

HOLIDAY BUYING SERVICE SPECIALS: 4 EXTRA PAGES OF SUPERB VALUES

EXPLOSIVE CUBA-QUEMOY ISSUES

Election war whoops by Kennedy-Nixon dismay U. S. allies

By Kumar Goshal

ANTAGONISM by the U.S. toward the Cuban government and the Peking regime caused eruptions on several fronts during the last two weeks: (1) It became a hotly-debated subject in the Nixon-Kennedy Presidential campaign; (2) It shocked Washington's allies all over the world; and (3) It brought charges of U.S. aggression against Cuba before the UN.

On Oct. 19 the U.S. imposed an embargo on all exports to Cuba except medical supplies and non-subsidized food-stuffs; next day it recalled Ambassador to Cuba Philip Bonsal for "an extended period of consultations."

This was not enough for Sen. Kennedy. In a statement on Cuba released Oct. 20, Kennedy called for more stringent steps, including "measures to prevent goods from being shipped to Castro via a third country" and strengthening "anti-Castro forces in exile, and in Cuba itself, who offer eventual hope of overthrowing Castro."

In earlier and later statements, Kennedy stuck to his modified policy on Quemoy and Matsu, supporting the President's position that they should be defended if necessary for the defense of Taiwan and the Pescadores.

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KNOW YOUR ENEMY: THIS IS THE CUBAN THREAT 90 MILES FROM OUR SHORES
These are the ones Senator Kennedy seeks to liberate from the Castro yoke

MARTIN LUTHER KING AND STUDENTS ARRESTED

Eye-witness in Atlanta: Anatomy of a sit-in

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

ALL 73 NEGRO demonstrators arrested Oct. 19-21 when they staged the largest sit-in demonstration ever held in Atlanta have been released from jail except Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. The majority of the students were released through the intervention of Atlanta's Mayor William Hartsfield after some had been released earlier on legal technicalities.

In a significant move the Mayor met with 60 Negro leaders and reached an agreement for a 30-day suspension of sit-ins while he negotiated for the demonstrators' release and for integrated eating facilities and fair employment practices in downtown Atlanta stores.

Dr. King may have to serve a one-year suspended sentence he received some time ago for driving without a Georgia license. The sentence was suspended with the provision that Dr. King not violate any state law during the 12 months.

No Negroes demonstrated after the sit-ins were discontinued on Oct. 22, but about 50 whites picketed in support of segregation that day. The Mayor has promised to provide weekly progress reports and enough information within 30 days to allow Negroes to decide whether or not further demonstrations would be necessary.

CAREFULLY PLANNED: Determined to remain in jail as part of their protest against segregation, Dr. King and the students had refused to post \$500 bonds

set by the trial judge in preliminary hearings Oct. 19.

Planning for the demonstrations had begun the previous weekend at a conference of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, composed of sit-in leaders from the Southern states. The night before the first demonstration 300 students met to discuss the action and its consequences. The decision was made then that all who were arrested would remain in jail.

At 9 a.m. on Oct. 19, on the dew-soaked grass of the quadrangle at Atlanta University, Negro students gathered quietly. Target time for sit-ins in eight downtown Atlanta variety and department stores was two hours off. A captain for each group had a list of

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Where the Guardian stands on the November elections

WITH COUNTLESS PROGRESSIVE, peace-seeking Americans, we have watched and waited until this eleventh hour for a sign that the party of Franklin Roosevelt might in 1960 return to the path of peace.

We have seen no such sign. We are not aware of even a hint of the kind of flexibility which might make it possible for "the men around Kennedy" to direct a Democratic administration in 1961 toward international nuclear agreement and disarmament. Nor are we aware of any word or deed by Adlai Stevenson or Chester Bowles—the "men around Kennedy" in whom peace-seeking America has placed its hope—to indicate that they disagree with the truculent, arrogant, brutal (toward Cuba) and reckless program their candidate has offered; so it is now an academic matter whether either might be offered the post of Secretary of State in a Ken-



nedy cabinet. The other "men around Kennedy," those he selected from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund brains trust, have steered the Democratic campaign to unequivocal adoption of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund Report for boosting armaments spending by \$3 billion a year for the next ten years. Thus on armaments, Kennedy equals Nixon equals Rockefeller.

The two straws people have hopefully clutched at in Kennedy's closing campaign statements have been (1) his denial of a commitment to seek to hold Quemoy and Matsu in the event of a Chinese move to reclaim them; and (2) his letter to former Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, opposing unilateral resumption of atmospheric nuclear weapons tests. On examination, neither of these positions meets the test of frankness.

ON SEPT. 30, NBC's Chet Huntley asked Kennedy if he agreed with the policy "under which we are committed now" to the defense of Quemoy and Matsu. Kennedy replied: "I have always thought that was an unwise place to draw the line . . . Formosa, yes . . . Quemoy and Matsu is a different matter." In the second TV debate with Nixon he said the defense of Quemoy and Matsu was a decision the Nationalists (Chi-

ang) should make, with "our line drawn around Formosa itself."

Actually the Eisenhower policy has never been committed to the defense of Quemoy and Matsu, although Eisenhower wrote to Senator Green of Rhode Island in October, 1958, that "it may become necessary or appropriate for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores also to take measures to secure and protect the related positions of Quemoy and Matsu." Kennedy has now restated his position so that it coincides with Eisenhower's, claiming that this has been his position throughout.

But the real issue in the Far East, short of recognition of China and her rights in the UN, is Formosa (Taiwan), not Quemoy-Matsu. The objective of both parties is to hold Taiwan (which both Chiang and Peking claim to be an integral part of China, a claim originally agreed to by the U.S.). An honest liberal-progressive position can only be for restoration of Taiwan to China; and this is the position of every independent Asian leader, including Nehru.

Yet Adlai Stevenson, speaking on the question of seating People's China at the UN, said on Oct. 18:

(Continued on Page 4)



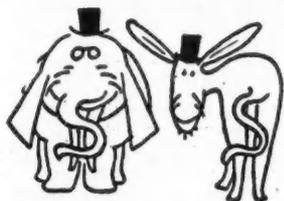
Vote your dissent

PLAINFIELD, VT.
Can progressive-minded citizens afford not to vote in the coming election? A preponderance of my liberal acquaintances believe they can. "Why waste the time," they say, "when no appreciable difference exists between the TWO candidates."

And HERE resides the fallacy. Have we already discarded the candidates who speak for a minority party? Are we willing to disfranchise ourselves in the vote for Congress and other elective positions? I certainly cannot accept such terms of surrender! Furthermore, the effect of one million additional potential voters remaining home on election day will be trifling; however, if this same million voiced their dissent by voting for a minority party candidate, the leaders of our nation would be compelled to take notice. So I urge all who read this letter to VOTE on Nov. 8.
Jerry Moss

Citizen strategy

SAN LUIS OBISPO, CALIF.
There is only one sound political strategy for defeating both candidates: that is to elect Nixon and then hamstring him by electing a solid Democratic Congress. This would give us whatever benefits Kennedy could confer without accepting the Old Man of the Mountain he carries on his back and would disarm the pseudo-Quaker, Nixon. I know this suggestion will shock the strict party adherent, but then he is due for many a ruder shock in the near future. Yours for citizen strategy rather than party rignarole.
Alexander MacKay



Why we mourn Marc

NEW YORK, N.Y.
Rep. Alfred E. Santangelo, who now represents New York's 18th Congressional District, once so ably represented by Vito Marcantonio, is mailing to his constituents a copy of his speech in the House Aug. 30 entitled "Fidel Castro—From Liberator to Infidel." He refers to Castro as "a psychotic without religion and without scruples." Here are some other phrases from his speech: "Castro took from the landed gentry and the businessmen the fruits of their labor and turned them over to his followers and the rabble . . . To survive, he, like Faustus, must pledge his soul to Mephistopheles. He shall receive his sugar quotas from the

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

CHICAGO, Sept. 27, (WNS)
—No shelter is complete without original wall paintings, says Samuel R. Schwartz, art dealer. Fine art, he asserts, gives people something better to look at than each other while cooped up in a bomb shelter's confines. He pointed out that cave paintings provided primitive man with beauty and a change of pace. If world upheaval forces us back into the ways of basic survival, "art could make this kind of primitive existence tolerable."
—Detroit News, Sept 27

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. F., Bloomfield Hills, Mich.

almighty demon and enjoy his free additional hours of glory and false power. However, the day of reckoning is not too distant . . . Violence begets violence, and he who gave so much promise for the free world will perish as an infidel, without glory, and without faith."

Recently Santangelo accused the Liberal Party of bigotry toward Italian-Americans. But what word would better fit Santangelo's attitude toward Cuba's "rabble" and those who are "without religion?" F.L.H.

First vote—no vote

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
This being my first election will also be my first abstention from Presidential voting. I will confine my voting to state and Congressional candidates where I have a far better chance to show my displeasure for the two major parties' choices.
Brian D. Lister

Denial wanted

HAVERHILL, MASS.
If Mr. Lodge is trying to speak for the President when he promises the continuation of the U-2 flights, it's about time that the President denied Lodge's statements and spoke up to give some reassurance to the people.
M. I. Lewis

For Dobbs and Weiss

CHICAGO, ILL.
We, the undersigned, believe that America must make an about-face from its foreign policy that has transformed our country into a militaristic giant and defender of dictators and big business.

Once the hope of the world's oppressed people, America is now feared and hated. The Democrats and Republicans in their conventions referred to this obliquely as a "crisis" due to America's "loss of prestige as a world power." Their platforms spell out their answer in a call for more military power: They would increase the \$40 billion arms spending, nuclear weapon stockpiling, and spy-plane invasion. They would continue to tighten the ring of military bases around the Soviet bloc countries.

In our opinion, this is the road to war.

We call for a break with the two major parties. We call for

the organization of a labor party based upon the unions and including the Negro people and the working farmers.

We call for a protest in the November elections and a step toward mass independent political action by registering the largest possible vote and campaign activity for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, for President and Vice-President.

Rev. William T. Baird, John Hamilton, Rev. Joseph P. King, Perry Cartwright, James Nash Sr., Nellie De-Schaaf, Chas. Hamilton

Grim forecast

EAST PATERSON, N.J.
The future looks very grim indeed, if we place our country's fate and that of our civilization in the hands of those who believe that stockpiling nuclear weapons is the answer to our country's security.
Sarah Messahian



And vice versa

NEWARK, N.J.
I am going to vote for Kennedy as a protest against the U-2 flights, the failure of the Summit conference, our negative attitude on disarmament, nuclear testing and other issues.

This does not mean that I have faith in Kennedy or his party to do the right things about these issues. Yet, I feel that it is important to register a protest, albeit a weak one, against Eisenhower and his party. If the party positions of the candidates were reversed, I would vote for Nixon.
B. D.

Ciphers

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.
Mr. Nixon's not my love, Nor Kennedy my hero; They just prove it possible That one and one make zero.
Hal Driggs

Pacht in California

PORTLAND, ORE.
Jerry Pacht, who is running in the 16th district in California, is one of these "non-incumbents" you were referring to in your article, "The Congressional Race." Pacht is an active member of the ACLU, and is also a lawyer on the staff of the Southern California branch.

I am convinced that had he been a member of the House his voting record would have been identical with Byron L. Johnson's with respect to the five proposals you discussed. His special interest, besides peace and civil liberties, is the distribution of American food surplus to needy people throughout the world.
Eugene Sobel

Political morality

LONG BEACH, CALIF.
With gratitude for your indispensable service to political morality in this country.
Ruth Bishop

Sit-out

NEW YORK, N.Y.
The crying-foreign policy need: peace through disarmament, easing of world tensions. The great domestic urgency: civil rights NOW.

On both issues, the Democratic-Republican treachery has been brazen. It is matched by the moral bankruptcy and political illiteracy of those "leaders" in the progressive camp who support a major party anyway. Their course, for a mythical lesser evil, endorses warmaking abroad, denial of basic rights to racial and political minorities at home.
But in the November electoral

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE JOHN T. McMANUS JAMES ARONSON
Editor-in-exile General Manager Editor

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Joanne Grant, Charles Humboldt, Robert E. Light, Russ Nixon (Washington), Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING AND BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Edith Anderson (Berlin), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (Tel Aviv).

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farce, we still have a choice: swell the ranks of about 40% of eligible voters who have stayed away in recent elections. This year the heartening difference is the organized Americans Sitting This One Out Together. Wherever possible, ASTOOT has utilized commercial communications media, confronted major-party spokesmen in head-on debate, distributed stickers.

Started in the East, ASTOOT has enjoyed stimulating response from GUARDIAN readers and from as far away as California. Everywhere people are starved for an opportunity to protest meaningfully, promising to get their disgust on the record by becoming temporary conscientious vote-abstainers. Hopeful or wistful, they express a wish that after the elections someone take initiative to organize a broad struggle against bipartisanship which is the paralysis of democracy.

This grass-roots crystallization of contempt for and a rejection of the chimera of the lesser-evil doctrine could well result in the 1962 Congressional candidates winning by honest campaigning for peace and civil rights, against monopoly exploitation of factory and farm labor, against the looming threat of unemployment, against further downgrading of American education and culture. Just how secure are the bipartisans?

ASTOOT seeks to make sure that whichever wing of the millionaires' coalition takes the White House and Congress, does so by the lowest possible vote. Thus the winners and the nation would know that the overwhelming majority of the 107,000,000 Americans of voting age did not waste their ballots.
After the election, ASTOOT

should change its name and dedicate itself to work with all men and women of good will for the long overdue political regrouping that should serve as a rallying point for those who would smash the shackles of bipartisan corruption.

Richard Forbest for ASTOOT
GPO Box 775
Brooklyn 1, N.Y.



How to start the day

HARBORSIDE, ME.
This morning I got up at 4:30 to have a go at my sadly neglected correspondence. Before getting to work, I picked up the GUARDIAN for Oct. 10 and read Kumar Goshal's piece on the UN.
That, I thought, warrants a check.
Then I read Anne Bauer on French intellectuals and got out my checkbook.
By the time I had finished "The World of Bertolt Brecht" and the excerpts from Castro's speech, I was ready to write the check. Here it is (\$100 enclosed).
More power to you.
Scott Nearing

For an effective Congress

Sen. Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.), who nominated Adlai Stevenson for President at last summer's Democratic Convention, is sponsoring an appeal for funds by the National Committee for an Effective Congress to boost several key Congressional candidates throughout the country. His appeal letter says in part:

T HIS YEAR it is possible, at last, to break through the conservative barrier that frustrates so many hopeful efforts in Congress. The long uphill pull since 1954 is about to bear fruit.

Despite the impression created by the defeat of liberal medical aid, education, and minimum wage proposals in the run-over session of Congress, we are nearer than ever before to being able to pass such measures. The very closeness of the votes indicates how far we have come. Forty-eight Senators now vote on the liberal side most of the time; only 52 on the conservative side.

The victory of Quentin Burdick in the special election in North Dakota last June resulted in a shift of one Senate vote to the liberal side. A shift of three additional votes on crucial international and domestic issues will be achieved if Robert Knous is elected to the Senate from Colorado, George McGovern from South Dakota, and Frank Thiel from Kansas.

Each of these able, young Democrats has an excellent chance of winning. Each is handicapped by a lack of funds for vital last-minute campaigning. Each needs our help quickly.

We must also help candidates like Lee Metcalf of Montana, running to succeed retiring Senator James Murray; Maurine Neuberger of Oregon, running for the seat of her late husband and my good friend Dick; and Hubert Humphrey, Pat McNamara, and a few other incumbents lacking sufficient local financial resources.

The National Committee for an Effective Congress is located at 4 W. 40th St., New York 18. Funds are needed quickly for the campaign of Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.). Contributions may be sent directly to him at West Rupert, Vt.

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

I N EAST HARLEM last Tuesday 11 Puerto Rican families were evicted by a landlord who sought to vacate a slum tenement. In despair a tenant who went to an American Labor Party club for help, Congressman Vito Marcantonio, touring the district at the time, heard of the event and hurried to the scene. On the street he dictated an affidavit for a show cause order to halt the evictions, then hurried off to find a judge.

Meanwhile a Welfare Dept. investigator arrived with ward-healers of the other parties and tried to get the evicted tenants to sign papers. The assembled crowd of hundreds began to chant "No firme nada" (Don't sign anything) just as Marc arrived with the show cause order preventing the evictions.

A tremendous cheer went up and scores of volunteers helped the families move their belongings back into the house. As the crowd broke up, the phrase was heard all over: "Only Marc helps us."

WHERE THE CANDIDATES STAND: V—SOCIAL WELFARE AND ECONOMY

The record: Platform pledge and Congress action

By Russ Nixon

Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

PERHAPS THE greatest difference discernible between the electoral approaches of the Republicans and the Democrats, between candidates Nixon and Kennedy, appears in economic and social legislation.

