



IT LOOKS AS IF MR. K SHARES THE GREAT AMERICAN DILEMMA
According to Joe Curran, head of the National Maritime Union just back from the Soviet Union, Premier Khrushchev (shown with Vice President Nixon at the famous kitchen controversy in Moscow) dislikes both Presidential candidates. While neither candidate is likely to try to get him to change his mind, his interest—and that of the Soviet people—in our election is quite understandable.

CONFOUNDING THE EXPERTS

How Cuba has survived the U. S. economic war

By John Hill
Special to the Guardian

WISHFUL THINKING and incomprehension (if not deliberate distortion) underlie U.S. press reports of grave economic difficulties in Cuba which, it is hoped, will provide fertile soil for an anti-Castro movement. But these are the facts:

- The Cuban Revolution has registered successes in the economic field which confound the orthodox economists of the International Monetary Fund.
- Cuba has already done many things which the geographic fatalists, busy counting the miles that separate this country from the coast of Florida, did not think possible.
- This tight little island has won one battle after another in the economic war set off by Washington to strangle the Revolution.

WARNINGS IGNORED: Washington did not see the portent when the Cuban government overcame the drop in the tourist business and other difficulties through currency controls which, in June, raised net gold and foreign exchange reserves to \$219,000,000, the highest point in two years.

Washington did not believe Cuban warnings that the State Department-inspired refusal of the foreign oil companies—in defiance of a 22-year-old law—to process the petroleum bought by Cuba under its trade agreement with the Soviet

Union, would lead to the seizure of the refineries.

Washington did not heed expert advice that an embargo on Cuban sugar imports—mainstay of the quota system established almost 30 years ago to protect American domestic producers—would probably do more damage to the complicated and sensitive mechanism of the sugar markets than to the Cuban economy. In fact, it helped to make Cuba the arbiter of the world sugar market, the prices of which are now determined in Havana.

THE SUGAR QUOTA: And Washington ignored Fidel Castro's warning on June 24 that if Cuba lost its quota, the United States might lose its investments. Six weeks later, the Cuban government at one stroke expropriated, under a law passed last July 6, the Cuban Electric Company, subsidiary of the American & Foreign Power Co., which in turn is an adjunct of the Electric Bond & Share Co.; the Cuban Telephone Co., subsidiary of the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.; the Cuban properties of the Esso Standard, Texas and Sinclair Oil companies; and 36 American sugar mills belonging to the United Fruit and other companies. In total, an estimated \$600,000,000 of U.S. investments changed hands on Aug. 7, a date which will surely live alongside those of the Mexican oil expropriation and the Suez Canal nationalization in the history of nationalist movements.

Cuba's main goal at this point is to achieve the fastest rate of development in this Hemisphere in order to double its per capita in ten years. Meanwhile, it expects to wipe out unemployment, its principal social problem, by the end of 1962. Cuban economists are the first to admit that they haven't worked out all the details of meeting these aims, but say that with revolutionary methods it can be done. Their optimism is based on several factors, which not only help to explain the strength Cuba has shown up to now but also provide a basis for predicting its future development.

ITS MAIN ASSETS: Cuba's most important
(Continued on Page 4)

In this issue

CUBA IN RETROSPECT
Report to Readers . . . p. 2

OUR MIGRANT WORKERS
Can the union win? . . . p. 3

THE STAKE IN CONGO
Riches of Katanga . . . p. 5

BARROWS DUNHAM
Let's have thunder . . . p. 6

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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AS THE NATION WATCHES

Congress horseplay: Two parties jockey for campaign fodder

By Robert E. Light

SENATE MAJORITY Leader Lyndon B. Johnson and his Republican counterpart Everett M. Dirksen led their troops back Aug. 8 from convention hall to Capital Hill for an extra session of skirmishes. The House reconvened a week later. By Labor Day each party hoped to gain enough ground for a continuing advantage through the election battle.

In control of both houses, the Democrats held the high ground. Presidential candidate Sen. John F. Kennedy and his running mate, Johnson, set as priority for the session action on four social welfare bills—apparently designed to draw a veto from President Eisenhower.

As a counter, the Republicans hoped to exploit the split between Northern and Southern Democrats on civil rights and social legislation.

At the end of the first week, the first casualty was civil rights. Reeling, but not yet fallen, was medical care for the aged. The Republicans may have gained ground but there were no winners. However, it was clear that there were losers

—those who hoped that election year pressures would force Congress to legislate needed social measures.

CAMPAIGN FODDER: Democratic strategy, mapped by Kennedy and Johnson at Hyannis Port, Mass., called for a push on (1) an increased minimum wage bill; (2) medical care for the aged through the Social Security system; (3) a broad housing bill; (4) Federal aid for school construction. With each of these bills Kennedy's name would be closely associated; some bore his name as original sponsor. If the bills passed, Kennedy and Johnson could take the credit. If President Eisenhower vetoed them, there was good campaign fodder.

But Kennedy and Johnson faced their toughest opposition within their own party. Southern Democrats and other conservatives are as much against these measures as are the Republicans. In addition, Southerners, through seniority, hold key committee posts and can bottle up bills they oppose.

The House Rules Committee holds the key to the session. Chairman Howard

(Continued on Page 4)



Drawing by Korf



My neighbor

TOLEDO, OHIO

I like to compare the international scene to a neighborhood scene. What am I to think of another neighbor, who professes Christianity, goes to church every Sunday, says he wants to live in harmony with all around him and hates me. Appoints himself neighborhood law maker, policeman, judge and jury. Sets himself up at different posts around my yard and watches my every moment with binoculars. He vents or cries for free portions of other neighbors' houses and yards to set up watching posts. Guns are mounted at all these points and directed toward my house.

What am I to think of my other neighbors who have permitted him the use of their premises? He is envious and frightened by things I do different and better than he. He digs tunnels under my house to gather information about me. He sends kites over my house, with cameras and listening devices attached to them.

If I make a visit to a friendly neighbor, he sends someone there to inquire what the conversations were about. If I make a swap with a neighbor, he wants to know details of the deal. If I take a ride around the neighborhood in my car, he notes my route. If I park, he walks by and looks into my car. If I have an accident he wings his hands in glee.

Anonymous

No more pills!

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As if the long-suffering people of this world have not had enough of the Hitler and McCarthy brew called the "communist" menace, along come two natty salesmen under the Republican banner to offer us the same old pill.

We are fed up on pills, gentlemen! We want statesmanship, imagination, and local thinking instead, to free us from the genuine menace of continued nuclear testing, swelling stockpiles of bombs to demolish the world, and the frittering away of billions of dollars of our tax money to support militarism.

Miriam Stern

A gentle roar

WILMETTE, ILL.

An open letter to the Postmaster General:

I address you as a devoted fellow Republican. Your henchman in San Francisco is doing our party a very great disservice. He wrote me a few days ago that he was holding up some mail addressed to me and that if I did not, within a limited time,

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

ATLANTA, Aug. 3 (AP)—A blind man has been given permission to carry a pistol for protection. Paul W. Starnes, employe of the state factory for the blind, said in his application that he has been shooting for 20 years and was fairly proficient at it. Starnes, who said he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan, can see only well enough to distinguish bright lights and shapes.

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Aug. 3

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: Anon, St. Louis, Mo.

assure him that I wanted the mail, he would burn it.

The mail in question is the magazine *China Pictorial*. The pretext for holding it up is that the paper is propaganda, sent to me without my desire to have it. If I assured the postmaster that I had subscribed for the paper it would lawfully be sent on to me. On the wrapper are printed the usual publisher's figures indicating that the addressee is a regular subscriber. Any child could understand that.

