Part of the agreement called for the Crown to furnish monthly maintenance money for the castle. It seemed like a good deal at the time, except that Fillingharne castle never existed. King Charles, it seems, needed some cash. But in England the king's word is the king's word and to this very day every month the British treasury mails a check for 75 pounds, 10 shillings (\$210) to the Buckminster estate for maintenance of Fillingharne castle. A treasury official explained: "We inherited the obligation in 1786 when the government took over the affairs of the Crown and began to administer the royal account. We will go on making the payment."

AT A BRITISH ARMY CAMP in Osnabruck, Germany, soldiers were given an exercise in initiative. They were asked to make their way to a point on the Atlantic coast as far away as possible from camp. Pvt. Tony Crook drew his rations and started for the coast. He hitch-hiked across Europe to the Channel. He crossed to England on a steamer and kept going until he reached Barnstaple. It just happened that his wife and children lived in Barnstaple. Mrs. Crook became indignant later when authorities took her husband away on AWOL charges. She said he was "only carrying out orders. Barnstaple is a point near the Atlantic coast and it is very far from Osnabruck." At the hearing Magistrate W. H. Wilkey told Crook: "Apparently you succeeded in your initiative test." . . . Sen. Allen J. Ellender got Senate permission, without opposition, to correct an error in the Congressional Record. In reporting a debate on the Commodity Credit Corp., the Record gave the name as "Communist Credit Corp." . . . A sign on a bulletin board at Pan American College in Edinburg, Tex., read: "There is no legacy like honesty." Below it were tacked a stack of dollar bills. Students needing a small loan could take a bill or two and repay as soon as possible. The system worked fine until last month when four outsiders cleaned the hook of \$27 with no repayment plans.

—Robert E. Light

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THE WEAVERS

IN THE SPECTATOR COLUMN on this page Cedric Belfrage describes the reception THE WEAVERS are receiving in Israel, where a new generation of young pioneers is discovering the real America in the folk songs of this extraordinary singing group. The story will be repeated in Istanbul, Stockholm, Rome, Paris and London, next stops on THE WEAVERS' 4-month tour of Europe and the Middle East. For wherever this engaging quartet travels it spreads the message of the essential brotherhood of man in a musical idiom none can misunderstand. When disc jockeys refer to "Weavers-type songs" they mean those sad and wistful, infectious and rollicking, boldly challenging, WEAVERS arrangements and renditions. The same spirit, of course, pervades the four albums listed here, which should be in every music-lover's library. And this is your opportunity to get them at a bargain price. List price is \$4.98 per album. GBS Special: \$3.75 for a single album, any two for \$7, any three for \$10, all four for \$13!



The Weavers at Carnegie Hall

SIDE ONE: Darling Corey, Kisses Sweeter Than Wine, Pay Me My Money Down, Greensleeves, Rock Island Line, Around The World, Wimoweh, Venga Jaleo, Suliram, Sholom Chavarim. — **SIDE TWO:** Lonesome Traveler, I Know Where I'm Going, Woody's Rag and 900 Miles, Sixteen Tons, Follow The Drinking Gourd, When The Saints Go Marching In, I've Got a Home in That Rock, Hush Little Baby, Go Where I send Thee, Goodnight Irene.

The Weavers At Home

SIDE ONE: This Land Is Your Land, Aweigh, Santy Ano, Wild Goose Grasses, Meet The Johnson Boys, Aunt Rhodie, Tina, Eres Alta, Come Little Donkey, Kum Bachura. **SIDE TWO:** All Night Long, You Old Fool, Every Night, Let The Midnight Special, Bury Me, Almost Done, Empty Pockets Blues, Howard's Dead and Gone.

Traveling On With The Weavers

SIDE ONE: Twelve Gates To The City, Erie Canal, I Never Will Marry, Old Riley, Sinner Man, House of The Rising Sun, The Keeper, You Made Me a Pallet on the Floor. **SIDE TWO:** Mi Caballo, Kumbaya, Hopsha-Diri, Si Mi Quieres, State of Arkansas, Greenland Whale Fisheries, Eddystone Light, Gotta Travel On.

The Weavers On Tour

SIDE ONE: Tzena, Tzena, On Top of Old Smoky, Drill Ye Tarriers, Drill, Fi-li-mi-oo-ree-ay, Over The Hills, Clementine, The Frozen Logger, The Boll Weevil, Talking Blues, I Don't Want to Get Adjusted, So Long, It's Been Good To Know You. **SIDE TWO:** Michael, Row The Boat Ashore, The Wreck of the "John B.", Two Brothers, Ragaputi, Wasn't That a Time?, Go Tell It On The Mountain, Poor Little Jesus, Mi Y' Malel, Santa Claus Is Coming, We Wish You a Merry Christmas.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Weavers, sholom!