The Republicans would hold the role of government in these fields to a minimum. Life magazine (Oct. 17) said a goal of Nixon "and his brand of Republicanism . . . is to maintain and advance the American free enterprise system." Kennedy and "his brand of Democrats" would expand somewhat the role of the Federal government to meet the social and economic needs of the country.

The importance of this difference in approach and philosophy, and the degree to which the Democratic Party will or can make it have practical results is uncertain, as the barren record of the last Democratic-controlled Congress indicates.

HOW THEY COMPARE: In general the overwhelming majority of Republicans have opposed the majority of Democrats on issues such as Federal aid to education, housing, medical care for the aged,

publican, almost without fail. He has voted against public housing and slum clearance; favored the tax programs supported by the corporations and wealthy families; voted for reductions in social welfare spending, and supported special interest groups such as the railroads, chain stores, natural gas and oil industries.

NIXON ON TIES: In 1958 Nixon killed a proposal by Sen. Russell Long (D-La.) to increase public assistance payments to the aged, blind and disabled by \$5 a month when he refused, as President of the Senate, to break a 40-to-40 tie vote. This year Nixon registered his stand against a Federal appropriation for school construction and teachers' salaries by a tie-breaking vote against the amendment of Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.) which provided \$1.1 billion a year for this purpose.

Nixon has argued that the country is good shape economically, and has minimized existing unemployment. As election day approaches, he has sought, with some success, to reduce Republican-Democratic differences on social and economic legislation to a debate over the technical means of achieving commonly desired goals. He has tried to dispel the image of the GOP as the political agent of Big Business by doing what Walter Lippmann calls "fudging the issues."

The 1960 Republican Platform meets with the approval of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. It is a faithful pronouncement for free private enterprise, minimum government activity and spending, a balanced budget and governmental encouragement to investors. Its vague statements on price supports for farmers, minimum wages and hours, limited federal aid for school construction (not for teacher salaries), medical care for the aged, and social security—all these are politically necessary salutes to the twentieth century carefully hedged so as to cause no concern to big contributors.

A LIBERAL PLATFORM: The Democratic Party is more deeply split on social and economic legislation. It adopted a strongly liberal platform in 1960; pledged to close tax escape loopholes of the oil and mineral industries, dividend receivers, and corporate expense account executives. It promised medical care for the aged under social security; Federal aid to school construction and teachers' salaries; 90% parity price supports for farmers, an end to high interest-tight money policies; a \$1.25-an-hour minimum wage; an omnibus housing program; Federal unemployment insurance standards, large scale urban renewal and slum clearance; a strong anti-trust program and action against monopoly "administered prices"; aid to depressed areas, and a 5% annual economic growth rate.

While no dissent was registered at the Democratic Convention against these platform planks, support for them by Democrats in Congress is limited. An important section of Democrats are in coalition with Republicans to oppose these liberal pledges. Most of these reactionary Democrats are from the South, but on some issues, they are joined by Northerners.

Some Southerners lead the liberal cause on some issues: Sen. Sparkman and Rep. Albert Rains of Alabama on housing; Sen. Kefauver (Tenn.) on anti-monopoly matters; Sen. Lister Hill (Ala.) on health legislation. But others—Stennis and Eastland of Mississippi, Robertson and Byrd of Virginia, McClellan of Arkansas, Holland of Florida, Ellender of Louisiana, Russell and Talmadge of Georgia, Thurmond of South Carolina—are as opposed to liberal Democratic policies as any Republican. They hold the balance of power in Congress both numerically and by virtue of their seniority committee chairmanships. The same situation holds in both Houses.

THE LIBERAL BLOC: At the other Democratic extreme is a group of North-

ern liberals who push hard for the progressive domestic program pledged by the party platform. This group consists of about 20 Senators, among them Douglas (Ill.), McNamara (Mich.), Clark (Penn.), Humphrey (Minn.), Morse (Ore.), and Proxmire (Wis.). About 50 members of the House fit into this category. In between are the "moderates", led by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson (Tex.) and House Speaker Sam Rayburn (Tex.). Johnson has split his votes about 50-50 for and against the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition.

Sen. Kennedy has managed to avoid clear identification with the liberal bloc and has maintained his ties with the moderates. Prof. Nelson E. Taylor Jr. of Vassar College, concluded that "Kennedy cannot be described as a New Deal Democrat . . . he has on many occasions displayed a much more moderate attitude . . . he would have to be classified as middle of the road . . ."

A HIGH RATING: On voting record tabulations of the AFL-CIO, the Americans for Democratic Action, the New Republic and the independent United Electrical Workers, Kennedy had high rating on domestic economics and sound welfare votes. There were exceptions, such as Kennedy's votes in 1958 against the proposal of Sen. Yarborough (D-Tex.) to cut workers' taxes by raising income tax exemptions to \$800, and favoring subsidies and tax advantages to the publishing, shipping, and insurance firms.

Kennedy has not promised tax cuts, but suggested that taxes may rise. The 1960 Democratic platform deleted its 1956 platform pledge to cut workers' taxes by raising income tax exemptions. Kennedy has strongly opposed the shorter work week urged by organized labor as a protection against unemployment.

In 1959 Kennedy was a leader in the Senate effort to improve the unemployment compensation program by establishing Federal standards to raise benefits and extend the duration of coverage. In 1959 and 1960, after cutting down the labor-backed Morse bill to extend wage and hour law coverage to 10 million more workers by substituting his own measure and putting only 5 million more workers under the law's protection, Kennedy led the fight for the \$1.25 hour wage minimum. In the closing weeks of the 1960 Congress, Kennedy led the fight for medical care for the aged as a part of social security. He failed in each of these legislative efforts, defeated by the conservative Democratic-Republican coalition.

THE FORAND BILL: The fate of the Forand medical care legislation, pledged in the Democratic platform in July and defeated in August by a Congress that is

two-thirds Democratic is indicative. In the House, the Ways and Means Committee killed it by a vote of 17 to 8; Democrats were 8 for and 7 against; all 10 Republicans were opposed. The House Democratic leadership did nothing to rescue the bill, so the House voted 381 to 23 for a meaningless substitute.

The Senate Finance Committee, headed by Byrd (Va.), then voted against the Forand bill, 8 to 4. Committee Democrats split 4 to 4. When the critical vote came Aug. 23, on a modified Forand Bill proposal put forth by Sen. Anderson (D-N.M.), the Senate rejected Social Security old age medical care by 44 to 51. Nineteen Democrats voted against this key promise of the 1960 Democratic convention.

SERIOUS QUESTIONS: Kennedy argues that with a Democratic President the threat of Presidential veto of liberal legislation will end, thus eliminating the need for a two-thirds vote for final passage. In the 85th Congress, however, the Democratic leadership failed to achieve even a majority for key social and economic legislation. These failures came in a Senate made up of 66 Democrats and 34 Republicans, a House of 280 Democrats and 151 Republicans. And it raises serious questions as to whether a Kennedy victory would result in passage of significant new medical and economic legislation:

- There is no sign that Sen. Kennedy will break the Dixiecrat power in Congress, its control of committees through seniority, its blockade of liberal legislation in the House through the dictatorship of the House Rules Committee and the Speaker. Kennedy's silence on this issue, and the almost unanimous support for him by the Southern delegation in Congress suggests the contrary. This would leave the reactionary Dixiecrat-GOP coalition in control of Congress.

- Will Kennedy's pledge of billions of dollars for more armaments spending in a stepped-up cold war prevail over legislation to improve living conditions? Which Kennedy will we get—the Kennedy who calls for "sacrifices" and promises "life will not be easier if I am elected," or the Kennedy who promises stronger unions able to win higher wages, better social security, housing, education, medical care, higher minimum wages?

- Can the limited reforms pledged by the Democrats establish a dynamic full employment economy? Can the Democratic brand of "welfare capitalism" go beyond housekeeping chores in the economy and avoid economic stagnation and unemployment? Will the program of classless "economic growth" mean success for the ordinary working people in their struggle for a government really in their service?



Dowling, New York Herald Tribune
"I'm speaking to you from Warm Springs."

unemployment compensation, wages and hours, aid to depressed areas, social security and urban renewal.

Often these differences, while real, have been dissipated by the limited programs of the Democrats. Typical are such divisions on raising the minimum wage to \$1.15 or to \$1.25; to raise social security benefits by 7% or 10%; to authorize 20,000 or 35,000 new housing units; or to add three or five million persons to wage and hour law coverage.

The Republicans have a more consistent and general record of open support for the special interest lobbies of the Chamber of Commerce, National Assn. of Manufacturers, trade groups, real estate and construction industries.

THE EXTREMES: There are differences among the Republicans on domestic policy. At one extreme are supporters of Sen. Barry Goldwater (Ariz.) who is opposed to all legislation such as wages and hours, housing, and social security. At the other are New York Gov. Rockefeller and Sen. Jacob Javits (N.Y.) who support a moderate New Deal program of social legislation and advocate government action to spur growth in the economy.

Vice President Nixon has attempted to keep one foot in the Goldwater camp and the other in the Rockefeller camp, while traveling down the middle of the Republican road. Nixon's critical biographer, White House correspondent William Costello (*The Facts About Nixon*) writes: "In a sense Nixon's voting record has been all things to all people. If there was a discernible pattern, it escaped most of his contemporaries." In the *New York Times* James Reston said: "You can prove anything by Nixon's voting record."

Actually, Nixon has voted straight Re-

The Los Angeles National Guardian Committee
Proudly Presents
VINCENT HALLINAN
Prominent San Francisco Attorney and 1952 Presidential
Candidate on the Progressive Ticket

Report On
THE MOSCOW U-2 TRIAL

Mr. Hallinan, long a student of Soviet jurisprudence, was an invited observer at the Powers trial and had several conversations with Mrs. Barbara Powers, the Soviet prosecutor and defense counsel and the defendant himself.

Chairman: Janet Stevenson

Friday Evening, Nov. 18 8:30 P.M.
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Where the Guardian stands on the November elections

(Continued from Page 1)

"I have never proposed American support for the admission of Red China. What I did suggest is that we must re-examine our China policy, that the important thing is not the little islands of Quemoy and Matsu; the important thing is the security and independence of Formosa . . . If Red China agrees to recognize the independence of Formosa and to renounce the use of force against its neighbors, we should no longer lead the fight to keep Red China out of the UN."

This is colossal—and typical—arrogance. Formosa is China, and China is already in the UN, as a founding member and holder of a permanent Security Council seat with veto power. What is involved, therefore, is not a question of admission, but that of seating the proper representative of China—a matter of credentials, not negotiation for Chinese territorial surrender.

The real issue in the Far East is Washington's determination to maintain a hostile military base in the hands of a puppet regime in a territory which is a part of China, and to menace China's shores from that base; and Washington's determination to impose upon the UN a mythical regime as the authentic government of China.

KENNEDY'S LETTER to former AEC member Thomas E. Murray, released on Oct. 9, said that under his administration the U.S. "would not be the first" to resume atmospheric nuclear tests; that he would "direct vigorous negotiation" in the Geneva talks, and would convene a new series of talks if the present ones should terminate before his administration might take office. But he would concurrently direct the AEC to proceed with preparations for underground tests and set a "reasonable but definite time limit within which to determine whether significant progress is being made." If within this period "the Russians remain unwilling to accept a realistic and effective agreement, then the world will know who is to blame."

He said further that he would invite a conference of leading nations having industrial capacity to produce nuclear weapons, to seek agreement "upon means of international control of both the production and use of weapons grade fissionable material and also the production of nuclear weapons"; and finally that he would "earnestly seek an over-all disarmament agreement, of which limitations upon nuclear weapons tests, weapons grade fissionable material, biological and chemical warfare will be an essential and integral part."

The next day, the New York Times offered some significant background for this proposed conference, and also for Kennedy's statement in his letter that "new advances in technology have brought atomic weapons within reach of several additional nations." The Times reported that Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn.) had helped in drafting Kennedy's letter. Gore is a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. He disclosed that West German firms have been offering to the international market an inexpensive centrifuge device, operating like a cream separator, for the separation of enriched uranium (U-235) to make atomic bombs or to fuel nuclear reactors. Sales to two customers in Brazil and one in the U.S. were reported. Later the U.S. firm said it had received a license to



import seven centrifuges for \$35,000. The machines have not yet been imported. The firm has not received AEC approval of its application to install the seven centrifuges in a plant near Pittsburg, Kan.

The Times report said "the potentiality for proliferating the membership in the atomic weapons club—either through international sales of the machine or through national development—have been realized within the Administration" and that steps have already been taken to urge Germany and Holland, also a potential centrifuge merchant, to keep the process secret; in short, to stop selling it.

Kennedy's proposed conference (the question has been asked but not answered: would he include China?)

put into a political promise what the Administration was already undertaking by other methods. Further, the effect of efforts to halt the spread of cheap nuclear development is not only to keep the nuclear club from expanding, but to continue to withhold cheap atomic power from underdeveloped and presently non-industrial countries.

In all other respects, too, Kennedy's proposals are no different from those presently being carried out by the Eisenhower Administration; for example, AEC preparations for underground tests are already completed and await only a go-ahead by the President.

What the programs of both parties fail to countenance is that the Soviet proposals for disarmament, with inspection to assure that the world stays disarmed, have won world approval; and no amount of campaign double-talk will convince the world that we mean disar-



mament when we propose—as both Kennedy and Nixon do—that we spend \$3 billion more a year on top of our present \$40 billion on armaments.

An honest disarmament candidate would propose (1) renunciation of arms and the creation of an independent Peace Department in the cabinet to supercede the Pentagon and the AEC in negotiations for disarmament; (2) a realistic inspection system to enforce it; (3) preparation for the economic reorganization necessary to a non-military economy. Nothing short of such a program warrants a single peace-seeking vote.

HAD WE NEEDED ADDED EVIDENCE that a Kennedy administration would offer no positive alternative to Eisenhower's, his vengeful views on Cuba would surely have tipped the balance. Here was a magnificent opportunity for a real democrat to come out fighting. Surely Kennedy knows, as a student of U.S. history, of the unrelenting exploitation of Cuba by U.S. sugar, fruit, oil, mining and power interests. Surely he knows of the shameful condition the country had been brought to when the revolutionary forces of Fidel Castro expelled the hated Batista regime. If indeed he did not know, there was no excuse for this.

He professedly did not know of conditions in the Congo, so he sent that great people's champion Averell Harriman there to report to him. Harriman reported (surprise!) that the real problem was Soviet "penetration." Africans at the UN have been telling the U.S. voter the issue is real freedom from colonial rule.

But Cuba is different. It lies only 90 miles from Florida. An emissary could have flown there in four hours from Idlewild, and only a puddle-jump more from Hyanis Port. Kennedy himself might have gone—or he might have sent one of his Negro backers—Earl Dickerson, for example—who would have given him an honest report on the progress of the country, on the erasing of race prejudice, on the hardship which the economic boycott (already in force long before the official declaration of the embargo this month) has worked against Cuban reconstruction; on the havoc that pirate air raids from Florida have rained on a defenseless people. In short, Kennedy could and should have known why Cuba had to turn to the socialist camp for economic aid.

Instead, Kennedy adopted the entire Eisenhower-Herter policy (including, we may add, the Vatican view) and then presented it in such a desperate fashion that even Nixon, the Eisenhower-Herter heir, has seized upon Kennedy's views as a major political misstep and demanded a full fifth debate on the Cuba question.

There is no indication in anything Kennedy has said of a return to the Good Neighbor years of Roosevelt in Latin-American relations, or of anything other than the cruelest repression of any other aspiration in our hemisphere for land reform and economic development,

for which Cuba is showing the way.

WE HAVE FIXED ON the foregoing aspects of world relations—China, disarmament and Cuba—because of their recent emergence in the campaign, not because we regard them as the only principal reasons for finding little difference between what Nixon and Kennedy represent as Presidential candidates.

- On civil rights, for example, Kennedy-Johnson hold no promise; Lodge imparts a faint glow to the Republican ticket except when one recalls that in eight years in office, neither President nor Vice President has so much as entered the South except for golf or campaigning.

- On civil liberties, it is difficult to forget that Robert Kennedy, his brother's campaign manager since 1952, was a member of Republican Sen. Joseph McCarthy's legal staff with Roy Cohn in their high witch-hunting years.

- On labor, Robert Kennedy as general counsel to the McClellan committee, and John Kennedy, as one of its foremost members, collaborated ardently in the Senate inquiry of the unions which produced the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Bill; they may also be expected to collaborate closely in the future on Kennedy's expressed intentions to jail James Hoffa, force Harry Bridges out of labor, and almost certainly move against the remaining independent unions in the U.S.