If I were not such a sweet-tempered old man (95), I might rip and roar and use profane language. As it is I appeal to you. No party whose servant treats people so contemptuously can expect their support. I will not vote for the candidates of a party which permits such villainy.

Ralph E. Blount

Terrible tier

CINCINNATI, OHIO

Capitalist encirclement, containment, the latest network of nuclear bases, all are but variations on the diabolical theme of Cordon Sanitaire. Regarding its terrible tier of bases, the position of the U.S. government is morally indefensible.

Charlotte Saxe

No. California readers

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Please help build GUARDIAN readership and accept your choice of those premiums for each yearly subscription: (1) Vivian and Vincent Hallinan's *Clash of Cultures*, some contrasts in American and Soviet manners and morals; (2) 1,000 gummed name and address labels; (3) a souvenir booklet describing Soviet Exhibition, New York, 1959 (out of print). Or send us the names of ten likely prospects and take your choice of above offers.

Note: At San Francisco address only: for each sub, a copy of a dynamic new book, *The Key to Peace and Plenty* by Elsa Peters Morse.

Clarence M. Vickland
3936 Canon Ave.
Oakland 2, Calif.
Margaret Driggs
333A 7th Ave.
San Francisco 18, Calif.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

DR. W. E. B. DU BOIS, chairman of the Peace Information Center, flew to Prague for a meeting of the World Executive Committee of the Partisans of Peace. At La Guardia Airport he told reporters:

"It is not yet treason to work for peace. American Negroes, particularly, who have suffered slavery and caste in this land and in spite of painful progress are still neither free nor equal citizens of the U.S., ought unanimously to demand for all the oppressed of the world the opportunity to decide what government they will or will not endure. . . . I believe that the time is past for settling the grave social and political problems of the world by force. I subscribe to the swelling world-wide declaration against the use of the atom bomb at any time by any civilized nation. I intend to tell the Executive Committee . . . that millions of peace-loving Americans, including millions of Negro people, want peace and do not subscribe to the imperialist claim that peace means that powerful nations can force their policies and demands upon weaker peoples."

—From the National Guardian, Aug. 23, 1950

Women's rights

LAKELAND, FLA.

Discrimination against women in industry exists on a considerable scale. Here is just one phase of such discrimination:

There is an Executive Order (issued from the White House) setting standards for employment practices of factories and industries engaged in filling Federal government contracts. These contracts involve millions of dollars of tax money for the endless amounts of equipment, materials and articles needed in the armed services and the government with its many branches and functions.

The Executive Order specifies that any company filling these contracts must not discriminate on the basis of race, creed, color or country of origin. The word "sex" is noticeably lacking. This means that an American woman can work next to a man and get a lower wage for the same work.

In the pressing for human rights here and over the face of the globe let it be remembered that women are human, deserving the dignity, respect and consideration due a creation of God. This can be done by amending the Constitution.

Evelyn K. Muzumdar



London Evening Standard
"One of the prison guards is getting married."

Irish police state

VANCOUVER, B.C.

My wife has Indian blood and enjoyed reading about the Iroquois. I am of Irish descent, so I would like a little support for the Irish. Britain is maintaining a police state as vicious as Hitler's Germany in North (Occupied) Ireland.

For over three years, 134 Irish trade union men have been in the Crumlin Road Prison, no charges, no trial. The committee of the Irish Trade Union Congress is not recognized by the North Ireland government. The Act of 1920 setting up the Six Counties government made the British Parliament completely responsible above any other authority. For more information write to *Irish Democrat*, 374 Grey's Inn Road, London WC 1, England.

R. Hamilton

No greater irony

CHICAGO, ILL.

I have just received the story from Havana of the picketing of Cuban Woolworth stores by the chief civil rights organization there in support of our Southern sit-ins. Among the picket signs were: "Viva Martin Luther King and Philip Randolph." The Cuban union of ten-cent store workers wrote the management demanding that discrimination in Southern U.S. Woolworth lunch counters be ended immediately. Needless to say, there is no discrimination in Woolworth's Havana outlets.

These demonstrations of solidarity with our human rights struggles are a touching reminder of the basic democracy and humanism of the Cuba revolution. In the face of the unprecedented lies and slanders of the U.S. monopoly-controlled media of so-called information, I can think of no greater irony than this incident which the "free press" did not see fit to print.

Richard Criley

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REPORT TO READERS

Impressions of Cuba

TAKE PENNSYLVANIA, for example, endow it with a dolphin's graceful form and surround it with lovely blue water as far as the eye can see, and you have a fair conception of the size and contours of Cuba.

Now take a group of about 100 most aware North Americans—writers, lawyers, teachers, students, social workers, an architect, a farmer, an economist, a film producer or two, a doctor, an artist, a clergyman, many business and professional people and an assortment of trade unionists; drawn from all parts of the country and of national and racial origins quite representative of our population; in short, a typical group of GUARDIAN readers—and invite them to give the place a thorough going over for the better part of two weeks.

DO YOU THINK such a group would come out with a fair consensus of whether Cuba is a free state or slave, whether it is a people's rule or a despotism and what percentage of the people support it; whether there is race discrimination or full civil rights and absolute equality of peoples; whether there is freedom of religion, the press, public opinion and the like; and whether the society is moving backward or forward in transforming the lives of its 6,000,000 people?

All members of the GUARDIAN tour to Cuba July 24-Aug. 6 went fact-finding almost without letup during their stay, and some stayed on for more. Nearly a hundred of us went deep into the Pinar del Rio farm and tobacco country toward the westward end of the island for a 16-hour day on July 26, the seventh anniversary of the first assault of the revolutionary movement. We saw thousands of people celebrating in every village and town on the way, and talked to hundreds of men, women and children. Several of our group spoke excellent Spanish, and we were bolstered by other able interpreters from the Cuban tourist agency (INIT) and the Institut Nacional de Reforma Agraria (INRA). Smaller groups went later through the sugar cane lands to Oriente province and into the Sierra Maestra mountains, the heart of the revolution. Others went north to Varadero peninsula, and south to the Isle of Pines. And others hired cars and drove anywhere they wished. Certainly we saw more of Cuba—indeed most of Cuba—and talked to more of its people than any U.S. correspondent or diplomat has ever dreamed of doing.

WE SAW A SOCIETY rebuilding itself from the ground up—housing projects vast and small, new playgrounds, pools and beach developments carrying out the theory of the new government that no community should be more than five minutes away from recreation facilities. We visited cooperatives replacing thatched bohios with charming, colorful reinforced concrete homes, electrically fueled and lit and with avant-garde plumbing (a bidet in every bathroom). We talked to arrays of campesinos (field workers) displaying new titles the size of a newspaper page to lands they had worked for lifetimes without ownership or benefit.

All we saw and heard, individually and as a group, would fill many issues of the GUARDIAN, but here are a few of our group impressions:

- People were free to talk as they pleased and did so, but not one in a hundred had anything but vociferous praise for the works of the Revolution and the integrity of its leaders. An occasional shopkeeper hungering for tourist trade, a business woman whose affairs had not prospered, and of course a few foreigners including ugly Americans voiced discontent or opposition. But we could affirm the recent Princeton survey which found nine of ten urban Cubans supporters of the government, with a ratio rising toward the unanimous among people in the countryside. Even the discontented preferred the new government to Batista, and we got the sure impression that the Cuban people virtually en masse mean what they say in the slogan seen and heard everywhere, *Patria o Muerte!* (The Fatherland or Death!).

- The press is free to report the progress of the Revolution and to chide its shortcomings, but not to lie about it or to foment counter-revolution. This is true not because of government intervention, but because the news staffs have laid down the law to newspaper managements. Of Cuba's numerous lively, informative Spanish language papers, two—*Informacion* and *El Mundo*—seemed on the conservative side. Havana's two English language papers, the *Times* and *Post*, still seem free to continue to echo the U.S. State Department.

