

Algerian plot fails, news blacked out; Army in key role

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

DURING THE WEEK of Oct. 12-18, average citizen Jean Dupont went about his daily chores, unaware that another Algiers plot was being brewed around him.

Three UNR (Union of the New Republic—the new Gaullist majority party) leaders, at private party sessions, called the events of that week an attempt at “real political subversion.” But the government radio ignored the events and the government press did not find them worthy of a headline.

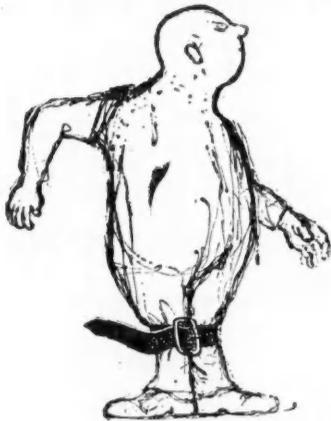
It is difficult to say whether the latest Algiers plot to overthrow the administration of Premier Michel Debre—climaxed by the attempt to assassinate Sen. Francois Mitterrand—had a real chance of success. Yet the fact that it existed and could spread confusion and apprehension in the Assembly for several days gave it plenty of significance.

WHAT HAPPENED: As in previous Algiers plots, this one was planned by those who oppose the Algerian solution and to whom the word “self-determination” is anathema—even hedged in as it was in President de Gaulle’s Sept. 16 offer to the Algerians. Acted out mostly in Paris, this plot was as wild and stereotyped as the old-time South American palace revolutions. The following is a brief account of what happened:

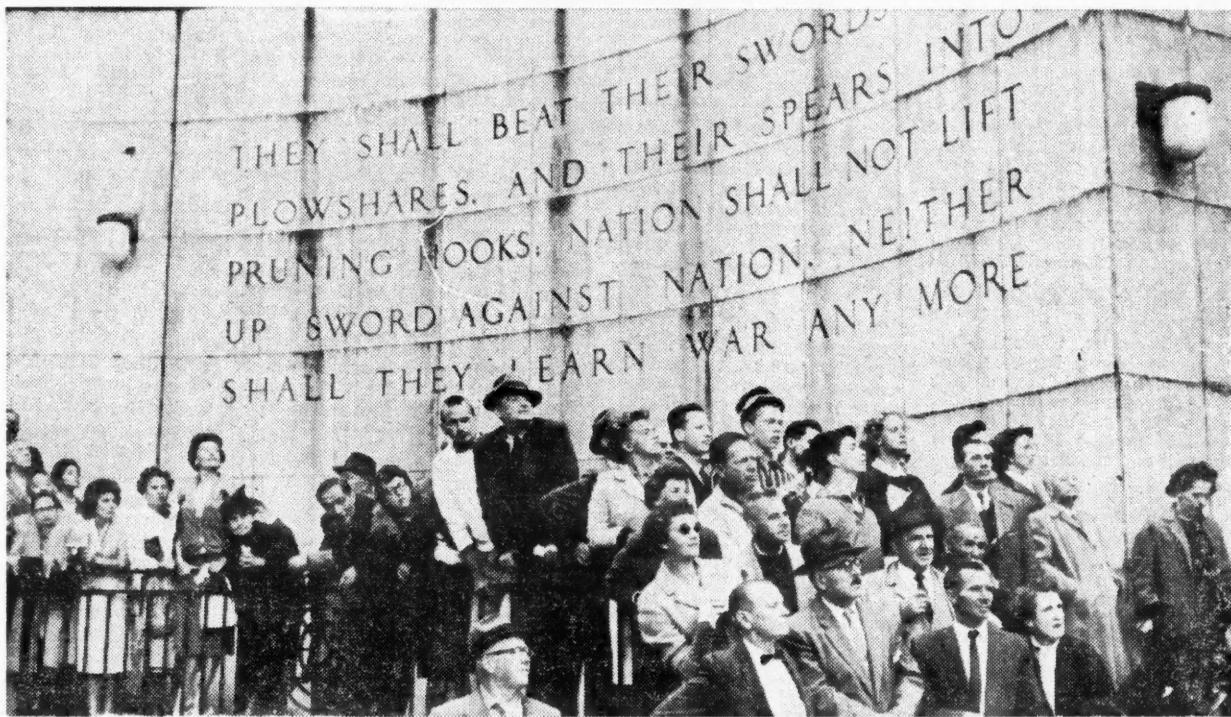
During the Assembly debate on Algeria Oct. 12, nine UNR deputies suddenly announced they were quitting the party. (Actually, more than nine were supposed to resign.) This announcement was to be the signal for action in Algiers. Perhaps no one will ever know now what action was planned in Algiers.

In the next two days, emissaries went back and forth between Algiers and Paris, wild rumors spread and two lists began to

(Continued on Page 6)



Tim, L'Express, Paris



THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES JUST DON'T WANT TO STUDY WAR NO MORE

The Biblical inscription graven on the wall of the United Nations Plaza reflects the mood of the country today (see SANE story on p. 9) but it will take a lot of doing to keep the mood alive and to translate it into a permanent reality.

500,000 DEMONSTRATE IN HAVANA

U. S. wages a 'war of nerves' against Castro

By Kumar Goshal

A SUSTAINED WAR of nerves is being waged against the government of Cuba. This has been clearly demonstrated in the evidence which has piled up in the last month.

The Cuban Ambassador to Washington on Oct. 7 delivered a note to the State Dept. protesting “clandestine flights of planes over Cuba from U. S. territory.” In the next two weeks Cuban forces captured arms and ammunition parachuted into the hills in Pinar del Rio province. The contents included machine guns, rifles, ammunition and blankets.

The Washington Post (Oct. 15) reported that the U. S. had sent a new and stiff note to the Castro government protesting what Washington considered “confiscation of American properties.” Although the note was officially secret, the Post said it clearly implied “rough treatment from Congress” for Cuba unless Castro opened negotiations with the State

Dept. on sugar and other American properties in Cuba.

THE SUGAR ACT: The Post said the rough treatment might take the form of an amendment to the Sugar Act in 1960 which would empower the President to revise Cuba's sugar quota at his discretion. The Sugar Act enables Cuba to supply one-third of U. S. sugar consumption at a favorable price differential.

Washington was also considering a plan which would authorize the U. S. government to “expropriate” part of the Cuban sugar price differential and place it in escrow to compensate American property owners who felt they had suffered a loss through Castro's agrarian reform. The Post said the State Dept. was “trying hard to impress Castro that the time for talk is dwindling rapidly.”

The State Dept. increased the pressure on Castro on Oct. 16 by strongly objecting to Britain's reported plan for an exchange of 15 British Hunter jets for an equal number of British propeller-driven Sea Furies now owned by Cuba. Department spokesman Joseph Reap told newsmen: “It is no secret that the U. S. does not like . . . arms shipment into this area” because it might increase tension in the region. The State Dept. was said to have decided at the last moment to have ruled out a written protest which Britain might resent and ignore.

LEAFLET RAIDS: Castro has been negotiating with the British on the planes for defensive purposes. The British Foreign Office was said to feel Cuba would be modernizing but not increasing its armaments by the exchange.

An ironic commentary on the U. S. objection to the exchange was the disclosure on Oct. 16 that \$560,000 worth of arms and ammunition shipped by Norway to President Batista last December (they fell into Castro's hands) were pro-

(Continued on Page 9)

WHAT A UNION VICTORY WOULD MEAN TO ALL LABOR

Has the steel industry overplayed its hand?

By Robert E. Light

BIG STEEL went into the steel strike on July 15 holding a pat hand. Stockpiles of the industry's biggest customers were enough to last three to four months. The companies rested on unprecedented profits accumulated during the first six months of the year. The strike came during the traditional slack period when layoffs might have come anyway. The companies felt they had a friend in the White House who would back them in a pinch.

They believed that if they played it right, the union would call it quits. But after nearly 15 weeks of the strike, the union had called the bluff and it seemed

that the companies might be holding some jokers.

The industry's game had been carefully planned. In August, 1958, the industrial relations and public relations committees of the American Iron and Steel Institute met under the chairmanship of Phelps Adams of U.S. Steel to map strategy for the 1959 negotiations. They reasoned that with an inflation-conscious atmosphere in Washington and in business circles, they could not raise steel prices to any great extent. In the past every dollar in increased benefits granted to the AFL-CIO United Steel Workers had been translated into \$3 price increases. In 1959, they said, new benefits for

the workers would have to come from increased productivity.

THE WORD GOES OUT: Although the union had been cooperative in the past and had called strikes only during slack periods, the industry knew it would not play along this time. The companies sent word to their customers to prepare for a long strike. To win public support, a public relations firm, Hill & Knowlton, Inc., was called in to devise an advertising campaign. A new negotiating committee was formed representing the 12 largest steel producers and including for the first time Kaiser Steel. As spokesman, the industry chose R. Conrad Coop-

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Our military monks

CHARLESTON, W. VA.
While we are being asked to shed crocodile tears over the monks of Tibet, the Chinese communists are urging them to support themselves with productive work, in order to relieve the rest of the people of the financial and religious burdens so wrongly imposed upon them. Why not reduce our military expenditures from 40 to 10 billion dollars annually and let some of our military monks do productive work, too?

Horace S. Meldahl

Fumes of delusion

NEW YORK, N.Y.
After listening to Douglas Dillon of the State Dept. address the dinner guests of the Far East-American Council (China Lobby) the other night, I walked home, to let the fumes of the highballs and the expensive Havanas clear away. I thought: "What fools we are, what poor, deluded, brain-washed fools."

There we had sat, we whose fathers and grandfathers had exploited, enslaved and slaughtered the Asians for a hundred years, and who, ourselves, today wish for nothing better than a return of the conditions which would permit us to do exactly those things again. There we had sat listening to a hard-working hack from the State Dept. mouth the hackneyed platitudes of "freedom, progress, enlightenment" in the Far East.

Suddenly, I felt as if we had all been gathered together in some dark and fearsome graveyard, with the ghost of John Foster Dulles squeaking and gibbering his ancient feudal doctrine of a grand capitalist military alliance, slowly, steadily strangling the Communist bloc, while awaiting, in a complacent wishful-thinking, the collapse of the lusty young giant who is striding across our shrinking world.

We call ourselves, with pride, "hard-boiled, practical business men." Why, then, can we not take the advice of the hardest-boiled, most practical American who ever lived—that old Tammany Sachem who said: "If we can't lick 'em, let's join 'em."

Charles Pemberton

The new piracy

EL CAJON, CALIF.
Did all the good folk in this country take the same beating that we did when the new cent-a-gallon gas tax went into effect?

Prices were raised, hereabouts, TWO cents a gallon—one cent for the tax and one cent for the oil companies. Could making a

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

While Russia has been firing rockets and satellites all over the firmament, and U.S. rockets have exploded on their launching pads, Johnson [who resigned as head of the Advanced Research Projects Agency] has cut through military resistance, red tape, and congressional impatience to whip his agency into shape.
—Boston Globe, 10/19/59

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: J.A., New York, N.Y.

profit on a tax I pay have anything to do with inflation?

Sometimes I think that the oil companies should all do away with the various symbols under which they gouge us and break out the black flag: the one that bears a skull and cross bones.

Robert Karger

Loss of two friends

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
Frank Inman, 73, and Florence Anderson, 75, husband and sister of Mary Inman, died Sept. 25 and 26, respectively, in Long Beach.

Frank, a worker for socialism since 1910, was paralyzed by a stroke Dec. 23, 1953, but he managed to read a book a day, although blind in the left eye and with a cataract over the right one, by the aid of a powerful reading glass. He also read a morning daily paper and several weeklies, including the GUARDIAN.

Florence, an Oklahoma school teacher, ran on the Socialist ticket in 1912 for State Director of Education.

Leo Gallagher

Letter from Leningrad

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Last summer in Leningrad, Russians often stopped American visitors, of whom I was one, to ask questions about the U.S. Since I speak Russian, I sometimes had as many as 200 in my "lecture" audiences outside the Astoria Hotel. Among them was a young man who worked in an optical factory, a graduate in engineering, who later showed me around the city and invited me to his modern two-room apartment to meet his mother and stepfather who were "honored" to entertain an American visitor. We have corresponded since, and I thought my fellow GUARDIAN readers would like to share this letter from him written during Premier Khrushchev's visit to America. Excerpts of this letter follow:

"In all circles of my friends and comrades at work there is a feeling of great excitement and joy. In these days wherever one finds oneself (I would very much wish that you were in our country to experience these historic days) you hear the words rocket and moon. We speak and argue a great deal and at the end of our discussions come to

no decision about the relative successes of our science and science in America. I myself am very proud of the achievements of our intellectuals but American scientific circles will not want to remain surpassed by the Russians and somewhere on the moon together with our missile will soon be found the missile of the U.S.A.

"On the visit of N. K. Khrushchev to your great country our population places very great hopes. Our newspapers have spread widely news of the arrival of Khrushchev in the U.S.A. and the radio has already several times transmitted broadcasts from Washington. I believe that many changes in the relations in our countries will now take place and all for the better. You personally have experienced the attitude of our public to Americans during the time of your travels here.