IT SHOULD GO WITHOUT SAYING, but we will say it anyway, that at no point in the campaign have we ever regarded Nixon-Lodge as preferable to Kennedy-Johnson. Indeed we have expressed the hope repeatedly that liberal pressure might force Democratic policy improvements worth voting for. This has not happened: the Kennedy forces have regarded the liberal-radical vote as in their pocket, and have moved to the right at every turn. If conscientious voters refuse to permit their votes to be counted as endorsement of policies and candidates they disagree with, the fault lies not with the voters but with the Democratic Party.

We of the GUARDIAN brought our publication into being in the high hopes of 1948 for a new political



alignment in the U.S. We are more than ever convinced that only by advancing this objective can our country hope for a government in step with an advancing world. If the Democrats can always count on the votes of liberals, radicals, New Dealers and the like because the Republicans are always sure to nominate an ogre, these forces will not only never have bargaining power in the Democratic party—as 1960 is woeful proof—but they will postpone perennially the task of building a political instrument that can and will end war and advance human progress.

WE BELIEVE THAT LIBERALS and radicals can best advance these paramount objectives by going to the polls to choose the best Congress possible but to withhold their votes from either the Kennedy or Nixon tickets. Comedian Mort Sahl advised a New York audience recently: "Vote no for President; let's keep the White House empty for another four years." Our advice differs. Where there are minor party candidates on the ballot, as there will be in at least 20 states, we suggest a vote for one of these tickets as a means of recording your abstention. Also, in six more states, there are simplified write-in procedures.

We have no illusion that the minor-party vote can or will in any measure reflect the extent of dissatisfaction with 1960's major party candidates and programs, but a heightened minor-party vote will be one indication of this. For a fuller indication, we urge every minor party voter, abstainer and writer-in to send a letter or postcard to the Democratic National Committee saying why Kennedy-Johnson failed to get your vote.

—THE GUARDIAN

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IUE SETTLES FOR ORIGINAL COMPANY OFFER

Labor disunity and company toughness break GE strike

When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.

Edmund Burke in *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontent*.

By Robert E. Light

SOME 70,000 General Electric employees trudged back to work Oct. 23, three weeks after they had gone on strike, beaten by company intransigence and labor disunity. The agreement signed by the AFL-CIO Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) was a complete victory for the company's "don't give an inch to labor" policy.

Recriminations against IUE leaders followed the settlement, but the union's chance of winning was very slim from the start. IUE president James B. Carey's reckless tactics played into the company's hand, but GE already held all the trumps. The best an electrical worker could hope for from the strike was a lesson for the future.

GE's bargaining position is envied by many top companies. Only half of its 240,000 employees are in unions. Of the organized workers, 70,000 are represented by IUE, 38,000 by the independent United Electrical Workers (UE) and the rest are divided among the AFL-CIO Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Intl. Assn. of Machinists, United Steel Workers and United Auto Workers. To shut down the company during a strike, the unions have to cooperate fully. But in the last 11 years, they often have been more interested in raiding each other.

BOULWAREISM: GE's position was not always so comfortable. Before 1949 al-

Aug. 30, Carey decided not to take it; he wanted more. UE was also dissatisfied and it was willing to fight. UE leaders offered to make a joint fight with Carey if he would include a proposal for a shorter work week as a measure for job security, the major problem in the industry, and if he agreed that neither union would sign without the other. But Carey never answered.

Instead he centered his fight on a slightly larger wage increase than the company offered; continuation of the cost-of-living escalator which the company proposed to drop; and a supplementary unemployment benefits plan. Weeks before the contract expired on Oct. 1, Carey served formal notice of termination on the company. UE did not so file, which automatically extended its contract for one year or such prior time as a new agreement was signed. But UE could strike if no agreement was made.

The other AFL-CIO unions signed on the company's terms, breaking an Industrial Union Dept. solidarity pact.

STRIKE FORCED: With the union front broken, GE pushed Carey to strike. He called for a show of opinion from his union, but although most IUE members voted to strike, the largest locals in Schenectady, N.Y., Bridgeport, Conn., Burlington, Vt., and Pittsfield, Mass., voted against a strike. Many felt the issues and the timing were wrong.

Carey tried hard to back-track. But the company had him on a limb and moved to saw it off. Carey made truce offers but the company held firm. It insisted Carey sign or strike. It pointed out that since Carey had terminated the contract, the company was no longer obligated to check off union dues or live up to any other provisions.

Reluctantly, IUE struck on Oct. 1. But the strike was never solid. In many plants IUE members ignored picket lines. In Syracuse, 700 resigned from the union and went to work. Leo Jandreau, business agent at the Schenectady local, largest



THE END OF THE (PICKET) LINE
Will the unions learn a lesson?

in the GE chain, argued against a strike but took his members out when he was voted down. With police help, GE kept its plants open. It did not seem to mind the cut in production because it was in a slack economic period.

RANKS BROKEN: The strike was dealt a mortal blow on Oct. 17 when Jandreau accepted a company truce offer to return to work under the old contract conditions, except for the cost-of-living escalator. Carey denounced Jandreau as "a Benedict Arnold," but at negotiations he desperately sought for an out. On Oct. 19, Carey pared demands to the bone. Philip D. Moore, GE's chief negotiator,

gesturing with his thumb and forefinger, told reporters: "Carey is looking for that much to justify calling off the strike." But the company would not accept less than unconditional surrender.

The next day IUE signed with Westinghouse for just about what the company had offered. Westinghouse's contract expired on Oct. 15.

Carey finally threw in the sponge on Oct. 23; he accepted the GE offer. Subsequent reports indicated that the company had put him on the rack during the last days. He had been willing to sign earlier but GE negotiators forced him to argue for two days before they agreed to reinstate arbitration on firings.

THE CONTRACT: The agreement called for: (1) a three-year contract; (2) an immediate 3% pay increase; (3) a choice to be decided by the union of a second 4% increase in 18 months, a raise of 3% plus an eighth paid holiday and a fourth week of vacation after 25 years, or a wage reopener in April, 1962; and (4) improved pensions, insurance and health benefits.

UE will undoubtedly sign along similar lines shortly.

Carey denounced "Boulwareism," but he added: "The IUE sincerely hopes that this settlement may help bring about a new era of harmony in labor-management relations at GE." He saved his invective for Jandreau, but before it got out of hand, John Shambo, president of Jandreau's local, said: "We don't want to leave IUE and hope one day we'll be going down the same road again together." The Schenectady local has 8,700 members.

Moore avoided claiming victory for the company, but he said: "The settlement at least gives union folks the understanding that we believe sincerely in the policies we follow." Understanding may come to "union folks" but it will be more than GE expects if they decide to fight the company instead of each other.

Count them in

WE ARE NOT a neutral country. We would take part, we would participate, we would express our views. Even that expression "positive neutrality" is a contradiction in terms. There can no more be positive neutrality than there can be a vegetarian tiger.

—V. K. Krishna-Menon,



International Teamster, Washington, D. C.
"... and you can feel free to discuss your problems with me again at any time. This is a recorded message."

most all production workers were represented by UE. A strike in 1946 shut down the company's plants and ended in a union victory, winning an 18½¢-an-hour wage increase. UE, then in the CIO, fought with full support from other industrial unions.

In 1949, the CIO forced out UE in a witch hunt and set up IUE to raid its locals. GE, delighted at the split, encouraged IUE organizers. Where IUE did not have enough pledge cards signed to petition for a bargaining election, the company petitioned instead. During the elections, GE openly favored IUE, which won at most plants. In the end, GE employees were split, to the company's satisfaction.

After the 1946 strike, GE announced a new bargaining policy, called "Boulwareism" by the unions after Lemuel Boulware, vice president for employee relations. GE said that hereafter it would make a single offer to unions, take it or leave it.

UNITY REJECTED: The policy got no real test until this year. In 1955, IUE accepted the company's terms for a five-year contract, a few days after they were offered; UE and the others dutifully followed suit. When GE made its offer on

FUND ESTABLISHED TO PROTECT JOBS

ILWU wins first contract dealing with automation

AUTOMATION, like the weather, is talked about by labor men, but few unions have done anything about controlling it. An important first step was taken on Oct. 18 when Harry Bridges' independent Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union concluded an agreement with the Pacific Maritime Assn. which established a \$5,000,000-a-year employer-financed "modernization and mechanization" fund as the employees' share of the fruits of technology.

In return, the companies will have the right to modernize work methods and introduce labor-saving machinery. But no longshoreman will lose his job during the agreement, which expires on June 30, 1966.

Mechanization and automation haunt every industrial worker. Machines already exist which can produce all the country needs with a fraction of the present work force. Their introduction is tempered by management's capital spending budgets and the union's ability to bargain for a share of their benefits.

ELECTRONIC MARVELS: At the recent convention of the AFL-CIO Intl. Assn. of Machinists, the officers' report pointed out that new electronic control systems, which "master mind" a line of machine tools, now turn out orders in a few days that formerly took weeks. Machines have replaced tens of thousands in the steel mills, coal mines and in the electrical industry.

Unions recognize the futility of opposing technology, but few have been

able to harness it for the employee's benefit. John L. Lewis' miners encouraged mine operators to modernize in return for handsome wages and other benefits. But care of the miners who lost their jobs to machines was left to the state.

Other unions have proposed a shorter work week as a means of protecting jobs. But few have made a fight at contract negotiations. The AFL-CIO Steelworkers and Intl. Union of Electrical Workers seem to pin their hopes on Federal legislation.

PIONEERS: West Coast longshoremen have been willing to fight at the bargaining table. Employers have wanted to "modernize" the docks for years to revitalize the lagging volume of cargo in West Coast ports. The union also sought more business but it wanted to be sure longshoremen would not lose out to machines.

The union and the employers' association began informal talks in November, 1957, to find a formula for the equitable sharing of technology's savings. By June, 1959, they reached agreement that the employers would set up a \$1,500,000 fund to compensate for increased productivity. The figure was "plucked out of the air" since neither had adequate data on the impact of "modernization." Negotiations and research continued until both sides were reasonably sure they were not over-committed.

WHAT IT DOES: The contract provides:

- A guaranteed minimum weekly wage

of \$98.70, to be applied when work opportunity is reduced because of the modernization plan. It will not apply if work opportunity drops because of a slump in business.

- Longshoremen with 25 years' service may retire voluntarily at the age of 62 on a pension of \$220 a month. Mandatory retirement age continues at 65, when the employe may choose a lump sum payment or monthly benefits. The mandatory age may be lowered by mutual agreement in order to reduce the work force.

- Improved death and disability benefits.

- No speedup or infringement of the safety rules.

A MODEL: The new contract supplements the agreement on wages, hours, pensions, health, welfare and dental benefits. But these benefits are subject to review annually. The union agrees not to strike; disagreements will go to arbitration.

In exchange for these benefits the union agreed to give the employers a freer hand to introduce new machines, set work-gang sizes, and establish the size of work loads where machines are used.

For labor the agreement is the first formal recognition of the employe's right to share the fruits of technology. The West Coast dock formula may not apply everywhere, but other unions now have a model.

ANOTHER CONGO IN THE MAKING?

U. S. pressure in Laos blocks neutral solution

THE CHAOS in the little Southeast Asian kingdom of Laos is threatening to transform it into another Congo. Sen. Kennedy is shouting that Laos is "going Communist." Washington has alerted the U.S. Seventh Fleet in the South China Sea.

Chaos has been endemic ever since the 1954 Geneva conference on Indo-China declared Laos an independent and neutral country. Following the Geneva directives, a provisional coalition administration was established in Laos, made up of the royal government and the nationalist Pathet Lao, which had fought against the French for the country's freedom.

Premier Prince Souvanna Phouma took into his cabinet his half-brother, Prince Souphanouvong, leader of the Pathet Lao. Pending general elections an interim election was held in 1957, in which the Pathet Lao's political organization, the Neo Lao Haksat (Patriotic Front) scored heavily.

A POWER GRAB: The general elections were never held. Under the influence of U.S. Ambassador J. Graham Parsons, a pro-American bloc—which had earlier been pro-French—seized power, replaced Souvanna Phouma with Prince Sananikone as Premier, arrested Pathet Lao leaders, including Souphanouvong, who later escaped to the north and regrouped the Pathet Lao forces.

The U.S. placed Laos under the SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) umbrella and poured into this nation of 3,000,000 dollar "aid" which now totals nearly \$300,000,000. Over 80% of this was earmarked for the 24,000-strong Laotian army to help it liquidate

the Pathet Lao forces in the north.

Little went to the ordinary soldiers. Most of it was pocketed by corrupt politicians and top officers. This was disclosed by the Porter Hardy subcommittee's report to the House of Representatives on U.S. aid operations in Laos—a report which implicated even Ambassador Parsons in shady deals. Despite this, Parsons was later appointed Asst. Secy. of State for Far Eastern Affairs.

THE ARMY UNREST: By midsummer of 1960 a majority of the Laotian government troops were fed up with interecine warfare, discontented with lack of regular pay and angered by graft and corruption in high places. The present crisis broke on Aug. 9 when 26-year-old paratroop Captain Kong Le led an uprising that overthrew the pro-U.S. regime and recalled Prince Souvanna Phouma to form a neutralist administration and reopen negotiations with the Pathet Lao.

Washington first halted aid to Laos, then rushed Parsons to Vientiane to pressure Premier Phouma into giving up negotiations with Pathet Lao leader Prince Souphanouvong. Parsons also attempted to persuade Phouma to join former pro-U.S. Defense Minister Gen. Phoumi Nosavan, who had set up a rump government fronted by a former minor feudal dignitary, Prince Boun Oum, at the town of Savannakhet, south of Vientiane.

Latest reports indicate that Parsons failed to budge Premier Phouma, who has denied sympathy for communism and has declared: "We want U.S. help to continue, but we also want help from other countries, otherwise our neutrality



TENSION IS HIGH IN SAMNEUA NEAR THE LAOS-VIETMINH BORDER
These two sentries represent the Pathet Lao forces in the north

would be non-existent." Two weeks ago, Phouma welcomed as Soviet Ambassador to Laos Alexander Abramov, who is accredited also to Cambodia.

THREAT FROM THAILAND: Washington, however, has continued to exert pressure on Phouma to bring him into the U.S. camp. Premier Sarit Thanarat of Thailand has threatened to invade Laos if the Phouma government tried to rout Gen. Nosavan and the forces loyal to him, or if Phouma succeeded in forming a coalition government with the Pathet Lao.

Meanwhile Cambodia's Chief of State Prince Norodom Sihanouk has continued to urge, as he did at the UN last month, the formation of a neutral zone, made up of his country and Laos, under East-West guarantee.

A WIDE DESIRE: The situation was bound to remain explosive as long as the U.S. maintained a virulent anti-Peking and anti-Communist policy. But Asian sentiment was wholly on the side of Phouma, Kong-Le and the Pathet Lao, who seek to establish a truly neutralist Laotian government. Tillman Durdin reported in the New York Times (Sept. 4):

"The Kong Le coup represents a widely felt desire . . . for a compromise peace with Communist and Communist-allied elements and a more neutral posture for Laos in the 'cold war.' This attitude has a close affinity with the neutralism that is bedrock policy for a number of Southeast Asian countries and that has considerable support even in the Western-allied and non-neutralist nations of this area."

NOV. 6 PROVINCIAL ELECTIONS MAY DECIDE:

Will Italy's Left block the neo-fascists?

Special to the Guardian

ROME NEARLY 33,000,000 ITALIANS will go to the polls for provincial and local council elections on Nov. 6. All parties agree that the voting will have more than local importance and may have far-reaching effects on national policy.

Parliamentary elections were held two years ago. Since then there have been several governmental crises, but the Christian Democrats—the country's strongest party and in office since 1947—remained dominant. And it was the right wing of that party, combined with other reactionary groups, which tried to postpone this year's elections until 1961. They did not want the people to have an opportunity to express their opinion so soon after last June's events.

In the spring of this year the ultra-right-wing Christian Democrat Tambroni formed his government, capable of obtaining a parliamentary majority only with the votes of the fascists. But Tambroni totally underestimated the anti-fascist sentiment in the country; the climax came in June when the fascists announced they intended to convene their party congress in Genoa, militant industrial center in the north.

RESIGNATION FORCED: The people of Genoa simply refused to let the fascists enter the convention hall. When the police intervened, they were driven away. The protest movement in Genoa was led by the reorganized Federal Council of the Resistance.

