

Photo by Elizabeth Timberman

**FAIR PLAY: AN AMERICAN TRADITION UNKNOWN IN WASHINGTON**  
But these pickets at the United Nations know it, and millions of others in the U.S., Latin America, Africa and Asia understood (see p. 3).

#### WILL THE U.S. GO IT ALONE?

## Kennedy's tough talk keeps Cuba alert for the future

By Kumar Goshal

**P**REMIER FIDEL CASTRO of Cuba on April 23 put to rest eager speculation in the U.S. press that he had been wounded or killed or driven insane by the counterrevolutionary invasion. On that day he made his first appearance on television since the invasion was launched April 17.

Dressed in battle fatigues, looking fit and vital, Castro reported to the nation on the invasion which had been totally crushed and warned Cubans about the future.

Castro repeatedly stressed that the U.S. would not be reconciled to the failure of the invasion. He warned that since "indirect aggression" had failed, the Cubans faced direct U.S. attack. But direct intervention, he cautioned Washington, would light a "conflagration of incalculable proportions" and would mark the

"beginning of the end of the Yankee empire." For in such circumstances, he said, "we shall not be alone."

**TOUGH TALK:** Castro had grounds for his warning. In a tough speech to the American Society of Newspaper Editors on April 20, President Kennedy noted the failure of the invasion and declared: "Cuba must not be abandoned to the Communists. And we do not intend to abandon it either." He gave notice that the U.S. would take action alone if its Latin American allies use "the inter-American doctrine of non-interference" as an excuse for "non-action." Kennedy said:

In an attempt to present a "national unity" picture on Cuba, the President conferred with former President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and former President Truman (by phone and through Vice President Johnson). It seemed an

(Continued on Page 4)

#### THE BIGGEST CIVIL LIBERTIES MEETING IN YEARS

## 5,000 at N. Y. rally honor Braden and Wilkinson

By Joanne Grant

**I**N NEW YORK'S largest civil liberties meeting in many years, an audience of more than 5,000 cheered speakers defending the First Amendment and castigating the House Committee on Un-American Activities at a rally in St. Nicholas Arena Friday night, April 21.

The rally, sponsored by the New York Council and Youth to Abolish HUAC, was a send-off for Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson who will begin one-year prison terms the first week in May for refusing to answer HUAC questions on First Amendment grounds.

The overflow crowd, the majority of

whom were under 25, had begun assembling outside the Arena at 7 p.m. By 9:15 the hall was filled, the doors were closed and many turned away. Across the street about 150 anti-Castro demonstrators, Hungarian refugees led by Bela Fabian and Young Americans for Freedom yelled "Traitor" and "Back to Moscow."

**OVATION FOR SEEGER:** Addressing the rally were Braden and Wilkinson; Len Holt, Norfolk, Va., civil rights attorney; New York State Assemblyman Mark Lane; Russ Nixon, co-chairman of the New York Council; Mrs. Sandra Rosenblum, Council secretary; Pete See-

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#### BELFRAGE AT THE SCENE

## Eyewitness in Cuba: It took 66 hours to smash invasion

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

**I**N A FREE WORLD FIASCO easily eclipsing Suez, the great Washington-United Fruit crusade to liberate Cuba from the Cubans was annihilated in 66 hours. On the day after victory, I saw truckloads of weebegone self-expatriated Cubans—"liberators" on whom U.S. taxpayers have spent uncounted millions to train and send back to overturn the Revolution—still being brought in from surrounding mangrove swamps by exultant militia and regular army men.

The number of prisoners reached 743 out of a force of over 1,000 which landed on April 17. A few are probably still lost in the swamp, but nearly all the rest are dead. U.S. reports suggest that some reached the counter-revolutionary groups in Escambray (which in any case do not exist), but the captured invaders themselves ridicule the possibility. Cuba's own casualties total 87 dead and 250 wounded.

**A PEOPLE IN ARMS:** Above all, it is a victory for a people in arms. Only the speed of its accomplishment was any surprise to those knowing the Cuban Revolution. The scene on April 20 was enough to convince any observer that the U.S. will proceed from one disaster to another unless it learns a lesson and abandons the illusions of its professional militarists and "experts" in corrupt politics.

Here's what happened, pieced together from interviews with revolutionary defenders and captured invaders (the latter kept adding new details on nightly TV shows on which they lined up to appear).

**HOW THEY CAME:** Most of the recruited invaders were flown by U.S. military planes to Camp Retalhuleu in Guatemala for training by U.S. and German instructors, thence to Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, for embarkation. One group of 12 "frogmen" was trained at the U.S. base in Vieques, Puerto Rico, and taken to Guatemala by way of a base near

New Orleans. The pay seemingly ranged from \$170 to \$400 monthly.

Some were parachuted into Cuban points near the landing places. They were escorted by U.S. destroyers and submarines. Others came on six ships loaded with Sherman tanks, Peekskill-made landing craft bearing a skull-and-crossbones insignia, armored cars, light artillery, etc. A destroyer took off with two liberators wounded in a gun duel en route. Landing party leaders were one San Roman and a Capt. Manuel Artime, described as the personal representative of the exile leader Dr. Jose Miro Cardona. Four priests with the party represented God. Invaders wore U.S.-made camouflage uniforms with cap device reading "God, Fatherland and Liberty," and with shoulder patches of a white cross and the Cuban flag.

**NOW TOURIST RESORT:** The point chosen to launch the crusade was Cienaga de Zapata, a vast thicketed swamp-land extending from its tip at the Zapata Peninsula to Adwell, east of the 15-mile-long Cochinos Bay. Landings were made at Playa Larga at the bottom of

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out the country who are "learning the meaning of the First Amendment from Frank, Carl and Pete."

**MERCHANTS OF HATE:** Wesley called the HUAC "the essential ingredient of success for the Merchants of Hate in America." He said: "At every point in its career when the Committee's life has been in danger, the hate underworld has risen like an army, with an outpouring of mail, petitions and propaganda, to save it . . . Today a growingly powerful abolition movement is once more afoot; and the underworld has brought forth the John Birch Society and the Young Americans for Freedom, with all the usual super-patriotic fanfare, to save the Committee again."

Wesley said that the Birch Society's attack on Chief Justice Earl Warren is

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### The subject is Cuba

BROOKLYN, N.Y.  
I listened in near-despair to the Kennedy speech April 20 in which he insisted on pressing his Cuba policy, regardless of cost or peril.

Any man elected President of the U.S. would be expected to defend and protect the system which it represents. To expect otherwise would be to hope for a turtle to beget a duck. But in the case of President Kennedy, he must not only protect his system, he must also protect his Church from extinction. This combination, unprecedented in our history, has resulted in an overzealousness bordering on the irresponsible.

To all who voted for Kennedy in preference to Nixon, I extend my sincerest sympathy. If they are still capable of thinking, they must be in deep torment.

Philip Katz

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Mr. President, do the leaders of our country consider that the powerful story of the Good Samaritan has any relevancy to what our country does? Does it matter to us, as a practical question, that Jesus ever lived?

To say merely "Hands off Cuba" is nowhere enough, if we look at this situation through the eyes of Jesus.

Alexander E. O. Munsell

MATTAWAN, MICH.

We deeply regret and condemn the complicity and perfidy of your Administration, Mr. President, in the conspiracy against and invasion of Cuba.

Anton & Eva Garden

ECORSE, MICH.

We are returning to you, Mr. President, one of the many VIVA KENNEDY pins that we wore and distributed in your behalf during your campaign for President.

Mr. & Mrs. Alfonso Mayen

TAOS, N.M.

Aimed assault by the U.S. against Cuba (independently or behind the facades of one or more Latin American governments) must fail in its immediate intention unless carried out with major, direct support by the armed forces of the United States.

Whether it succeeds, as an action of "limited warfare" or as total warfare, this planned action will alienate the masses in Latin America, making futile our proposed spending of vast

### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

CAPE TOWN, South Africa, April 14 (AP)—Dr. Verwoerd threatened that if the South African press—especially the English language sector—did not restrain itself in criticism of the government, "we might be forced to take steps." He said he would regret it if this was necessary "because I believe in the freedom of the press."  
—New York Times, April 15

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sums in Latin American aid; will destroy our leadership, just now commencing to be asserted, of the "colonial" peoples of Africa and Asia; and to an unknown extent of probability, will bring on the Third World War.

This statement is not argued in detail because its accuracy will be plain to all except those who do not want to see it. It is directed to the President of the United States, to the Congress, and through the press to the peoples of the United States and of all Latin America. I welcome concurrence.

John Collier

The writer is the former U.S. Commissioner for Indian Affairs, now in retirement.—Ed.

CROMWELL, CONN.

I suggest that we renew diplomatic relations with Cuba, stop supplying the counterrevolutionaries with airplanes and weapons to attack the existing government, and raise the ban on travel, so people like you and me can go and investigate honestly and see what we think of it. If it's good we should know it, if it's bad we should also know it. But our judgment should be reached by investigation, not by ignorance and prejudice.

Emily M. Pierson, M.D.

ERWIN, TENN.

Maybe Russia can beat us in space travel, but we torchbearers of the Free World are way ahead in bringing light (via arscn) to backward nations like Cuba.

Ernest Seeman

PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Report to Readers ("Does the New Frontier extend to Cuba?," April 17) is the most terrific exposition, impeachment and scathing indictment of this system of American imperialism conducted by traitors in a conspiracy to return Cuba to a land of poverty and economic vassalage.

Walter C. Day

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Kumar Goshal's timely and wonderful article (April 17) on Cuba must be translated into

Spanish and sent to all Latin American governments, as was the White Paper, so they will know the true character of the new Administration in Washington.

N. Egavian

Many GUARDIAN articles are translated and reprinted by publications abroad. A most recent one to reach our attention was Robert E. Light's story of the Hiroshima pilot Claude Eatherly reprinted in full in El Mundo in Havana.—Ed.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

There are some bright spots in the gloom. For instance, the pronunciation of Stevenson's front name is no longer in doubt. It is not "Jay" but LIE.

Prince Souvanna Phouma preferred Peking to Washington. I am proud of my choice. I have wept in both capitals: in Washington at the petty insults which I met on every corner; in Peking at the honor and sympathy showered upon me.

We must not forget the Gold Dust Twins, Berle and Schlesinger, who proved to South America beyond peradventure that two and two can be six, and that Up is Down.