"Better to shoot at the moon and see the results of our efforts than to shoot at each other and in the final account see nothing. When Dwight Eisenhower will come to the U.S.S.R. he will find in our people only love for the American people and the desire to live in peace. He will see and will understand that we Russians, like the Americans, have absolutely no need for a cold war or of any other kind of a war."

V. H.



Soviet Weekly, London
"Let's go—I'm sure we've seen the game before!"

Gift to China

LONDON, ENG.
GUARDIAN readers last week saw the photograph of a magnificent more-than-life-size head of Dr. Du Bois, modeled by the British sculptor, Lawrence Bradshaw, whose head of Karl Marx over the grave in Highgate Cemetery is familiar to thousands all over the world.

Friends of Dr. Du Bois in London conceived the idea that the bust should be cast in bronze and presented to the Chinese people, as a gift from American friends of China. Mr. Bradshaw has generously agreed to donate his work, but the cost of the bronze will be about \$300.

A number of donations of \$3 each have already been made. I know that many GUARDIAN readers will want to join in making this gift to China. If just 70 more Americans will send me \$3 immediately on reading this, we shall be able to make a uniquely appropriate tribute to the Chinese People's Republic for its 10th anniversary.

Cedric Belfrage
16 Talbot Square W 2

Happy 77th

WINNETKA, ILL.
The time came again (Oct. 9) when we celebrated the 77th birthday of the wonderful gal. about whom we write you every year. Naturally, it still holds true more than ever—that the best present we can give her is a present to you. [Enclosed.] We look forward to continuing this custom for many, many years.
"Friends of your friend"

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc.,
197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.
Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

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Vol. 12, No. 3



November 2, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

The unquenchables

SENIOR CITIZENS are among our best correspondents, both to the Mailbag and to the news columns of the GUARDIAN. This week's Report to Readers is a kind of double-duty bouquet: a compliment to our unquenchable oldtimers who go places and do things; and a cluster of reports on some of their doings.

Jeannette Turner, for example, ardently devoted to the work of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, is currently visiting in Sweden (having already caught the ears of British and French journalists on the importance of the ACPFB's petition to the United Nations in behalf of a new deal for Mexican migrant workers in the U.S.) From Stockholm she writes:

"There was a knock at my hotel door this morning. The walls are thin. A lady stood at the door. She said, 'Forgive me—I've been away from home a rather long time and when I heard an American voice in the next room—I was speaking on the phone—I couldn't refrain from knocking.' So we visited, and believe it or not this lady was a GUARDIAN reader from Los Angeles. What a small world!"

And, as a memento of her travels, Jeannette mailed us a lovely print from Paris—Picasso's *Le Bouquet* (of which the GUARDIAN office already has a big stack and is selling like hot cakes through our Buying Service. What a small world!)

FROM DEADWOOD City, S.D., our one-time Iowa farmer correspondent Homer Ayres writes that he drove his team of mares in Deadwood's annual "Days of '76" parade. The mares were pretty frisky, being worked only about once a year, and almost pranced on the toes of the tourists along the line of march. Homer says: "I told the tourists my mares had a complex developed when bad Jack McCall shot good Wild Bill in Saloon No. 10—as the mares were hitched out in front that day.

"Along with the French explorers, cowboys, miners, Calamity Jane and Gold Diggers without Picks and Shovels, came an old hack with the great Karl Mundt. I had a load of Indians and as Karl's outfit passed mine as the parade turned around, Karl looked over and said, 'How Cola.' The Indians said, 'How.'
"I said nuthin."

FROM SAUGUS, Calif., oldtimer John W. Hoffman wrote to oldtimers Ike and Christian Herter the following:

"A short time ago a high-flying plane landed in Tibet and eleven newsmen stepped out. One and only one was an American, Anna Louise Strong of California, who has spent nearly half her life in Russia and China. She is a most able journalist of long experience, has recently been living in the Chinese communes and has written a book of what she has seen.

"It is possible you might get more reliable information from her than you are now getting from Taiwan."

Friend Hoffman went on to point out to Ike and Chris that it takes six serfs to support a monk in Tibet, and that they shouldn't be surprised if the people "took the petticoats off the monks and put hoes and shovels in their hands, just to relieve the serfs for a spell."

Another reader (we can't say "oldtimer" because she hasn't told us her age) wrote to the UN Security Council also citing Anna Louise Strong's reports and adding: "It is understandable that the 'Living God' Dalai Lama and the 10,000 monks will do almost anything to get back to a life of ease and parasitic security, but should the great organization, the UNO, take it upon itself to reinstate them, and thereby condemn Tibet to remain in the Dark Ages, while the atomic age is upon its people?"

HERE IN OUR OWN BACKYARD, we inexcusably missed up on telling our readers in New York and environs about the 85th Birthday Party held Oct. 18 at the Hotel Grosvenor for A. A. Heller, a supporter of good causes for more years than most of us have lived, and in recent years a mainstay of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell. We had our announcement all written and in type, but somehow on makeup day our editorial eye wandered and the item got crowded out. Now we learn that this may have been just as well, since the Hotel Grosvenor salon in which the birthday party was held was crowded to overflowing.

All the guests were invited to contribute to a Birthday Purse, for "A.A." to dispense as he sees fit to further his life interests. GUARDIAN readers who missed out on the Birthday Party, through our lapse, may still send greetings and contributions to the Birthday Purse. These should be addressed to Jane Rogers, 56 Seventh Av., Apt. 8E, New York 11, N.Y.

THE GUARDIAN

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LAST MONDAY NOON, Harry S. Truman, the jaunty toastmaster of the washed-out Fair Deal, rolled into town from Washington. Flanked by an escort of 107 police motorcycles with sirens screaming, he rode from Pennsylvania Station across to the East River. There, by virtue of his high office, he dedicated the permanent headquarters of the United Nations.

He said benediction over a Charter whose principles he had long ago abandoned. This man who has given his name—forever—to a Doctrine that is murdering men, women and children to preserve a decaying order, spoke pious words of peace, of his faith in the "center of man's hopes for peace and a better life."

He spoke not one word about Franklin D. Roosevelt and the spirit of Franklin Roosevelt was not with him. Nobody—but nobody—at the dedication mentioned the name of Roosevelt, one of the main architects of the United Nations. And as she sat quietly and listened to the orators, Eleanor Roosevelt might have wondered whether the spirit of her husband was alive.

—The National Guardian, October 31, 1949.

ABOLITION CAMPAIGN TO BE EXPANDED

Investigators draw yawns in Los Angeles

By Louis E. Burnham

FOR THE THIRD time in 13 months the House Committee on Un-American Activities invaded Los Angeles on Oct. 20 and 21. Three of 40 witnesses turned out to be informers who had spent 14 or 15 years posing as Communists for the FBI. Another, a former CP member, renounced his earlier beliefs but declined to identify his ex-colleagues. The rest refused to give the committee anything more than their names and addresses.

With the exception of the Los Angeles Times, the press, radio and TV reaction to the hearings was a bored yawn. Observers felt the committee had fallen far short of its political objectives. They saw its target as two-fold: (1) to bolster the fading political fortunes of committee member Donald Jackson (R.-Calif.), from whose 16th C.D. 35 of the witnesses were drawn, and (2) to recoup committee prestige which had been waning since the Aug. 21 cancellation of three-scheduled hearings involving 110 California teachers.

When, in the face of unprecedented pressure, committee chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) announced cancellation of these hearings, he offered to turn over to California education officials "such information" from the committee's files "as can be done without jeopardizing security." The American Civil Liberties Union of Los Angeles promptly filed an injunction suit to prevent the threatened action, but on Aug. 31, before the suit could be heard, a committee investigator handed State Superintendent of Public Instruction Roy Simpson the "files" on 93 teachers.

THREAT TO RETURN: This prompted the filing of seven additional suits to prevent the files from being forwarded to or used by local Boards of Education. Four of the cases are now awaiting hearings in the Federal and state Superior courts, and on Sept. 18 California Atty. Gen. Stanley Mosk urged that "no legal or administrative bodies in any of the counties take any irrevocable action regarding teachers while court cases are pending."

Apparently disappointed by the Californians' concern for due process, Chairman Walter threatened on Sept. 22 to reopen the canceled hearings "if responsible authorities in California 'pigeonhole' or in any other manner attempt to suppress committee findings on Communist activities."

Meanwhile, the teachers scored another victory in the case of Ruth Bishop, one of the subpoenaed teachers who had responded to a process server by flinging the subpoena and a broom to the floor of her porch. Indicted on three counts for using "force and violence" against the process server, Miss Bishop was found guilty by a Long Beach jury after a four-and-a-half day trial. She elected to pay a "substantial" fine rather than serve 60 days in jail.

WHAT'S LEFT? On the evening of the day Miss Bishop was sentenced, the local school board met and voted to retain her services. One observer noted that "an outstanding teacher is retained in the profession and the HUAC has received



Bastian, San Francisco Chronicle

its first real setback. For if they can no longer bully and intimidate employers into firing people, what is there left for them?"

In other parts of the state, however, school officials were being pressured to play the House Committee's game. On Sept. 29 the San Mateo County District Attorney met with all the Board of Education chairmen and school superintendents in the county to arrange for turning over the files and possibly summoning five affected teachers for questioning under the state's Dilworth Act.

Main coordinator of the campaign to defend the teachers' rights has been the

Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, headed by Dorothy Marshall, chairman, and Frank Wilkinson, secretary. While pledging continued support to teachers who may be involved in the aftermath of the canceled Congressional hearings, the Citizens Committee met on Sept. 28 to consider steps in a continuing campaign to eliminate the probers as a committee of Congress.

RECOMMENDATIONS: If adopted by civil liberties groups throughout the country, the Committee's recommendations could result in a major nation-wide effort. They covered the following areas:

• **Literature:** The Committee pro-

posed publishing for popular distribution "The California Story," a pamphlet illustrating how the HUAC was effectively countered by outraged public opinion. Another pamphlet, "The First Amendment Cases," would popularize the facts surrounding the 30 defendants now facing jail or trial for defiance of Congressional committees on First Amendment grounds. A committee of lawyers would be called upon to prepare "A Legal Indictment of the House Committee on Un-American Activities," a historical summary of the probers' violations of the Constitutional rights of individual citizens.

• **Lobbying:** The Committee proposed community delegations to Congressmen while they are at home during October and November. Listed among the things Congressmen may be urged to do were: (1) introduce a resolution to abolish the House Committee; (2) speak on the House floor against the committee or its methods; (3) introduce a resolution of censure; (4) vote and speak against additional appropriations for the committee in January, 1960; (5) place in the Congressional Record editorials, speeches and other material critical of the committee.

• **Washington, D.C., Office:** The Committee urged establishment of an abolition office in Washington to coordinate activities nationally and maintain constant contact with Congressmen. It also urged that Washington headquarters of unions and civil liberties organizations be urged to step up their activities to curb or eliminate the committee.

• **The 1960 Elections:** Political action proposals included calling on candidates to include elimination of the committee in their platforms, placing the issue before political clubs and parties, and encouraging campaigns against members of the Un-American Activities Committee and its leading supporters in the House.

The Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom has called for widespread discussion of these proposals by civil liberties groups throughout the country. It also welcomes additional suggestions and requests for information and material on the abolition campaign. The CCPAF's address is 617 N. Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 4, Calif.

UNION BRANDS IT UNCONSTITUTIONAL

ILWU refuses to comply with part of new labor law

By Lawrence Emery

THE INDEPENDENT West Coast Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union last week announced a policy of non-compliance with a section of the new Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin labor "reform" act on the ground that it is unconstitutional. The ILWU is the only union in the country to challenge the law.

The union's action was in response to a telegram to ILWU president Harry Bridges from Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell on Oct. 1 giving him ten days to comply with Section 504 of the new law. This section requires the listing of all union officers or employees ("except in clerical or custodial positions") who within the past five years were members of the Communist Party or who were convicted and imprisoned for a long list of crimes, including murder and rape.

The union's attorneys—Gladstein, Andersen, Leonard & Sibbett—replied to Mitchell on Oct. 9 that they not only hold the section to be unconstitutional but that it "is so vague and indefinite as to be meaningless." They told him they had advised their client to "respectfully decline to comply with your 'request'."

WHO AND WHAT? The lawyers said they were unable "to find anything in Section 504 . . . which imposes upon him [Bridges] any affirmative duty to undertake the various investigations which might be necessary in order to obtain the information to which your telegram refers."

Of the two categories of prescribed persons—communists and convicts—the lawyers asked: "To which Communist Party does the Act refer? The Stalinists? The Trotskyists? The Workers Party? Or

what? Are you requesting Mr. Bridges to examine the criminal court records throughout the United States so that he may advise you of the status of an indeterminate number of officers and employees?"

Their reply concluded: "We do not believe that the law calls upon Mr. Bridges to undertake any such burdensome and oppressive inquisition for which there are no standards of guidance or evaluation, and we have so advised him. We cannot lightly assume that the Supreme Court would sustain a law so vague, uncertain and indefinite."