Huge anti-fascist demonstrations were held in Sicilian towns, Bologna, Rome and Reggio Emilia, where police shot and killed five demonstrators. When Parliamentary Speaker Cesare Merzagora (an independent elected on the Christian Democrats' list) suggested a two-week truce with police confined to barracks,



THE MEMORY OF THIS SCENE IN ROME IN JULY IS STILL FRESH
Demonstrations against the neo-fascists were nation-wide this summer

only the Christian Democratic government rejected the proposal. More bloody battles followed, and by July 12 ten persons had been killed and hundreds injured.

Tambroni was forced to resign and in August a new government was formed under the Christian Democrat Fanfani, regarded as supporting the left-wing of his party. Fanfani's government won wide support in the belief it would really lead to what has become a popular slogan here, the "opening to the Left." But Fanfani is surrounded by a number of highly reactionary ministers and events of the past weeks indicate that, far from the trend being towards the Left, it is distinctly in the opposite direction.

LOCAL RIGHTS DENIED: Minister of the Interior Scelba, for instance, has defended the system of appointed prefects with power to veto decisions of elected

local administrations despite the fact that the 1947 Constitution explicitly provides for the abolition of the prefectural system. In recent years, when the Christian Democrats have been in power, the prefects have more and more curtailed the rights of local administrations. In some 200 regions, including Naples, Florence, Venice and Genoa, elected administrations have been suspended and government commissars appointed.

For next month's elections the Christian Democratic Party has adopted anti-communism as its main theme, which is not surprising for a party largely dominated by the monopolies and the Church. It is also a party made up of conflicting groups: Catholic workers and peasants, intellectuals, industrialists and small businessmen. The Christian Democrats have not yet announced their program in regard to the other parties, but in Sicily, Rome and elsewhere they are collaborat-

ing with the neo-fascists, an ominous sign.

UNREST GROWS: They have done nothing to allay growing unrest over economic, social and political problems. Under their rule industry has not been developed in the impoverished south; the provinces have not been granted real autonomy; the democratic provisions of the 1947 Constitution have not been adhered to. Moreover, the party has pursued an extremely unpopular foreign policy.

The Communist Party, Italy's second most powerful, is conducting an active campaign. Palmiro Togliatti has underlined the importance of progressive unity against the influence of the monopolies and reactionaries and has offered collaboration against the threat of the neo-fascists and the clericals.

The Nenni Socialists are split more than ever on the question of collaboration with the Communists. Since the last local elections Communists and Socialists have successfully cooperated in administering 24 of Italy's 78 provinces and 1,600 of her 7,000 smaller communities. Nenni has stated that the two parties should contest next month's elections on a common list where collaboration has existed in the past.

On the other hand, he loses no opportunity to polemicise against the Communists, and he is proposing that his Party collaborate with other 'Left' parties and with the Left of the Christian Democrats, but excluding the Communists.

Many feel that Nenni seems not to have learned a lesson from the experiences of the Italian Social Democratic and Republican parties. Their past collaborations with the Center and the Right has led to their being engulfed by the powerful Christian Democrats. Within the last ten years the Social Democrats' vote has dropped from 7 to 4.5% of the total; during the years 1946-53, the Republicans lost more than three-quarters of their supporters.

The parties here know that the forthcoming elections can affect the balance of forces within the country and thus have an impact in the international arena.

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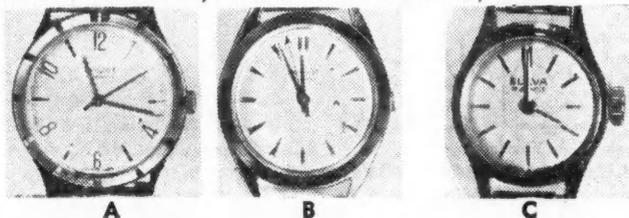
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Precision Watches from the USSR;

GBS HAS PULLED A COUP—we have imported five dozen fine, jeweled wrist watches for men and women from the USSR! The watches are strikingly beautiful in a simple, classic design, and are extraordinarily low priced. All are 17-jewels, except the "Poljot" Automatic which has 22 jewels. A jeweler whom we asked to examine the watches before we bought them told us they are the equivalent of brands that sell from \$75 to \$100 in this country, and that we should sell them at that price. Naturally we cannot, but don't let our low prices fool you—the Soviet watches are not to be confused with jewel-less watches that are popularly sold for \$10 to \$15, and are to be disposed of, like paper plates, when they stop working.

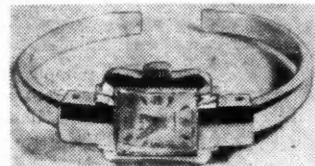
OUR **GBS SOVIET WATCHES** are unconditionally guaranteed for two years. If anything goes wrong with one during that time we will repair it without charge and, more than that, will send you a replacement in the meantime. (Unless you drop it, of course). A complete supply of parts will be maintained in this country. There are only five dozen on hand—let us have your order soon. Deliver by Dec. 1.



A—MEN'S "POLJOT"—An exceptionally beautiful watch with a gold-plated case, and waterproof, stainless steel, anti-shock back. Face is a delicate mesh-weave, giving the appearance of fine linen. 17-jewel movement, sweep second hand, monometal balance wheel, with guaranteed maximum time variation plus-or-minus 45 sec. in 24 hours. Winding time minimum 34 hours. **GBS PRICE \$24.50**

B—MEN'S "POLJOT" AUTOMATIC—A handsome self-winding model with gold-plated case and dustproof, shockproof stainless steel back. 22 jewels, sweep second hand., gold-plated band. A very fine watch for only **...\$35.95**

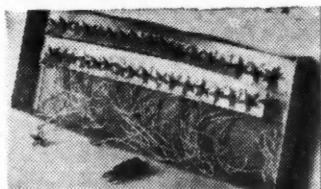
C—WOMEN'S SLAVA—A tiny jewel! Dustproof, gold-plated case, platinum-faced; 17-jewel movement, runs 34 hours on one winding. Same size (14 mm) as "Kreb" model below. A lovely gift for mother or sister for **.....\$21.50**



D—WOMEN'S "SLAVA" (Model "Kreb") An exquisite 12 x 14mm, 17-jewel, square model with integral bracelet band and gold-plated case. **JUST\$29.50**

New This Year: Christmas Tree Light Sets

Here's an extraordinary buy: lovely, miniature Italian-made Christmas tree light sets. These are permanent lights, guaranteed for 2,000 burning hours. If one light goes off the rest remain burning. All contacts are weatherproofed for indoor or outdoor use. Bulbs are cool in operation and may be pinned to any fabric, or scotch-taped to any surface without danger. 35 light sets on a 50-foot cord weigh only 1 1/2 oz. and draw just 15 watts!



STAR SET—Little 7/8" silver stars inset with miniature lights in gold, red, blue, green, etc.; 35 lights on 50-ft. cord. Boxed. **...Per Set \$5.95**

POINSETTIA SET—Exquisite 2" poinsettias, each set with a tiny white light. 35 lights, with all the features above. **.....Per Set \$5.95**

The Famous UNICEF Greeting Cards

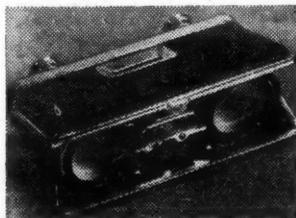
THIS season, in addition to its own delightful "Pere Noel" by Pablo Picasso, GBS is offering four different sets of the famed UNICEF Greeting Cards. UNICEF—United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund—is the only UN committee devoted exclusively to helping children in need. More than 95% of the money collected actually goes into aid. Designs for the cards are contributed by well-known artists. And as the committee reports, "one box of greeting cards will provide 100 days of vitamins for a new mother and child... two boxes can mean 20 children cured of yaws, or 100 protected against tuberculosis."

Add 15c for one box to cover postage and handling; 25c for two boxes; 30c for every three boxes.

The four UNICEF sets shown here are all standard size, 4 5/8" x 5 3/4" cards, packed ten to a box with matching envelopes. They are made with a single fold and a star pattern on the inside page giving "Season's Greetings" in the five official languages of the UN—English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. Each is \$1.25 per set, plus 15c for handling and postage.

A Few On Hand... Selling Out!

Last Christmas we sold more than ten dozen of these compact, folding opera glasses for \$2.25. We have just three dozen left, which you can have for \$1.50 each. 2 1/2" power, fold to cigarette case size, fine for children **.....\$1.50**



Imported Prints

We have on hand a limited quantity of the lovely Chinese prints offered last spring. If you order right away you can get one, but they will not be offered again.

SOURI DES CHAMPS—The Field Mouse, or Ground Squirrel if you prefer, by Tshi Pai Chi. A wash drawing in black and gray with red cherries. 21 1/2" x 15" on excellent paper, fine for framing. **.....JUST \$3**

LE PERROQUET—The Parrot, by Tshi Pai Chi. In full color—black, yellow and rose with green plumage. The calligraphs mean you should keep your mouth shut unless you have something worthwhile to say. 22 1/4" x 15". **.....NOW \$3**

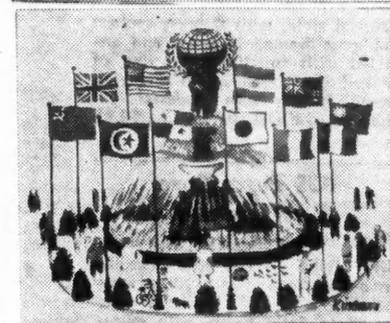
PERE NOEL—The charming Picasso "Father Christmas" in orange, black and brown. Children love it. 21 1/2" x 15". **.....\$3**

(See cut, above right)

For all UNICEF cards Add 15c for one box to cover postage and handling; 25c for two boxes; 30c for every three boxes.



LOS NINOS—Indian children of Arizona join hands in a ceremonial dance. Design by De Grazia, in soft, swirling full colors. Ten cards and envelopes, boxed **.....\$1.25**



FOUNTAIN OF PEACE—A full-color card designed by Dong Kingman showing children of all nations around a UN fountain. Ten cards with matching envelopes **.....\$1.25**



PLAYMATES—A series of five different cards, two each to a box, depicting children and their animal playmates throughout the world. In full color. Designed by Bettina. Ten to a box with matching envelopes **.....\$1.25**



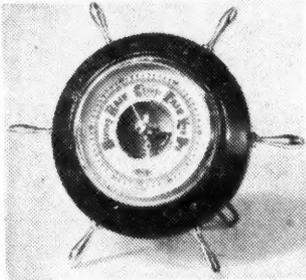
(Above) **PERE NOEL**—The Guardian's own "Father Christmas on heavy 5"x7" card stock in three colors, with Season's Greetings at the bottom. Eight cards and envelopes **.....\$1.25**
 2 sets \$1.75; 3 sets \$2.50; 4 sets for \$3; 5 sets \$3.50 Postpaid.



(Above) **TALES OF MANY LANDS**—Five different cards, two each to a box, designed by Adolf Zabransky, and depicting five world famous fairy tales. Ten cards and matching envelopes, to a box **.....\$1.25**



For Dad, Uncle, Brother or Friend . . .



Barometers

Nautical style aneroid barometer, with six gleaming brass spokes. Mahogany finished, highly polished wood casing, 3 3/4" enamel dial, and heavy, raised glass face. Comes with metal easel for desk or wall use. Overall 5 1/2" in diameter. **MODEL BA2 JUST \$4.50**

Nautical style, with 8 brass spokes; dial glass framed in brass and encircled with smartly styled ring of smoked glass. Dial 2" in diameter, overall height with pedestal 4" width 3". **MODEL BA64 \$4.95**

GBS Peace Dove Men's Jewelry

(See "Dove" Design Below)

CUFF LINKS — The little Guardian Peace Dove incised in oxidized outline on 5/8" x 7/8" blocks of sterling silver. Satin finish, with extra-firm snap-type backs. **\$4.95**

TIE TACK — A match for the cuff links. A tiny, silhouetted dove in satin finish. **\$2.50**



A Transistor Radio For Dad!

CONTINENTAL TR - 632 — Six transistor "shirt pocket size" ensemble includes radio, leather carrying case, batteries, magnetic earphone and case. Vernier dial tuning, 150 milliwatt power output, collapsible easel for bedside listening. 4" x 2 1/2" x 1" deep. Takes 9-volt battery. Full year guarantee. Retail list price \$31.50. **GBS PRICE \$21.95**



CONTINENTAL TR - 801 — Eight transistor model with same accessories as above; Vernier tuning on slide rule dial, 5" x 3" x 1 1/2" deep. A fine quality set. Uses 4 penlite batteries. Retail list price \$44.95. **GBS PRICE \$27.95**

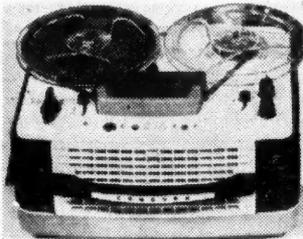
TAPE RECORDERS!

AN OUTSTANDING, low-cost tape recorder, made in Japan. Small—just 6 1/4" x 13 3/8" x 11 1/2", and light—18 lbs. Recording quality is very good. Magic Eye indicator, records and plays at 3 3/4" and 7 1/2" inches per second. **Accessories included:** electromatic remote control, clip-on microphone, earphone, patch cord, deluxe mahogany carrying case, reel. For direct recording, radio, TV, or records.

MODEL 103—Lightest in weight at 12 lbs., but a fine, reliable machine. 3 speeds, will record and play up to 4 hours on a single reel. List Price \$99.95 . . . **GBS \$72.95**

MODEL 105—Dual speed, accepts 5" reels, has Electromatic Remote Control **\$79.95**

(Add 5% shipping charges)



MODEL 107—The performance, quality and tone you would expect only of far more expensive recorders. Dual speed, takes 7" tapes. List \$139.95 **GBS \$97.95**

SCHICK 3-Speed Electric Shaver

Here's the latest model Schick electric shaver that permits you to adjust the shaving edge to your particular beard and offers a three-speed lever—slow, medium and fast. Packed in handsome leatherette case; complete with brush, power cord and sample of Pre-Shave Lotion. **MODEL 3 (List \$28.50) \$19.50**
SCHICK CUSTOMATIC #80, single speed (List \$22.50) . . . **\$14.50**



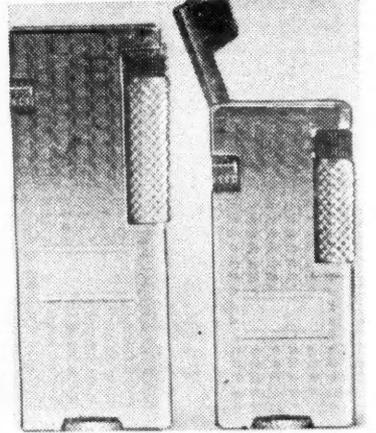
Three Fine Binoculars

B47—7x35 center focus binoculars for all-around use. 35 mm lenses and strong 7-power magnification. Lenses are coated and baked and are equipped with protective plastic covers. Comes with handsome leather carrying case with leather strap. Fully guaranteed. An excellent buy at **\$22.95**

B42—Extra powerful center focus "naval" binoculars, 7x50. Clear and brilliant, where distance is needed . . . for hunting, sports, hiking, etc. All the features above, but 50mm lenses **\$25.95**

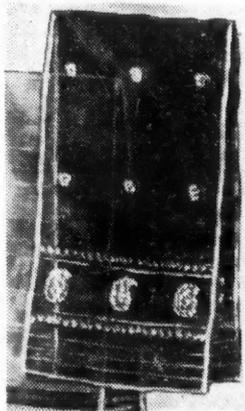
B123—In our opinion just about the sharpest, finest binoculars money can buy. 7x35 wide angle gives you 531 ft. field at 1,000 yards! Amazingly brilliant, center focus, deluxe leather carrying case **\$29.95**

TWO OUTSTANDING cigarette lighters to light up someone's Holiday Season. These are the fine side-wheel type, with a knurled wheel at the top to control the flint pressure. A little cartridge concealed in the refill cap holds a spare flint, and the lighter may be refilled or flint changed without a screwdriver, dime, etc. Men's size, left, in engine-turned gold or silver finish, just \$2; women's (actual sizes shown) \$1.75. "His and Hers" set **\$3.95**



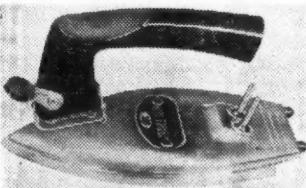
MEN IN BATTLE, by Alvah Bessie, and **THE LINCOLN BATTALION**, by Edwin Rolfe. Two extraordinary books about the Spanish War and Americans who went to the aid of the Republic. **ORIGINALLY \$6—NOW BOTH VOLUMES for \$4** Separately **\$1.50 ea.**

"Sis," mother or the lady next door



PURE SILK SARI STOLE

An exquisite, pure silk, genuine Zari-embroidered "Sari" scarf, with real gold plated silver threads and metallic medallions on the border and in the field. From Pakistan; available in black or white. You'll see them in stores at several dollars above the GBS price. 20" x 72" **\$5**