We may now hope to see Ngo Dinh Diem and Chiang-Kai-shek swimming in the wake of the 7th Fleet on their way to New York. They will be met by Syngman Rhee and the China Lobby.

The Triumvirate has spoken: the sobbing Cardinal, the Eisenhower brain, the clear conscience of Tricky Dick. We await the destroyer of Hiroshima, and the prophet of that Prosperity which is still just around the corner.

The Peace Corpse, screened by the FBI, has entered Africa. God help the Congo.

Weep not, Mr. President: there are some respects in which we are so far ahead of the U.S.S.R. that they hope never to beat us.

W. E. B. Du Bois



Anthony Ahearn

SYDNEY, NOVA SCOTIA

It is quite evident that the Americans are attempting to do in Cuba what Hitler and Mussolini did in Spain.

Donald Morrison

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The United States is in the unique position of maintaining a naval base on the territory of a foreign power with which it not only has severed all diplomatic and consular relations but against which it is actively pursuing a policy of aggression. Cuba, for her part, is in the unique position of suffering the presence on her soil of a hostile foreign power and of being helpless to force its withdrawal either legally or militarily.

The naval base at Guantanamo was installed there by the terms of a lease which Cuba signed under coercion. But even if we grant the United States its legal right to hold the base, its moral right to do so is indefensible.

William T. Fowler

All right, Jack  
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I have decided to stop my subscription to the GUARDIAN. I am no longer willing to read your unjust criticism of President Kennedy. In our family we were taught to "give the devil his due."

M. J. Mackenzie

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May 1, 1961

### REPORT TO READERS

## The news from Cuba

WE POINT WITH PRIDE (and hope you will do so too among your friends) to the first genuine, on-the-scene story anywhere in the U.S. press of the rapidly-clobbered invasion of Cuba—by the GUARDIAN's Editor in Exile Cedric Belfrage, beginning on Page One of this issue.

Our decision to base Belfrage in Havana was reached late last summer, in the conviction that the Cuban example was indeed fanning the revolutionary spark all over Latin America, and that the GUARDIAN must cover these developments at first hand if possible. Cuba at the time had been under constant harassment from aircraft from Florida, fire-bombing cane fields, factories and poultry farms; and the likelihood that these would one day mount into a CIA-staged invasion a la Guatemala 1954 was set forth in the GUARDIAN of last July 25.

We said then that "it won't work, as any Free Worlder in his right mind knows," but decided that if they tried it, we ought to have our Man in Havana on hand to see the Gamecock of the Caribbean chase the invader back into the sea. Before Belfrage reached Havana at the start of December, we gave an interim report (Nov. 14) on the activities of Cuban renegades in this country; and on Nov. 28 called attention to the disclosures of Dr. Ronald Hilton of Stanford University of training camps and buildup in Guatemala for the invasion of Cuba, with funds and direction supplied by the CIA.

WE RECALL THESE THINGS NOW partly to blow our own horn a bit, but also to preface a comment on the activities of a distinguished contemporary, the New York Times.

First, we want to urge every interested reader to consult the stories in the Times, particularly of Friday and Saturday, April 21 and 22, for the fullest documentation published anywhere of the CIA and Administration involvement in the attack on Cuba which began April 17. Then, for good measure, we urge reading the report on p. 59 of the Times of Monday, April 24, by TV-Radio Editor Jack Gould, in which the Times itself is taken to task by WCBSTV Views the News for coming very late to the coverage of CIA maneuvers which had been an "open secret for months."

The failure of the Times to dig deeply into the "open secret" of CIA activities until the invasion failed, warrants explanation which we doubt that the Times will offer its readers.

However, we have learned of at least one document in possession of the Times the purport of which has not been published. This document is a memorandum prepared by one of the Times' best-known staff members following an interview with one of the Kennedy Administration's closest advisers on Cuba policy. In this interview the Administration adviser is quoted as saying in so many words that since U.S. financial interests are involved in Cuba, the government of Fidel Castro will have to be overthrown. What it might take to urge such a document into print in the Times knows no New York newspaperman.

MANY FASCINATING FACTS have come out in the backwash of the invasion failure. One is that the Madison Ave. public relations firm which issued the invasion communique for the counter-revolutionary Cubans in the U.S. was hired last August. The firm is that of Lem Jones Associates, Inc., 280 Madison Ave.

After the Ides of April shooting had died down, the Jones firm modestly admitted that it had perpetrated such attention-getting stunts as importing some 60 Cuban "Women in Black" from Miami to appear in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York while Premier Castro was attending the UN sessions last September; and also that it had staged the stunt of sweeping the Harlem sidewalks after the Cuban Premier and his UN delegation had left the Theresa Hotel to return home.

WITHOUT BENEFIT OF MADISON AVE. GENIUS, Fair Play for Cuba's Robert F. Williams, a N. Carolina NAACP leader, brought the CIA-Administration support of the Cuban invaders home with a vengeance April 21. He wired Cuba's Foreign Minister Raul Roa at the UN to convey to U.S. Ambassador Adlai Stevenson the following message:

"Now that the U.S. has proclaimed military support for people willing to rebel against oppression, oppressed Negroes in the South urgently request tanks, artillery, bombs, money, use of American airfields and White mercenaries to crush the racist tyrants who have betrayed the American Revolution and Civil War. We also request prayers for this noble undertaking."

To date, no reply from Adlai.

—THE GUARDIAN

## Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ON OCT. 22, 1950—six months ago—48 non-citizens in 11 states were arrested in a series of midnight raids, held without bail pending deportation hearings under the McCarran Act. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born took all the cases to court, won release on bail of 44 victims.

In California a Federal district judge decided that freedom on bail of four victims there would be dangerous to the country's safety. Harry Carlisle, 54, novelist, journalist and lecturer; Frank Carlson, 38, trade unionist; David Hyun, 34, architect; and Miriam Stevenson, 42, former union organizer, have been held on Terminal Island near San Pedro ever since.

Last month, after the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals refused for a second time to reverse the lower court ruling, the case went to the Supreme Court. A group of 48 prominent Americans addressed an open letter to Atty. Gen. J. Howard McGrath:

"We regard any attempt to deprive non-citizens of the protection of the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution as a violation of democratic principles and a threat to the liberties of all Americans, native as well as foreign born, citizens as well as non-citizens."

—From the National Guardian, May 2, 1951

## KENNEDY'S PRESTIGE SUFFERS DRASTIC BLOW

## World reaction to Cuba invasion hits Yankee imperialism



THE U.S. IMAGE WAS BURNED IN EFFIGY BY MEXICAN STUDENTS

By Robert E. Light

**M**EASURED by world reaction, the CIA's Operation Snafu in Cuba has blurred the U.S. democratic image to a mirage and lowered President Kennedy's prestige to Nixon's. Thousands in Latin America, Europe and Asia demonstrated against "Yankee imperialism." At home the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the 26th of July Movement and other groups organized protests in several cities on spot notice.

In Europe many were privately pleased over Washington's embarrassment. They recalled pious U.S. words against imperialism when they were being expelled from former colonies. In Britain and France the Cuban invasion was called the "American Suez," referring to their invasion of Egypt in 1956 which the U.S. disowned.

Many of the demonstrators were students. Others were those who had long opposed U.S. foreign policy, but for many it was the first break with Washington. Despite denials of U.S. participation, few doubted that the counterrevolution was a Yankee show.

President Kennedy recalled that victory has many fathers but defeat is an orphan. For most of the world the aborted counterrevolution was Washington's progeny conceived in sin. Future sermons from Washington on chastity seemed likely to drive parishioners to another church.

**MARCH TO UN:** In New York demonstrations against the invasion outside the United Nations started on April 17 and continued through the week. The first day 2,000 people picketed the U.S. mission and then marched to the UN. The slogan "Hands Off Cuba" united liberals, progressives and non-political persons with Cubans living in New York.

Counterdemonstrations by anti-Castro Cubans heckled the lines. As the invasion's failure became clear, Hungarian "freedom fighters" and other "professional pickets" joined the counterdemonstrations. They picketed the Soviet Embassy, throwing rocks and burning Russian flags.

On April 21, a Fair Play for Cuba Committee rally at Union Square drew

3,000 persons.

**LEADER SUBPENAED:** As Richard Gibson, the committee's acting national secretary, left the rostrum he was handed a subpoena from the Senate Internal Security subcommittee, signed by Sen. James Eastland (D-Miss.). Gibson told the *GUARDIAN* that he accepted the subpoena "with pride" because it signified "Fair Play's success in alerting the nation to the United States' criminal complicity in the Cuban invasion."

Gibson added: "As a Negro I'm amused at Eastland's concern for Fair Play for Cuba while he has so little concern for fair play for my people."

On April 21, the Fair Play committee took a large ad in the *New York Times*, appealing to the American conscience. It said: "If our government's activities are, as we believe, illegal and immoral, then we as a nation stand condemned." The same ad was refused by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and all four Chicago dailies.

**COMMON ENEMY:** An ad headlined, "A Declaration of Conscience by Afro-Americans" and signed by 27 prominent Negroes appeared in the *Baltimore Afro-American* April 22. It concluded: "Afro-Americans, don't be fooled—the enemies of the Cubans are our enemies, the jimcrow bosses of this land where we are still denied our rights."

Signers included Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, William Worthy, Dr. Lonnie Cross, Daniel H. Watts, Robert F. Williams, Julian Mayfield, Conrad Lynn and Richard Gibson.

An ad by the pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation in the *New York Times* on April 23 also condemned U.S. intervention. Signers included Dr. William C. Davidson, Dr. Kermit Eby, Dr. Erich Fromm, Maxwell Geismar, C. Wright Mills, A. J. Muste, Clarence Pickett, I. F. Stone and Norman Thomas.

**STUDENTS MARCH:** Students in San Francisco marched on April 20 from a Union Square rally to the Federal Building to protest the counterrevolution. Some 2,000 persons participated. The day before 400 students at the U. of California in Berkeley and 200 students

at San Francisco State College held rallies.

In Los Angeles, Fair Play supporters picketed the Federal Building for three days. About 200 persons participated the first day.

Demonstrations were also held in Boston, Detroit and Philadelphia and at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, O.

About 900 persons from Washington and Baltimore picketed near the White House for two hours on April 22.