Failure to comply with Section 504, as the law now stands, is a criminal offense punishable by fine or imprisonment or both.

A FINISH FIGHT: In addition to defying Section 504 and thus inviting a court test of its legality, the ILWU plans to contest the law in its entirety. A resolution adopted by a recent convention of the union's Hawaii local said: "We recognize this law as a weapon forged for the enemies of labor and we will fight in the courts and in every other way we can to resist this threat to our constitutional right to freely speak and assemble, to petition for redress of grievances, and to help one another."

The resolution noted that "the law will weaken and divide labor and undermine its bargaining position with management. This is an outcome which the ILWU clearly foresaw and warned against from the time the AFL-CIO leadership and the McClellan committee first began to lay the groundwork for union-curling legislation." It charged that "the responsibility for this disaster rests squarely on

George Meany, Walter Reuther, and their fellow leaders in AFL-CIO who are entrusted with protecting the interests of 12,000,000 union members."

MEANY JUMPS IN: The resolution also noted that "no sooner had the law given power to Secy. of Labor Mitchell to apply to the courts to remove union officers than Meany told a press conference that 'labor's enemy number one' was Jimmy Hoffa [president of the expelled Teamster's Union]. A disaster to all labor was seen by Meany first as an opportunity to knife a fellow labor official, rather than a challenge to re-think and to unite and fight the real enemies of labor's advancement."

In an analysis of other sections of the new law, the ILWU paper, *The Dispatcher*, made these points:

• "Witch-hunts become built into the new law by legal sanction . . . The combination of the provisions of the Act dealing with Reporting, Elections and Safeguards is to reduce unions to second-class citizenship.

• "The Act is written to do everything possible to drive a wedge between the members and the leadership of a union, while at the same time it sets up an informer's holiday by granting immunity to stoolpigeons who can harass a union without fear of retaliation or rebuke by the membership."

• The election rules of the Act "were written to supersede a union's own practices and procedures. Thus failure by a union to comply with these rules, even a technical non-compliance, could permit any member to institute a hearing and set an election aside. Unions could be kept in a turmoil under this provision."

Guests of Honor at the
GUARDIAN'S
11th Anniversary
Dinner
Harry Bridges
Truman Nelson
Charles P. Howard
WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 18
New York City

MEMBERSHIP DOWN, DUES UP

UAW 'adjusts' to new labor law; bars Negro in top post

THE WELL-OILED machine with which Walter P. Reuther runs the United Auto Workers is not unlike the cars the union's members turn out in the plants. It looks good in the showroom, its horn blows loud and its lines are sleek, but in the long haul it breaks down in performance.

The auto union went into convention in Atlantic City, Oct. 9-16, with a \$1,000,000 deficit, a shrinking membership, a new "labor reform" law over its head and the prospect that if the steel union was beaten in its strike, auto workers could look forward to few contract gains in 1961. But any hope that the union leadership would offer fresh ideas and initiative to lift the union, and labor generally, out of the doldrums was quickly dispelled.

To open the convention Reuther offered a massive report filled with militant-sounding declarations on all issues. But all attempts from the floor to transform Reuther's words into an action program were quickly squelched by the union brass. For the most part the convention was spiritless and whatever Reuther wanted, Reuther got.

DUES UP: To build up the union's strike fund, the administration pushed through a dues increase from \$3 to \$5 a month. Some delegates said the proposal came on too-short notice: they proposed a membership referendum. Others said they would approve the increase only if the funds were earmarked for a specific project such as an organizing campaign. But Reuther said he wanted a \$40,000,000 strike fund to strengthen his hand when he enters negotiations with the auto manufacturers in 1961. In the final vote, the proposal passed with an overwhelming majority.

The only reference from the platform to the union's loss of membership came from Secy.-Treasurer Emil Mazey in his report on finances. He said that union dues-payers had dropped 300,000 since 1957 to 1,143,707. Reuther said there was a need to organize 150,000 to 300,000 white collar workers into the union, but he offered no concrete plan.

From the floor, delegates pointed out that increasing mechanization in the plants had permanently displaced thousands of workers. They wanted a 30-hour week at no loss in pay as the Number One plank in the union's bargaining program. But the administration countered with a resolution "reaffirming" the union's position that a shorter work week was "a major collective bargaining goal."

ADJUSTS TO LAW: The convention also reaffirmed the union's dedication to political action, particularly in light of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin labor "reform" law. But there was no suggestion that the union would work for the law's repeal. Instead, a number of constitutional amendments were passed to bring the union in line with the law's provisions.

Also, one of the law's sponsors, Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.), was invited to speak at the convention. He told the delegates he was proud of his accomplishments in Congress. "I do not apologize to members of organized labor or to members of the public for my record in recent days, months and years," he said.

Senators Stuart Symington (D-Mo.) and Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) also proclaimed their pro-labor stand to the delegates. Vice President Nixon and New York's Republican Governor Nelson Rockefeller declined their invitations; each claimed a "previous engagement."

The convention's only genuine debate began at a pre-convention meeting of the Reuther caucus. During a discussion of the nomination of officers, Robert Battles, a Negro and long-time Reuther supporter in Ford Local 600, suggested that a Negro be included in the slate. He pointed out that although the issue has been raised periodically for 16 years, no Negro has ever been on the administration ticket.

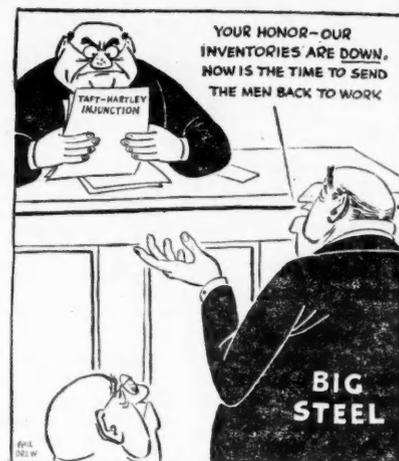
THE PROBLEM: Reuther answered: "The Negroes have a problem. I realize that Negroes are on the march all over the world. Unfortunately America is not ready to face the problem and the UAW is part of America."

The caucus nominated all the incumbents. Without an organized opposition, nomination by the Reuther caucus is tantamount to election. But on the convention floor, Horace Sheffield, a Negro official, nominated Battles for one of the four vice presidencies. Willoughby Abner, a Negro, was also nominated from the floor.

Sheffield said: "Both I and the man I am about to nominate belonged to the caucus of Brother Reuther since its inception. We stand one thousand percent with the administration of this union... The UAW has done a fine job insisting on Negroes in political office at all state and local levels. But liberals ask, why isn't the UAW doing in its own organization what we proposed to do elsewhere?"

SIXTEEN YEARS: He went on to recall the 1943 convention where the issue was first raised and rejected as "jimcrow in reverse." He added: "In the 1943 convention I led the fight against election of a Negro to top office. We were told 16 years ago the problem would be met. Sixteen years are gone and nothing has been done. Negroes are sick and tired to see the matter of qualification raised only when Negroes are considered for positions. It is not necessary to be a Rhodes scholar to sit on the executive board."

When Sheffield's speech received a cool reception, the Negro candidates withdrew. They said they didn't want to run a "token campaign" with only support



Phil Drew, The Dispatcher
Ike is misled

from other Negroes and a few white anti-Reutherites.

But the civil rights issue continued to plague the union brass. At the closing session, when only a few hundred of the 2,500 delegates were left in the hall, Reuther introduced a resolution calling for new civil rights legislation to empower the Attorney General to act on his own initiative "to insure every citizen equal protection of the laws." But as the resolution was being read, Battles led 45 Negro delegates out of the hall. He said that Reuther had promised to introduce the resolution earlier in the convention. To leave it as the last order of business before a near-empty hall, he added, was "a slap in the face."

If the Negroes' opposition put a dent in Reuther's fender, few seemed to notice it. His slate was re-elected by acclamation and a 3% annual wage increase for three consecutive years was approved for union officers. The convention made it seem that Reuther's machine can run on air alone, but all the signs and portents suggest that when negotiations begin in 1961, someone had better charge the battery.

The steel story

(Continued from Page 1)

er, a former college football hero.

When negotiations opened in May, 1959, the industry's planning began to pay off. Ads—which it had placed beginning in January in 430 papers—said that wage increases were responsible for high prices. The pitch seemed to be effective. Even some rank-and-file steel workers were questioning the union's wage demands. In Washington, President Eisenhower said he would keep hands off, but he asked both sides to avoid an "inflationary settlement."

STRIKE IS CALLED: At the table, Cooper told union president David J. McDonald there would be no wage increases. He said the companies wanted greater control over local working conditions to regulate work crews, set incentive rates and control seniority rights in order to eliminate "waste and inefficiency."

McDonald rejected the demands and, as the companies anticipated, the union called a strike on July 15. Negotiations continued in vain through the summer. The union pared its demands sharply but industry countered with a token wage offer and continued insistence on work rule changes.

By the first week in October stockpiles had dwindled and customers were clamoring for steel. As the industry had expected, President Eisenhower invoked the Taft-Hartley law on Oct. 9 and set up a board of inquiry to determine if there were a "danger to the national health and safety."

RANKS ARE CLOSED: As the board began its hearings, mistakes in industry strategy began to be apparent. Its insistence on work rule changes had rallied the strikers. While rank-and-file steel workers might have been induced to accept a moderate wage settlement, they knew that rules changes would mean loss of jobs. They closed ranks around



NOT A CUBAN BARBUDO, BUT A U.S. STEEL STRIKER
Frank Markovich of Pittsburgh won't shave till the strike's settled

the union slogan: "The job you save may be your own."

At the hearings company officials admitted they already had wide latitude in introducing labor-saving machinery. They could not name a single instance of "waste and inefficiency."

Negotiations continued during the hearings and both sides gave a little, but on Oct. 19 the board reported to President Eisenhower that a settlement was not in sight and recommended an injunction.

On Oct. 21 Federal District Judge Herbert P. Sorg granted an injunction halting the strike for 80 days. The union immediately appealed to the three-judge Court of Appeals. It said the government had not proved a threat to the "national health and safety" and that, in any event,

the emergency provisions of the Taft-Hartley law were unconstitutional. The lower court injunction was stayed pending a ruling by the Appeals Court.

KAISER'S POSITION: Meanwhile the industry's united front began to crumble. Kaiser Steel revealed that it had been negotiating privately with the union and was ready to accept its latest offer. But on Oct. 18 Roger M. Blough, head of U.S. Steel, and Arthur Homer, head of Bethlehem Steel, met with Edgar F. Kaiser and urged him not to sign. He agreed to stay in line for the time being but, he added, if the workers were not back in the mills by 6:30 p.m., Oct. 25, he would resume his talks with the union.

On Oct. 25 the strike was still on as the Appeals Court deliberated: its decision was not due till Oct. 27. But what-

ever the court's decision, the losing side would appeal it to the Supreme Court and a stay of the injunction was likely until the High Court ruled. In this situation, Kaiser announced he was ready to sign with the union.

READY TO SETTLE: Kaiser is a relative newcomer to the steel industry. The vast industrial empire owned by the Kaiser family is based in aluminum. Here they also deal with the United Steel Workers and for years both sides have boasted of ideal rapport. Neither Kaiser Aluminum nor Kaiser Steel had ever been struck. This year the company did not want to join the industry negotiating committee because it felt it could do better bargaining alone. But after McDonald convinced Kaiser that he could be a good influence on the committee, he joined.

The Kaiser settlement called for a two-year contract including total benefits of about 22½¢ an hour. It made no change in work rules, but it set up a labor-management-public committee to work out a long-range formula to distribute equitably the benefits of improved technology.

While the courts deliberated the injunction, the union met separately with each company. U.S. Steel and other industry giants held firm, but there were reports that two smaller companies, Jones & Laughlin and Wheeling Steel were ready to accept the Kaiser formula.

MEANING OF A VICTORY: If the union can make sizable inroads in the industry's united front, it will have won a victory. It would be impossible to claim a national emergency if some of the mills were working; and even the industry giants could not hold out alone.

A victory for the steel union would be a tremendous morale builder for all labor. But there is the traditional danger that victories won on the picket line will be taken away in Washington. There are persistent reports that the steel strike will be used for further anti-labor legislation when Congress reopens in January.

A RELAXED NATION VOTES NOV. 3

A quiet election in Israel; Left has no dramatic issue



PALM FRONDS TO MARK THE WANDERING AFTER THE EXODUS
A scene in Tel Aviv in preparation for the Succoth holiday

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV
GENERAL ELECTIONS here, to be held Nov. 3, have produced little pre-election excitement. Israelis have seldom seemed so little concerned with their present discontents with either national or international issues.

Part of this is undoubtedly due to the generally prevailing holiday mood; the major Jewish holidays fell this year in October, from the New Year on Oct. 2 right through the month ending with the joyful Simcha Torah on the 24th.

While posters are beginning to appear in increasing numbers, election rallies are still rare. The excitement of last summer over the arms sale to Western Germany seems to have died quietly. A second issue which had been expected to figure prominently in the election campaign—the position of the Oriental, or so-called “black Jews”—has all but disappeared. Long a smoldering political

problem which produced riots in Haifa, Beersheba and elsewhere some two months ago, all parties today are disowning any kind of discrimination by running “Oriental” candidates high up on their lists.