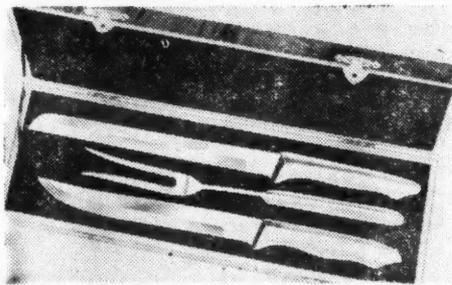


AC-DC Travel Iron

An indispensable travel companion! 110V, 250W travel iron, with folding handle which locks rigidly in place. Comes with plastic, moisture-proof case, and 6-foot U. L. approved cord. **\$2.95**

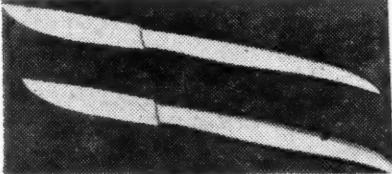
STAINLESS STEEL CARVING SET

Lovely 3-piece set with hollow handles and hollow ground blades. Highly mirror-finished 13" roast slicer, 11" fork and 14" ham slicer, packed in handsome wood chest. A dozen sets left from last year at a bargain price **\$5.25**



SIX-PIECE STEAK KNIFE SET

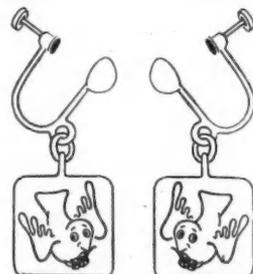
Solid, one-piece extra heavyweight stainless steel knives in a striking modern design. Highly mirror-polished with serrated tips. Gift box; imported from Japan. **\$4.75**



Our Popular Hand Woven Cap from Yugoslavia

Here's one of the best-selling GBS items of all—our charming little reversible, hand-woven Yugoslav caps. One side is in raised multi-colored stripes, the other in solid red, black or green. (In ordering, please give second color choice.) **JUST \$2.50**

AGAIN—Our beautiful, hand-woven, heavy cotton Guatemala skirts. In two combinations: (1) All white designs on black, royal blue or red; or (2) harmonizing multicolor decorations on black, navy blue, brown or gray. All seven models come in sizes 24-26-28-30 and 32. A real bargain at **\$10**
MOTHER-DAUGHTER COMBINATIONS!
Children's suspender skirts like mother's in red, royal blue or navy blue with multicolor decorations. Ages 3 to 6 **\$6.50**
Ages 7 to 10 **\$7.50**



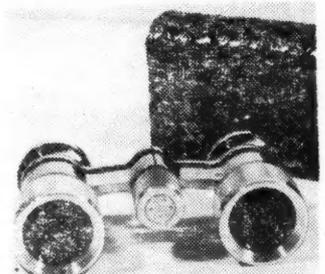
Again This Year! GUARDIAN PEACE DOVE JEWELRY

A unique and charming series of gifts—the ever hopeful little Guardian Peace Dove cast into a stunning line of earrings, a pendant and pin. Each is oxidized sterling silver in a satin (burnished) finish. A delightful gift for a Guardian reader.

A—Exquisite drop earrings with the peace dove incised in oxidized outline on delicate 5/8" mobile squares. **\$3.95**

B—A lovely 7/8" silver pendant and/or charm for charm bracelet. Comes with chain. **\$3.50**

C—Charming peace dove pin with sturdy metal clasp. Pin is 1 1/2" x 1 1/4" in gleaming, silver silhouette. **\$3.95**

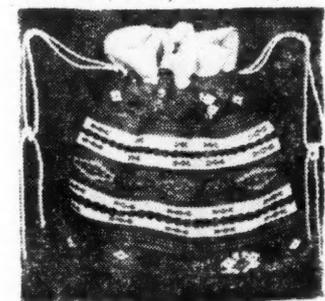


For Concert Goers . . . OPERA GLASSES

B-123 — Opera Glasses with exquisite mother-of-pearl barrels and handsome, matching brocade carrying case. 2 1/2 power, with center focus, metal parts silver plated. Beautifully made, a lovely holiday gift for just **\$10.50**

Rumanian Handbags

With draw-string and inner lining, available in black, white, blue and red with multi-color decorations, 12" x 13 1/2", a buy at **\$3.25**



PAMPHLET PACKAGE #1

Chinese Books
50 CHINESE RECIPES — Wonderful! We sold hundreds at \$1. Now **50c**
CHOSEN PAGES FROM LU HSUN—Stories and essays of the great savant. **\$1**
NATIONAL COSTUMES OF CHINA—12 charming color drawings. **25c**
ALL THREE FOR \$1!



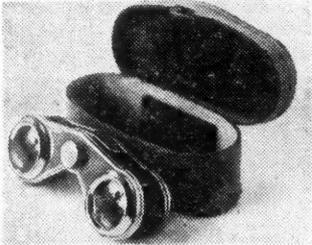
PURE WOOL PAISLEY SCARF

Hand printed, Japanese 31" square Paisley scarves of the finest worsted money can buy. Far superior to European imports. Hemmed, available in black or white. A fine value at **\$2**

Do Your Holiday Shopping Early!

CHILDREN'S CORNER

Age 2 and Up . . .



For Boys & Girls
2 1/2x Opera Glasses

B-176—A fine pair of opera glasses for children. Useful for all indoor or outdoor events. Just 3 1/4" x 1 1/4" x 1 1/4" with smart leather case. Gold or chrome finish. Center focus. A bargain at**\$2.95**



"Power" Mixer

What better way to get the little ones to drink their chocolate milk or orange juice than by letting them whip it with their own power mixer? This has been one of our most popular items—a battery driven mixer that can't hurt you even if you put your finger in the spokes. 9" overall. It really works! (It's really a cocktail stirrer and mother can use it for eggs, gravies, etc., as well) **JUST \$1.75**



POLISH DOLLS!

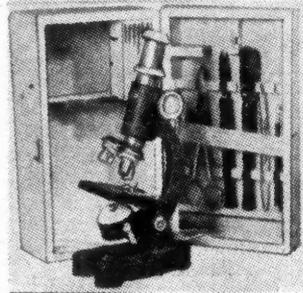
PEASANT DOLL, from Poland—and straight into the hearts of little girls and not-so-little girls for their doll collections. Charming and quaint in her native costume and blond pig-tails, she stands 13 1/2" high in her laced boots. Stuffed body, composition head, just**\$1.95**



LITTLE CITY DOLL, from Poland—hard to resist, this appealing doll with flaxen curls, print dress, real underwear and shoes. Soft, stuffed body and composition head. 15" high. A wonderful Holiday gift for only**\$1.95**

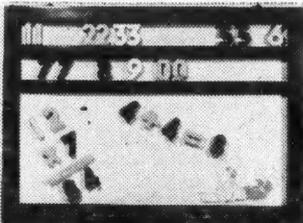
600x MICROSCOPE

B180—An illuminated microscope, with four power turret adjustments—75-150-300 and 600 power. Includes extra slides and a dissecting kit (tweezer, knife, spatula, scissors and 2" needle with handle. Shipped in wooden case.) Battery-operated light. Definitely not a toy! Highly useful for high school and undergraduate work**\$10.50**

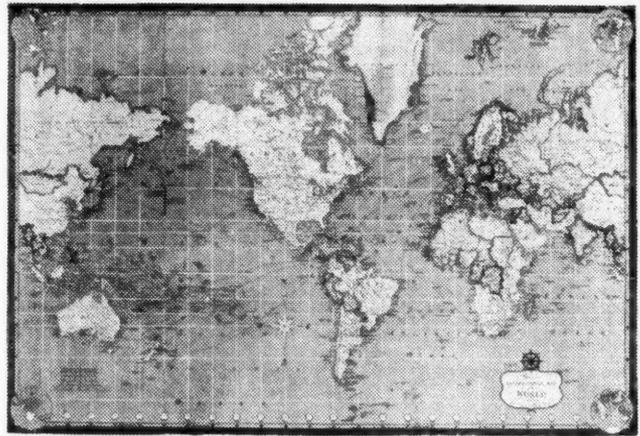


1,000 POWER ILLUMINATED MICROSCOPE!

B-191 ILLUMINATED MICROSCOPE—1,000 power (8 power adjustments) illuminated microscope with same dissecting kit as B-180 plus magnifying glass. Four turrets, two eyepieces (10x and 20x), revolving light stage and light switch on base. Has transformer jack (transformer \$2 extra) for connecting with 115v house current. Comes in sturdy, hardwood cabinet for permanent storage. **GBS PRICE \$18.95**



FUN WITH NUMBERS (Ages 6 to 8) Magnetic Arithmetic Board (14"x20") with 3-dimensional, brightly colored polyethylene numbers and symbols with built-in permanent magnets. Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division become easy and interesting. A child guidance toy.**\$2.95**
Set B—Spelling game.....**\$2.95**



HAMMOND CLASSIC WORLD MAP—Largest ever printed on a single sheet, a full 52"x76". In full color with latitude and longitude lines in white. Time zones, mileage scale, etc. Shipped in tube for flat mounting or framing.**\$7.50**

HAMMOND 18" INFLATABLE GLOBE—Printed in 9 colors with clear vinyl finish. Shipped flat. Attractive wrought iron stand adjustable for wall mounting or table top. Nearly 5" in circumference with clear type. (List \$16.50). PLUS 9 1/2"x12 1/2" 312-page World Atlas (\$7.50 value) with gold-embossed, simulated leather cover.

A \$24 Value . Both for \$16.50



The Children Come Running

by Elizabeth Coatsworth

IN ADDITION to Holiday Greeting Cards UNICEF also publishes children's books. Here's the latest, a delightful story about a trip around the world on a kite—and at holiday time in the various lands. The illustrations are from the UNICEF cards, in full color, and include such noted contributors as Ludwig Bemelmans, Bettina, Duvoisin, Low, Mai-Thu and others. A lovely gift**\$2.95**
(PLUS 15c for mailing and handling charges)



For the whole Family!



Our Popular AZTEC and OPTIMA Typewriters!

FROM LOW-PRICED AZTEC "600s" (illustrated) to the deluxe **OPTIMA** and **AZTEC "800s"**, GBS carries a complete line of portable East German typewriters. All machines carry five-year warranties on parts and service dealers are spread throughout the country. Feature for feature, dollar for dollar, we think these machines are far superior to other models in their price range—and GBS saves you as much as \$55 over retail prices (the **AZTEC "800"** is currently selling in New York stores for \$135). The **AZTEC "600," "700"** and "800" have key-set tabulation, 88-character keyboards with block type keys, finger-tip margin set, touch control, half spacing, and many other features. All machines are available in a wide range of solid colors and two-color combinations. Write for descriptive folders, or specify color choices.

"BEST BUYS" IN CAMERAS AND PHOTO EQUIPMENT

In cooperation with a New York camera dealer who has been in business more than 30 years, GBS has selected a number of "best buys" in cameras and projectors, which we are offering at the lowest possible cost. There are hundreds of items not shown here: If you have your heart set on a particular brand or model we can save you money. Write us for a quotation.

35MM CAMERAS

ON ALL CAMERAS & PHOTO EQUIPMENT ADD 5% MAILING & HANDLING CHARGES
ARGUS C-3 MATCH-MATIC OUTFIT—A new version of America's most popular 35mm camera. Matching number system operates in conjunction with attached exposure meter. Needle-sharp f/3.5 lens and coupled, split-image range finder. Outfit includes carrying case and flashgun. **List Price \$64.95**
GBS \$48.75

ARGUS AUTOTRONIC—Automatic electric eye, carrying case and folding flashgun. **List \$110.**
GBS \$79.95

AZTEC 600—Formerly the Rheinmetal—A "best buy" with all above features at a modest price (Plus \$3.6J Federal tax) **\$75**

ACTEC 700—The "Luxury Portable." Somewhat heavier, better trim, a few extra features **\$79.95**

AZTEC 800—The top of the line—segment shift (type bar moves up and down instead of the carriage), extra chromium. A beautiful machine**\$79.95**
(Plus \$3.75 Federal tax)

OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE—The finest Optima machine. Specify leatherette or solid case**\$79.95**

SPECIAL NOTE: For New Yorkers only, or those who can pick 'em up—we also handle the Optima standard office machine as well as Rheinmetal adding machines. Call for quotations.

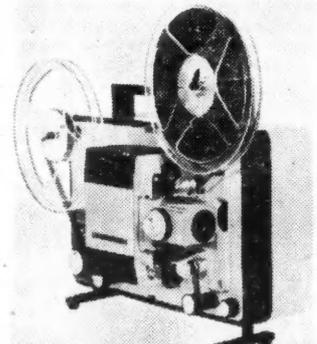
BEAUTY SUPER II—The best all-time value we've seen. F/2 lens; shutter speeds from 1 sec. to 1/500; single-window view-finder



and range-finder, single-action advance, self-timer and beautiful leather carrying case. **JUST \$38.95**

FUJICA 35-SE—A highly recommended and beautifully made camera for those who want all the "professional" features. Built-in exposure meter automatically coupled to lens-shutter system. A remarkable camera!

f/2.8 lens (List \$109.80) **\$76.95**
f/1.9 lens (List \$129.80) **\$90.95**
(Complete with case and lens hood)



8MM PROJECTORS

Argus "Showmaster" Series
All Showmaster models feature smooth, brilliant projection, com-

compactness (11" x 6 1/2" x 8") easy threading and 400' film capacity. #450 500-Watt brightness**\$62.95**
#451—same as above, plus automatic threading**\$75.95**
#470—750-watt brightness, automatic threading and variable speed control**\$94.95**
#471—Same as above plus Multiscope Zoom lens**\$103.95**

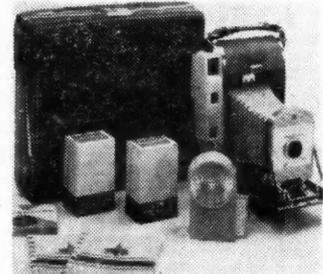
Bell & Howell Series

With 3-second automatic threading variable speed control, reverse, automatic rewind, room lamp cutoff, etc.

Model 363 Super Auto Load **GBS \$108.75**
Model 363Y—same as above with Zoom lens**\$123.75**

Fujica—"Best Buy"

750-watt brilliance, Zoom lens, variable speed control, reverse, self-contained carrying case, extremely compact. (List Price \$119.50)**GBS \$89.50**



POLAROID CAMERAS

FOUR MODELS of the famous "picture-in-a-minute" camera. Kit includes camera, Wink-Light, 2 rolls of 3000 speed film, box of postcards, 2 picture albums and compartment carrying case.

MODEL 80B—Smallest, lightest and cheapest but gives you fine quality pictures. **List Price \$76.85****GBS \$57.64**
Complete Kit (\$111.85)**GBS \$83.39**
MODEL 95 B (\$97.95)**GBS \$73.32**
Kit (\$138.95)**GBS \$102.95**
MODEL 800—Has coupled rangefinder, 10-year guarantee (\$119.95). **GBS \$89.95**
Kit (\$159.95)**GBS \$119.95**
MODEL 900—With Micro Eye which controls both lens opening and shutter. (List \$159.95)**GBS \$119.95**
Complete Kit (\$199.95)**GBS \$149.95**

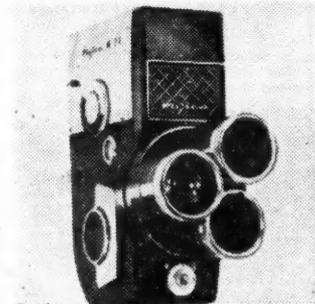
SMM MOTION PICTURE CAMERAS

ARGUS M-3—A turret model with f/1.9 wide-angle, telephoto and normal lens, each with separate view-finder, and built-in haze and "Type A" filters. Attached light meter. **List price \$79.95.**

A fine buy at \$59.95
(15 value carrying case \$11.29)
ARGUS M-3 CINETRONIC, with features above plus automatic electric eye. **List \$119.95. GBS \$86.95**
(Plus \$11.29 for carrying case)

DE JUR CUSTOM ELECTRA—Check this price in your favorite camera store**\$84.75**

(Plus \$8.97 for leather carrying case)



FUJICA MOVIE 8 — A "Best Buy"

—All standard features plus coupled light meter, three f/1.9 lenses, and pistol grip. **List \$95.90.**

(Case \$9.59 extra) **GBS \$69.95**

BROWNIE MODELS—All models available, from #142 (**GBS \$17.95**) to #136, the Brownie Automatic with f/2.3 lens (**GBS Price \$57.95**). Write for other quotations.