**CIA VIGIL:** On April 30, a newly formed ad hoc pacifist group, Nonviolent Committee for Cuban Independence, was to begin a two-week fast and vigil outside CIA headquarters on Rte. 123, ten miles

south of Washington. The action will begin with a rally jointly sponsored with the Fair Play committee at Judiciary Square at 1 p.m. Rallies and picket lines are also scheduled for the succeeding two Sundays.

Further information is available by calling in New York, CH 3-5411 or OR 4-8295; in Philadelphia, BA 9-2426; in Baltimore, LI 2-8454; in New Haven, UN 5-4189 and in Boston, HA 6-5683.

Anti-U.S. demonstrations swept Latin America as news of the invasion was received. But as the extent of CIA involvement became clear, slogans turned on President Kennedy. Those who hoped that his election signalled a new U.S. policy in Latin America turned out to denounce him.

**THREE DAYS:** There were three days of demonstrations in Mexico City, involving as many as 25,000 persons at one time. About 15,000 turned out at a march called by students at the Mexican National University. At the head of the column were members of the Pancho Villa Brigade, a group which offered to go to Cuba to defend Castro.

Students chanted: "Castro Si, Kennedy No." As the line neared the National Palace, 1,000 soldiers, police and firemen attacked the marchers.

In Venezuela students led demonstrations throughout the country. High schools in Caracas were closed for a week after students burned a U.S. flag in a public plaza. Demonstrations of high school students in Puerto Cabello, Valencia, San Cristobal and Maracaibo were broken up by police.

**KENNEDY ASSAILED:** One of the biggest demonstrations in recent Uruguayan history was held April 22 in support of Cuba. Some 8,000 persons marched through Montevideo chanting, "Cuba Si, Yanquis, No." A rally, which included speakers from right- and left-wing parties, denounced President Kennedy as "paranoid" and as "the worst imperialist in 50 years."

The *New York Times* reported: "Although Uruguay's government and most of the press had praised Mr. Kennedy's policy, many Uruguayans, including some who have been traditionally pro-

Western and cool toward the Castro regime, joined the demonstration."

Anti-U.S. sentiment in Brazil carried into the government and newspapers. Six federal and state legislators presented a petition at the U.S. Embassy urging President Kennedy to "make every effort to see that the counter-revolutionary and mercenary invaders of the Cuban nation should not have any support from the U.S. government."

**REPULSIVE SYMBOL:** A leading Rio de Janeiro paper *Dairio de Noticias* summed up: "President Kennedy must come to understand that the future of relations between the U.S. and Latin America is at stake . . . [former Vice President] Nixon was spit upon because there was a Guatemala as a repulsive symbol of a certain policy toward Latin America. What awaits Kennedy?"

In Bogota, Colombia, 500 demonstrators attempting to reach the U.S. Embassy April 17 were attacked and dispersed by police. Two days later, 8,000 persons gathered for an anti-U.S. rally in the city's main square.

**GUATEMALA WORRIED:** The defeat of the counterrevolution spread apprehension through Guatemala. The government, which itself was installed by the CIA, seemed concerned that Cuba might retaliate against Guatemala for its help to the counterrevolution.

Despite tear gas barrages and clubbings by police, anti-U.S. demonstrations went on for a week in Guatemala City. President Kennedy was denounced as an "arch assassin" and his picture was burned at a meeting. Demonstrators broke windows in the Pan American World Airways and United Fruit Co. offices after they were prevented from marching on the U.S. Embassy by police.

**EUROPEANS SHOCKED:** There were demonstrations at U.S. embassies in East and West Europe on the first days of the invasion. Later there were few in NATO capitals to defend the U.S., particularly as the operation's failure became apparent.

Angry demonstrators denounced "U.S. imperialism" in Moscow, Prague, Warsaw, Bucharest, Sofia and Belgrade.

Students also demonstrated in Paris, Rome and Helsinki. In London 65 prominent persons, including 29 Labor Members of Parliament, sent telegrams to President Kennedy, Prime Minister Macmillan, UN secy.-gen. Hammarskjold and Premier Castro expressing "shock" at the invasion.

Claude Julien wrote in *Le Monde* in Paris: "The naivete of the American government is incredible." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung* in Munich, West Germany, said: "Many Americans are finally beginning to realize that you can't settle with weapons a social revolution such as took place in Cuba."

**LITTLE COMFORT ANYWHERE:** In Vienna, the *Kronzeitung* said: "President Kennedy got a double uppercut—first a Soviet cosmonaut in the skies and now a victorious Castro at the doorstep."

The executive committee of the Union of Democratic Left, main opposition party in Greece, called the invasion "an act of international piracy."

Don Cook, Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune*, concluded: "There is not much comfort for Washington to gain by turning to the opinions of its European allies."

There was also little comfort for Washington in Asia or Africa. In Tokyo students held a demonstration April 18 before the U.S. Embassy and four more the next day to coincide with the arrival of U.S. Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer.

In Cairo, 1,000 students held a protest rally after they were prevented by police from demonstrating at the U. S. Embassy.

An unidentified Frenchman seemed to have summed it up best for Cook. He said: "You really haven't handled your Cubans very well."

## Kennedy talks tough

(Continued from Page 1)

action taken in desperation rather than in confidence.

"If the nations of this hemisphere should fail to meet their commitments against outside Communist penetration—then I want it clearly understood that this government will not hesitate in meeting its primary obligations which are to the security of our own nation."

**TARDY CANDOR:** During the soul-searching which followed the invaders' bitter defeat, correspondents of the big U.S. newspapers summarized the events leading up to the invasion with remarkable—if tardy—candor. They detailed U.S. involvement in the invasion and wondered how it could have failed with so many branches of the Administration aiding and guiding it. New York Times correspondent Tad Szulc noted the following (April 22):

• "As has been an open secret in Florida and Central America for months, the CIA planned, coordinated and directed the operations that ended in the defeat . . . in Southern Cuba."

• Counterrevolutionaries were trained "under CIA supervision . . . in seven camps in the vicinity of the Pacific coast of Guatemala. The camps were at La Suiza, Helvetia, Trax, Champerico, Retalhuleu, San Jose Buenavista and Sayaxche."

• "A shrimp factory was established at Champerico to serve as cover." Other camps were camouflaged as ranches.

• "An air base with a 4,500-foot landing strip was established at Retalhuleu." The exile air force "was equipped with C-54 and C-46 transports, B-26 bombers and P-51 fighters." Pilots were trained by "at least seven U.S. pilots belonging to an F-104 jet fighter group."

• "The aircraft were used late last year and early this year to drop supplies for the anti-Castro guerrillas in the Escambray mountains." (Most of these actually fell into Castro's hands.)

• A U.S. Army colonel trained the bulk of the troops "for a conventional army, using tanks, mortars and bazookas."

• "Charges were constantly heard in Miami that Batista supporters held high positions in the camps."

**THE PRELIMINARIES:** The counterrevolutionaries had repeatedly asserted that an invasion would provoke mass desertions from Castro's army and a nationwide popular uprising against the Castro government. U.S. News (April 24) said that the Democratic Revolutionary Front leader Manuel de Varona believed the Castro army would be a pushover. Varona declared:

"Castro's military is going to be in real fix when we really hit—with airplanes, cannons, bazookas and maybe even a few little tanks. I visited our training camps in December. What I saw there in the way of weapons was enough to scare anybody."

The CIA buttressed the exile leaders' beliefs. There were stories of Cuban peasants and workers starving and impatiently waiting for the signal to rise up against Castro. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, headed by Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, looked over the counterrevolutionaries' proposed "Operation Beachhead" and, according to the New York Herald Tribune (April 22), pronounced it "militarily feasible if the diplomatic and intelligence diagnosis of Castro's strength was exact."

**NOBODY FOUGHT:** Some opposition from Secy. of State Dean Rusk and Asst. Secy. Chester Bowles on the timing was reported; but, William Shannon reported (N. Y. Post, April 23), "in the end they were acquiescent. They never put up a really hard fight for their viewpoint." Eventually, the Herald Tribune said, according to Washington sources, "top U.S. government officials were unanimous in recommending to President Kennedy that this country should not hinder [the exiles'] 'invasion.'"

nied Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa's charges of U.S. aggression against Cuba. He refused to answer questions put by Roa and other delegates about CIA financing, training and equipping of exile forces which, to Indian Premier Nehru, spelled "intervention" on behalf of the exile groups.

**AS HE SPOKE:** Stevenson continued this evasion throughout the debate, even accused Roa of seeking "from us . . . the protection of the Castro regime from the



"We stand today on the edge of a new frontier . . ."

Vicky in the London Evening Standard

—Mr. Kennedy, July 15, 1960

With the green light from Washington, the Times' Szulc reported, "troops from Guatemala and from smaller camps in Louisiana and Florida, began to be moved to jump-off points in the Caribbean in the first week in April." A week before the invasion, members of the U.S.-sponsored Revolutionary Council, meeting at the Hotel Lexington in New York, "were spirited out through the back door by ten CIA agents . . . and taken to secret spots to await the moment to land on the beachhead."

**THE RAINBOW:** Strictly according to schedule, on the night of April 16 the counterrevolutionaries radioed to the Cubans the code message: "Alert, alert, look well at the rainbow." The invasion force was then launched from various points, including, Szulc said, the islands of Great Corn and Little Corn off the coast of Nicaragua. The islands belong to Nicaragua, but have been on a 99-year lease to the U.S. since 1916.

The anti-Castro, counterrevolutionary invasion was crushed in less than three days. It was launched at dawn of April 17. On April 20 Castro announced: "The militias of the revolutionary forces took by assault the last points held by the foreign mercenary invasion forces that had occupied the national territory." There were no defections from Castro's ranks, no uprising within Cuba, but solid support for Castro.

But the U.S. press was flooded with stories of Varona and others landing on Cuba; of Castro being wounded or dead and his brother Raul taken prisoner; and of the lack of fighting spirit among Castro's forces. The CIA-operated Radio Swan claimed victories that were never won and popular uprisings within Cuba that never occurred.

Meanwhile, in the UN chief U.S. delegate Adlai Stevenson monotonously de-

wrath of the Cuban people." Even as he spoke, facts substantiating Roa's and Castro's charges were being revealed in the press.

Every major newspaper, for instance, was publicizing the CIA's role in the invasion. Szulc corroborated Castro's charge that the pilots of the B-26 bombers who had raided Cuban airfields on April 15 had not defected from the Cuban air force but had flown from Guatemala. Szulc said that the pilot who had landed in Miami and whose picture had appeared in the newspapers, "was promptly identified as . . . a Lieutenant Zuniga, a flyer from the Guatemalan camp. He has vanished."