BRITISH COMFORT: The government has taken considerable comfort from the recent British election results, seeing in them proof that a “wise electorate” won’t change horses in mid-stream. While the leading government party, Mapai, claims to be theoretically a socialist party, it has, since the creation of the state, been the party in power and argues that it should be left in power to continue its job. The Right, on the other hand, both the General Zionists—the businessman’s party—and Herut, heir and successor to revisionist chauvinism and pre-statehood terrorism, happily point to Britain’s trend toward Toryism, hoping for similar developments here.

There is little doubt that Mapai, hold-

ing power, privilege and patronage, will again emerge as the leading party. In addition, for the first time since 1948 Mapai has developed a “new look” by grooming for office prominent younger leaders like Abba Eban—slated for the Foreign Office—and Moshe Dayan, hero of the Sinai Campaign, thus no longer relying exclusively on the glamor of its Grand Old Man, David Ben-Gurion. None of the other parties, and this applies particularly to the Left, have developed any similar new talent. The country’s youth which has come of voting age since 1949 will very likely be more impressed by the New Faces in Mapai than by the old familiar ones in other parties.

NO DRAMATIC ISSUE: The Left in general is fighting a rear-guard action, mainly on the economic front. It attacks the high and still rising cost of living, worries about the rumored devaluation of the pound, and pin-points the growing corruption in high places (any party in power for 11 years becomes a natural and inevitable target for such charges). It also fights Ben-Gurion on an election reform which his new government is pledged to introduce; it would abolish proportional representation in favor of constituency votes, thus automatically eliminating most of Israel’s minority parties. What the Left lacks is one dramatic issue to rally the opposition.

With all parties rushing to the defense of the Oriental Jews, the have-nots of the nation; with the position of

the Arab minority somewhat improved; with the shops better stocked than at any time since the foundation of the state; with comparative peace and quiet on the borders; and with no burning international issue on which to focus attention, the Left must rely on bread-and-butter issues while the majority want at least bread and circuses.

SENSE OF WELL-BEING: And circuses are more easily provided by the demagogic Right, promising lower taxes, higher profits and greater free enterprise. Moreover, Herut, with its dream of imperialistic grandeur, caters to the yearnings of the dissatisfied middle-class, the dead-end kids, the teddy-boys, and all of Israel’s angry young men. Ben-Gurion has repeatedly stressed his distaste for a renewed left-wing coalition, so that the floating votes may be expected to drift toward the minor right-wing parties to be with the “ins” rather than the “outs.”

And yet, beyond all the bickering and all the storms in the various tea-cups, one fact stands out clearly: Never has any election in the history of this country been fought in such an atmosphere of over-all well-being—a sense of well-being that cannot be attributed to any local factor, but can only be explained by the world-wide relaxation of tension which has come as a result of the thaw in Great Power relations, a universal sedative which is beginning to make itself felt even in the troubled Middle East.

RALLY FOR 30 VICTIMS NOV. 5 IN N.Y.

Seeger contempt trial postponed

FOUR YEARS AGO folk-singer Peter Seeger appeared before a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and refused to answer questions about the audiences to which he sang his songs. On Oct. 26 Judge David Edelstein, sitting in the Federal District Court at New York’s Foley Square, put off for four days the fixing of a trial date in the contempt-of-Congress case brought against Seeger by the government.

The judge’s action was in response to a request by Paul L. Ross, Seeger’s attorney, for more time to serve a subpoena on Committee chairman, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.). Walter had proved an elusive target. Ross stated in an affidavit that he had telephoned the Congressman’s office and was told that “he was not there, that they didn’t know where he was and didn’t expect to hear from him.” He promised “diligent efforts” to reach Walter before the Oct. 30 hearing.

MASS RALLY: Meanwhile, a new civil liberties group, the Committee of First Amendment Defendants, scheduled a mass meeting to support 30 defendants who face jail or trials because of their resort to the Amendment in appearances before investigating committees. Lloyd Barenblatt, the educator sentenced to six months, and Dr. Willard Uphaus, peace leader condemned to an indeterminate sentence, will be the principal speakers.

Guest speakers will include Ernest Mazey, United Automobile Workers official, TV and movie writer Ring Lardner Jr., journalist I. F. Stone and pacifist leader Stewart Meacham. In addition to Seeger, the following First Amendment defendants whose cases are pending will appear: Carl Braden, Chandler Davis, Herman Liveright, Harvey O’Connor and William Price.

The meeting will be held at the New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., on Thursday, Nov. 5, at 8 p.m. Admission is \$1.

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How the De Gaulle regime censored news of the coup



The original photo caption (l.) had Gen. Lecomte's name; the censored version (r.) kept the caption but took the general's face and name out of the picture.

By Cedric Belfrage
Special to the Guardian

LONDON

AT THE END of another week of political melodrama, French army brass emerged red-faced from the latest attempt to keep military plotting out of the press. After left-wing Senator and ex-Minister Mitterrand was shot at in a Paris street, the entire issues of the progressive weeklies *Express* and *France-Observateur* were confiscated because certain generals "interested" in plotting against the government were named. Twenty-four hours later the *Express* reappeared in a censored version, with white spaces in the text and the figure-outlines painted out in two portraits of generals who had been mentioned.

Unfortunately for the army, some copies of the original issue had already been sent to subscribers abroad. To the *GUARDIAN* came both the original and the censored versions.

The portraits were of Gens. Jean Lecomte and Jacques Massu. The article with the Massu picture, a report on the army's mounting frustration from Algiers correspondent Claude Krief, said that the civilian "ultras" in Algeria, having "lost control of operations," were "awaiting a 'green light' which does not depend on them, and know they would be sacrificed if they tried to take the initiative themselves." The original picture caption read: "Gen. Massu—on whom does the green light depend?" Under the painted-out picture the caption read simply: "Order will be maintained."

The editorial by J. J. Servan-Schreiber accompanying the Lecomte picture referred by name to Gens. Jacques aure, Lecomte and Henri Mirambeau. In the cen-



The caption under the original *Express* picture (l.) read: "Gen. Massu—on whom does the green light depend?" The censored caption (r.) read: "Order will be maintained"

sored version not only had all references to "generals" been removed even where no names were given, but also a reference to the number of "dead bodies" from the past which were said to bind the plotters together.

Servan-Schreiber wrote that "the little revolt prepared for last week" had failed, and the government had been consolidated, but only at the price of a firm agreement with the General Staff. "The bitterness or anger of the 'ultra' groups," he added, "can only burst forth if the army is ready to support them. But it has shown that it was not ready and that the plotting generals were still isolated."

The main point made is that "the affairs of the country are not being negotiated between the government and public opinion but between the government and the army. Both are amassing trump cards, gathering forces, to get the advantage and win the decision. The army cannot mount an assault in the metropolis; the government does not want to risk putting a light to the powderkeg in Algeria."

In a P.S. to his censored editorial, Servan-Schreiber reported the action taken by the censoring authority at the General Staff's request, and noted: "Our readers will appreciate the immediate confirmation thus given to our reports and to our analysis of the structure of the regime."

Algeria plot fails

(Continued from Page 1)

circulate. The first named a dozen or more political leaders, newspapermen and lawyers "condemned to death" by the "ultras." The second listed those who would replace the members of the Debre Cabinet. It was to be headed by the ultra-reactionary former MRP Premier Georges Bidault and included several anti-Gaullist generals.

OMINOUS RUMORS: Melodramatic and gory prophecies were made in the Assembly lobbies. One UNR deputy predicted "400 deaths for tonight"; another non-chantly toyed with his gun and Bidault himself was heard to say that a terrible blood bath was imminent.

Ray Lev concert Nov. 2

PIANIST RAY LEV in her annual Carnegie Hall concert Monday eve., Nov. 2, will play an all-classical program: Shubert's Klavierstueck in E Flat Major; Mozart's Sonata in F Major, K533 and K494; Liszt's Sonata in B Minor; Brahms' Klavierstuecke Op. 76; and Chopin's Scherzo in B Minor Op. 20 No. 1. Tickets are \$3.60 to \$1.20 at the Carnegie box office or at Steinway Hall in New York.

Miss Lev's program announcement this year is printed on the reverse of a 9x12 in. reproduction of Raoul Dufy's painting, *Chamber Music*.

On Oct. 15, a few hours before the Assembly, by a comfortable majority, voted in favor of de Gaulle's Algerian proposal as presented by Debre, UNR deputy Lucien Neuwirth made a spine-chilling announcement. He warned that "commandos of killers have crossed the Spanish border" and that "the men to be slain have already been picked." A leader of the May, 1958, Public Safety Committee (organized to maintain French control of Algeria) but now an unconditional Gaullist, Neuwirth added that he had himself received death threats.

That same night seven bullets were fired into the car of Mitterrand, next to Pierre Mendes-France the most prominent non-CP anti-Gaullist. He had noticed that he was being followed and slipped out of his car a split second before the shots were fired, and hurried a fence of a municipal park and hidden in the dark.

POLITICOS AND KILLERS: Next morning, police searched the Paris and provincial headquarters of the "ultra" organizations and homes of its members. They made no arrests and said they found nothing noteworthy.

The plot involved political personalities as well as plain killers with experience in Morocco where, in June, 1955, the Casablanca industrialist and newspaper owner Jacques Lemaigre-Dubreuil, who favored a negotiated settlement with the Moroccans, was assassinated. There also in April, 1956, Mendes-France's life was

threatened. It was apparently not easy to catch the killers without compromising the politicians.

Why did the plot fail? Primarily because the French Army in Algiers—either because it interpreted de Gaulle's offer of Algerian "self-determination" to suit itself, or because it had received certain assurances from Paris—remained aloof. But will the army maintain the same attitude if and when de Gaulle takes further steps towards an Algerian solution? The answer to this question will determine whether the mid-October plot was an amateurish coup nipped in the bud or the first inconclusive chapter in a tale that is far from finished.

VULNERABLE REGIME: In any case, the plot that failed revealed some of the new regime's most dangerous weaknesses which, in spite of appearances to the contrary, make the Fifth Republic more vulnerable than the Fourth ever was. *Le Monde* noted regretfully that among the plotters against the regime were "men whose participation in the events of May, 1958, [which brought de Gaulle to power] still gives them certain immunity."

It asked whether the government "will wait for a new May 13" before attacking the real troublemakers. The *Express*, in a heavily censored version (see above) printed the day after the edition carrying its bitter comments was confiscated, said: "Last week, the army by its refusal to participate in the insurrection, has saved the regime. In exchange, it expects that the regime will help it keep Algeria..."

Dr. Du Bois to get plaque in San Francisco Nov. 18

A PLAQUE for 50 years of service in civil rights causes will be presented to Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois when he speaks in San Francisco on Nov. 18. The noted educator will address a meeting sponsored by the Bureau of Public Affairs of the San Francisco *Sun-Reporter* on the subject, "The Iron Curtain and China."

Mrs. Du Bois, the author Shirley Graham, will also report on the couple's recent tour of Europe and China. The meeting will be held at the Third Baptist Church, 1399 McAllister St., beginning at 8 p.m. Admission will be free.

The San Francisco meeting will follow an appearance in Los Angeles on Friday, Nov. 13. There Dr. and Mrs. Du Bois will address the public forum of the First Unitarian Church, at 2936 W. 8th St. The meeting will begin at 8 p.m. Tickets, at \$1 each, may be purchased from the church office.

Oct. 30 concert in N.Y. to honor foreign born

A CONCERT commemorating the contribution of foreign born to the cultural life of New York State will be held at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th St., Friday, Oct. 30, at 8:15 p.m.

Sponsored by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the program will feature dances of many national groups, a choral group, soloists, and an exhibit of literary and art works by foreign born artists.

A SON OF SLAVES OFFERS:

A program to make the 'Free World' truly free

Dr. Mordecai Johnson was one of several non-military speakers who last June addressed the sessions of the Atlantic Congress, a consultative body which convened in connection with the meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. An outstanding Baptist minister and educator, Dr. Johnson is president of Howard University, Washington, D. C. His topic was the relationship of NATO to the underdeveloped countries. Excerpts from his remarks follow.

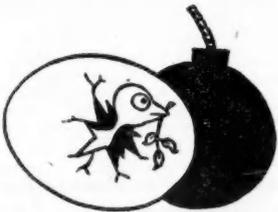
SUPPOSE one of the reasons why you have been so kindly constrained to invite me is because I am one of those under-developed peoples and you would like to hear about the world from the way it looks down under. I am indeed from among the under-developed peoples; I am the child of a slave. My father was a slave for 25 years before the emancipation; my mother was born in slavery; I have lived practically all my life on the territory of former slave States, so when you hear me talk you are dealing with the real under-developed thing. . . .

As I read all the papers that have come into my section, I find that they are all certain that the second phase of the war between the Atlantic Community and the Soviet Union has already begun, and that is the economic phase. I have always looked upon the economic purposes of the Soviet Union as their primary purposes, so that in my humble judgment we are just now beginning to confront the central and most powerful purposes of the Soviet Union and her allies. . . .