(Continued on Page 8)

THEIR FATE MAY HINGE ON A WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

Half a million migratory workers: the union vs. the growers

By Ramona Lowe

THE FATE of the country's half million migratory workers may hang on the definition of "labor dispute" that Secy. of Labor James E. Mitchell will give California fruit growers at a meeting in Washington Aug. 22.

The dispute had its origin in the June walk-out of farm workers on the cherry, apricot and peach ranches of the rich California valleys. Since then the strikers have been picketing the ranches as part of a massive organizing drive by the recently-formed Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AFL-CIO). The union is seeking something which the migrant workers have never achieved: a minimum wage (they have asked for \$1.25 an hour; workers usually average about 90¢) and the end of the bracero (Mexican worker) program.

To counter the strike, the big growers organized a California Farmers Food Emergency Committee to recruit braceros or domestic scabs. However, State Em-



A MEXICAN FARM WORKER
A pawn in the drive for profit

ployment Service director Irving Perluss refused to assign Mexican laborers to the ranches while the ranches were being picketed. And the Mexican government has refused to allow its nationals to work at the picketed ranches.

WASHINGTON HEARING: Perluss based his refusal on the Wagner-Peyser Act which reads:

"No person shall be referred to a position the filling of which will aid directly or indirectly in filling a job which (1) is vacant because the former occupant is on strike or is being locked out in the course of a labor dispute, or (2) the filling of which is an issue in a labor dispute."

Blocked in their state, the growers demanded a hearing in Washington with Mitchell to settle the dispute with the State Employment Service. If Mitchell is pressured into agreeing that the California situation is not a labor dispute, an injunction against picketing might be obtained and scabs hired.

THE EXPLOITED WORKERS: The bracero program began 11 years ago under

Public Law 78, an agreement between the Mexican and United States governments providing for the importation of Mexican male farm workers because of wartime labor shortages in this country. For the growers the Mexicans were a cheap, captive labor source. As one grower described it: "We used to own slaves; now we lease them from the government." Conditions under which they worked were so deplorable that in 1959 a petition on their treatment was presented to the United Nations Human Rights Commission.

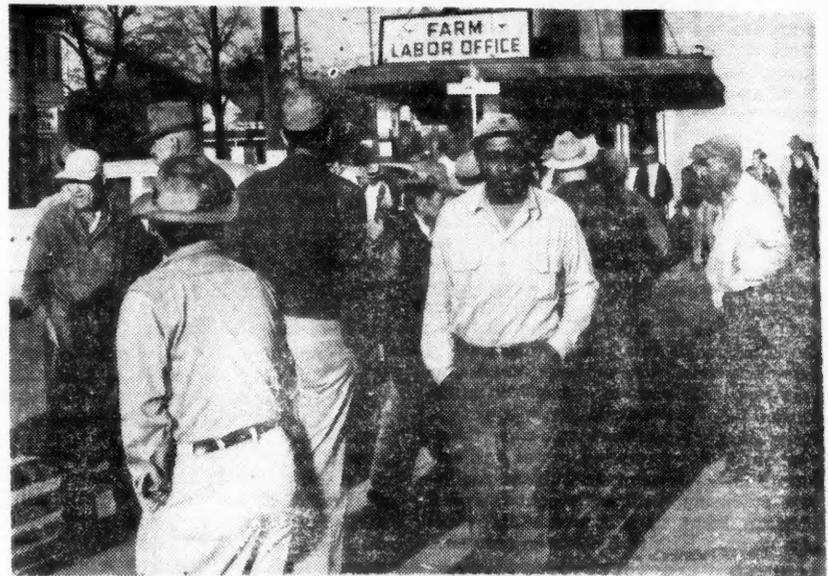
A 1960 report of the House Subcommittee on Migratory Labor said: "There can be no doubt that the foreign worker is exploited, perhaps even by his own standards. Under our program with Mexico, the Secretary of Labor is required to ascertain the prevailing wage which must be paid the bracero. He recently determined that the prevailing wage in Texas was 50 cents an hour. The farm operators immediately protested, saying this was unrealistic and far too high. Assuming, however, that the Secretary wins this battle and assuming further that the bracero works the 40 hours a week guaranteed by his contract, his weekly wage is only \$20. From this is deducted \$1.75 a day for food, and the cost of a compulsory insurance policy. This leaves him with less than \$7.45 a week."

THE GATHINGS BILL: Public Law 78 expires in June, 1961. The growers want it extended and are pushing for passage of the Gathings Bill (H.R. 12176) during the current session of Congress. In addition to extending the bracero program by two years the bill eliminates some of the Secretary of Labor's power to protect farm workers.

Also before Congress was the McGovern Bill (H.R. 11211) which has the support of labor and groups interested in migrant welfare, but has got little Congressional attention. It is patterned on recommendations made by a Dept. of Labor study group and calls for a tapering off of the Mexican migrant program over a five-year period. It would also reinforce provisions intended to protect our own farm laborers from unfair competition.

A feud has developed between the Dept. of Agriculture and the Dept. of Labor over farm labor. Labor Secy. Mitchell has described the lot of the migrants as "ultimately intolerable in a society wealthy enough to correct it." He has argued that migrant workers need Federal action to provide minimum wage guarantees. Last November he amended the farm placement act to require growers using the recruitment facilities of the United States Employment Service to meet prevailing wage, housing and transportation conditions.

THE GROWERS' FRIEND: Secy. of Agriculture Benson has opposed all Federal programs to improve migrant conditions. He has indicated that growers must be protected and his Under Secy. True D. Morse explained: "We are very concerned from the standpoint of costs to farmers" (Washington Post, March 21).



OUTSIDE THE FARM LABOR OFFICE IN STOCKTON, CALIF.
The faces of these American farm workers tell the story

Migrant spokesmen say it is a common practice of corporation farms to hire braceros when they can't get domestic farm labor at low rates. They give this as a major reason why the average annual income of the domestic farm worker is only \$761 and the average number of farm work days 128.

Vincente Lombardo Toledano, the Mexican labor leader, has indicated that the solution to the bracero problem is to organize the Mexican workers along with American farm workers. This is not easy since the Mexican workers are often inaccessible and any one of their number who is spotted as a "trouble-maker" is immediately deported.

WORKER AGAINST WORKER: In other parts of the country foreign migrants are being used in competition with the already impoverished domestic migratory laborers. The introduction of farm workers from the British West Indies and Puerto Rico, like the bracero program, was a war emergency measure favoring big farming interests. Some safeguards have been written in the foreign labor contracts but the workers have received even less than the low migrant wage scale. They have continued to fluctuate in and out of the country between the lean years when farm labor is plentiful and the prosperous years when shortages in labor would have increased the demand for our own migrant force and thus increased the wage standards. Domestic migrant labor has therefore never really benefitted from upward trends in the economic cycle.

In May the Labor Dept. announced a new contract with the British West Indies Employers Committee designed to improve working conditions for West Indian migrants. In the contract employers must pay the major share of the workers' transportation and guarantee employment for at least 75% of the normal hours of work during the contract period.

UNREPORTED TRAGEDIES: Large groups of Puerto Rican farm laborers were brought in last April. Their contracts, supervised by the Puerto Rican government, call for an 80¢ minimum wage. Workers are to be paid for at least 160 hours work in each four-week period. Adequate housing, health and hospital insurance and workmen's compensation are all provided. However, not all the workers come into the country under contract. This condition often results in tragedy:

Last month a Puerto Rican family left Florida with \$20 hoping for a job on a Connecticut tobacco farm near Hartford. In Norwalk, Conn., their many-year-old car ran out of gas and, with their money gone, they were left stranded on the Merritt Parkway. State police took the starving group to the Norwalk hospital where

doctors found the mother and a five-month-old baby suffering from severe malnutrition.