**DELETED PARAGRAPH:** The UN eventually approved a seven-nation Latin American resolution which merely asked UN members to do what they could "to ease existing tensions." Mexico and Brazil sharply dissented from the majority decision. The approval came only after the paragraph referring the issue to the OAS—in opposition to Cuban, Soviet and Mexican demand for keeping the issue within the UN as of worldwide concern—had been deleted.

In the UN corridors and in the countries of U.S. allies, there was anger and strong criticism of U.S. support for the exiles. Latin American countries ruled by dictators were naturally disappointed that the invasion had failed; for them the handwriting was on the wall.

The London Times regretted that Kennedy "seems to have been the victim of bad intelligence advice." The Manchester Guardian said that "the sort of invasion by proxy with which the U.S. has been charged is morally indistinguishable from open aggression." Yugoslavia's Tito and Egypt's Nasser echoed Nehru's sentiments.

**THE BLAME:** None of this, however,

seemed to have any effect on the Administration, or on the correspondents and commentators who had exposed the CIA's role. All of them attributed the failure of the invasion to insufficient preparation, and "staff work" and attributed the solid military and civilian support for Castro to government "terrorism." There were no calls for a change in basic U.S. policy.

The press carried stories of "mass arrests" in Havana. Yet Reuters correspondent John Bland reported (April 21) from Havana that he "could find nothing to bear out [these] reports." He added: "This correspondent was allowed to move about Havana unhindered throughout the invasion period."

The London Sunday Times' New York correspondent Evelyn Irons, recently back from six weeks in Cuba, revealed some of the reasons for the solid mass support for the Castro regime. She reported that, while there were shortages of detergents and chewing gum, meat was plentiful and soap was unavailable only for a short time. "Prices were held down." Steak was 70 cents a pound, eggs 72 cents a dozen, two heads of lettuce fetched 15 cents, salmon from Moscow 52 cents a can and rice from China was 20 cents a pound. She said:

"Solidly behind Fidel was the massive legion of the underprivileged. This was literally a revolution, in the sense that society had been turned around completely. Peasants who lived in palm-trash huts have been given neat suburban homes with all modern conveniences. Laborers who were paid for three months' work in the cane fields and were jobless the rest of the year, now work on state farms with mixed crops giving full-time employment."

**THEY WON'T UNDERSTAND:** The revolutionary character of the Castro government seems totally incomprehensible to the Administration and to the press, including the liberal American press. Thus the CIA is criticized for faulty intelligence reports, when it is incapable by its very nature to appraise a revolutionary society. Thus Kennedy attributes all failure to "communism." He speaks of holding Cuba as if it were his personal property, and implies another invasion. Thus he is supported by Rockefeller and Nixon who approves "if necessary, the commitment of American forces" for overthrowing Castro. Thus Sen. Mansfield (D-Mont.) urges unity behind the President and Sen. Goldwater recommends active U.S. military intervention in Cuba.

The press is an echo. The Herald Tribune's Robert Donovan said that few in Washington doubt "there will be . . . a second attempt." The Washington Post (April 18) editorially called the rootless Cuban exiles—out of contact with the Cuban masses even when they lived in Cuba—"the best people of Cuba" and said that breaking the "Communist grip on Cuba . . . is an immediate and proper concern of the U.S."

**AN OFFER:** Premier Khrushchev's April 22 message to Kennedy was lost on them. In this message Khrushchev disavowed any Soviet desire to seek "advantages or privileges" or acquire or establish "any bases in Cuba." He said:

"We want to build our relations with the U.S. in such a way that neither the Soviet Union nor the U.S., as the two most powerful nations in the world, would engage in saber-rattling or push their military or economic superiority to the forefront."

The offer has not been accepted.

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THERE WERE MANY FAMILIAR FACES AMONG THE CAPTIVES  
What they did not understand is that the army is the people

## Belfrage in Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

the bay and at Playa Giron near its mouth.

These are the peoples' tourist resorts, with charming cabins, restaurants, and gardens, which symbolize the revolutionary changes since 1960 in Cienaga—the "Forgotten Land"—where generations of peasants struggled for a bare existence making charcoal. Previously without communications because of dense, desolate scrub, with the exception of small canals, Cienaga now has fine causeway roads connecting Playa Giron with two sugar centrals—Australia, 40 miles northwest, and Covadonga, 20 miles northeast—and the "mainland" beyond.

At 2 a.m. on the 17th, Australia Central got a call from five militiamen guarding Playa Larga saying, "They've come." Young battalions helping to harvest the sugar, unloaded the cane from field trucks and headed south in them, while the guards, under an artillery barrage, fired back all they had with automatics.

At Playa Giron, the invaders landed mountains of arms and ammunition,



Blanco in El Mundo, Havana  
The watch

and moved northward with heavy stuff, capturing stray civilians as they went. Meanwhile at the Buenaventura Cooperative, a few miles north of Playa Larga, a girl volunteer teacher sounded the alarm as parachutists landed nearby; she and the other teenagers fought with five rifles until all the children and oldsters were removed.

**FIDEL ARRIVES:** Everyone able to get the use of a gun joined the heroic but hopelessly out-weaponed action alongside the young regulars from Australia Central, until the militia battalions reached the scene followed by artillery and tank units and then Fidel, himself, to take command. Soon artillery was thundering at both flanks of the invaders. Having

put the invaders' Sherman tanks out of action, the militiamen, regular army men and local police units began advancing behind Cuban tanks. After that the invaders on the ground hardly fired a shot, but B-26, B-29 and F-86 planes swooped low, shooting up whatever was visible.

A bus arriving with new militia was hit by incendiaries and most of its passengers burned to death. A B-26 which attacked Australia Central (piloted by an American, as the papers on his body showed) was brought down by a teenage anti-aircraft crew. A few Cuban

planes got in action, and those invaders who had not fled into the swamp were hemmed in at Playa Giron. Their last shred of morale collapsed when their leaders, San Roman and Artime, fled in a boat trying to reach a ship offshore. Cubans sent the boats to the bottom and all were drowned.

**A VULTURE OVERHEAD:** For newsmen driving out from Havana on the 20th, the first evidence of war was a scarlet truck before a "necropolis municipal" bringing the bodies of invaders for burial. A vulture wheeled overhead. Militiamen crowded around, staring at a blue-eyed downy-cheeked boy, his head twisted against the side of the truck, his bare feet grotesquely pointed skyward over the battered corpses of two comrades, who somewhere, somehow had been persuaded to give their lives for United Fruit.

In Grande Jaguey, the last town before Cienaga, the corner cafe teemed with militia of both sexes, all colors, all ages from 14 up, in an infinite variety of vaguely-looking military attire, exchanging adventures and embracing comrades they'd feared dead.

The Buenaventura teacher told her story and said she was 15. A 14-year-old boy and others described their experiences as captives of the "worms," into whose hands they'd fallen while walking along a road at 4 a.m. A hurried attempt had been made to turn the captives against Fidel; a few had been shot, some had escaped and most had been turned loose.

**"OH, HE'S AROUND":** One militiaman said 60 in his unit were dead. Another, with a sensitive face and a small beard, talked quietly about the imperialists' inability to understand "the power of this Revolution because the army and the people are the same." Asked if he'd seen Fidel, he said: "Oh, he was around all

the time—for a while he was gunner in one of our tanks."

Jaguey's high school children, acting as nurses in impromptu first-aid stations, questioned me with incredulous faces about the aimless Beatniks of the free world. Everyone had contributed in some way to the fight. It was clear that a similar defense could have and would have been mounted anywhere in Cuba, using mostly the forces in the locality. There was never even time to bring into play the major forces. When word of the landing reached Jaguey, its people stormed the armory for weapons. An old man wept because none were left for him.

**SPAIN VINDICATED:** All the way down the road to Playa Giron, tired, dirty, triumphant militiamen greeted us. Accelerated by Washington's intransigence and stupidity, the wheel had moved full circle and one felt the people's defeat in Spain 22 years ago had been turned into a victory.

In the ditches lay the debris of a 2½-day war. Militiamen who'd come from Havana spoke of their disappointment at arriving too late to fight. Nothing remained to do except bring in the groups of invaders who kept emerging from the thickets of the swamp, burning with thirst, clothes and bodies torn, desperate to surrender.

From these, the late-coming militias got souvenirs in the form of the cross-and-the-flag shoulder patches. They marveled at the invaders' apparent belief that Cubans would accept them as envoys of 'Christ.'

"They are the greatest assassins in the world," one militiaman said.

**MADE IN U.S.A.:** At both beaches the

a shot" once they "understood," for they were "just plain soldiers," assured as they had been that the Cubans wouldn't fight, but would join them, since under Fidel's tyranny they were "dying of hunger." They were totally demoralized by the fierce all-embracing resistance. They had been told that Cuba's armed forces were in foreign communists' hands, like everything else, but they had not found a single foreigner anywhere.

(One captive, asked in a TV interview if there had been any Guatemalans at the Guatemala training camp, replied: "Yes, sentries who kept anyone from entering or leaving; the others were all Americans." He admitted that they had trained in a country that was foreign-dominated to invade one that wasn't.)

**RECOGNITION:** In the tourist cabins, from which furniture had been moved onto the porches, the invaders sat or lay on the floor. There were moving scenes as Havana newsmen recognized relatives, friends, acquaintances who had left for Miami—some of whom had earlier joined the fight against Batista.

Mainly the invaders were sons of middle-class families deprived of property by the Revolution, or purely simple mercenaries who had served in the Batista army or police force. Among them were the sons of former Navy Chief Diez Arqueses and of former Senators Tony Varona, Ochoa and Jose Gutierrez, and timber magnate Babun.

In one house, the son of "President" Miro discussed "justice" and "free enterprise" with a large group of former acquaintances, and then suddenly burst into tears and recorded a message begging his father not to try to return.

A Havana newsman gave a pack of cigarettes to an old acquaintance named Tony among the captives, and Tony said: "How's your charming little daughter, Pablo?" Pablo said: "Don't you understand even now—you came to kill her." Pablo emerged from the cabin shaking and muttering that he hoped the whole lot would be put against the wall.