I have a feeling that . . . we are going to meet the most powerful opposition of ideas, the most vigorously intelligent handling of the economic and spiritual factors of life in a revolutionary way that any group of people in the world has faced, and we are going either to adjust ourselves to meet that onslaught of idea-power and economic organizational power with a vigorous readjustment of our lives, or we are going down and possibly lose any power to control the trend of history for years to come. But if we do meet it boldly we may be able to pursue a course of action which will not only lead to victory but which will lift our democratic life to a higher level of functioning than we have ever known before, and give us a radiant power over the lives and affections of men around this world, such as we have not had in five hundred years.

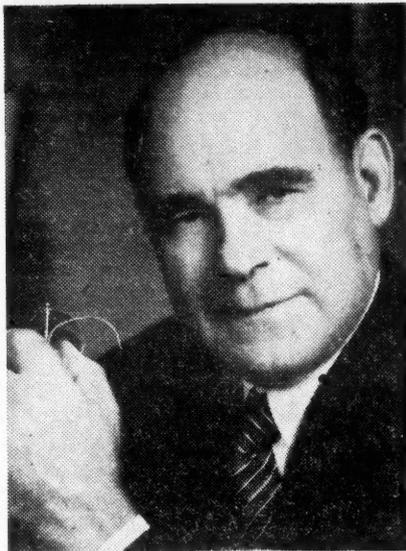
NOW IF THIS IS GOING TO happen to us I think we need to do two things that are somewhat uncongenial to us. We have got to go back and make a re-estimate of our enemy, and we have got to acquire some humility in the appraisal of ourselves. . . .

We must try to take a look at the Soviet Union through the eyes of their purest, most devoted and honorable men. When you do that you will see that at the central part of the Communist movement there is a simple and great faith.



It is a faith that, with the scientific and technical intelligence which we have at our disposal in the modern world, if we put it in the hands of the right men, the struggle for existence in this world could be overcome in a world-wide way and that poverty, squalor, ignorance, disease and early death could be conquered and the foundation laid for a great society in which culture would be available to all human beings.

These men believe this with a passion that is not exceeded by any movement



DR. MORDECAI JOHNSON
He reports from "down under"

in the world except early Christianity. They are all responding to it every day and every hour with an enthusiasm which is nothing short of remarkable. On the ground of Russia and the Chinese soil they are making achievements of one kind or another which have astonished us, and they are preaching it now around the world with an evangelistic enthusiasm that is immense. This message that they have is very fittingly addressed to the under-developed peoples of the world of whom there are 1,200,000,000. . . .

The Soviet Union is saying to these people, "Here we come to you from among those who, like yourself, have suffered. We have come not to make you strong and powerful so that you could dominate, exploit and humiliate your fellows; we have come to show you how to treble and quadruple your agricultural production, to supplement your agriculture with the industries which we will show you how to establish, to lend you scientific and technical personnel, to sit down and talk with you about plans for the further development of your country, to lend you money at rates so low that you will see in an unequivocally clear manner that we are not trying to make a profit on you; and we are prepared to devote ourselves to this task for months and years solely because we believe that there is in you the power to conquer the struggle for existence in your country, and we want to have the joy of seeing you do that."

IF WE DO NOT SEE THAT in them we shall have no power to deal with them, because it is there. In pursuit of that purpose they are prepared to enter into a pure-hearted relationship with the people of Asia and Africa. Now, what do I mean by that? In spite of the fact that they do not have any metaphysics akin to our religion, they have something that is very important; they have radical, universal ethics in their relationship to the black and brown and yellow peoples of the world. . . .

Now they stand on a territory that constitutes one-fourth of the landed areas of this world. They have one-third of the population of this world, and they have now established themselves in a place where they know that we no longer have the military power to dislodge them. Eight hundred million of these 1,200,000,000 people that are under-developed are on the border of the Soviet Union and of China, so close that they have to cross no water to reach them, they can also touch their hands any time of day, and they can speak to them without a long-distance telephone.

Now let us take a look at ourselves. . . . We speak of ourselves in a highly complimentary fashion as the free peoples of the world. . . . But it takes a great

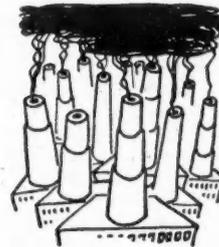
man like Toynbee to tell us that in the relationship with the people of Asia and Africa this is not so of us; that for 500 years we have been aggressors against them, we have attacked and conquered nearly all of them, we have exploited their natural resources in a manner which they consider to have been unjust. . . . They remember these things, and in this hour when they are called upon to choose between us and the Soviet Union there is in their hearts a fear of us which they cannot easily eradicate.

In the second place, we are still wounded, we are divided in our minds today by moral habits which have descended from the colonial system which we have not yet been able to overcome. Though the God of our fathers has vetoed the colonial system and closed the open gates of the world against it, we are still reluctant to turn it loose, and we may yet shame ourselves by admitting one more venture to reopen those gates.

MAY I SAY TO YOU AGAIN, we have as yet been able to put no great world-encircling concept in the place of the colonial system to which we have been devoted for some 500 years and which is now fallen. . . .

I have sat often in these meetings when we talk about what we want to do for them economically, and I have sat for a whole hour and heard us talk tactics, heard us talk self-interest, heard us saying that we must do these things in order to protect ourselves without one word of pure-hearted love for these people, without one single intimation that we are moved by a sense of obligation to do these things for them because it is a great thing to be in a position to create freedom in this world. . . .

We have a great military program, which represents the greatest power of provision planning and coordination that



we are capable of. . . . But our program of economic helpfulness is a puny vein and comes into our minds as an afterthought, never having received prolonged thought from us, prolonged affection, and robust attention. Moreover, that program is dependent today too largely upon little droplets of annual appropriations which no sensible and thoughtful man with great purpose in his heart can make any plans about. . . .

Again, there is no central organization in existence of our making which plans to use and to co-ordinate all the economic powers that we have for this purpose and to see to it that they work. I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, we are going into the fight of a determinative lifetime and we are not prepared. . . .

NOW IF THE CHAIRMAN will bear with me for a minute, I will say swiftly what I think we have got to do. The first thing we have got to do is not economic, it is religious. The first step that we must take is to put the colonial system behind us in our minds and renew our allegiance to the Christian world view, regarding the nature of human nature and the possibilities of human nature and the possibilities of a free human society in this world, based on these considerations. . . .

We have got to listen to the cries of 110,000,000 black Africans who are crying out against political domination, economic exploitation, segregation and humiliation, as if we were listening to the words of our own children. . . . We have

got that to do, and if we think that it is at all possible for us to influence the people of Asia in the way that we need to influence them without doing this, we mistake human nature and the order of this universe.

In the third place, we must accept the moral responsibility towards the people of Asia that is indissolubly connected with the enormous scientific and technical knowledge, organizational resources and constructive powers that we have, and we have got to go to them with a pure heart and say, "We have come to you not to offer you aid for the sake of your military helpfulness, not to hand you economic assistance as people put a halter on a bag of oats before a mule's mouth in order that, while you are eating the oats, we may lead you along the pathway to take up a load which otherwise, of your own free will, you would not take; but to offer men this program purely in order that they may be free in the same sense that we are free, in order that they may conquer the struggle for existence in their territory in the way that we are conquering it, and in order that they may be members with us of that great society which we have in our hearts and which we intend shall cover this world."

We ought in the next place to take this whole business out of the range of benevolence to handle the program in the central focus of our being, to accept it as an obligation not to be done with our cigar money nor with our chewing-gum money nor our cigarette money, but to be done, if necessary, with our very blood, because we cannot live in our hearts and see them suffer impoverishment the way they suffer and hold what we have and eat the bread of peace. . . .

THIS IS GOING TO COST you something. It may cost us as much as one-tenth of all the productive power of the western world. It may even come to the place where it costs us the necessity to recoil from our high standard of living substantially in order that the money thus sacrificed may be put into this program—pulling back our standard of living in order that we may lift up the standard of life all over this world, and deserve the gratitude of the men who are looking to us for leadership. I tell you that this is the program for which we were born in the world. . . .

If we do it, we will entirely transform the relations that have existed between us and the people of Africa and Asia for nearly five hundred years. We will give them hope such as they have never had in all these years, and they will know that it came from us because we loved them. It will infuse our democratic institutions with a new radiant life and put them upon a higher level than they have ever been in all their lifetime, and it will place us in a position where we can look at the Communists and say to them "Khrushchev, you miscalculated. . . ."

Now you will forgive me, will you not, for taking the Chairman's time, but I had a message for you that was so big that a stone would have burst unless it got it out of its system. Hear me now, for even in these times men like you ought to listen to a stone.

Judge Delaney to be honored at Bronx rights rally Nov. 5

THE BRONX COMMITTEE for Civil Liberties will pay tribute to Judge Hubert T. Delaney for his outstanding work in the fields of civil rights and civil liberties Thursday, Nov. 5 at 8 p.m. The meeting will be held at St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church at 165th St. and Prospect Av. in the Bronx. Donation is \$1.

Earl Robinson, composer of "The Ballad for Americans" and "The House I Live In" will also be on the program.

THE ARTIST AS HERO

An emigre painter
in today's upheavals

A PAINTER OF OUR TIME* by John Berger, art critic of the British New Statesman, painter and Marxist, is a political novel, a novel of ideas and a popular novel. It is all these because, as Berger's narrator says, it could be called a "Portrait of the Artist as an Emigre."

He tells of a Hungarian painter who came to England in the 30's as a refugee from Hitlerism. He has remained both painter and radical, not without difficulties on both counts. In these convincingly projected difficulties the book becomes that rarity, a genuine and adult novel of ideas. And, whether or not it sells as well as it should, I would call it popular especially because it carries a popular theme—the life of an artist—into the social upheavals, the politics and the struggle with ideas of our day.

The dynamic relation of the arts and artists to social change, and to politics, ideas and the man in the street, has not attracted the attention it may deserve. For example, after a century and a half as we are still straining, like a boa with an ox, to assimilate the industrial revolution, we should at least note the coincidental appearance with that revolution of the artist as the subject of the arts.

TODAY EVERYONE knows the artist as an adventurous, romantic, and even as a tragic or heroic figure, a fig-



ure which seems to be peculiarly significant for our times. The arts of earlier ages centered on the political founders and organizers, the defenders and extenders, of particular cultures. From the Sumerian hero Gilgamesh and Moses and Achilles we can call to mind succeeding leaders, martyrs, intriguers and kings as art subjects from the ancient to the recent past. But nowhere in the prehistoric, early historic, classical, feudal or early bourgeois arts (except for an occasional self-portrait in the latter) has the creator of our emotional values projected his own kind.

The artist has kept himself behind the back-drop, the song and the picture-plane until recently. The emergence and development of the emotional worker as hero, or perhaps more precisely, as social problem, does coincide in time with the birth and evolution of industrialism.

William Blake, who saw the first of "the dark satanic mills" in England, called upon the artist in the image of

the fire-breathing Old Testament prophets. Whitman in America also saw the artist as a prophet. He has appeared, in industrial times, as protagonist on canvas and in verse and has often replaced the older heroes in operas, plays, novels and even on monuments.

He is a central figure in *Ulysses* and is the first person in *Remembrances of Things Past*. He appears in Dreiser, Maugham and Joyce Cary, to mention only a few well-known workers. He continues to appear, opposite to mindless gunmen, in movies and on television.

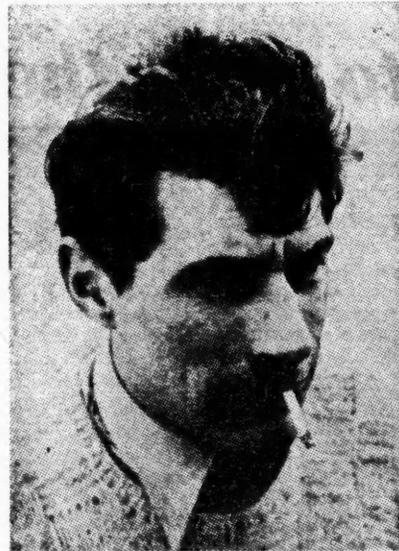
BELIEVE that this esthetic figure tells us by contrast what the industrial machine and objectively cold, ruthless, scientific efficiency, whether in the hands of the profit-seekers, the "organization man" or the bureaucrat, can do to man. And through this figure which has apparently become so relevant to our day, through the value-affirming and value-creating worker in the emotional field, and through extension to *Everyman* as an unspecialized toiler in the same field, he seems to be telling us that man must resist becoming either a commodity or a machine. He must assert that he is more than an object, more than an item on a production chart.

A real and potentially increasing dehumanization is the disease. The appearance of the artist in the arts is the classifying symptom and, perhaps, it is also a feverish counteraction pointing toward the cure.