TEL AVIV

ONE OF THE FIRST ENGAGEMENTS scheduled here for "the Unbroken Reid" (as a Jerusalem Post satirist dubbed the new U.S. ambassador Ogden Reid Jr. after his Congressional quizzing bee) was a July 4 celebration by the America-Israel Society. On that occasion, as advertised, the star entertainers were to be our friends The Weavers, with songs including "Wasn't That a Time?" Times do indeed change, backwards and forwards, and "freedom" with an American accent rings out once again on alien shores as something more than a grim jest.

Liberated after years behind Washington's passport curtain, the Weavers have set all Israel to humming their ditties of the America that was and is truly beautiful. Of Israel's less than 2,000,000 people, some 80,000 will have met the "Weeweavers" by the end of their 36-concert tour, and most of the others will have heard them on the radio in this land still—mercifully, as some think—without TV. The Israeli youth are crazy for anything American, and the Supreme Court is to be thanked that a Weavers-eye view of America can now be offered to them.

AUDIENCES AND CRITICAL RESPONSE is everywhere fervent, and communities not on the concert schedule are complaining bitterly to Tel Aviv impresario Giora Godik, who brought Larry Adler, Pearl Primus and Hazel Scott there and has been trying for a decade to sign Paul Robeson on the dotted line. Members of a Negev collective who heard the Weavers in Tel Aviv wrote imploring them to visit their community. They were deeply impressed, they said, "not just by the singing but by the atmosphere created. The whole evening was an effective propaganda discourse for friendship and brotherhood—a cause that is as dear to us as it is to you."

For the Weavers it is an unforgettable experience, as an Israel tour must be for all visiting artists. Here they do not merely perform in halls to predominantly well-dressed audiences, but in huge open-air auditoriums built and maintained around the country by kibbutzim and other co-operative organizations. The Weavers have also sung twice to soldier audiences which included (as Weaver Lee Hays says) "some of the prettiest soldiers I've ever seen."

On my journalistic tour I caught up with my favorite folk-songsters at the end of June in a bowl-under-the-stars set in a grove of cypresses at Emek Hefer, north of Tel Aviv. The place is a mile or so from the border—a comfortable distance as things go in this beleaguered, frontier-slenderized land—so nobody except a couple of cops was wearing a gun. A few nights earlier, when the Weavers sang at Ain Gev, a stone's throw from Syria, the Syrians had to be notified in advance of the concert so they wouldn't mistake the multitude converging on the bowl for an invasion. The Weavers hoped very much that the Syrians enjoyed the concert too.

AT EMEK HEFER, with the Big Dipper pointing its dip down on them, 4,000 people heard them. Hits with the audience were "Kisses Sweeter Than Wine," "Rock Island Line," the dream song "that men had all agreed to put an end to war," and—of course—"Tzena Tzena," the Israeli hora. Only a minority—if a surprisingly large one—understood English, but Weavers discs [see Buying Service] had already popularized most of the songs. Long before the concert started the strains of "Tzena Tzena" in Weavers rhythm swelled through the warm fragrant night from a truck clattering up with a load of full-throated kibbutzniks. As the lucky ticket-holders and hundreds more who had to sit outside the gate—swarmed up on foot and in every conceivable vehicle, one realized that this was a kind of audience which is unknown anywhere else outside the socialist world. They were aged from six to 60, but 90% were in the teens and early twenties.

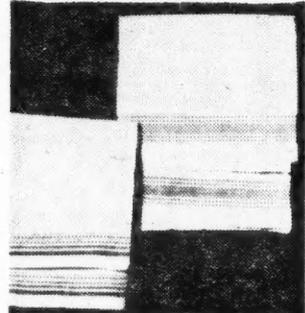
MUSCULAR BOYS IN SLACKS and t-shirts, brown-legged bare-armed girls in shorts and blouses or pretty dresses, kids rushing to buy "Artics" (ice cream sticks) from the vendors—they made as happy and handsome a tide of humanity as a rheumy old scriver could hope to see. But the unique thing about them was that they were all workers, mostly tillers of the soil coming straight from fields and orchards. They were "peasantry" of the new era, practitioners of co-operation and advanced technology, taking joy from their productive daily work because they do it on earth that is collectively or individually their own. If there were any "beatniks" among them they camouflaged it well. There could be no camouflaging of the fact that they were a people, with one language—Hebrew—which sounds so strange to Latin- and Teutonic-oriented ears but which is just the same to them in their land as English is to us in ours.

The audience reaction, as these delightful and discriminating peasants left the bowl humming "Wimoweh" and "Eilai-li-lai-li-oh," sounded to me something like: "Ha'aretz eshkalot achdut a'avodah l'chaim Amerikanim." Well, anyway, they liked it. And the "Weeweavers" liked them.

—Cedric Belfrage

*Belfrage's Hebrew sentence (or conglomeration) has baffled all language experts consulted in New York. A literal translation would read: "The land . . . grapefruit . . . brotherhood of workers . . . life in America." But, as he says, they liked it. Ed.

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George Payne