Most of the migrant tragedies remain unreported—just an accident here and there, when an unsafe, overcrowded truck is smashed in a collision or rolls over an embankment and the laborers are killed. Accidents with farm machinery are not news, although they may incapacitate a worker for life. For few of the injured or the sick is there any redress or welfare benefits.

THE POLITICIANS SPEAK: At the recent political conventions the migrants were a topic. The Democrats wrote into their farm plank: "We shall seek to bring the two million men, women and children who work for wages on the farms of the United States under the protection of existing labor and social legislation; and to assure migrant labor, perhaps the most underprivileged of all, a comprehensive program to bring them not only decent wages but also an adequate standard of health, housing, social security protection, education and welfare services."

The Republicans called for improvement in job opportunities and working conditions of migratory farm workers.

To date, however, neither party has done anything realistic about the plight of the migrants, although they are an essential part of our agricultural economy. Their only real hope lies with the unions and organized labor's willingness to persist in the tough job of organizing them in the face of violent opposition by the growers.

PROGRESSIVE PARTY OFFICIAL**Wm. H. Miller dead**

WILLIAM H. MILLER, director of Progressive Party campaigns in Illinois from 1948 through '52 and in recent years an electronics executive in Philadelphia, died on Aug. 12 of a heart attack. He was 48. Before undertaking the Progressive Party leadership in Illinois, he had been a civil liberties lawyer in New York and a onetime American Labor Party candidate for Congress. He was an Air Force Captain in World War II.

In 1955, returning from a business trip to New England, he was a passenger on an airliner which crashed into a mountain top during a snow storm. Miller rallied the few survivors, gave them quick instruction in survival techniques, and went down the mountain alone to bring help. All the survivors were rescued, but the experience left Miller with a heart condition.

Miller's wife Ruth, and their children Laura, 13, Kenneth, 10, and Jonathan, 3, live at 1043 69th Ave., Philadelphia 26.

Make it unanimous for Lucy

OLYMPIA, June 20—(UPI)—A 54-year-old grandmother accompanied by her "press agent"—a female goat named Alisa—has carried her campaign for the presidency to Washington State.

The woman, Mrs. Lucy Mayberry, began her campaign in Sacramento, Calif., last month and today visited Washington's capital in hopes of gaining the support of Gov. Albert D. Rosellini.

The Governor being out, Mrs. Mayberry and her cloven-footed press agent—"smarter than Jim Hagerty"—visited United Press International.

While her press agent happily nibbled on copy paper, Mrs. Mayberry informed the world that she was "sick and tired of idiotic people shaking atom bombs at my five grandchildren."

While Alisa made inroads into the day's news, Mrs. Mayberry described her platform from pollution to outer space.

She's against nuclear weapons and "flying over foreign lands uninvited." She wants to "turn farms back to the farmers" and is interested in "investigating basic causes of increase in mental breakdowns."

—Seattle Post-Intelligencer, June 21

Cuba's economy

(Continued from Page 1)

tant asset is the combination of a conscious people and exceptional leaders. Absent here is the alienation between governors and governed found in other countries. On the contrary, there is a mutual trust which makes not only for political unity, but also for economic mobility. Fidel Castro only has to appear on television to talk about the need to save dollars, increase productivity, freeze wages, or contribute to the fund for industrialization, and all Cuba begins to move in that direction. Voluntary contributions to buy machinery, for example, amount to over \$13,500,000 in less than five months.

The second factor, which is the identification of the peoples of Latin America with the Cuban Revolution, at first look has nothing to do with the economic development of this country. But Latin American solidarity bolsters Cuban morale and, moreover, is one of the guarantees that the Revolution will not be interrupted by a Guatemala-style intervention. A direct consequence of this solidarity is the presence in Cuba of Argentine engineers, Chilean economists and Mexican technicians, contributing valuable technical aid to the Cuban economy.

SOCIALIST PRICES: Item three among Cuba's assets is the large-scale assistance received from the socialist countries. The Soviet Union and China are buying this year a total of over two million short tons of Cuban sugar. Apart from the fact that his figures are wrong (example: the 700,000 short tons cut from its U.S. quota would have earned Cuba \$72,800,000, figuring on the basis of the average FOB price during the first six months of this year, and not \$92,000,000), New York Times correspondent Tad Szulc was right in saying (Aug. 3) that the socialist countries pay the world market price. This is about 2 cents lower a pound than the special U.S. quota price, established not to benefit Cuba but to save domestic producers from bankruptcy. However, he should have added that the goods received by Cuba from the socialist states are also cheaper.

The Soviet Union is supplying this country with petroleum at \$2.14 a barrel, including freight and insurance, compared with the \$3.02 a barrel which the international trusts charged to land their oil in Cuba. And Cuba has just contracted with China to buy 100,000 metric tons of rice at a price 45% lower than the American.

The rapid growth of Cuba's trade with the socialist countries makes it difficult to give precise figures, but it will probably reach up to 30% of its total foreign commerce this year. In the industrial field, the socialist countries have thus far agreed to install 56 factories, valued at \$92,000,000.

THE ADVANTAGES: In addition to these three basic factors, Cuba enjoys several advantages not usually found in underdeveloped countries: (1) a relatively high per capita income of nearly \$400, exceeded only by Argentina (\$439) and Venezuela (\$750) in Latin America; (2) good road and railway communications; (3) a lengthy history of capitalist development;



A FRIENDLY CUBAN CROWD DEMONSTRATES OUTSIDE THE MEXICAN EMBASSY
Havana was telling of its gratitude for Mexican expressions of friendship

a comparatively high level of literacy, surpassed in Latin America only by Argentina and Uruguay; (4) great possibilities of replacing imports by home production and cutting out non-essential import altogether, without seriously affecting the standard of living or economic development.

It is essential to understand, for example, that the extreme concentration of land in the hands of a few which characterized Cuban agriculture before the Revolution, did not have a feudal origin, like the latifundia of Bolivia, Mexico or Peru. It was due rather to the land-grabbing of the sugar and cattle companies.

Of course, the result in terms of vast stretches of uncultivated or poorly cultivated land was the same; but with the important difference that the Cuban farmer or agricultural worker, who will furnish the labor power for the industrialization process, starts off from a higher cultural plane and has a greater acquaintance with modern production methods and machinery than his brother in the other countries with a history of feudal institutions.

INCOME REDISTRIBUTED: The same conditions which before the Revolution defined the stagnation of the Cuban economy—600,000 persons (a quarter of the labor force) totally or partially unemployed because of the deformation of the economy around a single product and the seasonal nature of sugar production, great extensions of idle land, and under-utilization of installed capacity—these conditions enabled the new government to make substantial advances during its first year, without demanding great sacrifices from the people.

Mainly by putting to work some of the available resources, the gross national product was increased to 2,752.8 million pesos in 1959—4.6% over the previous year, despite a drop in sugar prices. In 1957, a good sugar year, the gross national product amounted to 2,737.7 million pesos.

Significantly, this growth has been accompanied by a redistribution of the national income. While the total national

income rose something over 4% in 1959, payments to workers and employees in private enterprise increased nearly 8%, according to preliminary figures which may well be on the low side. The movement has continued even more strongly into 1960. A partial computation of wages and salaries based on social security collections shows an increase of 35% in the first five months of this year over the same period in 1959.

DANGER OF INFLATION: At the same time, the cost of living (luxuries excepted) has remained absolutely stable. No overall statistics are available, but it is estimated that the 1% rise in food prices over the past 18 months, and temporary increases in some other articles—such as shoes—have been more than compensated by reductions in rents, telephone and electricity rates, and the cost of medicines. Together, the increase in wage payments and the maintenance of stable prices indicate the extent to which public buying power and the internal market have grown during the period.