It is certain that the artists in the industrialized West have taken the situation seriously for they have aligned themselves physically, as well as professionally, against the exploitation of man wherever there has been a going Left. From Blake through Courbet to Picasso, Leger, Robeson and O'Casey, more leading figures in this than in any comparable field have lent themselves as torch, spear or card carriers to whatever went forward. (And in the justified unrest under Stalinism in Russia, Poland and Hungary, the artist has also been in the forefront as protesting voice and as victim.)

IN HIS *Painter*, Berger restates this problem, and advances the tradition of the artist as central to it. I should point out at once that he makes the painter appear convincingly out of the printed page as a working artist. The studio toiler thinks, as a modern and quotable Delacroix or Henri might, about his job, about subject-matter, color and drawing and about making the magic of vision through a flat surface for the ever-evolving cultural eye.

With this the painter thinks, in a counter-point of muted agony, about the loss of a dear friend in Hungary. His boyhood comrade was a people's poet turned revolutionary organizer, who was accused, confessed and was shot in 1952. Was the strain of party discipline, of "the poet defending the factories," too much for him? Did he betray his cause? Or was he a victim of injustice, of the euphe-



JOHN BERGER

A question of loyalty to life

mistic "violations of socialist legality"?

The tensions of high and serious art come through to us here. The painter Janos repeatedly notices his own "stubbornness." He will stick to the truth in

paint and in politics in spite of this new misery. He has for long put up with poverty, loneliness, estrangement and obscurity, as numberless other artists in recent times have had to do. And he keeps on. Art as a source of our morality and of our morale (and I believe the broad arts are the essential source of these) is shown by the content of such a creation as this, as well as by the act of creating it. The popular approval of the artist-hero, in art as well as in life, may owe to what is, with too many of us, an almost forgotten combination of the virtues of fortitude (or "stubbornness") and honesty, such as that of painter Janos Lavin.

In an under-stated but effective climax the author's humane and philosophic depths are sounded. For the aging Janos, the obsessive question of his friend's fate is not finally one of legalistic guilt or innocence, any more than his struggle to communicate in paint was vindicated by his belated acclaim in London. For the childless old painter the real question is one of loyalty to life, to the blindly emerging future to which, in his own homeland, he quietly returns.

—Robert Joyce

*A *PAINTER OF OUR TIME*, by John Berger. Simon and Schuster, New York. \$3.50. 238 pp.

THEATRE: SUMMER OF THE 17TH DOLL

Facts of life without guilt

IT'S THUMBS UP for the Australian Ray Lawler's *Summer of the 17th Doll*, now showing at the Players Theatre, 115 MacDougal St., New York. This fine play had a short and unlucky run on Broadway two seasons ago. It is now revived with thoughtful direction and rich, intelligent acting.

The *Summer* is the long vacation, actually the layoff time, of two working stiffs, Barney and Roo, who come to a Melbourne suburb after their season in the sugar-cane fields. It is also the time of their shacking up with two girl friends with whom they have had an enchanted, if intermittent, affair for the last 16 years. The doll is a dazzling kewpie, Roo's annual gift to his girl. When the play opens, Olive is awaiting the men's arrival with impatient delight; but Barney's girl is gone—married—and has been replaced by Pearl, a cautious, tight-minded, though pretty, replacement.

Nor have things gone well with Roo. Up north, he had to give way as gang-boss to a younger, stronger man and lost face after a bitter fight with his rival, whom, ironically, he had brought on the job after firing an older worker. Having left his job and started drinking, Roo resents his pal's not quitting with him, though it is now Barney's money which must support them both.

SEVENTEEN YEARS is a long time in a worker's life. He takes many blows he does not feel at first and later pretends not to notice. His body changes, not always drastically, but nonetheless for the worse. Roo refuses to believe he has aged, and Barney will not admit he is no longer rooster of the barnyard, the boy for whom all the skirts are ready to hoist.

When things start falling apart at the seams, each man sees the other with

clear eyes, but not himself. Olive is blind to almost everything but the glory of former summers. Only her mother, sharp old lady, knows that this is the last time the two birds of paradise will fly in for the mating season.

In the end, for richer or poorer, everyone's illusions have been shattered or he has accepted the truth as far as a man can who wants to preserve both his life and his continuity. Only Olive is horrified that the past cannot go on forever, and rushes away from Roo's offer to settle down with her, that is, to cease being the firebird of her glowing dreams and generous spirit. So the doll is broken.

SAD ENDING? Yet not a sad play at all. For the old joys were real and one can still feel them in the present talk and gestures; the loyalty was always there, even when misunderstood; the love, shallow or deep, was true; and the illusions are hardly without some good reasons to bolster them. The laughter, too, is at the proper things: at self-righteousness, at gentility, at prudishness, or just for fun.

Best of all, neither the play nor anyone in it is oh so fashionably guilt-ridden. When Roo, baffled by the unhappy turn of affairs, asks the old lady, "Whose fault was it we come a cropper?" she, knowing how inexorable are the ways of time and hard work, answers, "Nobody's fault, yer melon!" The response is so refreshing, your heart will rise in your throat to hear it.

—Charles Humboldt

The revival of *Summer of the 17th Doll* is produced by Sidney Bernstein in association with The Washington Arena Stage and is directed by Alan Schneider. The cast includes Leon Janney, Rae Allen, Dana Elcar and Louise Latham.

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THE INDEPENDENT

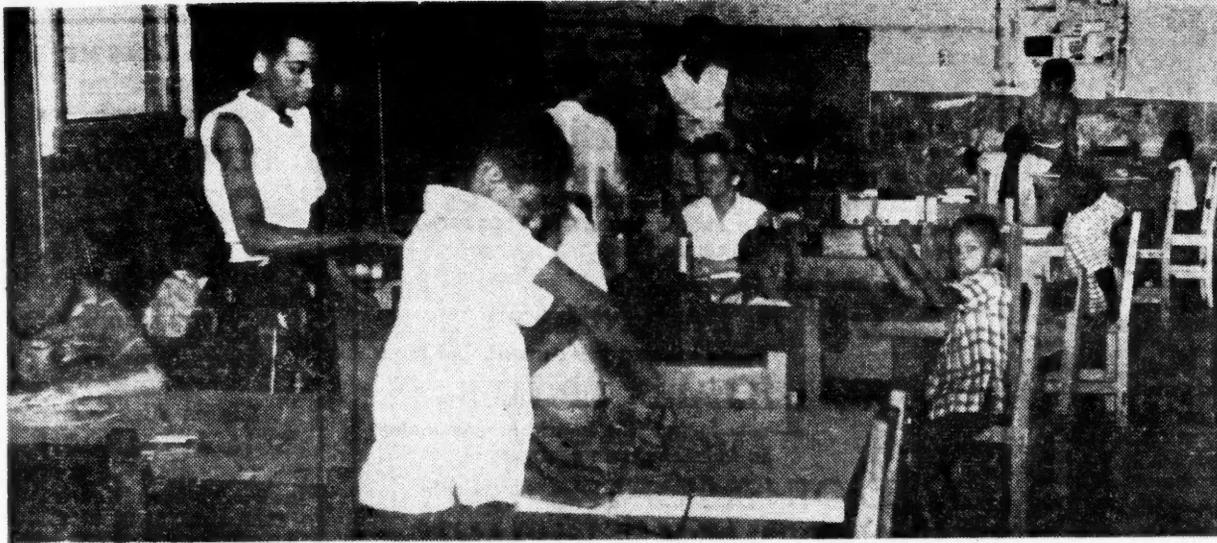
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THE INDEPENDENT

225 Lafayette Street

New York 12, N. Y.



UNDER BATISTA'S RULE, THIS WAS A DETENTION CENTER FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS
The government of Fidel Castro has turned it into a children's recreational room.

'War of nerves'

(Continued from Page 1)

duced with U. S. aid and had come out of the American procurement program.

Pressure against Castro increased sharply during the week of Oct. 19. Planes flew over Havana dropping anti-Castro leaflets signed by the turncoat Cuban Air Force Major Pedro Diaz Lanz, who last summer fled to Miami. He told the U.S. Senate Internal Security subcommittee that Castro had imposed a "Communist government" on Cuba. He was reported to have admitted to the FBI that he engineered the raids and personally flew to Havana. At the same time, bombs exploded in Havana and bullets were fired from speeding automobiles.

WHITE ROSE MOVEMENT: The Havana newspaper *Diario Nacional* charged on Oct. 20 that former Cuban police lieutenant Antolin Falcon, ex-consul general Alfredo Hernandez and Rafael Diaz-Balart were recruiting anti-Castro volunteers in New York City from headquarters in the Bronx. Diaz-Balart served Batista as Transport Minister and majority leader of the Cuban House of Representatives. His sister was married to Castro in 1948 and divorced him in 1955.

Diaz-Balart identified himself as head of the anti-Castro White Rose movement in the U. S. He denied the recruiting charges and accused Castro of spreading a network of spies whose activities, he asserted, were "coordinated with embassies of Hungary, Rumania and Russia, not only in the U. S. but in other countries of America."

In Cuba on Oct. 21 the government arrested Maj. Hubert Matos, military chief of Camaguey province, "whose conduct as well as that of some other officials there," President Osvaldo Dorticos said, "have the characteristics of counter-revolutionary treason."

Matos was arrested after he had sent Castro a letter of resignation in which he said: "Everyone who has talked with you concerning the Communist problem should leave before he is removed." Matos was accused of opposing the agrarian reform. Dorticos said he was under arrest "subject to investigation."

STEADFAST AIMS: To Cubans, it seemed hardly a coincidence that pressure against Castro was stepped up at this time. For, nine months after assuming power, the administration showed no sign of weakness; agrarian reform, education and industrial development plans were forging ahead; and there were hopeful signs of attracting a different type of tourist in larger numbers than ever.

The Defense Ministry and the armed forces have been reorganized, and armed forces chief Maj. Raul Castro has been elevated to Cabinet rank as Armed Forces Minister. As an indication of stability Maj. Castro announced his intention to reduce the armed forces from 38,000 to 18,000. Meanwhile, peasants in rural communities are being given arms to guard

against local counter-revolutionary attempts; and soldiers are helping out in building roads and in other public works projects.

WHAT THEY'VE DONE: Agrarian reform is being vigorously pushed. Last month the government appropriated all but 1,000 acres of the 21,650-acre estate of the Castros' oldest brother, Ramon. The government will divide the newly-acquired land among the squatters and tenants on the property.

Minister of State Raul Roa, who headed the Cuban delegation to the UN in early October, told the *GUARDIAN* before he returned home:

• The government has held fast to the policy of compensating estate owners on the basis of value declared for tax purposes and with 20-year, 4½% government bonds.

• Cuba has issued 20-year, 4½% bonds worth 100,000,000 pesos (the peso is at par with the dollar) to pay for land taken over.

• More than 30,000 schools—renovated, remodeled or newly-built—opened in September, and others were being continually added. Elementary schools numbered 11,000. The Presidential palace has been turned into a school for soldiers.

• The government was setting up 18 scholastic centers in Cuba, each to accommodate several thousand children. The first opened in the Sierra Maestra mountains. Havana's military Camp Libertad has been turned into a scholastic center with elementary and trade schools.

• An austerity program to increase personal savings and reliance on local production has been inaugurated by imposing surcharges of 30 to 100% of the dutiable value of such luxury imports as

same level of life as those Asian and European nations unable to advance because of Soviet communism."

• Industrialization plans were being drawn up under the direction of Maj. Ernesto Guevara, who led the successful Cuban good will and trade mission around the world last summer. A Dutch syndicate was the latest to extend \$60,000,000 credits to Cuba.

SQUEEZE PLAY: Castro's adherence to his program, which will mean a loss to U. S. businessmen (Cuba normally buys about \$600,000,000 worth of U. S. goods annually) undoubtedly prompted Washington to put the squeeze on him. Many Cubans associated Maj. Matos' resignation with this squeeze play, and his arrest came as no surprise to them.

When this correspondent was covering the 26th of July celebration in Cuba last summer, an astute Cuban political analyst told him that, among the top ranking officers, Matos was the only one who constantly urged Castro "to get rid of the Communists" in his ranks. It was noted that correspondent Daniel James (*N.Y. Post*, July 22), for example, was promoting Matos as "the most powerful man" next to Castro.

This analyst surmised it would be unlikely for Matos to accept aid from abroad in an attempt to take power in the sincere belief he was doing it for the good of his country.

WORK STOPPAGE: The bomb-and-bullet raids in the week of Oct. 19 apparently were designed to scare the 2,000 travel agents from 80 countries holding a convention in Havana and ruin the prospects of increased tourist travel in Cuba. Castro had told them his government was building roads, new beaches and reasonably-priced hotels and motels to attract middle-income tourists.

Castro refused to be intimidated by the pressure. At his call in Havana 1,500,000 Cuban Labor Fedn. members on Oct. 22 and nearly 500,000 peasants on Oct. 26 demonstrated popular support for the government. They paraded with placards reading: "The best arms against Yankee imperialism is workers' unity," and "Don't let Cuba become another Guatemala."

Castro appealed to the people of the U.S. to protest against the flights of subversive planes from Miami. President Osvaldo Dorticos told the cheering crowd: "This manifestation . . . demonstrates that it is not possible to frighten the Cuban population."