PAMPHLET PACKAGE #2

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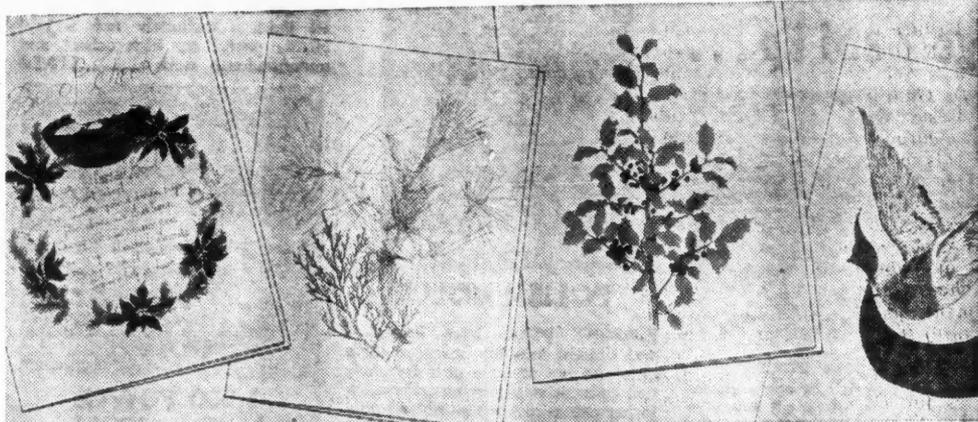
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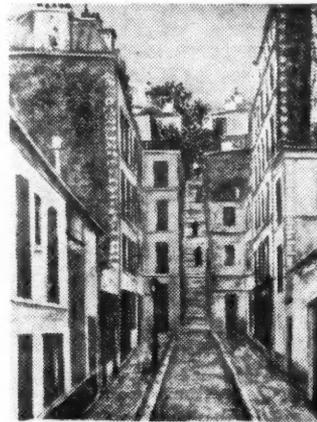


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BIGGEST TEST FOR THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

De Gaulle faces crisis in upsurge over Algeria

Failure to end the Algerian war by negotiating on a basis of equality with the FLN (National Liberation Front) has sharply exposed French President De Gaulle's Achilles' heel and presages serious trouble in France which may topple the De Gaulle government. Foreign diplomats in Paris were already speculating on his successor. The German Ambassador gave him another year. Former Premier George Bidault told Rome's *Messaggero* that if France lost Algeria, a group of generals were ready to demand De Gaulle's resignation or oust him by force.

On Oct. 23 Algerian nationalists in Paris attacked five police stations. Seven policemen and two Algerians were killed. Next day the police rounded up 70 Algerians. More bloodshed seemed to be in the offing as the largest French student organization, the National Students Union, the CGT (General Confederation of Labor), the Independent National Teachers Fedn. and the Christian Teachers Union scheduled a peace-with-Algeria rally for Oct. 27, despite a government ban. A number of center and right-wing organizations planned a counter-rally the same day at the same place—the Place de la Bastille.

The generals' movement seemed to rally around Gen. Raoul Salan; but behind it loomed the sinister figure of Jacques Soustelle, who twice had organized mass rallies for De Gaulle's return to power. Soustelle criticized De Gaulle for not crushing the FLN and was forced to leave the government. Supporting Salan and openly calling for "French Algeria," Soustelle—in an obvious bid for U.S. support—has presented a six-point program which includes a tribute to Washington's favorite, former Premier Antoine Pinay, and a modification of France's nuclear and NATO policy more to Washington's liking. The French satirical weekly *Le Canard Enchaîné*, indicated that Soustelle already had U.S. support.

GUARDIAN correspondent Anne Bauer's story below gives the background to the events which seem about to split France.

By Anne Bauer

Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

A LIST OF 121 signatures at the bottom of an explosive document—the Manifesto of the Intellectuals on Military Disobedience—has set in motion a countrywide torrent of declarations and statements on the Algerian issue which is building to a dramatic climax. Not since May, 1958, has the nation been more deeply divided. Not since the beginning of the Fifth Republic has the government faced such a drastic choice.

The manifesto bears some weighty names (Sartre's is the most prominent) for its unprecedented endorsement of desertion from the army and active help to the Algerian Natl. Liberation Front as the most effective way to speed the end of the war.



JACQUES SOUSTELLE

He demands a "French Algeria"

The government gave the manifesto extra publicity when it retaliated against the signers with charges against some, indefinite suspension of civil servants among them and a blacklist of others from the state-run radio and TV and the state-subsidized theaters.

The counter-measures have precipitated a series of chain reactions which the government was the last to foresee.

SOLIDARITY: The reprisals were immediately followed by a batch of new manifesto signatures, including those of Francoise Sagan and Goncourt Prize author André Schwarz-Bart.

A flood of protests, coupled with acts of solidarity, poured from trade unions, other groups and individuals. Not all those protesting subscribe to the manifesto, but they are ready to defend freedom of thought and expression, and the right to work, which the government has grossly violated. Their point is to show that the pursuit of the Algerian war inevitably shatters the bases of democracy.

Finally, a wave of declarations on the Algerian issue has swept the country.

Parties and trade unions have long taken a stand on the problem, but this time it seemed as though every responsible organization, group or individual felt called upon to make a profession of faith.

In this upsurge the Left is still divided but moves toward unity are beginning to appear. There have been joint Communist-Socialist meetings in several towns outside Paris. In Grenoble a youth rally against the war ranged all the way from Catholic to Communist participants. The pro-Catholic metal workers union has declared itself ready "to respond with a general strike to any attempted coup d'etat" by the Right.

LEADERS DIVIDED: But at the top—mostly because of an anti-CP complex—united action is not always sought. Appeals for an immediate end of the Algerian war have come from members of the teachers' union ("in the present situation, the crisis of conscience and the spirit of revolt of the young are inevitable") and from the University students' union ("so that the young can remain without shame inside the national community"); from the League of Human Rights to which military disobedience has become a form of conscientious objection, and from the Socialist Party's youth section which condemns "the dishonoring procedures of the Algerian war" and the principle of military disobedience alike. But rivalries continue. The students' union has called a "Peace in Algeria" meeting without consulting the powerful CGT (General Trade Union Federation) or the Peace Movement, which in turn is now trying to obtain concerted action of all in favor of immediate negotiation.

The need for unity is stressed in a recent *Express* editorial: "Each time the government takes sanctions against a civil servant . . . each time it arrests a militant . . . each time it insults a writer . . . it is you who are being insulted, sanctioned, deprived of your liberty. To forget this strict rule is to lose oneself."

POLITICAL SHIFTS: The mass actions

are being matched in politics by a sudden move of Left and Center-Left parties away from the government. The trend is new and symptomatic. In one week, the Socialists, MPR (pro-Catholic) and Radicals—formerly supporters of the Fifth Republic—all urged negotiated peace now, and better guarantees for self-determination to permit resumption of conversations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic. A group of center-left personalities headed by Canon Kir, that old friend of Mr. K's and the Mayor of Dijon, have formed a Committee for Peace in Algeria that strongly recommends arbitration by the French-African Community states.

Although these parties and personalities have acted on their own and not in concert, the move is one of high political importance. The Fifth Republic is no longer standing as firm and everlasting as before. Some feel the time has come to put in their own candidacy for the succession.

On the other side, the Right is mustering its forces. In a recent anti-manifesto demonstration on the Champs Elysées, several thousand window-smashing and slogan-shouting ("Sartre to the gallows!", "Salan into power!") fascists almost marched on the Elysée (the residence of the President of the Republic). Their intellectual support comes from a counter-manifesto signed by 185 writers, university and professional people, some of them notorious pro-Hitler collaborators during the occupation.

In face of a dramatically sharpening situation, de Gaulle faces a fundamental choice. In his next move on Algeria, he can lean solidly on the Left—"if only to balance off the opposite force that grows quickly on the Right," as *Le Monde* warns.

But he can also waive left-wing support, remain on his cloudy heights and continue cultivating oracular mystery, disdain of humanity and splendid isolation.

THE BLACKLIST: The manifesto black-

list has borne its most spectacular fruit in the government-controlled radio and TV.

In TV, the banning of three plays with manifesto-signing actors brought on an actors' solidarity strike. Author Claude Mauriac, son of the well-known pro-Gaullist Catholic writer and journalist Francois Mauriac, resigned from the TV program committee in protest against the government reprisals. All old commercial films shown on TV will be screened in advance against signers of the manifesto, even in bit parts.

In radio, six well-known Paris literary and theater critics of many political shades who conducted a weekly literary round-table, announced they could not carry on a literary discussion while the names of Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Francoise Sagan, Vercors and a dozen other important ones are on the taboo list. The show has been suspended.

Eighteen movies, nine already completed, will be affected by the new measures. It appears that Academy Award winner Simone Signoret, Alain Cuny, Danièle Delorme, Laurent Terzieff, and "New Wave" directors Alain Resnais ("Hiroshima Mon Amour"), Francois Truffaut, Pierre Kast, all signers of the manifesto, will be forced out of film jobs in France.

State-subsidized theaters are also hard hit, and more than a dozen teachers and professors have been dismissed from their posts.



Henry, France-Observateur, Paris
"Everybody pretend not to be reporting the news about you know what North African country."

Algeria's loss of faith in West

AT A PRESS INTERVIEW in Tunis on Oct. 23 Ferhat Abbas, Premier of the Algerian Provisional Government, reported on the Algerian nationalists' disillusionment with the West and on his recent visit to Peking and Moscow which—as a known friend of the West—he had reluctantly undertaken. He said:

"There is a point we have reached in our relations with the West: that is the certainty that the Western world is and will remain colonialist . . . We see after six years of struggle that the U.S. will do nothing to help us . . . What could the U.S. do? The U.S. could [declare] that Algeria is an African and an Arab country and should be independent—and follow this declaration with a concrete act: a vote next month in the UN for the Afro-Asian resolution . . ."

"Meanwhile we are finding the support we need among the Communists . . . [Peking and Moscow] said that, because we are fighting colonialism, there is no need to look for any other ideological bond. Our Chinese and Soviet friends recognize frankly that we are not Communists, and they asked no engagement whatsoever from us."

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LEADERS DISCUSS MOVEMENT IN ATLANTA

The sit-ins: Where do they go from here?

Guardian staff correspondence

ATTLANTA ACHIEVEMENTS of the eight-month-old Negro student sit-in movement and problems facing the movement's future were the subjects of three days of discussions at a conference in Atlanta Oct. 14-16 of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. The SNCC, with representatives from "protest areas" in 16 Southern states and the District of Columbia, was established as a coordinating body of the Negro student movement at a Raleigh, N.C., conference last May.

Major decision of the Atlanta meeting was to stage a nationwide protest, with all Southern protest areas taking part and with supporting actions by Northern students. Details of the "action project" are to be released later. The conference, attended by 250 persons, including observers from 42 organizations, was held on the campuses of three Negro colleges here.

THOSE WHO SPOKE: Speakers included Marion S. Wright, vice-president, Southern Regional Council; Ella J. Baker, SNCC adviser; Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Lewis Wade Jones, Tuskegee Institute; Rev. James Lawson, SNCC adviser, and Lillian Smith, author and outspoken Southern white advocate of integration.

Workshop discussions on nonviolence were led by representatives of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, American Friends Service Committee, NAACP, Congress of Racial Equality, and Nash-

ville Christian Leadership Conference.

Southern student leaders conducted workshops in specific areas of protest activity—political, public facilities, employment, education—and in discussions of religion, jail vs. bail and relationships with national and non-Southern groups.

The tentative nature of the movement's organization was evidenced in the fact that nearly all of the second day was devoted to adopting procedural rules. An unfamiliarity in political discussion was also apparent at the conference; but these factors were outweighed by the determination and courage which the students have exhibited in maintaining the momentum of the movement.

THE BEGINNING: The protests started with little organization last February. But as the Movement—or the Cause, as it is called—gained national and world attention and as Southern resistance increased, the students established local protest organizations. The attempt to coordinate activity on a southwide basis has brought to the fore such questions as (1) the kind of leadership needed; (2) how much or how little adult direction should be accepted; (3) the relation of the Southern student to Northern organizations; (4) the relation of the movement to other political and social trends.

In her talk, "After the Sit-ins, What?" Ella Baker summed up some of the student discussions. "To gain a victory is one thing and it is another to know how to use it," she said. She called for "understanding in depth" of the social, po-

litical, economic and psychological factors that gave birth to the movement. "We must understand nonviolence in terms of political action," she said. "We must know how it is related to the struggle for freedom, to the new nations of Asia and Africa, to the atomic war threat, to nuclear testing and development, and to the white Southerner." But, she warned, "the search for understanding must not replace our emphasis on action."

LEAVE THE EGO: Dr. King, who spoke on the philosophy of non-violence, referred to the problem of leadership thus: "We must not get bogged down in divisive tendencies of ego projection." He bade the conference remember that the "nonviolent resister sets out to achieve moral ends by moral means, truthful ends with moral means."

Miss Smith said: "What happens in the South during the next decade depends on how our people respond to the diabolical temptations to sell out big causes for little ones." She accused Southern politicians of "trying to put over a Big Deal . . . trying to buy a new life for the people, a new world, with old Confederate bills."

Marion Wright, in a discussion of "The Changing South," called the movement an ethic drama in which a contrast is produced between "a shy and gentle idea and the prevailing mood and temper of the people of the South." Almost by tradition, he said, the South is wedded to violence. He called nonviolence the "highest principle of moral grandeur."

Atlanta report

(Continued from Page 1)

participants: name, age, school, address. "Are you nervous?" this reporter asked. "A little," said a 20-year-old student from Tennessee. "Are you scared?" we persisted. "If you're not a little afraid, we don't want you with us," he said. "You can't tell what someone who's not afraid will do. We can't afford to be reckless."

A LAST REVIEW: The groups joined—120 students and the ministers who were to observe the action—for one last review. Lonnie C. King Jr., a leader of the Atlanta students' Committee on Appeals for Human Rights, briefed the group on talking to the press, while other leaders made transportation assignments.

"If they ask you whether you will choose jail or bail, tell them, 'In jail or out, confinement for the Negro is an area of relativism,'" King said.

He went on: "At exactly 11 a.m. we will enter our assigned stores, take seats at the counter. If served, we will eat and proceed to the next store. If not arrested, we will stay seated at the counter until the store closes and meet tonight at 7. It is important not to enter the lunch counter a minute before 11 or a minute after." King held up a watch: "Set your watches for 9:32."

Students collected around their captains, decided to go for coffee. Three carloads drove off to a coffee shop. The next stop would be Woolworth's on Broad Street, in the heart of Atlanta's shopping district. In one car a girl was stopped by laughing admonitions as she began to sing, "Working on a chain gang . . ."

As the group left the coffee shop another group, staring straight ahead, mumbled as they passed: "Don't speak to us. Don't speak to us." The word was passed along: "They're being followed. Don't speak."

COUNTER ROPED OFF: At 11 a.m. the students entered Woolworth's as other groups were entering McCrory's, R. H. Kress, H. L. Green, W. T. Grant, Newberry and two large department stores, Rich's and Davison's. They sat down

at the lunch counter. A store policeman began to walk up and down. No one spoke to the students, no one served them. At 11:12 the store manager roped off the counter and counter men began putting food away. The students settled in for a long sit, opened newspapers or books.

A white woman approached the counter, stopped short and said: "Well, I'll be darned. I'd starve to death before I'd eat beside of one." Another woman in a shocked voice said: "Are they serving them?"



DR. KING AND A STUDENT GET A HIGH-RANKED ESCORT TO JAIL
In the driver's seat, Capt. R. E. Little of Atlanta's police

At McCrory's a white woman finished her lunch as the students sat and said to the counter man: "They work in our homes and cook our food. Why don't you serve them?"

Along Broad street a white merchant said to a Negro: "They'll have to do it sooner or later, and the sooner the better." A Negro woman shopper said: "I'm with them 100 percent, and praying for them. The students know and so it's good that they're taking the first step. They will lead, we will follow."

NO MATTER HOW LONG: Outside Rich's a man was explaining the presence of 50 pickets: "The niggers want to eat with the white people and Rich's won't serve them." At 11:25 upstairs in Rich's "table cloth" restaurant, the Magnolia Room, the moment the students had been waiting for came—six were ar-

rested.

At a less expensive restaurant on Rich's second floor the Rev. Martin Luther King sat reading a book. Nine others were seated at nearby tables. Carolyn Long, 20, of Atlanta's Clark College, spokesman for the group, said: "We're going to stay until we are served no matter how long it takes." Asked why he had come, Dr. King said: "The students requested my participation and I felt a moral obligation to comply. I am here to demonstrate my support. If necessary, I will very definitely go to jail."