Cuban economists are aware of the inflationary pressures generated by the kind of rapid economic development attempted here, but are certain that this country has the means to escape them under a revolutionary regime. The Times' Tad Szulc will be shown that the

prospect is not for "an indefinite period of austerity," but for a period in which a careful balance will have to be maintained between the sharply increasing demand, more slowly rising production, and the requirements of economic development, which includes schools and housing, as well as roads and factories.

A REAL TRANSFORMATION: The Cuban people are being asked to help keep this balance. I have attended union meetings at which the workers readily accepted a wage freeze—and even cuts in one case where a recently established piece-work schedule had resulted in gross inequalities—so that their unemployed brothers might get jobs and share in the overall increase of the payroll.

But the Cuban government is determined that any sacrifices necessary to finance the development of the country will be made in the first place by the rich—and Ebasco, IT & T and United Fruit can testify to the fact that the government is keeping its word. If President Eisenhower's decision makers had not messed with the sugar quota, this might not have happened for a long time.

The Cuban Revolution is producing a true social and economic transformation. If left in peace, it stands a good chance of doing this in less time and with less pain than any revolution in the past.

'Extremely lucrative returns'

AT THEIR PEAK, U.S. investments in Cuba have been estimated at more than a billion dollars, but Cubans discount such estimates. In a note to U.S. Ambassador Philip Bonsal in November, 1959, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa appraised the situation this way:

"A well known American economist has estimated the amount of capital actually exported to this country at some 500 millions of dollars. It can be concluded that, calculated on that basis, more than half of the value of the North American property located in Cuban territory represents reinvested profits. Most of the present North American investments in Cuba, particularly in the sugar industry, have been amortized, and liberal profits made afterwards, since many years ago.

"In the last 15 years the North American investments in Cuba aggregated 700 million dollars, of which 548 millions were sent back to the country of origin of the respective investors, and 163 millions were reinvested in ours.

"Summarizing, North American investments in Cuba have always been characterized by their extremely lucrative returns."

Congress horseplay

(Continued from Page 1)

W. Smith (D-Va.), in coalition with Rep. Charles A. Halleck (R-Ind.), has successfully blocked some welfare legislation. Both houses passed bills for aid to education—the first time in history for the House. The Senate version called for \$1.8 billion over two years for school construction and teachers' salaries. The House bill authorized \$1.3 billion over four years for construction only. But the Rules Committee has blocked the appointment of a Senate-House conference committee to adjust the differences.

The Rules Committee also has refused to report out an omnibus housing bill approved by the Banking Committee and already passed by the Senate.

BLOCKING TACTICS: Republican strategy, dictated by a minority position,

called for defensive maneuvers to embarrass Kennedy and play up differences within the Democratic Party. To avoid facing President Eisenhower with a veto situation, the GOP hoped to block most of the welfare legislation in committee. If the House voted suspension of the rules, to bypass the Rules Committee, they felt certain that with Southern Democratic support they could still defeat the bills which would then require a two-thirds vote.

Civil rights legislation offered the best opportunity to corner the Democrats. Republicans planned to raise the issue as often as possible—in direct legislation and as amendments to other bills.

Johnson announced before the session opened that it would end by Labor Day. Because time was short, he said, action would be limited to a handful of social welfare and appropriation bills. In a counter move President Eisenhower sent a message to Congress outlining 22 ac-

tions he said he wanted. He also said he would veto "spending" bills.

DIRKSEN'S MOVE: Republicans drew first blood. On Aug. 9 Dirksen introduced a civil rights bill to (1) provide Federal financial help to school districts seeking to desegregate; (2) make permanent the Committee on Government Contracts, which polices fair employment practices on government contracts. Both provisions had been deleted from the civil rights bill passed in April.

The Democrats called the bill a political maneuver and argued that consideration would stall the session. Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.), a civil rights advocate, moved to table—and thus kill—the bill. Johnson quickly moved a rollcall vote and the motion to table carried 54 to 28. Only four Democrats voted against the motion: Paul Douglas (Ill.), Pat McNamara and Phillip Hart (Mich.), and Wayne Morse (Ore.).

PURSUIT OF POWER: To some the

Democrats' vote cast a shadow over the pious words on civil rights at the party's convention. The New York Post in a front-page editorial said: "Can Kennedy win the election if the image he offers is that of a calculating passionless man, dedicated only to the pursuit of power? Is that not fundamentally the case against Mr. Nixon? This was the kind of performance that dims all luster in the Kennedy campaign and strengthens the neutralism so widespread now in the large community of independent liberal voters.

"We know it will be said there are other fateful matters before Congress and that the Democrats should not be judged on this solitary performance. That is true. But the civil rights issue gave Kennedy a unique chance to overcome much of the cynicism created by his choice of Johnson as his running mate. It gave Johnson the occasion to prove that he is liberated from provin-

(Continued on Page 5)

ATROCITIES AND RICHES

Katanga: Why Belgium hoped to take the Congo again

By Kumar Goshal
(Second of two articles)

THESE IS good reason to believe that after the Congo became "independent," the Belgian government expected to return in force "to protect Belgian citizens" and thus recover the colony, or failing that, to detach the mineral-rich Katanga province, which supplied 60% of the Congo government's revenue. After elections were held to decide to whom Belgium would hand over power, Patrice Lumumba's party won three times as many seats in the parliament as Joseph Kasavubu's party. Nevertheless, the Belgian government asked Kasavubu—who until then had stood for an autonomous lower Congo—to form an administration. This obviously was a move to create a conflict between the two Congolese leaders.

But the leaders settled their differences: Kasavubu became the Head of State and Lumumba Premier; Kasavubu accepted Lumumba's principle of a united Congo under a strong central government. For a few days there was a perceptible relaxation of tension. Then trouble started with the mutiny of the 25,000-strong Congolese army.

THE WHITE OFFICERS: Why did the soldiers mutiny? Partly because of low pay and brutal treatment by white officers; and partly because they were never promoted to officer rank. Time attributed the army revolt to the martinet behavior of Gen. Emile Janssens, its commander before independence. Janssens, Time said, "habitually referred to both Belgian and Congolese politicians as 'stupid rabble.' He treated Lumumba with contempt, once remarked: 'With my 25,000 soldiers, I can rule the Congo if I want to.'"

Basil Davidson, an authority on Africa, said in the New Statesman that the Congolese soldiers "resented and even hated their officers." He said the verifiable atrocities reported in the last weeks "were mostly by African soldiers against their Belgian officers and wives. The accent, even there, seems not to have been on cruelty, but on humiliation."

On sober analysis it would seem that panic provoked panic, resulting in atrocities on both sides. Harry Gilroy reported (N. Y. Times, July 21) that whites in one town gathered arms from an arms depot for self protection, but Congolese soldiers thought the whites were going to attack them. The soldiers rushed to disarm the whites. "This was the beginning of the panic," Gilroy said.

EXAGGERATED STORIES: The London Daily Mail correspondent in Northern Rhodesia reported July 13: "Of all the refugees I interviewed, only one actually

saw bloodshed . . . There was shooting and disorder. But some of the stories told by refugees are now being recognized as wildly exaggerated." On July 15 the Daily Express had tales of the raping of nuns — gathered second-hand from a Dutch priest. On the same day, the London Daily Telegraph's correspondent James O'Driscoll, who has been supplying first-rate coverage from Leopoldville, made no mention of rape in an otherwise comprehensive story.