**A WEEK OF HISTORY:** In a striking contrast to Cuba's defenders, the invaders were almost 100 per cent white. A few Negroes seemed dazed by the happenings. A Havana editor recognized a former messenger for a business firm in the city. He said he had gone job-hunting in Miami after the firm had closed down last year. The Americans had no job for him there, but they said: "Don't you want to go back to Cuba?", and he signed up. The next day's papers, listing captives, sold out in a few minutes: almost everyone knew somebody who had defected to the U.S. and they searched the list for names.

Perhaps dimly as yet, Cuba is aware it has made history in the week's supreme test. Its people remain on alert for whatever else may come, readier than ever to die for their freedom. If possible, Fidel's prestige rose higher than before, after his superb and almost unpublicized leadership of the island's defense. The Western Hemisphere's Socialist Revolution, now universally so recognized, has been deeply consolidated by Washington's apparently insane move.

## C. Wright Mills: I would fight alongside Fidel

Below is a telegram from C. Wright Mills, professor of Sociology at Columbia U., to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee rally in San Francisco:

KENNEDY AND COMPANY HAVE RETURNED US TO BARBARISM. SCHLESINGER AND COMPANY HAVE DISGRACED US INTELLECTUALLY AND MORALLY. I FEEL A DESPERATE SHAME FOR MY COUNTRY. SORRY I CANNOT BE WITH YOU. WERE I PHYSICALLY ABLE TO DO SO, I WOULD AT THIS MOMENT BE FIGHTING ALONGSIDE FIDEL CASTRO.  
C. WRIGHT MILLS

invaders' equipment was being sorted and stacked: Anti-aircraft recoilless anti-tank guns, rocket and flame throwers, bazookas, mortars, Garands, hand and tripod machine guns, automatics, unopened cases of bullets, dynamite, grenades, medicine, radios, vitamins, food, candy bars, knives—the works—all clearly marked with U.S. places of manufacture. (That morning the papers had reported a U.S. ban on exporting books to Cuba).

In an excited but quite orderly scene, other militiamen conducted the captive invaders into locker rooms alongside the resort's swimming pool, where they were processed, then sorted into tourist cabins which face the ocean. Some were too exhausted after the mangrove swamp ordeal; others were eager to tell how they had been "deceived" by Yankee instructors.

They were as abject as the Nazis taken in 1945, all insisting "they had never fired

## Exclusive Guardian interview in Laos

The kind of reporting you find in the GUARDIAN, like Anna Louise Strong's interview with Prince Souphanouvong on Page 6, is what makes the paper special. More Americans should have the GUARDIAN's viewpoint. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subscriptions. Special introductory sub, \$1 for 13 weeks. A one-year sub is \$3.

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## ANNA LOUISE STRONG IN LAOS

## An exclusive interview with Souphanouvong

As the *GUARDIAN* went to press, it was announced that Britain and the Soviet Union had called on India to convene the three-nation control commission (India, Canada, Poland) to effect a cease fire in Laos. Following this the 14-nation conference was to meet in Geneva May 12 to seek permanent peace in the country. The exclusive story which follows was received before the announcement.

By Anna Louise Strong  
Guardian staff correspondent

**P**RECISELY WHERE I met Prince Souphanouvong must be off the record. But with three other correspondents (I was the only American and the only woman) I sat and talked for an evening with the half-brother of Laos' exiled Premier Souvanna Phouma, who organized and for 15 years has been the chairman of the Neo Lao Haksat, the Patriotic Front of Laos, better known as the Pathet Lao.

The meeting place was not far from the Prince's present base in the capital of Sam Neua Province, the northeastern province of Laos, in a simply furnished reception room.

The Prince is a solidly built man, bronzed and muscular from outdoor living, with thick black hair clipped close. He wore an ordinary civilian tan suit, with a tan and dark red necktie flowing free. His manner was confident, without exaggeration and his words were clear in a way that indicated long experience in politics and battles, combined with a quick, keen analytical mind. He spoke English correctly but rather slowly and was more at home in French. So the talk was mainly in French, with his interpreter translating; but the Prince quickly picked up questions in English and seemed to check carefully the translator's words.

**WHAT IT MEANS:** "How shall I most simply explain to Americans the meaning of the 'Pathet Lao'?" I asked. The Prince said: "The name was given us in Geneva. Our official name is 'Neo Lao Haksat.' We were organized to fight for the independence of Laos against the Japanese and then against the French. We fought as did similar patriotic organizations in Vietnam and Cambodia until the famous victory at Dien Bien Phu. Then we sent our delegates along with others to Geneva to negotiate the peace.

"We had the habit of putting the words 'Pathet Lao' at the head of our documents and letters, to distinguish them from all the other documents. The words mean 'Land of Laos' . . . So the French began calling us the 'Pathet Lao' . . . The name was given not by ourselves but despite ourselves. We let it stick. We are a wide front of many organizations that has fought for more than 15 years for the independence and unity of Laos as a sovereign and neutral state."

**CEASE FIRE:** The talk began with recent reforms in Sam Neua and passed by easy stages to the international situation and the question of negotiation and a cease fire. The Prince at all times spoke without hedging; but he prefaced his remarks on the last question by saying that the matter was "delicate" and the situation subject to change.

If the "beautiful words" of the Americans about peace and neutrality in Laos are sincere, he said, "if they really want peace, unity, neutrality and independence in Laos, then we can come to agreement with them." But, he said, it was difficult to believe the Americans were sincere because both their past actions and their present "are not directed towards peace."

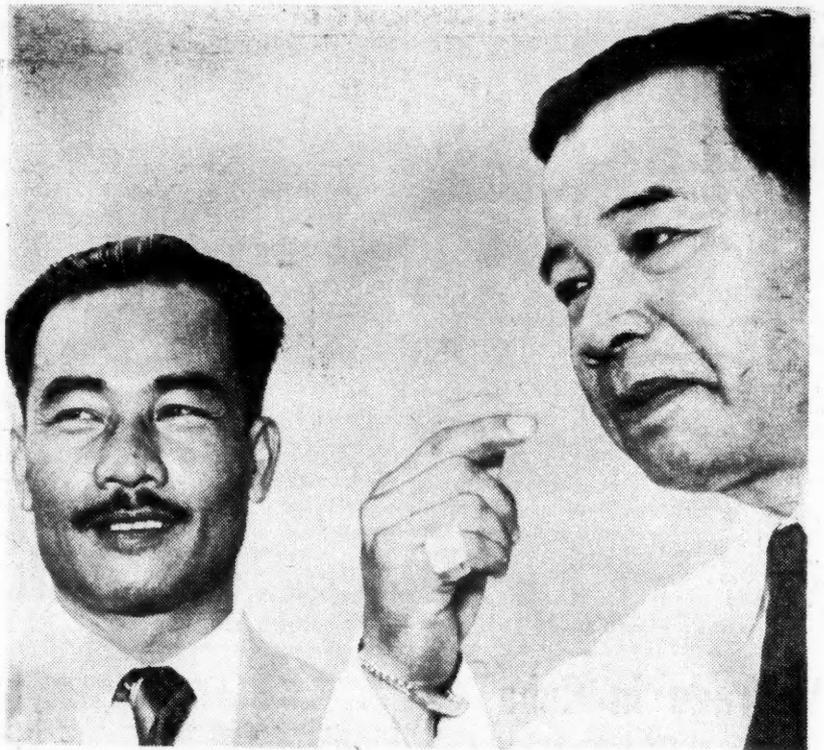
"Why is the U.S. just now demanding a cease fire?" he asked. With a smile he continued:

"You are journalists and to you the reason must be clear. Our patriotic forces are winning while the enemy forces are demoralized and even disintegrating. So those who are losing want to negotiate.

"Now, since our basic policy is peace and neutrality, we also are willing to negotiate. Our Neo Lao Haksat has declared that we are for any talks that will establish peace in Laos. But we want to feel sure that what we are getting this time is a permanent peace, a permanent cease fire. We think the U.S. wants just a temporary cease fire in which to strengthen their disintegrating forces and prepare a bigger counter-attack.

"They use beautiful words, but what are their actions? They are parachuting troops into new areas to widen war. They are bringing in new and heavier weapons, and helicopters for wider troop transport. They set up bases in Thailand close to Laos for more rapid invasion. They issue war threats by eight nations through SEATO and stage big war maneuvers off Borneo, and the U.S. Fleet keeps threateningly close to our borders. This is not the spirit of peace that the U.S. shows, but the spirit of an invading war."

**THE "ADVISERS":** As the Prince saw it, the question was not even whether or not the U.S. forces would invade. In his view, they had already invaded—in December, 1960, together with "several thousand troops from Thailand, from Chiang Kai-shek, from South Vietnam, and several hundred Filipinos and Americans, the latter as 'advisers' but



PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG (L.) TALKS WITH THE NOW-EXILED PREMIER  
The leader of the Pathet Lao contrasts U.S. words with U.S. deeds

actually in command." The question, therefore, was: "Will the U.S. widen the present invasion into a large-scale war or will she stop invading and negotiate?"

"For us it is a big concession to negotiate, for we are winning," said Souphanouvong. "But in view of American actions, we must be vigilant. In our view, the conference of the Fourteen Nations is the only correct and reasonable way."

Such a conference, he said, including the big powers of the Geneva settlement and the smaller nations neighboring on Laos, had the ability to ensure neutrality and peace in Laos. In his view, until such a conference could authorize and direct an international control commission, no such commission derived from an earlier situation had the power to halt what the Prince regarded as an American-incited war of invasion.

**EXAMPLE OF KOREA:** Bitter Asian experience lies behind Souphanouvong's suspicions. In Korea the cease fire promised a later political conference to unify the nation; but for 10 years Washington has blocked this and Korea remained divided. In Laos, the Pathet Lao, winning against France, were promised in Geneva that they would be incorporated into the Royal Army with officers' ranks preserved, and that the Neo Lao Haksat would be legalized as a political party in free elections.

The Pathet Lao turned in their arms (5,000 rifles, according to Prince Souphanouvong) and dispersed most of their men to their homes. Two battalions remained for incorporation into the Royal Army. The First Battalion was split into small groups under new commanders, with their officers' ranks unrecognized. When their leaders protested, an American-financed coup d'etat installed a new premier, who rescinded the parliamentary immunity of the Neo Lao Haksat leaders and jailed eight of them, including Prince Souphanouvong himself. At that time he was Minister of Reconstruction and Planning in the cabinet.