A white woman seated at the next table said: "I wish them luck."

Two hours later Dr. King, Lonnie King and two others who had moved up to the Magnolia Room were arrested, bringing the total by 1:20 p.m. to 14.

DEFENDANTS CALM: An hour later their trial began in Municipal Court on charges of violating a state trespassing law passed earlier this year to outlaw sit-in demonstrations. The courtroom, filled with Negro spectators and a sprinkling of whites, was calm. The defendants appeared relaxed. News came that the arrests had reached 52 and that more students were on their way to Rich's.

The defendants pleaded not guilty after Judge James C. Webb overruled a defense motion for an hour's delay until counsel could arrive. Webb said: "This



Commodore, Chicago Defender

Rev. James Lawson, student leader expelled from Vanderbilt University for sit-in activities, advised the students to stay in jail and encourage the community to change the system that jailed them. "We can stand it in here as long as you can stand it out there," he said.

Marion S. Barry, SNCC chairman, gave voice to the movement's goals: "We will continue to wade in, kneel in and sit in so one day we will be able to live in a truly democratic society."

In addition to the plan for an action project, final decisions of the conference were to maintain an Atlanta office as headquarters to disseminate information and raise funds; to hold bi-monthly SNCC meetings, and to make three organizations voting members: the National Student Christian Federation, U.S. National Students Assn. and the NAACP Youth and College branch.

was a well-planned and organized demonstration, and it should have been planned well enough to have counsel present."

The prosecution's only witness, Police Capt. R. E. Little, testified that an executive of Rich's had told the students that the Magnolia tea room was not set up to serve them and had asked them to leave the premises. Each student testified that he had not been asked to leave but had been invited to go to another restaurant in the store where there were "facilities" to serve them (the Hunter Room in the store's basement is reserved to Negroes).

The defense asked Capt. Little how long the students had remained after he had asked them to leave. "Thirty or 60 seconds," he said. "When I told them to leave I meant go."

Several of the students testified that the store executive had read a list of organizations and asked to which they belonged.

IN A SPIRIT OF LOVE: First reference to segregation came when Lonnie King in his statement said: "We went to the Magnolia tea room as any white citizen of Atlanta, or anyone of any other race, Chinese or Japanese or anyone can go there—only Negroes cannot go . . . This is a moral issue that is troubling America, an issue that needs to be solved."

Dr. King said: "We went peacefully, non-violently and in a deep spirit of love . . . If we lived under a totalitarian system, a Communist system, Gestapo rule, maybe it would have been right to arrest us. One of the great glories of democracy is the right to protest. If our acts were in any way out of line with the law as stated we did it to bring the whole issue under the scrutiny of the conscience of Atlanta."

"This is the most pressing issue facing our nation today. The festering sore of segregation debilitates the white man as well as the Negro. Our intentions were far beyond the shallow interests of publicity and upsetting the laws of the Southland. I acted out of love of democracy, the South and Atlanta. I cannot accept bond even if it means staying in jail one year or five or ten years to affirm my belief in positive, loving, brotherly peace."

Campaign war whoops

(Continued from Page 1)

NIXON'S OPPORTUNITY: Vice President Nixon remained bearish on Quemoy and Matsu, upholding their defense by the U.S. under any and all circumstances. His running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, called for a U.S. veto on any attempt in the UN to seat the Peking regime as the legitimate government of China.

But on the Cuba issue Nixon shrewdly saw a way to give the appearance of softening his bellicosity. He said Kennedy's proposal would violate Western Hemisphere agreements on non-interference in internal affairs of any state, and might even precipitate an East-West war over Cuba. He suggested that the U.S. repeat "what we did in Guatemala." "We quarantined Mr. Arbenz," Nixon said, "[and] the result was that the Guatemalan people themselves rose up and they threw him out." The Republican National Committee was so pleased with Nixon's riposte that committee chairman Thruston Morton proposed continuation of the Nixon-Kennedy debate on Cuba and on Quemoy and Matsu.

CANADA—NO THANKS: But America's allies were bewildered and alarmed. U.S. trade with Cuba has fallen sharply; the embargo would affect mostly Cuba's purchase of spare parts for American machinery and trucks and cars already owned by Cubans, and some of these Cuba can buy from Canadian subsidiaries of U.S. manufacturers. Prime Minister John Diefenbaker bluntly said that "Canada has no intention whatsoever of imposing any embargo on Canadian goods in Cuban trade," and he was roundly applauded by the Canadian press. Other U.S. allies trading with Cuba were equally resentful. Cuba replied to the U.S. embargo by seizing the remaining 380 American firms, valued at \$250,000,000.



Wall Street Journal
"Remember when the mention of Cuba would set you thinking of good cigars, sugar, Desi Arnaz, the rhumba; things like that?"

Latin American delegates to the UN were "dismayed" by Kennedy's proposal. They were already opposed to the Eisenhower Administration's embargo on exports to Cuba as a form of intervention aimed at the overthrow of Premier Fidel Castro's government; and, irrespective of their attitude toward Castro, to a man they were opposed to the violation of the principle of non-intervention in any Latin country's internal affairs. They supported the right of a country to choose any form of government, Communist or otherwise.

"GREATEST BLUNDER": One anti-Castro Latin American representative told the N.Y. Herald Tribune (Oct. 22): "[Kennedy's proposal] would represent a return to the American big stick imperialistic policy of the past . . . It represents a repudiation of Franklin Roosevelt's good-neighbor policy and of all the inter-American agreements on non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries."

Another Latin delegate said: "I am absolutely dumbfounded . . . Kennedy

has committed the greatest blunder of his campaign."

As if to bolster the charge of aggression, Gen. David Shoup said on Oct. 20 that the Marine contingent at the U.S.-owned base at Cuba's Guantanamo Bay had been increased; he declined to disclose the size of the increase. And FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover attacked Cuba before the American Legion at its 42nd annual convention at Miami Beach (Kennedy had done the same thing there).

The Legion itself adopted a resolution calling for a military blockade of Cuba to overthrow the Castro government, and urged Congress and the President "to make available and to apply our military supplies and forces to effect this objective." And former President Truman sneered: "If we had anybody with guts, there wouldn't have been a Cuban situation now."

THE BOYS KNOW: None of Kennedy's critics, however, were fooled by Nixon's position on Cuba. The N.Y. Times' Washington bureau chief James Reston reported (Oct. 24) that Nixon's reference to Guatemala was "the joke of the weekend in the Latin American embassies." Reston added that all of them knew how "the U.S. government, through the Central Intelligence Agency, worked actively with and financed, and made available the arms with which the anti-Arbenz forces" overthrew the democratic Guatemalan government.

Latin Americans in Washington, in fact, noted that in the past Eisenhower and Nixon had publicly taken credit for ousting Arbenz and that they did in Guatemala what Kennedy now proposed to do in Cuba. More than that, they were aware—as Reston said Oct. 22—that "well-informed" Washingtonians did not really disapprove Kennedy's policy but felt "it is not the sort of thing to discuss in public." Reston added: "Public promises of intervention in advance of

the event are generally opposed here."

COMPLAINT IN UN: Kennedy's statement did not scare the Cubans, but made many Latin Americans feel they should trade around the globe and avoid placing all their eggs in the U.S. basket. In the UN, Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa on Oct. 19 lodged a complaint concerning U.S. aggression against Cuba, with an explanatory memorandum detailing "various plans of aggression and acts of intervention being executed by the government of the U.S." against Cuba.

In Cuba, Maj. Ernesto Guevara, president of the National Bank, asserted on the eve of his departure on Oct. 22 for Moscow, Peking and other capitals for trade negotiations, that the U.S. embargo would not hurt the Cubans. He said: "Everyone must have confidence in the solidarity of the countries which are fully supporting us and have offered us assistance from economic aid to volunteers, as well as—speaking figuratively—rockets that will cross the sea and defend us."

THE REAL ISSUE: While the Kennedy statement on Cuba alarmed U.S. allies over increasing the danger of setting off a world war in the Western Hemisphere, Nixon's statement on Quemoy and Matsu alarmed them similarly regarding the Far East. To most American allies, the whole Quemoy-Matsu issue appeared as a camouflage for maintaining control over Taiwan; the real issue for them was the status of Taiwan, which is an integral part of China.

Nor did these allies fail to note that U.S. policy toward Cuba has become more bellicose as the Castro government has met the needs of the Cuban people with increasing success. And the policy toward Peking has become more hysterical as the indications increase in the UN that in the not too distant future the Chinese people will be represented there by the government they have themselves chosen.

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NATIONAL COMMITTEE FORMED

Officers chosen for abolition drive

AUBREY WILLIAMS, Alabama editor and head of the Natl. Youth Administration under President Roosevelt, has accepted the chairmanship of a Natl. Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. He will serve with Dorothy Marshall and former California Atty. General Robert W. Kenny as secretary and treasurer and Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles as field representative.

The officerships were affirmed by a well attended meeting of founders of the Committee in New York Oct. 10. The meeting was attacked in advance by Rep. Francis Walter, chairman of the com-

mittee the group has set out to abolish.

The new group voted to set up a Washington office and to hold its next meeting in Washington during the opening of Congress, when continuance of standing committees is a first order of business. Plans were discussed for calling a Washington mobilization Jan. 3 to visit Congressmen in advance of the vote on continuance of the Un-American Committee.

BRISK ACTIVITY: Key Congressmen interviewed by Wilkinson in a whirlwind ten-state tour beginning Sept. 14 said that if a secret vote in Congress were possible, as many as 100 House members

might vote to support a resolution for abolition. Such a move was called for last spring in a speech by Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.). Hundreds of thousands of reprints have been distributed by concurring groups throughout the country.

The New York meeting heard a report by Wilkinson of his tour and reports by others of brisk activity for abolition in several states, including college campuses in Boston, Chicago and New York. A comic highlight of the meeting was the revelation that Rep. Walter had summoned several students of a Chicago campus to an executive hearing of the Un-American Activities Committee because they celebrated a fellow-student's birthday with a cake topped off with a sugary red hammer & sickle.

The press and Mr. K

A COMMENTARY by GUARDIAN editor James Aronson, recently presented over New York's WBAI-FM and San Francisco's KPFA-FM, is now available in printed form to GUARDIAN readers. The talk dealt with the American press and its coverage of Premier Khrushchev's second visit to the U.S. Enclose 10c (coin or stamps) for handling and send request to Guardian Talks, 197 E. 4th St., N.Y.C. 9.

Contributions may be sent to National Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, 617 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles 4, Calif.

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A MESSAGE FROM NEW YORK:

Will You Stay At Home November 8?

AS ELECTION DAY approaches, Americans are becoming increasingly aware that no effective political choice can be made by voting for either of the two major parties.

Both Republican and Democratic parties represent a bi-partisan coalition whose policies threaten the cause of PEACE in a world where survival itself is at stake.

Close to our own shores, this bi-partisan foreign policy threatens the right of the Cuban people to carry out their own social revolution which has been greeted by almost all Americans who have seen it for themselves.

On the domestic front, the two parties have failed in the crucial issues of CIVIL RIGHTS in a year when courageous youth are on the march in the South; CIVIL LIBERTIES at a time when legislative committees perpetuate the full flavor of the witch hunt; LABOR'S RIGHTS as both parties support such anti-trade union legislation as the Kennedy-Landrums-Griffin Act.

Presidential candidates have been known before to make election-eve concessions to attract votes, but no last minute attempts at "image changing" by the candidates will alter the basic orientation of either party.

In the labor movement, a number of trade unions, disenchanted by the lure of the Democratic Party as "labor's friend," are either calling for a new third party or refusing to endorse either candidate.

The intention of a growing number of Americans to "sit out" this election is a mark of the discontent over this lack of choice.

BUT TO STAY AT HOME on election day or to boycott the top of the ticket is an ineffective protest. Such "votes" cannot be counted and will not show up as a protest in the final tally.

We, the undersigned independents and unaffiliated socialists in New York State, believe there is a way, however, not only to protest, but to cast a positive vote that can be counted on issues the major

parties would put out of reach.

We feel also that socialism belongs in the electoral debate. An awakened socialist consciousness on the part of the American people can only aid the fight on the crucial issues of the day. The scientific revolution of our times demands the discussion of socialist solutions to problems raised by automation, atomic energy, and by the enormous increase in our productive energies. Workers who are permanent victims of technological unemployment will, for instance, only find answers in a planned economy.

NEW YORK is one of 12 states where the Socialist Workers Party has successfully placed candidates on the ballot. This party's socialist program calls for a foreign policy of peace including the recognition of China, support of the Cuban revolution, withdrawal of all troops from foreign soil, total disarmament, permanent halt to nuclear weapons tests and the dismantling of A and H bomb stockpiles, an end to conscription, peaceful relations with the Soviet Union.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates Farrell Dobbs for President and Myra Tanner Weiss for Vice President have also stood uncompromisingly for civil rights, civil liberties, for labor's rights and for basic socialist change.

The Socialist Workers Party, in its vigorous and successful petition campaign in New York and its fight for radio-TV time, has also helped keep the electoral machinery available for further independent action.

WE THEREFORE call upon other independents and socialists in New York to record a vote for Dobbs and Weiss in 1960 as a positive vote in protest—a vote that can be counted.

WE FURTHER urge that independents and socialists in other states support Socialist Workers Party candidates wherever possible and that they also support other local independent or socialist candidates for peace whenever they consider that such candidates provide an effective protest.

INDEPENDENTS AND SOCIALISTS FOR ELECTORAL ACTION IN 1960

Signed:
(New Yorkers)

Paul Alexander, Manhattan
Max Bedacht, Lake Grove
Dorothy Berger, Brooklyn
Lily Burros, Woodside
Robert Burros, Woodside
Ephraim Cross, Manhattan
Benjamin Dannenberg, Bronx
Richard De Haan, Manhattan
David Ellenberg, Brooklyn
Ellnor Ferry, Manhattan
Baldazare Glarizzo, Brooklyn
Maurice Goldman, Rockaway
Scott K. Gray, Albany
Ann Halperin, Brooklyn
Norman Halperin, Brooklyn
Thomas Holland, Manhattan
Elias K. Herzog, Brooklyn
Robert E. Jackson, Brooklyn
Max Jenkins, Brooklyn
Mildred Kaufman, Manhattan
Bert Lessuck, Manhattan

William Lipson, Brooklyn
Conrad Lynn, Pomona
Milton Marcus, Bronx
Dominic Mascio, Bellerose
Jane Bedell McManus, Montrose
Henry Meltsner, Manhattan
Henry Merkin, Whitestone
Rachel Millson, Brooklyn
Dr. Otto Nathan, Manhattan
Alice Pelkey, Manhattan
Charlotte Pomerantz, Man.
William A. Price, Manhattan
Lillian E. Reiner, Syracuse
Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, Man.
Jean Rubinstein, Manhattan
Helen Saks, Laurelton
Jay Seidin, Manhattan
Otto Skottedal, West Islip
Louis Solomon, Manhattan
Harry Tanser, Little Neck
Jane Vos, Manhattan
Nathan Weintraub, Flushing
Ed Wortham, Bronx

The undersigned who are not residents of New York associate ourselves with the views expressed in this statement:

Rev. William T. Baird, Chicago
Warren K. Billings, San Mateo, Calif.
Perry Cartwright, Chicago.
Nellie De Schaaf, Chicago
Jerry Gordon, Cleveland
John T. Gojack, Columbus, Ohio
Patrick Sarsfield "Butch" Hallinan, Ross, Calif.
Terrence Tyrone "Kayo" Hallinan, Ross, Calif.
Vincent Hallinan, Ross, Calif.
Vivian Hallinan, Ross, Calif.
Charles Hamilton, Chicago
John Hamilton, Chicago
George Hitchcock, San Francisco
Rev. Joseph P. King, Chicago

A. E. Marsh, Madison, N.J.
Muriel McAvoy, Boston, Mass.
James A. Nash Sr., Chicago
Scott Nearing, Harborside, Me.

Anita Reinthaler, Cleveland
Erl. Reinthaler, Cleveland
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INDEPENDENTS AND SOCIALISTS FOR ELECTORAL ACTION IN 1960

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PUBLIC MEETING Fri., Nov. 4, 8 p.m. Severance Hall, 940 S. Figueroa St. Speakers: RUSS NIXON, Wash. D.C. representative United Electrical Workers, "Prospects for Abolition of Un-American Activities Comm. in 87th Congress." BENJAMIN DREYFUS, Pres. National Lawyers Guild, "Prospects for Civil Liberties—Supreme Court Faces Crucial Decisions."

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THE 1960 ELECTIONS & THE WORLD CRISIS The American Dilemma; The Case for Socialism.