Noting all this, the New Statesman (July 23) said of the stories of rape: "They may well be true . . . although anyone whose memories go back to the First World War may be forgiven for recalling that nuns had a habit of appearing in many similarly widely-publicized atrocity stories which did not always stand up to later examination . . . From this distance it is impossible to judge whether reports of a kind that tend to crop up in all disturbances of this nature and which form part of the permanent mythology of atrocity stories are, in this instance, accurate or not . . . As was to be expected a number of newspapers used the situation in the Congo as a warning of the danger of offering self-government to African peoples as a whole."

TRIGGER-HAPPY TROOPS: In this connection the Congolese government has also accused the Belgians of violating Congolese women during the recent disturbances. And Time (July 25) noted that "trigger-happy and arrogant Belgian paratroopers have been assaulting Africans, refusing to sit with 'those black apes' when Foreign Minister Justin Bomboko proposed joint patrols. They prevented Lumumba and Kasavubu from visiting disturbed areas to calm the people; insulted Lumumba by threatening to shoot him 'full of holes,' and poked a sten gun in UN Undersecretary Ralph Bunche's stomach at the airfield, even after he had identified himself. One trooper said: 'Get off the airfield. I don't give a ---- about the UN. Get out.'"

Sifting all available data at this writing, it would be safe to assume, as Time said (Aug. 1), that "the actual casualties are far fewer than the headlines would suggest. Those killed were mostly soldiers from both sides." The same thing could be said of the atrocity stories.

THE CONCLUSION: It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Belgium expected to intervene in an effort to recover the colony. This conclusion is reinforced by Brussels' reluctance to withdraw all troops even after the arrival of UN forces large enough to protect Belgian citizens still in the Congo.

With regard to Katanga, few doubt that preparations were made in advance



THIS PHOTO TELLS THE CONGO STORY
A huge copper melting plant in Katanga Province

to try to hold on to it at all costs. As long as a year ago, according to U.S. News (July 4), "the whites were threatening to break rich Katanga province away from the rest of the Congo and to join white-governed Northern Rhodesia." The London Tribune referred (July 22) to "detailed [and] long-term talks between the mining interests of Katanga and Northern Rhodesia." The Tribune cited Western support for Katanga's secession:

"It is becoming increasingly clear, despite the confused reports of day-to-day events, that in Belgium's last-ditch battle to retain some vestige of her colonial power she does not stand alone. Britain, France and the Rhodesian Federation are with her. And Moïse Tshombe [Premier of Katanga province] has sold himself to them. Like Suez, the whole Congo affair reeks of collusion."

TSHOMBE'S MASTER: Tshombe had indeed sold himself long ago. Both the British and the U.S. press have openly reported that Tshombe's political party has been financed by Katanga's giant mining interests, which also financed his last election campaign. Union Minière du Haut Katanga even supplied him with an adviser when he went last February to the Brussels independence conference.

Like all colonials who throw in their lot with the conquerors, Tshombe has profited from the crumbs given him from the masters' table. He owns plantations, has made money as a typical colonial middleman trading in everything from peanuts to beer. For siding with the rulers, Time said (July 25), "Tshombe was given special privileges and responded by hanging in his office the pictures of Belgium's King Baudouin and Leopold II . . . The power behind Tshombe is the potent Union Minière du Haut Katanga."

THIS WAS ELISABETHVILLE: In a dispatch to Newsweek from Katanga, correspondent Arnaud de Borchgrave described this scene at Premier Tshombe's Elisabethville office:

"Outside stood squads of Belgian soldiers. Inside, next to the Premier's office, sat his 'military adviser,' the Belgian commandant, and the Premier's personal speech writer, Belgian businessman George Thyssen . . . The Belgians have propped up Tshombe's 'independence' with administrators, troops and money. . . . By holding onto Katanga, Belgium, which supplied most of the Congo's \$3.5 billion capital investment, could wash its hands of the rest of the Congo and still retain more than half of its vast stake in African colonialism . . . Without Katanga, the Congo would be bankrupt. For this reason Lumumba and the central government simply cannot permit secession."

A NEW SITUATION: But Belgium and its allies, the rulers of the Rhodesias and men like Tshombe were not reckoning with the most significant factors emerging out of the multi-faceted Congo situation: (1) the increasing influence of the newly-freed African states in the affairs affecting all Africans; (2) the Africans' awareness that they can turn to the socialist states for support without strings.

In a clear warning at a conference in Addis Ababa June 25, the newly independent African states unequivocally served notice on the colonial powers to refrain from any action which might compromise the sovereignty and independence of emerging states.

The new nations are speaking from growing strength—and they mean business.

Congress horseplay

(Continued from Page 4)

cial Texas politics. Neither man rose to the challenge."

MINIMUM WAGE BILL: Kennedy moved to regain prestige among liberals on Aug. 10 when he introduced a new minimum wage bill. It would (1) increase the \$1 an hour minimum to \$1.25, in installments, by Jan. 1, 1963; (2) extend protection to 5,000,000 workers not presently covered by the law and reduce their work week, in stages, to 40 hours.

(In the rush to adjourn before the convention, the House had passed a bill on June 30 to raise the minimum wage to \$1.15 and extend coverage to about 1,400,000 workers. But an incredible "goof" in language removed about 14,000,000 workers from coverage.)

Republican Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (Ariz.) led the attack on the Kennedy bill. He said it would force prices up and decrease jobs. He also said it would be "a disaster" to "try to repeal the law of

supply and demand" in the labor market. Democrats Holland (Fla.), Thurmond

(S.C.) and Ervin (N.C.) supported Goldwater.

UP IN HYDE PARK: Kennedy spent the Sunday recess in a pilgrimage to Franklin D. Roosevelt's grave in Hyde Park, N.Y., on the 25th anniversary of Social Security. He called for medical care for the aged through the social security system. But even as he left Washington, a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans in the Senate Finance Committee rejected Kennedy's formula in favor of a program of token Federal and state aid outside the social security program. Kennedy promised a floor fight.

The Republicans planned to raise the civil rights issue again as the session's second week opened. Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) had ready a bill embodying four points from the civil rights plank adopted at the Republican convention. It covered two points from the Dirksen bill—financial support for school districts seeking to desegregate, and permanent status for the Committee on Government Contracts—and added (1)

authorization for the Attorney General to bring action for desegregation of schools whenever coercion is used to deprive an individual of constitutional rights; (2) a clause that a sixth grade education be regarded as sufficient proof of literacy for voting in Federal elections.

SUMMERTIME FROLIC: Sen. Kenneth B. Keating (R-N.Y.) also threatened to introduce the Democratic civil rights platform as a bill and challenge the Democrats to pass it.

The game of political tag provided much amusement on Capitol Hill and in the newspaper columns. But among the millions whose welfare was involved, there was little amusement. And even if they had scant choice for the Presidency, the millions still could vote in the House and Senate elections—and they were not likely to forget the August horseplay.

Quotes for our time

"He was just like a daddy to me."
—Lyndon Johnson about F.D.R.,
quoted in Newsweek, 3/14/60



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Sticky wicket

BOOKS

Let's have some thunder

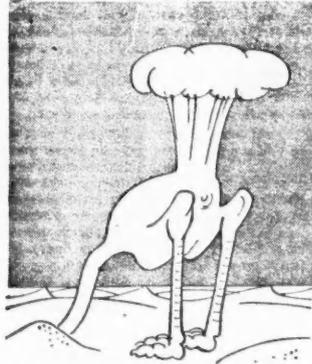
THESE ARE RADIO lectures* by the Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Dalhousie University in Nova Scotia. The title seems ambiguous: did the author mean "in" or "for"? And has there ever been an age which, in so far as it was an "age," was not also a mass age? Well, at any rate, if this little book intends to state the condition of philosophy "in" the present age, then that condition is remarkably confused; and if it intends to offer a philosophy "for" the present age, then that philosophy is remarkably confusing.