Poor butterfly

MRS. BERTHA COLLINS of Washington, D.C., and Edison, N.J., who has visited the Island in the past, writes the *Gazette* that she has not had any response from Premier Khrushchev to whom she sent a copy of her song, "Don't Forget I Love You, although she has heard from Gov. Nelson Rockefeller.

—The Vineyard Gazette,
Martha's Vineyard, Mass. Oct. 16

SANE MEETING

3,000 hear Dr. Pauling in New York

BEFORE AN AUDIENCE of 3,000 persons who crowded into New York's Carnegie Hall Sunday evening, Oct. 24, Prof. Linus Pauling branded as untrue and dangerous the reports of the Atomic Energy Commission and other government sources minimizing the dangers of radiation fallout caused by nuclear bomb tests.

The meeting, titled "Turning Point for Survival," was sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy in conjunction with a nationwide petition campaign to support the Eisenhower-Khrushchev exchanges and to urge "immediate action for a permanent end of nuclear weapons tests under inspection and control."

Prof. Pauling charged that the AEC, the Defense Dept., many politicians and sections of big business were undermining the tension-easing work of the President and the State Dept. by issuing "untrue" statements almost every day. He commended Rep. Hollifield (D-Calif.) for the Congressional hearings on atomic radiation held in 1957, but said that in his interpretations of the hearings Hollifield had become an "apologist for the bomb testers." He denounced efforts in Washington to contradict the findings of distinguished geneticists on fallout peril as part of the white-washing campaign.

CALL FOR DISARMAMENT: Prof. Pauling said that one H-bomb of the Bravo type dropped on New York would kill 10,000,000 persons and flatten an area 20 miles in diameter; 300 bombs would wipe out the U.S. by radiation alone. The U.S. he estimated, had a stockpile of 75,000 nuclear bombs of all types and the Soviet Union about half that number.

He called the visit of Premier Khrushchev to the U.S. a "great event" and urged negotiations to achieve total disarmament as proposed by Khrushchev. As a pre-condition he called for the admission of mainland China to the United Nations and a seat on the Security Council for Peking's representative. He also renewed his plea for convocation of 1,000 of the world's leading scientists to form a world peace research organization, and for a U.S. counterpart. Such a move, he said, would help to achieve "total disarmament without economic catastrophe," but careful planning and research would be required to avoid a depression.

HOW RUSSIA FEELS: Another speaker, Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review* and a co-chairman of SANE, urged a dramatic move by the U.S. before the UN to renounce the use of atomic weapons. Commenting on his recent trip to the Soviet Union, he said: "The Russian people will not permit their government to compromise on the issue of a nuclear-armed Germany."

Stanley Isaacs, a member of the New York City Council, was chairman. He also called for the recognition of China. Clarence Pickett, exec. secy. emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee and co-chairman of SANE, ended the meeting with a plea for thought and action to advance the work of the Committee.

Co-ordinator of the meeting was Henry Abrams, who received tribute from the platform for his organization work on the meeting. Audience response to the speakers and the proposals was enthusiastic.

The Greater New York SANE has asked for new people to help in its work. A letter or card to SANE, 17 E. 45th St., New York 17, will bring the address of a neighborhood SANE group.

You can send *National Guardian* to a friend for 3 months for only \$1.
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Wall Street Journal
"But they have always been poor, oppressed and down-trodden. Why should that upset them now?"

automobiles and electrical appliances. This has the approval of the Intl. Monetary Fund and GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). The move will help Cuba save some \$175,000,000 in foreign exchange and make "the peso of the rich worth less and the peso of the poor worth more." (The newspaper *Diario de la Marina*, spokesman of the anti-Castro forces, said the austerity program threatened to reduce Cuba "to the

the SPECTATOR

Granite integrity



BURLINGTON, VT.

SINCE VERMONTERS elected the Jeffersonian Matthew Lyon to Congress from the Vergennes jailhouse some 160 years ago, the Green Mountain State hasn't encouraged too many political upstarts. But in '58 (this century) they did upset the Republican appecart for the first time in more than 100 years by sending a Democrat, William H. Meyer, to Washington as Congressman-at-Large.

Meyer campaigned—as the GUARDIAN has reported—for a ban on nuclear tests and weapons, against militarism and for world disarmament, for recognition of China and her admission to the UN, and for a variety of domestic planks challenging monopoly. His victory on such a platform was a huge surprise to him as well as to almost everyone else.

In Congress this year, during the first half of his first term, he has fought hard to fulfill his campaign promises. He opposed extension of the draft, fought the nuclear giveaway, urged recognition of China, opposed further armament expenditures and, at one turn, accused the Atomic Energy Commission and the military of having "in effect sabotaged negotiations concerned with the control of nuclear testing and nuclear armaments."

AT NO TIME during the past Congressional session have the positions battled for by Rep. Meyer gathered more than a corporal's guard of support. Furthermore, the Congressman's son, Karl, got himself arrested for picketing the Omaha missile base, with a pacifist group. So what happened on the Congressman's return home was probably as big a surprise to him as his election—and will likely be a big surprise to most people outside the state, since this kind of news seems to travel slowly.

In five Vermont daily newspapers, there appeared an ad signed by 32 members of Congress from 20 states. It was entitled MEMO TO THE PEOPLE OF VERMONT and, as it appeared Sept. 30 in the Burlington Free Press in a space about as big as a full page in the GUARDIAN, was subtitled

From: Some Members of Congress
Subject: Your Congressman, Bill Meyer

"We would like to say an unsolicited word to you about our colleague in the House of Representatives, William H. Meyer. Bill Meyer represents to us the epitome of granite integrity; he represents, we believe, the finest traditions not only of Vermont, but of America.

"We have always profoundly respected his integrity, his patriotism, and his courage, even though we may not always have agreed with the things Bill said, or the votes he cast.

"We in the Congress need to have members who are courageous and unafraid to say in public what lies closest to their heart. We all know the temptations to be silent when the very stones ought to cry out in protest. Bill Meyer represents that voice of conscience which prompts us all to think more deeply, and to take the longer view of history and our responsibility to it.

"Bill has been heard effectively in support of conservation measures, in support of sound economic programs, in support of good government. He is an effective member of the Foreign Relations Committee. He has been an effective witness before many other Committees. His voice on the Floor commands attention and respect.

"We don't know Bill Meyer the campaigner, but we do know Bill Meyer the citizen, and Bill Meyer the Congressman. He has shown a talent for leadership, and a great sense of responsibility. We simply want you to know that we view him as a valuable member of Congress."

The signers: Blatnik, Minn.; Bolling, Mo.; Burdick, N.D.; Brademas, Ind.; Celler, N.Y.; Clark, Pa.; Coffin, Me.; Cohelan, Calif.; Dent, Pa.; Doyle, Calif.; Johnson, Colo.; Karth, Minn.; Kasem, Calif.; Kastenmeier, Wisc.; Kowalski, Conn.; Levering, O.; McCormack, Mass.; McGovern, S.D.; Metcalf, Mont.; Miller, Calif.; Morgan, Pa.; O'Hara, Mich.; Oliver, Me.; Reuss, Wisc.; Roosevelt, Calif.; Santangelo, N.Y.; Smith, Ia.; Thompson, N.J.; Udall, Ariz.; Ullman, Ore., and Wolf, Ia.

The ad was paid for by the signers, and organized, according to local correspondents, by the office of Rep. Byron L. Johnson, Colo., himself a freshman in the House and a supporter of Meyer.

MEANWHILE IN APPEARANCES before the people of the state (Meyer represents the whole state, not any one area alone), the Congressman told the AFL-CIO at Bennington:

"A leader must lead, he can't sit on the fence. He must cross fences and anticipate the future and work for a better America and a better world." (Naturally, Meyer voted against the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act.)

Asked by a Republican moderator of a League of Women Voters forum in Burlington: "How do you expect to get re-elected if you vote in national instead of state interests?" Meyer replied:

"I would rather have two years in Congress voting for what I considered right than ten years of voting to get re-elected."

THE REPUBLICAN ATTACK on Meyer at this point is gathering, but somewhat muted, because what he has been saying does not at this writing seem too far away, in objectives at least, from what the Republican President has been saying in his efforts to melt the cold war a little.

He will need help for re-election, in any case, and when the time comes next year we up here may be calling upon the rest of you for a boost. Meanwhile you might congratulate your own Congressman if he or she is among the ad-signers listed above; and if not, ask why not. If you find any further concurrence, you might let us know about it through the GUARDIAN.

—John Greenhill

NEW YORK

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech . . ."

—1st Amendment, U.S. Constitution

Rally in Support of the 1st Amendment

AND OF THE FIRST TWO TO GO TO JAIL SINCE THE HOLLYWOOD TEN in the fight to protect the First Amendment from the encroachment of Congressional and State inquisitorial committees.

Support and Hear:

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DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

—now facing life imprisonment under an indeterminate sentence.

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Ring Lardner Jr., of the "Hollywood Ten"

Stewart Meacham, Religious Leader

I. F. Stone, Journalist

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42 RALLY 26

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WILLARD UPHAUS

Report from Youth Festival

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CALENDAR

BOSTON

FARRELL DOBBS, Nat'l Secy, Socialist Workers Party, speaks on "Labor's Role in 1960 Elections" The public is invited. Fri., Oct. 30, 8:15 p.m. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Av., Room 200.

CHICAGO

42nd Anniversary of the U.S.S.R. 26th anniversary of U.S.-Soviet relations DR. W.E.B. DUBOIS recently returned from U.S.S.R. & China Wed., Nov. 11 - 8 p.m. sharp 32 W. Randolph St. Adm. \$1. A usp. C.C.A.S.F.

MAVERICK MASKED BALL & NEW YEAR CELEBRATION - greatest New Year's Eve in 3 decades! Penthouse ballroom in Loop. Reservations \$10 a couple, students 1/2 rate; benefit new Left humor publication, Maverick. Limited capacity, make reservations now: HY 3-4297.

THE AMERICAN FORUM OF CHICAGO presents direct from England CLIVE JENKINS, Columnist for London Tribune; Trade Union Leader; Labor Party Leader - to speak on "THE RESULTS OF BRITISH ELECTIONS" • The Future of the British Labor Party • Implications for America • • TUES. NOV. 17 8 P.M. Masonic Temple Bldg., 32 W. Randolph St. Admission 90c

LOS ANGELES

Powell-Schuman Committee Presents: MR. MARTIN HALL Distinguished Writer, Lecturer, World Traveler, in a series of five talks on Current World Problems Thursdays-8 p.m. Nov. 5: TENSIONS IN LATIN AMERICA Nov. 12: AWAKENING AFRICA Nov. 19: ASIA IN FERMENT Question Period. - Donation \$1. 400 N. Serrano Av. (2 blks east of Western, 1 blk. North of Beverly Blvd.)

Celebrate the 42nd Anniversary of Russian Revolution with the Militant Labor Forum "SOCIALISM CHALLENGES CAPITALIST WORLD RULE" Hear:

Milton Alvin, Natl. Committee Member, Socialist Workers Party Sat., Nov. 7 8:15 p.m. Contr: 75c. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. L.A. 33 - Angelus 9-4053

EXCITING! CONTROVERSIAL! "Jet-Age Culture" in the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. JOHN HOWARD LAWSON in a stimulating discussion

Fri., Nov. 6 8 p.m. Stanley Hall, 1057 N. Stanley Av., Santa Monica. Benefit: Powell-Schuman Defense.

School of International Socialism 1702 E. 4 St., Los Angeles 33-AN 9-4953 Presents Its Fall Lecture Series: Sun., Nov. 8, 11 a.m.

"The Bureaucratization of the Trade Union Structure & Worker Acquiescence" Sun., Nov. 15, 11 a.m.

"Resolving the Contradictions Between Bureaucracy and Democracy." Lecturer: Arne Swaback, Natl. Comm., Socialist Workers Party - Further lectures to be announced.

SIXTH ANNIVERSARY BANQUET AMERICAN JEWISH CHORAL SOCIETY Morris Browda, Conductor

Sun., Nov. 15, 6 p.m.-\$2.50 per plate West Hollywood Park Auditorium, 874 N. Robertson Blvd. Full course dinner-excellent program. Admission by reservation only. Call WE 5-6647 or HO 3-3542

SAN FRANCISCO

DR. W.E.B. DU BOIS and SHIRLEY GRAHAM will be honored at a public reception at the HALLINAN ESTATE ROSS, CALIFORNIA FRI., NOV. 20, 8 P.M. Subject: Behind the Iron Curtain and China! Benefit THE NATIONAL GUARDIAN, Donation \$2.50. Refreshments

BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION U.S.S.R.-42 years Speakers: Vivian and Vincent Hallinan "WE SAW THE U.S.S.R." Albert Kahn, Chairman Sun., Nov. 15, 7:30 p.m. 150 Golden Gate Av. Adm: 50c

NEW YORK

Bronx Committee for Civil Liberties is proud to pay tribute to JUDGE HUBERT T. DELANY for outstanding work for civil rights. EARL ROBINSON composer of "Ballad for Americans" Thursdays Nov. 5 8 p.m. St. Augustine's Presbyterian Church 165th St. at Prospect Av., Bronx Donation \$1.