Speakers: Arthur Sharon, Chmn. Socialist Workers Party of North. Calif. Errell Banks, Candidate for Cong., 23 District. William Hathaway, Chmn., Students for Dobbs and Weiss. Sat., Nov. 5, 8:30 p.m., Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA READERS Hear the Socialist Point of View on vital political and economic issues given by THEODORE EDWARDS on 90.7 Radio KPFK-FM Fri. Nov. 4th, 6:45 p.m.

PHILADELPHIA

"A SOCIALIST PEACE PROGRAM FOR AMERICA" Hear FARRELL DOBBS, Presidential Candidate SWP. Report by Dobbs of World Anti-War Conference in Japan SAT., NOV. 5th, 1960 W. GIRARD AVE., 8:30 p.m.

SOCIALIST ELECTION SUPPER AND FORUM, SUNDAY, OCT. 30. "THE U.N. & COLONIALISM," speaker: Lou Shoemaker at 7 p.m. Campaign chicken supper, 5-7 p.m. Campaign Headquarters, 1303 W. Girard Av. 2nd floor.

Elaine and Roy Grossman Cordially invite you to meet MRS. HELEN SOBELL Hear a report on National Appeal for Freedom for Morton Sobell to be held in Wash., D.C., Nov. 19, 20, 21. SAT., NOV. 5, 8:30 p.m., 1304-68 Av. Surprise entertainment. Refreshments Contribution

SAN DIEGO

THEODORE EDWARDS radio commentator and socialist lecturer, will speak on "The Real Issues of 1960 Elections," Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m., 4661 North Ave. Admission Free. Social will follow at 8243 San Bernardo Terrace. Ausp: San Diego Dobbs-Weiss Comm. Phone CO 3-8537.

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CUBA RE-BORN Talk by Dr. Eugene Eagle—just back from Cuba trip. Come - Listen - Ask Questions. Sat., Nov. 12, 8 p.m., 2698 Sacramento St. Light refreshments. Donation: 50c.

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COME TO A PARTY ELECTION FREE-FOR-ALL DISCUSSION Sat., Nov. 5, 8 p.m., Penthouse 10-A, 30 W. 71 St. Cont. \$1. Ausp: Independents & Socialists for Electoral Action in 1960

"FREEDOM: Promise or Menace?" SCOTT NEARING Fri., Nov. 4, 8:30 p.m. Hotel Beacon, 75 St. & Broadway Admission \$1.50

METROPOLITAN FRAT. CLUB MEETS Fri., Nov. 4, 8:45 p.m. "REPORT ON AFRICA" by observer at Ghana Conference. Adelphi Hall, 74-5th Av., Rm. 11-D.

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RADICAL PARTIES & THE ELECTION An analysis of stands taken by Communist party, Socialist Labor Party, Socialist Workers party and Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Speaker: HARRY RING, staff writer, The Militant. Fri., Oct. 28, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place (off Union Sq.) Cont. 50c. Ausp: Dobbs-Weiss Campaign Comm.

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The Bensonhurst Forum presents HERBERT APTHEKER, who will speak on "This Troubled World," Fri., Oct. 28 8:30 p.m., at 2018-86th St., Brooklyn. Contribution 49c.

CLARENCE HATHAWAY lectures on Sat., Oct. 30, 9 p.m. sharp, on The 1960 Elections and World Peace. Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

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THE GALLERY

COLUMBIA PICTURES' film biography of Werner von Braun. I Aim at the Stars, was picketed when it opened at the Forum Theater in New York on Oct. 19 by about 100 young people, answering a call from Advance, a new socialist youth organization. Picket signs read: "Von Braun's Rockets Killed Our Allies," "Peace Priority Not Missile Priority" and "Give Us Good Old American Westerns, Not V-2 Von Braun." An adroit doorman who had been shouting, "See the inside story of America's race to space," switched to "See the picture and decide for yourself."

Theater manager Nat Slater told a delegation: "Look, I've got a contract to show this film. I don't want to lose my money." A Columbia representative disdained financial arguments. He distributed copies of a Senate speech by John Sparkman (D-Ala.) calling the film a "truly inspirational experience."

When the theater manager placed a placard outside announcing that the movie had been rated three and one-half stars (of a possible four) by the New York Daily News, a picket shouted: "In Germany they gave it four swastikas."

Picketing is to continue during the run of the film, which may not be long because of poor attendance.

In Los Angeles the film is part of a double-feature with Man on a String, based on Boris Morros' biography.

THREE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS in Puerto Rico may have hurt Jack Kennedy's campaign more than all the anti-Catholic literature distributed in the States. In a pastoral letter read in Catholic churches on Oct. 23, the bishops forbade Catholics to vote for the Popular Democratic party of Gov. Munoz Marin because it is "anti-Christian and anti-Catholic."

The letter kicked up a fuss—picket lines around cathedrals, etc. But Archbishop James P. Davis of San Juan insisted that the letter was "non-political."

At issue was Popular Democratic support for birth control and sterilization. Munoz also helped defeat a bill to authorize public schools to grant time off for religious instruction.

Faculty members from the U. of Puerto Rico picketed Davis' office, carrying signs: "From Pastoral to Inquisition." Munoz called the letter "incredible medieval interference in a political campaign." He said he would complain to the Vatican after the election.

But the \$64 question was asked in the United States: How does Sen. Kennedy stand? Pierre Salinger, press secy., answered for the candidate: "Senator Kennedy has stated on many occasions that he considers it wholly improper and alien to our domestic system for churchmen of any faith to tell the members of their church for whom to vote or for whom not to vote."

Francis Cardinal Spellman in New York said that the letter was a "directive" without penalties. Those who ignored it would not have to report their action in confession. Since there was no sin involved, he said, there would be no penance.

STUDENTS AT THE U. OF CHICAGO have formed a committee to work for the abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee . . . Vincent Hallinan's report on the Powers trial, recorded at a GUARDIAN meeting, will be broadcast on WBAI-FM in New York on Nov. 3 at 10 p.m. The station will also carry monthly discussions on civil liberties, taped at ACLU chapter meetings. A sister station, KPFK in Los Angeles carries a similar program from the Southern California ACLU . . . Police in Catania, Sicily, last month segregated buses going through the factory area—men from women—because the males were pinching the opposite sex with undue vigor. A 20-year-old housewife had complained to the bus company in a letter: "I have been married for a year and one-half but, during all this time, my husband has wondered if I was faithful to him. After going to work through the factory area, I noticed in the evening when I went to bed that he was looking at me with eyes brimming with anxiety. In fact, he had seen that parts of my body bore livid marks that are, I know, the result of all the pinchings I get whenever I travel on Bus Route 27."

—Robert E. Light

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BOOKS

Back to McKinley, or forward?

MOST THINKING PEOPLE can make an educated guess as to who is behind the callous policies being directed against Cuba today by our government, but few have the facts to back up the guess. Sufficient facts to back up most well-founded suspicions are assembled in two newly-born academic quarterlies, Vol. 1 No. 1 of *New University Thought* (50c, 909 E. 55th St., Chicago 37) and Vol. 1 No. 2 of *Studies on the Left* (85c, P.O. Box 2121, Madison 5, Wis.).

Documents dug out by a Wisconsin graduate history student for *Studies on the Left* contain some significant background on the original U.S. intervention in Cuba in early 1898. Despite fondly-nurtured beliefs that the U.S. intervened to help Cuba



gain independence from Spain, the assembled facts show that President McKinley undertook "the enforced pacification of Cuba" with the support of U.S. big business, whose holdings in Cuba and commerce there had been kept in constant jeopardy by the "chronic condition of trouble and violent derangement in that island," in the words of Secy. of State Sherman.

With Spain ousted from Cuba and Puerto Rico and then from the Philippines in the rapid-fire Spanish-American War, the U.S. thereafter controlled both the Caribbean and the Pacific (Seward's "American Lake.") The Panama Canal in short order became the link between the two. Cuba's independence, strongly demanded by sympathizers in the U.S., was confirmed in 1902, well hemmed-in by treaty guarantees of favorable trade rights and the Guantanamo naval base commanding the entrance to the Caribbean.

THE EXTENT to which U.S. business thereafter controlled Cuba's economy is described in considerable detail in one of two carefully researched articles on U.S. relations in Latin America in *New University Thought*.

Until the recent expropriations, nine of the ten largest sugar "centrals" or raw sugar mills and 21 of the 30 largest of Cuba's 161 mills were owned by nineteen U.S.-controlled companies. U.S.-controlled mills represented 54% of the total grinding capacity of all the island's mills, and held nearly 3,000,000 of the 5,000,000 acres of land under cultivation in Cuba. In Oriente Province, lands of United Fruit and West Indies Sugar Co. stretched "unbroken from the north to the south shore."

Though sugar represented the major sector of U.S. investment in Cuba, more U.S. dollars were found in non-sugar enterprises than in sugar itself, principally in power, communications, oil and mining—where U.S. interests enjoyed a virtually complete monopoly. All the big names in eastern U.S. finance were involved there in direct or indirect interlocks: Dillon, Read; J. H. Schroder; Sullivan & Cromwell; First National City; First National Boston; Chase Manhattan; Mellon; Lehman Bros.; Kuhn, Loeb; Brown Bros. & Harriman; Morgan of course, and three Rockefellerers, Avery, David and G. S.

In all, U.S. companies claimed they had \$1 billion invested in Cuba when expropriations began. Regarding this claim, *New University Thought* cites a Cuban analysis (which was also the basis for the summary recently in the *GUARDIAN*) pointing out that only about half of the claimed \$1 billion had been original investment, the other half representing reinvested profits during the last several decades. Cuba's view is that most U.S. investment, especially in sugar, has already been amortized through profit-taking, and liberal profits taken in addition thereafter. Nevertheless, Cuba offers to pay for expropriated properties in 20-year, 4½% bonds, based on valuations for tax purposes as of October, 1958, at the end of the Batista era.

AMONG THE MANY OTHER interesting articles in the two quarterlies is one by James Weinstein, graduate history student at Columbia, on the U.S. Socialist Party from its peak years beginning in 1912 to its decimation and rapid decline after 1919. In 1912 some 1,200 Socialists held office in 340 U.S. communities, among them 79 mayors in 24 states. There were more than 300 Socialist publications, including 13 dailies, 298 weeklies and numerous monthlies. The *Appeal to Reason* had an average circulation in 1913 of more than 761,000 weekly;

National Ripsaw had 150,000. Dotting the landscape coast to coast were weeklies like the *Badger Herald Rustler* and the *Crookstown Eye Opener* in Minnesota; *Benton* (Mo.) *Scott County Kicker*; *Minot* (N.D.) *Iconoclast*; *McAlester* (Okla.) *Pitts County Hornet*; *Okemah* (Okla.) *Sledge Hammer*, *Seattle's Town Crier* and *Wheeling's Optimistic Majority*. They had a total circulation of more than 2,000,000 by minimum estimates, and some held large circulations throughout much of World War 1, their concerted opposition to which brought on punishing government harassment.

But though wartime repression took its toll, the Socialist press and party remained vigorous until 1919, when various splits occurred.

"At issue," Weinstein concludes, "was whether or not the Americans would find their own road and their own timetable to socialism. Although the question was complicated by many other currents, it was on this rock that American socialism foundered."

APART FROM sectarian efforts of succeeding years, and in the face of an almost total elimination of a socialist press in the country, works by independent U.S. socialists continue to have significant influence, as shown by the popularity of Paul Baran's works and Leo Huberman's *Man's Worldly Goods* in Cuba. Another Huberman book, *The ABC of Socialism*, is "must" reading in Ghana.

Pamphleteering by individuals urged on by the basic lack of socialist argument in our country perennially produces a varied crop of publications, all hopefully seeking consideration of socialist solutions for U.S. problems.

One such at hand is an unassuming, blue-jacketed pamphlet called *YOUR BEST BET For a Better Life*, by "S. S. Mann," 25c from Topical Pamphlets, 100 W. 23rd St., New York 11. "S. S. Mann" is the pen name of an autumnal New England physician who has ten years to go before he reaches Dr. Du Bois' age, and who has devoted virtually all the spare time of a busy professional life to the task of distilling the essence of socialism for the benefit of a non-theoretical public.

From a manuscript which once ran 80-100 sheets of typescript, he has brought the text down to 30 digest-size pages. The result is, indeed, a labor of love for mankind; and a simple, straightforward argument for the better life ahead under public ownership, planned economy and democratic socialist government. "S.S. Mann" seeks no profit from his pamphlet and no reward other than to convince as many people as possible that "the best inheritance we can leave to future generations, far better and safer than wealth, is a socialist society in which they can live lives of security, well-being, happiness and brotherhood." He, and we, urge readers to try *Your Best Bet* and see if it may not be a mind-opener as well as an eye-opener for misinformed friends. —John T. McManus

the SPECTATOR

A visit to a prison

The following was written by Mrs. Helen Sobell after her last visit with her husband, Morton Sobell, in Atlanta Penitentiary.

FINALLY, AFTER PAYING OUR FARE, we sat back in the almost empty bus. Marko, as always, had gone to his favorite seat, just behind the door, and now as the bus swung down the beautiful, tree-lined street, we looked around. In front of the driver a sign proclaimed, "Whites shall seat from the front, Negroes from the rear." We glared at it, knowing it no longer had power, but hurt by the ugliness of the attitude which it underlined. The sign wove an evil spell over all. The whites who huddled close to the door, those who moved defiantly toward the back, the Negroes who carried the badge of their domesticity all the way back, and the laughing, chattering school children who flooded the entire bus, light and life in their dark faces, everyone was aware that he was paying homage or defying the dead sign.

We came to our transfer point and began our wait for the "Federal Prison" bus. There was plenty of time for our trip, and we stood on the corner of Ponce de Leon Ave. relaxed, talking about the Fountain of Youth. "Look," Marko said, "see that sign on that taxi. It says 'For Whites Only.' The taxis here must be segregated. That's ridiculous."

"It sure is," I answered, making a mental note that when I took a taxi I would make a point of not taking one with such a sign on it. I wondered whether the times when I had gone from the airport directly to the prison to see Mort my taxi had carried me through the city proclaiming "For Whites Only"? Did it take a child's unblinded eyes to see all of these things? And where was our bus?

MARKO, WE'VE BEEN WAITING 20 minutes," I said. "We're going to have to start worrying about getting to see Mort on time if this keeps up." But Marko was already proclaiming that a bus was coming. Unfortunately, it took another ten minutes for the right bus to come along. As we climbed up the steep steps my mind was busy figuring. It was now 2. If we got there by 2:30 we would have time to go through the signing in, the identification, the waiting, and whatever else might come up, and still be in the visiting room by 3 which would permit us our full hour.

I thought of how precious each minute that we had together was. I thought of all the money and effort that went into our making the trip. Obviously, it was foolish to risk one of our minutes even if the

chances were very good that we would not lose any of our time. My heart began pounding as I thought of all of the wasted minutes that piled themselves into hours and days, and long, long years. I knew that even if we did get our full visiting time, the next hour would be too difficult to bear.

"Marko, let's keep an eye out, and if we see a cab stand, we'll get off the bus and pick one up. It's too close to just stay on the bus." The bus crawled along, no cabs. None. And then, luckily, we were at a cab stand, with perhaps 75 different cabs parked all around. "Hurry, hurry," Marko called as he rang the bell and we stopped at the corner.

WE DASHED DOWN to the little dispatcher's station and I called in as we got there, "I'd like a cab, please."

THE OLD DIES HARD
This is a discarded sign in Memphis; the news hasn't reached Atlanta

There was a dead silence which cut through the air as one of a group of men who had been playing cards lowered the two front legs of his chair, and walked quietly toward me. "We don't serve white people," he said gently. I realized then that the woman at the desk, and all of the men around, the drivers who were waiting, were all Negro. "You'll have to get a Yellow Cab," he said, and turning to the woman, "Call her a cab." I felt deeply humble that I was part of a world which could set up such a situation. "Perhaps," I said, "it's too much trouble. Maybe I can call some other place, and so not trouble you." And all the while the hands of the clock were moving on.

No, it was no trouble, and there would be one along in a minute. I stood holding Marko's hand, and one of the men spoke to me. "You're not from Atlanta, are you? You must be from Florida, or New York." "I'm from New York," I answered, wondering why he had picked Florida. "Things are different up there, no Jim Crow," he said. It was half question, half statement. "Yes, better," and I looked at all of the cabs sitting around, all of the men waiting for a fare. I looked at my watch, and all of the waste, and hate, and pervading evil of brother separated from brother by a few gradations of skin color found itself compressed into that moment as the Yellow Cab came to take us out of a surrounding sea of taxis.

We got there in time, just the same time the bus would have taken, and as we sat together in the visiting room we talked about our world, and its absurdity.

—Helen Sobell

NEWSPAPER