**THE JAIL-BREAK:** The Second Battalion of the Pathet Lao, with its political leaders jailed, was encircled by a vast number of hostile troops which sought to disarm it. But the battalion collected its families and together they fought their way through successive encirclements for more than a year, and finally made their way to home bases to organize and await events.

On May 23, 1960, after 10 months in prison, Souphanouvong and the other seven leaders made a sensational jail-break, taking the jail guards with them out of Vientiane.

"We were without arms and our forces had been dispersed to their home prov-

inces," the Prince recalled in our interview. "I myself walked all the way to Sam Neua. It took many months, for I had to organize every province as I passed in order to get through.

"By the time I reached Sam Neua the bloodless coup by Captain Kong Lae in Vientiane on Aug. 9, 1960, had returned to power the government of Prince Souvanna Phouma, which the American-inspired coup had thrown out more than a year earlier. Then all over Laos the people began throwing out the local despots installed by America's strong man General Phouma Nosavan. Sam Neua was liberated at the end of September, 1960.

"We began rebuilding our forces at once."

## SANTANGELO BILL

## 10-year limit sought in denaturalization cases

**R**EP. Alfred E. Santangelo (D-N.Y.) introduced a bill (H.R. 6208) on April 11 calling for a statute of limitations of ten years on the denaturalization provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act. The bill states that a judgment or decree of naturalization shall not be revoked, canceled or set aside after the expiration of ten years from the date of the judgment or decree (naturalization).

It would terminate any denaturalization proceeding "commenced ten years or more after the date of judgment or decree of naturalization." Santangelo also included a retroactive clause that would return certificates of naturalization to all those who had it revoked after having been naturalized for ten years or more.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will launch a petition campaign for the passage of H.R. 6208 at a Legislative Conference Saturday May 20, at District 65, 13 Astor Place, New York City. Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers, will be a speaker.

## Rev. Ashton Jones speaks in New York on April 30

**R**EV. ASHTON JONES, Southern white integrationist who is suing 17 Shreveport, La., officials for false arrest and physical abuse, will speak Sunday, April 30, at 6 p.m. at Salem Methodist church, 2190 Seventh Ave., New York. Conrad Lynn, attorney, and Dr. Clark Foreman, director, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, will also speak.

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PROBLEMS OF A PEACETIME ECONOMY DISCUSSED

# Union conference challenges Meany's cold war policies

By Richard Criley  
Special to the Guardian

**CHICAGO**  
**T**HREE HUNDRED unionists met in a conference here for "Peace, Jobs and Freedom" on April 14-15 to discuss ways of opening the doors of the labor movement to a basic discussion of the problem of human survival in the atomic age. Delegates from 47 AFL-CIO unions and three independent unions from 16 states ranged from top officials of large internationals to rank-and-filers attending without official credentials from their locals.

On another floor of the Morrison Hotel, Kent Courtney, New Orleans segregationist and John Birch Society spokesman, was addressing the national conference of the Independent American Forum on the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren. This reminder of reviving McCarthyism underscored the need for unity and may have contributed to the lack of inter-union recrimination or red baiting.

The conference was called jointly by the American Friends Service Committee and six national leaders of the AFL-CIO: James B. Carey, Patrick Gorman, Emil Mazey, A. Philip Randolph, Frank Rosenblum and Arnold S. Zander.

**RESTLESSNESS:** In the past year, there have been increasing signs that American labor is growing restless under the foreign policy dictates of George Meany, which line labor up with the militarists. A year ago Emil Mazey, secy.-treas. of the United Auto Workers, challenged the Meany line at a union rally here. Last May, at the biennial convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, general secy.-treas. Frank Rosenblum laid down a similar policy which was endorsed by his union. Both Mazey and Rosenblum were active participants in this conference, as were three officers of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO headed by director Jack Clayman.

The conference was opened with an address by Dr. Erich Fromm, psychoanalyst and social theoretician, who challenged the "security through nuclear deterrents" school.

The Saturday session heard Dr. William Davidon, nuclear physicist at Argonne Laboratory, who reviewed the dangers of the present policy of "nuclear deterrents" from accidents like the false alarm of Oct. 5, 1960, and the hairbreadth escape when the Greenland radar system reported the moon as a Soviet missile and rang up all five alarm signals of the Early Warning System.

**UNENDING RACE:** "There can be no stabilized deterrent," Dr. Davidon declared, "only a continuous and unending race for technological supremacy." Reliance on nuclear deterrents negates all constructive policies, he concluded. "We need a sustained program for education



Drawing by Fred Wright

"It's just 16 years since we switched from war to peacetime production . . ."

and action for disarmament. The scientific community has tried to give some leads. What is the counterpart activity by labor?"

Seymour Melman, associate professor of industrial and management engineering, Columbia University, said his studies indicate that disarmament will create staggering problems of reconversion and a deep crisis for our economy. Under a peace time economy there will be no foreseeable possibility of keeping U.S. industry in motion except by massive governmental intervention he said, and pointed out that not even the first steps at planning have been taken by government, labor or industry.

Dr. Melman was less convincing when he discussed the need for "a competent political-economic theory of society to meet the challenge of the Soviet system." His own theory for "freedom with planning" consisted of "multilateral determinants based upon the right of free association" which would organize government, private industry and trade unions into a welfare state. With this "revolutionary concept" he urged "interchange of trade union delegations with the Soviet Union for the purpose of stimulating the Soviet workers to organize

strikes and other actions to free themselves from the fetters of the Soviet system."

**TOP LEADERS CRITICIZED:** Sumner Rosen of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Dept. discussed the dilemma of the union leaders whose membership base faces destruction through disarmament and closing down of war industry. He called for a program of "radical political action" with the crusading spirit of the Thirties.

Emil Mazey was critical of labor's top leadership. AFL-CIO peace policy has been set, he declared, by Meany's chief adviser Jay Lovestone, "whose position is as far to the right as the Birch Society meeting upstairs." The merger of the AFL and CIO has retarded U.S. labor, he said, by placing leadership in the hands of the most reactionary labor leaders. "The UAW can't do the job by itself." The problems are not insurmountable if the facts can be brought to the American labor movement, he said, and then translated into political decisions "to bring about a change in the political climate of the country. Today there is private planning for profit; what we need is public planning for the people."

Sid Lens, director of Local 329 of the Building Service Employees, said labor has reached "some sort of dead-end" and can regain its initiative only by facing its real enemy, the military clique and large corporate interests. He called for a complete break with the bankrupt theory of military deterrents which, he said, tie us to the most corrupt governments and reactionary forces in the world and alienate us from the people.

"We must stop the wave of McCarthyism," he said, "which makes it impossible to discuss these questions intelligently. I don't want to be at the mercy of the lunatic fringe meeting here today."

**ACTIONS PROPOSED:** Stewart Meacham, national director of peace education for the American Friends Service Committee, summarized the action suggestions made in round-table discussions. They included the establishment of a continuation committee to draft a minimum labor program for peace and disarmament and to organize further conferences, national and regional. The Industrial Union Dept. and participating international

unions were asked to implement a discussion of peace problems in the ranks of labor with popular educational materials and other means. Unionists were urged to continue working with community groups like the AFSC, but to take more initiative on their own.

Frank Rosenblum concluded the conference with a summary of the areas of general agreement and said the job is to create an awareness of the threat of nuclear destruction and to change the political climate to make changes of national policy possible. He declared that peace, jobs and freedom are imperatives of our time because there is no longer an alternative to peace since the H-bomb has made war obsolete. There is no alternative to disarmament, he said, and disarmament agreement can create the atmosphere for solution of other international problems.

**NOTE OF HOPE:** Rosenblum stressed the serious obstacle to peace and democracy created by the power of the military-industrial complex. Our country could succumb to a military dictatorship, he warned, and quoted the farewell address of President Eisenhower which called upon the people to be on guard.

Universal disarmament is possible, he stated, and would open the way to a peaceful competition with the Soviets for promotion of the welfare of humanity. He called the tendency to conformity perhaps more dangerous than the threats of the extremist right wingers and said we must be free to pose basic questions without labeling and to consider new approaches objectively. The labor movement can still make contributions to peace, jobs and freedom, he concluded, and for this the leaders must take particular responsibility.

The atmosphere of the conference was grim, searching and at times pessimistic. The magnitude of the problems of disarmament and a peace time economy underscored the bankruptcy of the dominant leadership of the AFL-CIO and the inadequacy of the long-term solutions presented by many of the panelists at the conference itself. But present, too, was the hope that from this conference a beginning has been made.

WASHINGTON SQ. MAY 1

## May Day rally wins right to loudspeakers

**T**HE COMMITTEE organizing New York's May Day rally, after a week-long fight, won the right to use loudspeakers at the traditional celebration. The Labor and Peoples Committee for May Day announced that the rally will take place May 1 from 4 to 8 p.m. on Washington Square South, between Sullivan St. and West Broadway.

The Committee had been granted a permit by Park Commissioner Newbold Morris for use of Washington Square Park, but were forbidden the use of loudspeakers by License Commissioner McCabe. McCabe said the assigned area was within 550 feet of New York University and the amplified sound would interfere with classes. He rejected a suggestion that the rally be shifted 500 feet from the school to comply with regulations. The Mayor's office had refused to intervene. The new location will permit the use of loudspeakers.

## Jewish Currents annual dinner in N.Y. May 7

**T**HE THEME of the annual Jewish Currents dinner, to be held Sunday evening, May 7, 6:30 p.m., at the Brass Rail Restaurant, 40th St. and Park Ave., will be "The Civil War and Its Unfinished Business."

Dinner reservations are \$6. They can be obtained at the office of Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St.

## Swarthmore Si, Siwash No!

**N**O OFFENSE INTENDED: just an interim report on the campuses we've heard from in our drive to enlist student readers before this semester ends. Thus far we've heard from about thirty colleges (Harvard *si*, Yale *no*) from coast to coast (none in the South!). The individual replies are running into the hundreds, with Swarthmore clearly in the lead, and even high school students writing in from coast to coast.

**T**HE RESULTS are so encouraging that we're willing to go on sending books to our supporters for another month, through May 31. We've asked student readers to take weekly bundles to pass around as samples, send us lists of prospects, solicit subs, or just write to let us know you're interested.

**S**O AGAIN, just to make sure you don't lay this request aside without acting on it, let us send you your choice of one of these up-to-the-minute titles on Cuba FREE if you send your lists, subs, or bundle orders to us by May 31. (1) *Cuba, Anatomy of a Revolution*, by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy; (2) *Listen Yankee*, by C. Wright Mills; (3) *Reflections on the Cuban Revolution*, by Paul Baran; or (4) the new *Cuba, Hope of a Hemisphere*, by Joseph North. Take your pick!