Except for two concepts, "individualism" and "the moral law," which are unqualifiedly defined, no stand is taken in any page which is not negated upon some other page. Thus Marx was right—and also wrong, and the same goes for Protestants, Catholics, pragmatists, existentialists, Hegelians. Dr. Grant would be simultaneously against capitalism and socialism, if it were not for the fact that opposition to either one seems to re-

quire advocacy of the other. Freud, it is said, had something on the ball; but he is also referred to (affectionately) as "a metaphysical old Jew" (p. 101).

I do not think that any reader of this book could possibly make out from it how he is to live his life or how the masses are to live theirs. This obfuscation is singular at a moment in history when both facts and values have a clarity they never have had before. Indeed, the essential facts and values are so plain that no man needs argument to be convinced of them; and if a man remains unconvinced of them, he is beyond the reach of argument anyway, and we must turn him over to Dr. Marx or Dr. Freud (both of them, as you know, "metaphysical old . . .").

LET US LOOK at some of these facts and values. (1) The survival of the human race is not only a value but is the precondition for achieving any other value whatever. (2) A nuclear war between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. would either extin-



guish the human race or reduce the few and moribund survivors to the level of primitive man. (3) Consequently, as Bertrand Russell has said, the enmity between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., which makes this sort of war possible, is more dangerous to mankind than capitalism is to socialism or socialism to capitalism. (4) Consequently, whatever one's view may be of the ultimately "right" social organization for mankind, the immense and flaming holocaust must be avoided, prevented, or, best of all, publicly renounced by the adversaries. (5) Enmity short of war would be sufferable; tolerance or friendship would be a blessing so great as to seem flawless.

These five propositions constitute the essence of philosophy (the love of wisdom, as you know, it etymologically is) "in" or "for" the present or "mass" age. Compared with the procla-

mation of these plain truths, all word-cracking, syntax-explicating, logic-chopping, hemming-hawing over the merits of past thinkers, and such-like professional entertainments have not even the depth and utility of children's play. Yet precisely these five propositions are to Dr. Grant "an obvious cliché" (p. 14)—though he adds that they are "still true."

AH, IF A MAN would only accept the implications of true statements along with the statements themselves! In the blaze of those five propositions every extant philosophical theory, or segment of theory, will either shrivel or survive. What in the blazes (as I didn't intend to say) do you think will happen to the positivists, whose notion is that values are a matter of personal taste? Or to the existentialists, who think that consequences don't matter? Or to the pragmatists, who think that consequences do matter, but who are economic imperialists just the same? Or to our friend Dr. Grant, who doesn't want to be a capitalist or a socialist or any other kind of -ist except an individualist to the degree that the laws and atmosphere of Canada allow?

Strange to say—strange, because I would never have expected it in my lifetime—we have arrived in fact at the last judgment—or, if not the very last, then the penultimate. Personally and philosophically, the sheep are even now being separated from the goats. The wide world over, regardless of station and of power, and almost regardless of the social views they hold, men will either do those things which will enable our race to survive, or they will do those things which will inevitably cause it to perish. They will do either of these things whether they know they are doing them or not; and the philosophies

which promote them, or excuse them, or conceal from them the true nature of what they are doing, will survive or perish according to the issue.

THE FACT IS that the present age, the age of advanced technology, the "mass age," has put all philosophies on trial for a final decision. No philosopher need write for this age unless he is bold and clear. To the extent that he shrinks within approved concepts and hortatory pieties, he may as well save his breath and ink.

But is 'bold, clear speaking dangerous? Of course: it always has been. I will, however, propose as a present rule of life—indeed, as an imperative of the moral law—a sentence once written by Madame Roland, whereof the potent italics are her own: "On n'ose plus parler, dites-vous? Soit: c'est tonner qu'il faut faire." Which, for myself, I would render thus: "People don't any longer dare to talk, you say? Very well, then: let them thunder."

—Barrows Dunham

PHILOSOPHY IN THE MASS AGE, by George P. Grant. Hill and Wang, 104 Fifth Ave., New York. \$3.

Hallinan will report on the Powers trial

VINCENT HALLINAN, West Coast attorney and one of several prominent lawyers invited to attend the trial of Francis Gary Powers in Moscow, will report to Bay area readers of the GUARDIAN of his return.

The trial of the U-2 pilot began Aug. 17, and is expected to last about two weeks. The date and place of the meeting will be set when the trial is completed. Admission will be \$1, with proceeds going to the GUARDIAN. Watch the "Tonight" column of the San Francisco Chronicle for final details.

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N.Y.'S 19th CD

Koppersmith seeks seat in Congress

A GROUP of New York citizens who have designated themselves the New Deal Pioneers have nominated for Congress, in the city's 19th CD, Hal Koppersmith, a former state committee member of the Progressive Party. The 19th includes Stuyvesant Town, the Lower East Side and part of Greenwich Village. The incumbent is Democrat Leonard Farbstein, who is running for reelection.

Koppersmith, a member of the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, will campaign on a "foreign policy of peace through planning."

To achieve ballot status, Koppersmith must collect 3,000 signatures on an independent nominating petition by Sept. 16. In an appeal for volunteers and funds, Koppersmith said: "I am running for Congress because I believe that the truth can organize people."

Campaign headquarters have been opened at 201 Second Ave. (betw. 12th & 13th Sts.) Phones: ORegon 4-9850 or Canal 8-3815.

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Latest Medical Method Laura Green



RICHARD G. JONES, Bremerton, Wash., high school teacher whose students sent a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him to apologize to the U.S.S.R. for the U-2 incident (See Gallery, June 27) was fired by the school board last month. Jones had been transferred to non-teaching duties after the student telegram was disclosed. The Bremerton Fedn. of Teachers pledged to support Jones in legal appeals... Cassandra, London Daily Mail columnist, reporting from the Democratic convention in Los Angeles, wrote: "America seems detached from reality, away from it all. There is a fey quality about the topical scene and their happiness has a nervous touch about it. The jokes are a trifle cracked and the laughter faintly false. Even the atom bomb has to join in the edgy fun. In the cafeteria here they have a large printed notice. It reads: 'In case of atomic attack keep calm, pay bill, run like hell.'"...

LEE BRISTOL, chairman of the Bristol-Myers Co., told the Sales Executive Club of New York: "We must all sharpen our standards not only of ethics, but of taste, too... If we don't change some of our attitudes pretty soon, we are going to be overtaken by the Communists... All of us can lose the race by default to a determined people who rate intellectualism over chrome plating; who admire hard work more than featherbedding; who rank teachers higher than rock 'n' roll singers; who push harder for a fast rocket than a fast buck; and who are sweating long hours at the bench, plow and drafting board to overtake America." Bristol said the Advertising Council, of which he is chairman is launching a campaign to improve American ethical and moral values...



Goldberg, Wall Street Journal "That's what I said, put it back on the blink!"

which advertised for salesmen for a LP record of The Sermon on the Mount: "Up to 500% profit." Or, the employment agencies which take three columns of ads in the N.Y. Times Sunday classified for "sleep-in maids." Some agencies specify "Southern or Local." One outfit advertised, "Southern \$30 up; Local, \$35-\$60 week." European domestics go for only \$125 a month.

YE OLDE EDITOR-IN-EXILE sent a clipping with a nomination as the all-time winner of "There'll Always Be An England" award. It is a letter to the London Times' obituary department on the death of CP leader Harry Pollitt from Rev. Francis Coveney, rector of Fishtoft. Before donning the cloth, Coveney was on Scotland Yard's Special Branch (Red Squad), assigned to shadowing Pollitt. The letter is reprinted in full below:

"May I express through your columns my sympathy with the relatives of Harry Pollitt?"