HALLOWEEN PARTY Music, Dancing, Entertainment, Refreshments a bewitching evening 116 University Place Sat. Oct. 31 9 p.m. Auspices: Militant Labor Forum

DR. HERBERT APTEKER reports on "A Journey to Socialist Lands," Sun., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m., Parkway Plaza, 1110 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn. Cont. 75c. A usp: Crown Heights Forum

UNVEILING of monument to RICHARD SPERBER Sun., Nov. 1, 11 a.m. at Mt. Hebron Cemetery, Flushing Section 41. E. or F. train, Ind.



"Now remember!—Just the ones who cross our picket lines!"

ROUND TABLE REVIEW PRESENTS "WAR AND PEACE"

By Tolstoy with readings by professional actors Commentary by Dr. Frederic Ewen Directed by Phoebe Brand and John Randolph Admission \$1.50 Two Performances Sun., Nov. 15, 8:30 p.m. Tues., Nov. 17, 8:30 p.m. Master Institute Theater 310 Riverside Dr. (103rd St.) UN 4-1700

"POETRY AND PHILOSOPHY"

Dialogues between DR. BARROWS DUNHAM, Philosopher and DR. FREDERIC EWEN, Literary Critic Friday evenings, 8:30 p.m. Nov. 6-Dante Nov. 20-Mark Dec. 4-Goethe Dec. 18-T.S. Eliot Single admission: \$1.25 Master Institute 310 Riverside Dr. (103rd St.) UN 4-1700

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JOE NORTH

RESULTS OF KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT Personal Experience of U.S. Trip and Scientific Development in Space Projectiles NOV. 7th 8 P.M. POLONIA CLUB 201 Second Av. (nr. 12th St.) All Welcome Admission Free

Militant Labor Forum

Joseph Hansen, Editor, The Militant "Has Ike Decided to Accept Khrushchev's Disarmament Offer?" Fri., Oct. 30, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place Cont. 50c

DISCUSSION GROUP meets every Wed. in members' homes in Manhattan. Human relations, arts, psychology topics. Non-political, non-sectarian. For info. and invitation call MO 2-8488.

Friday, Nov. 6 at 8:30 p.m.—Repeated by Urgent & Widespread Request "Notes on My Summer Journey To the Land of Socialism" HERBERT APTEKER Second in New Series of "Friday Forums"

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CELEBRATE the 42nd Anniversary of the OCTOBER REVOLUTION FRI. NOV. 6 8 P.M. Central Plaza Annex. 40 E. 7th St.

Armando Roman, Gen. Secy.—Provisional Organizing Committee "THE 7-YEAR PLAN AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO WORLD PEACE" and others

Entertainment Admission Free A usp: N.Y. Provisional Organizing Comm. METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB MEETS! Fri., Nov. 6 8:45 p.m. Outstanding Speaker on "THE ATTACK ON LABOR" Adelphi Hall, Rm. 11D, 74 Fifth Av.

John Howard Lawson lectures in L.A. Nov. 6

John Howard Lawson will lecture on "Jet-Age Culture in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R.," Friday, Nov. 6, at Stanley Hall, 1057 Stanley Av., Los Angeles, at 8 p.m. Highlights of his discussion will cover aspects of decadent culture in both countries and will also embody the creative power of Soviet Ballet & Folk Dance.

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, Street, New York 9, N.Y. National Guardian, 197 East 4th

PHILADELPHIA First Time in Philly! GUY CARAWAN SINGS Sun., Nov. 22 7:30 p.m. The University Museum, 33rd & Spruce Adults \$1.25 Students \$1. Call OH 8-0791 for tickets

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PUBLICATIONS JEWISH CURRENTS, November issue just off press, features much lively, informative material for Jewish Book Month, including "Second Look at Exodus" by Frank Cantor, short story, "Wrath of Deborah" by Irene Paul; "In His Father's House," autobiographical piece by Ben Field; review of Philip Roth's short stories by Louis Harap. Also "Issues & Events" by Morris U. Schappes, Ruth Zalman's "Parents' Corner," "Editor's Diary," "Inside the Jewish Community," "It Happened in Israel," review of play "Confederates" by Arthur Vogel, and a story on British ban of "Diary For Anne" by L. Zaldman. Single copies 35c; subscriptions \$3 yearly (\$3.50 outside U.S.) available at JEWISH CURRENTS, Dep. G, 22 E. 17th St., N.Y. SEE OUR DISPLAY AD ON PAGE 10. RADIO AND TELEVISION SERVICE

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Now hear this . . . IN A FLIGHT OF FANCY last week, we wrote that Guardian Buying Service wares would be shipped anywhere "including Canada and the Dry Tortugas." Sorry, we'll have to limit it to the 50 States and Puerto Rico.

The Gallery will be back in this space next week

ELECTION DAY IS NOV. 3

How to vote on N. Y. Amendments

NEW YORK VOTERS will confront nine Amendments to the State Constitution in voting booths Nov. 3. Here are the GUARDIAN's recommendations, based on consultation with individuals and groups whose judgment we value:

- 1. Establishing an independent Dept. of Motor Vehicles (now a Bureau of the Dept. of Taxation). Vote YES.
2. Authorizing an interstate highway through the Adirondack forest preserve.—State forest preserves are guaranteed in perpetuity by the present Constitution. This amendment would begin a whittling away of this protection. An alternate "Champlain" route is available. Vote NO.
3. In effect removes Fifth Amendment protection for public officials.—To close a loophole in a present provision, the proposed change might become an added means to force teachers and others to become informers. Vote NO.
4. Permits New York City to borrow \$500,000,000 outside its debt limit for a ten-year school construction program.—Vote YES.
5. Provides for primary elections only in the case of contests for public or party office.—The change would eliminate write-in challenges in the event of no other contests. Vote NO.
6. Would transfer the Barge Canal (Erie Canal and others) to the Federal Government.—Opponents say insufficient study has been made for improved state operation. Vote NO.
7. Would permit municipalities to increase Fire and Police Dept. pensions.—Opponents advocate long-needed wholesale revision of public-employee pensions by legislation, extending beyond police and firemen; and warn of a pattern of inequities growing out of pressures on small communities. Let your conscience be your guide.
8. Would adopt Federal definitions of income for state income taxes.—While life might be simpler for the small taxpayer in filling out forms, Federal loopholes for corporations would be sure to appear in the state taxation system. Vote NO.
9. Permits municipalities to tax and borrow for joint projects.—No known opposition. Vote YES.

—John T. McManus

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Detroit to hear Lightfoot at annual Worker Bazaar

THE annual Detroit Worker Labor Press Bazaar will be held Nov. 14-15 at Nowak Hall, 5703 Chene Street. Claude Lightfoot will be the featured speaker. New to the Bazaar this year will be an All Nations cultural evening of songs and dances on Sat. evening, Nov. 14.

The Bazaar Committee requests contributions of clothing, furniture, toys and other items. Contributors should telephone WO 4-9015. Admission to the Bazaar will be 50c.

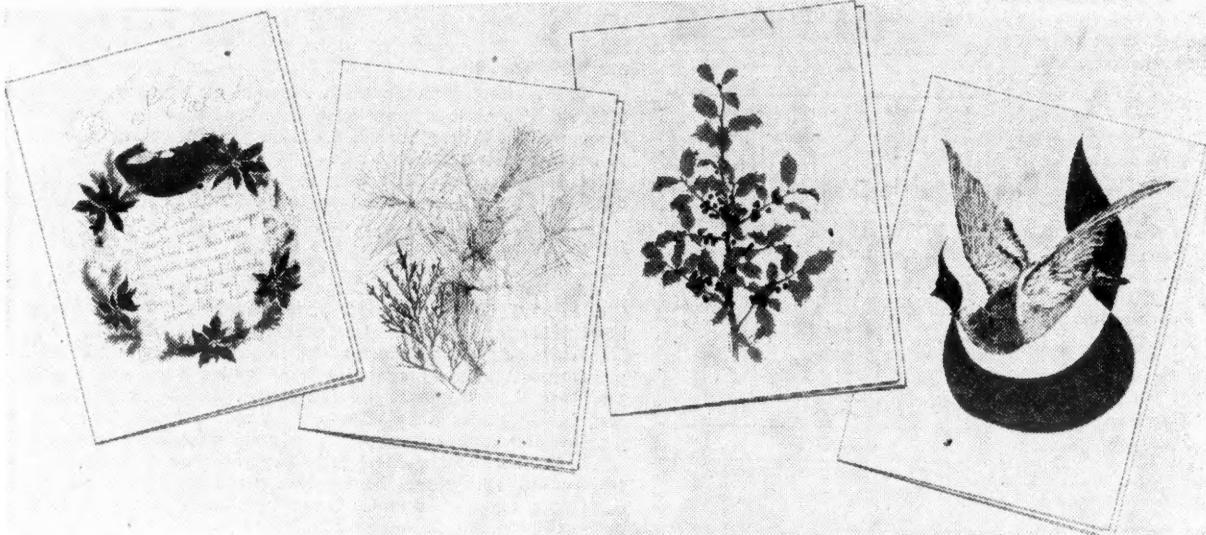
HOLIDAY SHOPPING GUIDE



HOLIDAY CARDS — THREE OUTSTANDING SETS!

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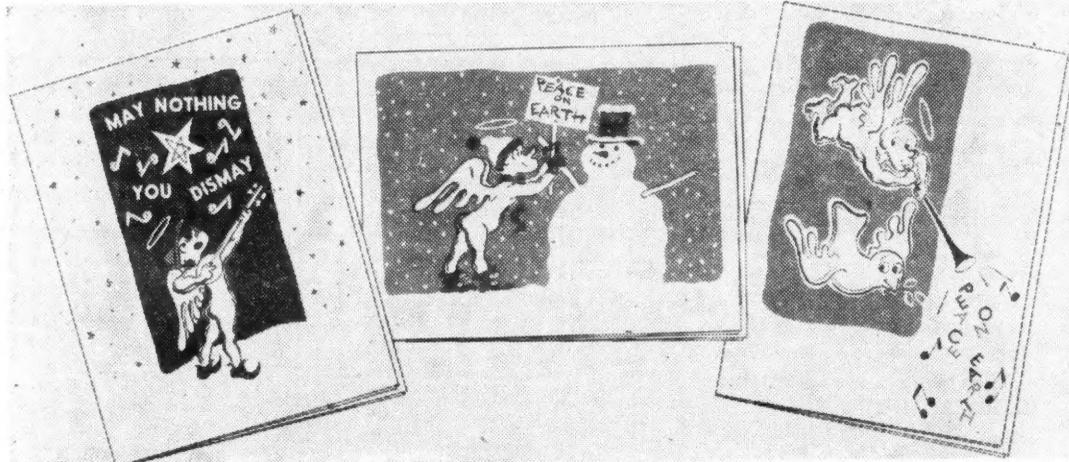
folded in half, then folded in half again) and packed twelve to a box. The charming Picasso "Pere Noel," is printed on beautiful heavy card stock, 5"x7", and packed eight to a box. You can't go wrong on any of these lovely cards. All are shipped complete with matching envelopes, in a cardboard carton.



PICASSO'S "PERE NOEL"—Through special arrangements with Picasso and the French Peace Committee the Guardian has obtained exclusive rights in America to reproduce this charming drawing as a Christmas card. Picasso is at his witty best in this delightful rendition of Father Christmas holding an evergreen sprig. Reproduced in three process colors, on heavy cardboard stock 5"x7", these high quality cards are appropriate for any friends, and are absolutely exclusive with the Guardian. Eight to a box with matching envelopes. Each set \$1.50; 2 sets \$2.75; 3 sets \$4; 4 sets \$5. Bulk prices: 50 cards \$7; 100 cards \$12.

(Above)

"HOLLY" SET—A series of four lovely drawings, packed 12 to a set, by one of the country's leading magazine illustrators. Printed in four colors on lightweight French-fold, with "Season's Greetings" printed inside. You must see these fine drawings in color to appreciate them. The Wassail Bowl (far left) provides a wonderful, little-known recipe for holiday cheer. Single set of 12 cards \$1. 2 sets \$1.75; 3 sets \$2.50; 4 sets \$3.25; 5 sets for \$4.



(Left)

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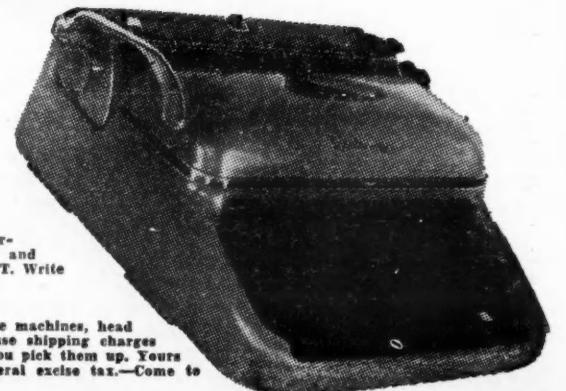
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