## WORLD FIGURES ACCEPT THE PAULINGS' INVITATION

## Top scientists to attend Oslo peace meeting

**S**OME 70 SCIENTISTS and other prominent persons from 14 countries have accepted invitations from Dr. and Mrs. Linus Pauling to attend a conference in Oslo, Norway, from May 2 to 7, to study the dangers to peace from the spread of nuclear weapons. The meeting will be held at the Norwegian Nobel Institute. It will coincide with a session of the NATO Council in Oslo.

The participants differ on many issues but all agree on the goal of world disarmament. A public rally in the auditorium of the University of Oslo will follow the conference. Pauling told a press conference in New York April 20 that he hoped a statement on the conference findings would be published.

U.S. participants include Dr. Emile Benoit, Dr. William C. Davidson, W. H. Ferry, Dr. Frances Herring, Dr. David Inglis, Dr. Herbert Jehle, Dr. Seymour Melman, Dr. Jay Orear, Dr. Victor Paschkis, Dr. E. G. Ramberg and Dr. Robert Schutz.

**PROMINENT FIGURES:** Among the foreign participants will be Dr. Walter Boas, Australia; Maurice Lambilliotte, Belgium; Sir Robert Watson-Watt, Canada; Prof. Mogens Pihl, Mrs. Else Zeutchen, Denmark; Prof. Jean Salviat, France; Prof. Dr. G. Burkhardt, West Germany; Prof. Dorothy Hodgkin, Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, Lord John Boyd Orr, Dr. Antoinette Pirie and Prof. Joseph Rotblat, Great Britain; Prof. Iwao Ogawa and Mrs. Hideki Yukawa, Japan; Prof. Arne Naess and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Emil



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He is among the sponsors

Stang, Norway; Prof. Leopold Infeld, Poland; Mrs. Inga Beskow and Prof. Harald Ofstad, Sweden; and A. M. Kuzin, U.S.S.R.

Prof. Istvan Rusznyak, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, was to participate, but Norwegian authorities refused him a visa. Pauling said he hoped it was a mistake and that the decision would be reversed.

The conference will be the culmination of four months of intensive efforts by the Paulings to alert the world to the perils of disarmament from the spread of nuclear weapons. Acting alone—except for volunteer secretaries—and at their own expense, they have moved tens of thousands of prominent and ordinary people in 38 countries.

**UN PETITION:** Last January the Paulings drafted a petition to the United Nations calling on present nuclear powers to keep nuclear weapons from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and urging non-nuclear nations to "voluntarily refrain from developing them." They sent copies with covering letters to prominent persons around the world inviting them to be "initial signers."

They hoped 500 would accept. But by the time Pauling came to New York Feb. 16 to present the petition to UN secy-gen. Dag Hammarskjöld, 720 had signed. Signatures from 63 others arrived later. Among the signers were 41 Nobel laureates.

The Paulings invited peace groups in the U.S. and elsewhere to "institute a great program of collection of signatures to the petition." They printed 40,000 petitions and sent them to all who asked for copies.

On April 20 Pauling returned to the UN with 32,826 additional petition signatures; all but a few came from the U.S. He said he had 11,226 other names obtained in Canada, but he was returning them to the Canadian Committee on Radiation Hazards for a separate presentation. Signed petitions were still coming in when the Paulings left their California home for New York. They came from individuals, local peace and civic groups and churches.

**THE SPONSORS:** The Paulings planned the Oslo conference because they believed there were not enough privately sponsored international peace meetings.

Pauling pointed to the six Pugwash conferences as an example of what scientists from around the world could accomplish, meeting as private citizens and working together on a common problem.

At a guess that each Pugwash meeting cost \$50,000, Pauling noted that this was only one one-millionth of the annual U.S. military budget. He said that the Oslo meeting would cost \$30,000, which he and his wife agreed to underwrite. But he said contributions had come from several individuals.

The Paulings wrote to 34 internationally prominent persons asking them to join as Oslo sponsors; 24 accepted. They include Dr. Albert Schweitzer, Bertrand Lord Russell, Hugh Keenleyside of Canada, Prof. Hideki Yukawa of Japan, Francois Mauriac of France, and, from the U.S., Dr. Robert Hutchins, Mrs. Cyrus Eaton and Lewis Mumford.

**CARNEGIE HALL MEETING:** The Paulings will report on the Oslo conference in New York's Carnegie Hall on May 12. Prof. Philip Morrison of Cornell University will be chairman of the meeting. James Higgins, assistant editor of the *York Gazette and Daily*, will also speak.

The meeting is sponsored by the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups. Tickets at \$2 and \$5 are available at 550 Fifth Ave. New York 36, N.Y. Telephone: PL 7-6454.

**CIVIL DEFENSE PROTEST:** Elsewhere on the peace front, the Civil Defense Protest Committee in New York expected the largest demonstration against Civil Defense day April 28 since the drills began. Protesters, including many women with infants and small children, were to gather at City Hall Park at 3:30 p.m. When the sirens sounded at 4, most would refuse to go to shelters and thus risk arrest.

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## Cong. Walter's POISON PACKAGE!

**A MASSIVE ASSAULT** on the liberties of all Americans—native as well as foreign born—is under way in the form of far-reaching bills introduced into Congress, principally by Congressman Francis E. Walter, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee and chairman of the Sub-Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

He appears determined to cripple even the remaining aspects of American liberty not legislated against ten years ago with the notorious Walter-McCarran Act. Walter's proposed legislation would cover what he missed then, what the courts have voided since, and would extend the worst measures to all people, native born, naturalized Americans and non-citizens, working people—virtually all of us.

Worst of the Walter bills is H.R. 6. It would do some of these things:

**RIGHT TO PETITION CONGRESS** Walter would require anyone who pleads before any Congressional Committee to file a statement indicating whether he is appearing on behalf of any organization listed as subversive by Walter, Eastland, the Attorney General or the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Should any future generation seeking a better way of life have any of the same aims, membership, funds, etc., as any preceding organization deemed "subversive" under Walter's bill then they too are outlawed. Since no list of approved organizations is published, the "safest" course would be to do nothing at all—probably Walter's precise intention.

**CURBS RIGHTS TO SPEECH, DEFENSE, TRAVEL, PRIVACY . . .** Walter's bill would deny to defendants on trial full access to evidence against them. It gives States further powers to prosecute local dissenters; sanctions FBI wire taps, and their use in court; makes star chamber proceedings of passport hearings; permits a denial of the right to travel just on the basis of "confidential" information. "Judicial rules of evidence shall not apply," says Walter's bill.

**YOU STAY IN JAIL FOR LIFE . . .** At present six months is the longest period the government may jail a stateless person, one for whom the Immigration

Service has been unable to find a country to which to deport him. This is not enough for Walter; his bill makes possible life imprisonment of such persons.

**INFORM—OR GO TO JAIL . . .** Courts have ruled that foreign born on parole by the Immigration Service do not have to turn stool pigeon. Walter's bill says they must—or go to jail.

**"CONTEMPT" OF CONGRESS . . .** Walter adds a new "crime": "Misbehavior" before or in the vicinity of Congressional hearings. This would have made a Federal crime of San Francisco youth's demonstrations against Walter's Un-American Committee.

**WALTER TO DECIDE WHO YOUR LAWYER IS TO BE . . .** Any lawyer fingered by any stool pigeon—any time, anywhere—is barred from representing any defendant before Walter's and other Committees, or government agencies, unless the lawyer swears he has not been associated with Walter-banned causes within at least the five preceding years.

Even when you have an "approved" lawyer, Walter's bill specifically tells the foreign born that he can have only one court appeal of deportation orders. Unlike other Americans charged with law violations, the foreign born could not—under Walter's bill—be tried in the nearest District court, and could not appeal through the judicial chan-

nels open to all others. Their single appeal would be in a possibly distant Circuit Court of Appeals. In the final stages of deportation proceedings the distance between court and deportee may well mean the difference between getting to court in time or being hauled off and deported.

The Immigration Service is in the habit of kidnaping foreign born Americans for deportation without giving them time to bid their families goodbye, pick up a change of clothes, or call a lawyer. Witness the infamous case of William Heikkila, whisked from the streets of San Francisco to Finland without even an overcoat.

**YOU CAN LOSE YOUR JOB . . .** "Subversive" tendencies (presumably to be defined by Walter) would mean the end of his job for anyone in any "defense" industry, regardless of union security. Any adverse decision under Walter's law "shall be final and conclusive and no court of the U.S. shall have power or jurisdiction to review any such decision."

**HOW SAFE THE NATURALIZED CITIZEN? . . .** An "affidavit of good cause" is required to begin a suit to cancel citizenship. This helps prevent baseless denaturalization suits. Walter's bill would eliminate this requirement, making easier suits without any cause. What is more, the Justice Department would be permitted to proceed in cases already pending where it previously failed to file an affidavit of good cause.

Another proposal of Walter further "simplifies" suits to cancel citizenship. Under the existing law, the government must prove its case by "clear, convincing and unequivocal evidence." Walter would specify only "a preponderance of evidence." Stool pigeon testimony could thus be sufficient to take away citizenship.

**HOW SAFE THE NATIVE BORN? . . .**

He isn't. He too faces loss of his citizenship if he favors any country determined by the Secretary of State to be "Communist, Communist dominated or oriented." And what do you suppose would be the result for anyone—native or otherwise—who supports the Fair Play for Cuba Committee or any other organization which works for peace and friendship among nations?

**SOUNDS horrible?** This report has described only a part of the Walter & Co. legislative blueprint for destruction of constitutional rights and liberties of ALL Americans, native and foreign born alike.

An aroused citizenry, protests by you and your organizations, can stop this legislative monstrosity from transforming America into a police state.

**YOUR RIGHTS and liberties are at stake—help save them!**

Write and visit your Congressman telling him what you think of Walter's bill H.R. 6. Ask that he spare no effort to defeat it.

Write to Emanuel Celler, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and register your disapproval of the bill.

## DEFEND THE BILL OF RIGHTS!

Stop Walter — come to the Legislative Conference called by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 1 p.m. Saturday, May 20, District 65 Hall, 13 Astor Place, New York City. For information write room 405, 49 E. 21st St., ORegon 4-5058.