"Your excellent obituary highlights the vicissitudes of a remarkable career which I followed so closely as a professional during 25 years in the Special Branch of Scotland Yard. Most of my old colleagues whose task it was to keep abreast the activities of subversive movement would agree that Harry Pollitt was essentially a good man. In its relentless fight against communism and communists the Special Branch never pulled its punches. We covered their meetings, watched their movements, checked their friends, night and day. We were so much under their noses, often taking shorthand notes of their speeches within a few yards of their platforms, that inevitably we became very well known to them. To many we were "the dirty spies from Scotland Yard." But Harry Pollitt never descended, as did some speakers, to personalities; and never, so far as I knew, bore us any malice. Indeed I have known him to prevent violence against a Special Branch man during a crowded, stormy, indoor meeting.

"He knew me so well by sight that when I followed him into a bar after he was returning from a continental conference he spotted me and called me across for a drink. Having abandoned any pretence of "discreet observation" I endeavored to bring the conversation round to the purpose of his trip, but, as always, he was loyal to the party and he would say no more, with his characteristic twinkle, than that he had been to Paris for a conference.

"When, at the beginning of the war, I was sent to follow him from his house to find out where a secret meeting of the party was taking place, he again spotted me on the top of a bus. As before he met my probing questions with a good-humored shake of his head, but he was obviously as depressed about the Russo-German pact as I was. When I said, "Are you people going to let Hitler smash Britain," he replied, after sober thought, "No, we shall not do that." In the event they did not!" —Robert E. Light

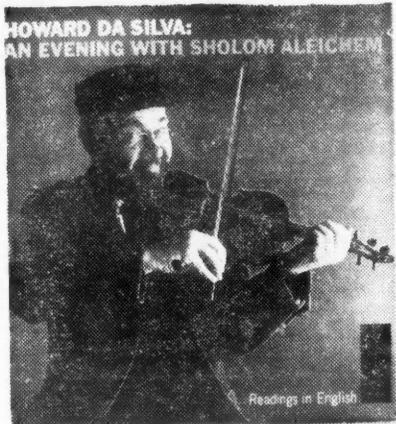


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**THE WEAVERS at
Carnegie Hall
(Volume 2)**



THOSE who know *The Weavers* — and there is a steadily dwindling number who do not — won't need to be "sold" on their newest and, in the opinion of some, finest album. **Lee Hays, Fred Hellerman, Ronnie Gilbert** and one of America's outstanding banjoists, **Erik Darling**, have done it again, this time with 18 new songs that have the critics raving. Space forbids our giving you a detailed review of them . . . let it suffice that **all** are wonderful.

The tape was made at the inspired *Weavers* concert at Carnegie Hall, April 1, 1960. The recording is superb, and most of the applause has been cut out.

SIDE ONE: On My Journey, Born in East Virginia, Bill Bailey Come Home, Sinking of the Reuben James, Good Old Bowling Green, There Once Was a Young Man Who Went to the City, Subo, Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream, Marching to Pretoria; SIDE TWO: Stewball, Below the Gullows Tree, Tapuch Bineni, Universal Folk Song, Run Come See, Buttermilk Hill, Amazing Grace, Virgin Mary, and New Jerusalem.

the
SPECTATOR



Anybody seen Elmer?

A FEW DAYS BEFORE *ELMER GANTRY* opened at the Capitol Theater in Manhattan, the *New York Times* published a self-congratulatory article by Richard Brooks, the film's script writer and director. Brooks considered himself fortunate to have had access to an outstanding novel for conversion into a film retaining the original's guts, fire and intention. He was even luckier, he suggested, to have his own courage in attacking a most controversial subject matched by the courage of United Artists, who ventured where earlier angels had feared to tread. Best of all, Brooks was able to profit from the good offices of the book's author. Sinclair Lewis had once advised him to read the reviews written in 1927 when *Gantry* first raised a ruckus in this God-fearing republic. "They tore me to pieces," he quoted Lewis, "Hurry up and buy it for the movies. I could use the cash."

Brooks did not make the film in time to help "Red" Lewis in his straits. But he must have read the book reviews with a cautious owl's eye. No critics were going to rip him limb from limb.

THE OUTCOME IS A FILMED *Elmer Gantry* which is about as daring as boiled carrots. It is a slashing condemnation of the evangelist as an institution, a barrel of flit directed at a pest that was rampant full 40 years ago. This theme, which provides the substance of the movie, occupies some 70 pages of Lewis' 432-page novel, the body of which is devoted to a satirical exposé of religious education and the organized church in the United States.

In the book, Elmer's evangelism is only a wayward step along the path of an opportunist whose worst traits are just those which commend him to the higher officials of the orthodox clergy. A Methodist minister, writing to the *Times*' screen editor (July 24), felt impelled to qualify his liking for the film by observing that "the great thrust of the book was the fact that Elmer Gantry, by use of qualities we can only call despicable, went to 'the top' of his profession, and that the life of the churches was such as to encourage and reward just those traits of character. It is still very easy to be a bad minister, and very difficult to be a good one. Gantryism is by no means passé."

Out of the mouth of honesty. Set beside this quiet statement, Brooks' pseudo-social production and his assertion that it required courage to embark on it crackle like fresh dollar bills.

Having trimmed Lewis' book to ideological respectability, Brooks has fixed it up in other ways. Lewis apparently was too much of a polemicist. According to Brooks, he said he hated *Gantry* too deeply to make him believable. (It's curious how characters are supposed to lose their authenticity just when the author penetrates too deeply into the social implications of their behavior.) Brooks has therefore endowed *Gantry* with loving qualities that Lewis knew he did not possess. He has furnished the fanatical hypocrite with a chromium-plated heart from the American Dream prop department. His rationale for such amiable "rounding out" is that "a book or play primarily evokes an intellectual response. Later, perhaps, there is an emotional response. A movie evokes an emotional response first. Later, perhaps there is an intellectual response. I hope *Elmer Gantry*, the film, is first of all an entertainment."

AT WHAT COST Brooks' hope is fulfilled may be sampled by comparing the tabernacle fire scene in the film with Elmer's escape in the novel. In the book, Elmer has been thrust aside by the self-hypnotized Sharon who is urging her audience to display their trust in God by following her through the flames. "Furious with pain, senseless with fear, he raged, 'You can go to hell!' and galloped off, pushing aside the last of the hysterical choir . . . In howling panic, Elmer sprang among them, knocked them aside, struck down a girl who stood in his way, yanked open the door, and got through it . . . the last one, the only one, to get through it." But in the film we see Elmer pushing his way frantically but vainly against the stampeding crowd to reach his beloved!

Lewis may have been too angry a man, but at least he had convictions. Unlike the makers of this film, he was out to slay the righteous parasites and he did not try to please everybody.

—Charles Humboldt

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NEWSPAPER

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A report on Cuba

(Continued from Page 2)

ment line. In news content, neither belongs in the same league with the Spanish language press.

- Religion is certainly free as air, and actually not as widely opposed to or as hesitant about the Revolution as the U.S. press makes out.

- Cuba is a fully integrated society, and the July 26 Movement campaigns ceaselessly against any last vestiges of racial mythology among the Cuban people.

- Cuba's leaders—Fidel, Raul, Che (their front names are all people use)—are brilliant young men who enjoy complete public confidence and whose public acts and statements are in advantageous contrast to those of the two slightly older men now vying for the U.S. presidency.

- Of the retiring U.S. President, the "h" in whose name is pronounced "h" but written with a "j" in Spanish, Cubans sing the following political ditty:

"Fidel Castro triunfara/ Eisenhower, ja, ja, ja."

—John T. McManus