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BOOKS

# A biography of O'Casey

**T**HIS BIOGRAPHY of Sean O'Casey\* would be an excellent book at any time, but at this time when so much literary biography is still largely amateur psychoanalysis, and so much literary criticism is still a formal game with arbitrary rules and deliberately valueless counters, such a critical biography is truly remarkable.

It begins with a vivid summary description of the Dublin in which O'Casey was born, and continues with a succinct review, based in part on original research, of Jim Larkin's Transport Union and the other organizations which began there during his youth. Professor Krause allows no academic fear of social significance to inhibit his searching analysis of the political and economic struggles which were of such paramount practical importance to the playwright during his first 45 years (1880-1925) and remained of major emotional concern to him all the rest of his life.



SEAN O'CASEY

**A**FTER thus firmly establishing the ground from which O'Casey's art grew, Krause moves on to an illuminating survey of the Abbey Theater in which it found its voice. Here we have a number of interesting sidelights cast on the work of Bouicault, Synge, Lady Gregory and, of course, Yeats himself. The full story of O'Casey's break with the theater in 1928 also includes several very valuable letters from Shaw, who was more clearly aware than anyone else that Yeats' bitter fear of *The Silver Tassie* stemmed from his feeling that the horrors of

war were too great to bear exposing.

All that, however, is less than half the task successfully undertaken by this study. The other half is a detailed analysis of the plays themselves, enlivened by considerable theoretical discussion and much well chosen quotation. The eight "tragi-comedies" (*The Shadow of a Gunman*—1923, *Juno and the Paycock*—1925, *The Plough and the Stars*—1926, *The Silver Tassie*—1928, *Within the Gates*—1933, *The Star Turns Red*—1940, *Red Roses for Me*—1942, and *Oak Leaves and Lavender*—1946) are treated individually, and the four farce-satires (*Purple Dust*—1940, *Cock-a-doodle Dandy*—1949, *The Bishop's Bonfire*—1955, and *The Drums of Father Ned*—1958) are admirably dealt with as a group in a 50-page chapter entitled "A Catharsis and a Carnival."

After these discussions of dramatic intention, construction and impact—I would agree with the author's judgment that the only play which completely fails is *The Star Turns Red* and that *Oak Leaves and Lavender* is almost but not quite as unsatisfactory—we have a fine scholarly consideration of the actual

language so important in all O'Casey's work.

**H**ERE KRAUSE includes some enlightening remarks on the theory and practice of such other generally less successful poetic playwrights as Yeats and T. S. Eliot, and verifies the common assumption that O'Casey's poetry grows out of the street language known to his childhood. We find a stimulating contrast drawn between this city poetry and the better known rural nature imagery which shaped Synge's idiom. We also find a significant hypothesis to account for the difference between O'Casey's success in turning colloquial modern speech into dramatic poetry, and Eliot's failure in the same endeavor.

Krause suggests that O'Casey could find "a language of rich joy and superb reality among the proletarian Dubliners" whereas "Eliot was hampered by his necessary choice of language and milieu—that of the urbane drawing room."

**T**HIS LEADS to some comments on the manifesto of the romantic revolution in 1798 and to the conclusion that now it is even more true to say that strength and beauty lie primarily in the language of the common people.

"Frustrated in their struggle for life's material necessities, they can only find a sense of liberation, and even glory, in the

voluble and extravagant language that O'Casey gives them. They are profligate with vivid words and phrases in a world in which they can be profligate with little else. Their unique language is for them a delight and a defense; a delight in the one luxury they possess, the joyous life of the imagination; a defense against the hard realities of slum life which could be spelled out only too painfully in grim monosyllables."

Finally the book concludes with a too-brief commentary, again generously illustrated by quotation, of O'Casey's extraordinary six-volume autobiography and some discussions of his often shrewd or amusing but still comparatively unimportant critical essays.

—Annette T. Rubinstein  
\*SEAN O'CASEY: *The Man and His Work*, by David Krause. Macmillan Co. 340 pp. \$4.50.

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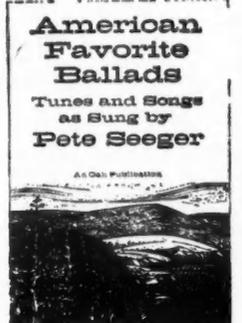
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Sadly missed by all her friends of the  
Utah Council for Constitutional Liberties

# 5,000 at N. Y. rally

(Continued from Page 1)

not for his "pro-Communist" opinions, but for his leadership in the integration fight. "It is for the school integration decision he wrote that Warren became, and remains, anathema to the Welchites, and all other racists," he said.

**IT'S ONE STRUGGLE:** Braden, who is field secretary for the Southern Conference Educational Fund and editor of the *Southern Patriot*, spoke on the indivisibility of the struggle for civil liberties and for civil rights. The Committee's objective, he said, "is to discredit persons working for racial integration in the South, and they do it under the

pretext of looking for subversives. The same can be said of harassment of those working for peace. . . . People favoring better wages, public housing, medical insurance, increased unemployment compensation, and similar social reforms have been the targets of the HUAC, the Eastland Committee and similar state committees at one time or another."

Holt said: "By silencing Carl Braden they expect to stop the movement for civil rights, but the movement will not stop. We're fighting for our freedom and we shall not be moved."

**RESPONSIBILITY:** Assemblyman Lane said he had been urged not to speak by persons who thought his appearance at the rally would destroy his political fu-

ture. He said:

"The time has come to stop worrying about what people will call us and whom we are seen with. It is not only my responsibility to speak, but a very great privilege because I share the platform with three men whose convictions I share—that is, in a philosophical sense and not a political sense."

Lane said the flaw in the Supreme Court's balancing theory of the individual vs. national security interests is that "it seeks to amend the Constitution by substantially altering the scope of the First Amendment."

Wilkinson, the leading figure in the abolition movement, said: "I am serenely confident that for every voice which asks for abolition of the Un-

American Activities Committee and is silenced in jail a thousand new voices will be raised; and, most significantly, many of these will be the new generation of American students." Wilkinson, who is field secretary of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, has toured the country and spoken to many college audiences. He and Braden in the last weeks have appeared at civil liberties meetings in the Midwest and the East.

During the evening messages to the rally were read from Rep. William Fitts Ryan (D-N.Y.); Clarence E. Pickett, director, American Friends Service Committee, and Aubrey Williams, chairman of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC and of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

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WILLIAM F. WARDE, staff member of Militant & International Socialist Review, speaks SUNDAY, APRIL 30 7:30 P.M. 1303 W. Girard Ave., on "Who Will Change the World?" Turkey dinner 5:30 p.m. — Donation for combination \$2. Joseph Hansen reports on LATIN AMERICAN CONFERENCE, Sat., May 6, 8:30 p.m., at 1303 W. Girard. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

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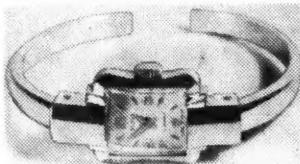
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## NEWSPAPER

### Toy Figures from Poland

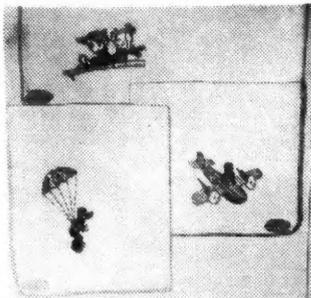
A gay pair of 6" wooden figures from Poland. They'll hold needles or just stand around as delightful ornaments. Brightly colored \$1 a pair (Minimum order 2 pairs for \$2)



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### A Music Critic of the N. Y. Times Writes: "The Songs of Auvergne"

... find a lovely exponent in NE-TANIA DAVRATH . . . Miss Davrath comes to these folk songs, which have been raised to the level of high art . . . with an ideal background. Her voice has a burnished gleam, and it flows smoothly up and down the scale."

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# the SPECTATOR



## It's still spinach

**OPENING THE 33RD ANNUAL** Academy Award festivities on the evening of April 17, Bob Hope, who seems to be life-time master of ceremonies at these self-congratulatory rites, said: "This is the night we find out which Hollywood actors have the best press-agents."

The laughter was neither loud nor prolonged, for Hope (or his writers) had hit too close to the bone. How close was indicated daily for the past many weeks, by daily advertisements in the Hollywood trade papers (*Variety* and *The Hollywood Reporter*), urging, begging and pleading with members of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences to vote for this or that film, this or that director, actor, writer.

The huckstering had got to such a point that even the Grand Panjandrum (female division) of the movie columnists, Hedda Hopper, was moved to protest in these trenchant words (March 25): "Everybody this year has gone overboard trying to influence Academy members to vote for them, their songs, their pictures. It's dishonest. It makes the Academy look cheap and vulgar." ("Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings"—Psalms, VIII, 2).



Bernhardt, Wall Street Journal  
"It has a surprise ending. Just when you think it will never end, it does."

An Associated Press dispatch (*New York Herald Tribune*, Feb. 5) commented on the cheapness and vulgarity in these words: "Strange things are happening in Hollywood. The studios are giving away free movie tickets. Months-old movies are turning up in first-run theaters. Stars considered unapproachable are out cutting ribbons and doing anything to get themselves in print. . . . Every morning when readers open their *Daily Variety* or *Hollywood Reporter*, they are greeted with little reminders (at \$300 a page) . . . There is Alfred Hitchcock's pudgy figure reminding folks not to forget *Psycho*. There is Shirley Jones in a slip to recall her work as Lulu in *Elmer Gantry*. 'Oscar-wise' . . . begins the daily ad for *The Apartment*. Here are two pages with 100 quotes about *The Alamo* . . ."

**WHY ALL THE EFFORT** and expense to court Oscar?" asks the AP dispatch. "Much of it to save egos. But hard economics figures in the campaigns, too; an Academy Award can increase a film's earnings from a half-million to a million."

*The Alamo* did not win despite the fact that John Wayne, its producer-director-star (and his press agent, Russell Birdwell), were said to have spent vast sums to get seven nominations for this turkey. But Shirley Jones did. So did *The Apartment* (best picture, best director, best original screenplay). Burt Lancaster won "best actor" for *Elmer Gantry*, and his writer-director Richard Brooks won "best screenplay based on material from another medium"—and Liz Taylor gave a better performance in accepting her Oscar as best actress (for *Butterfield 8*) than she had given in the film.

The award to Miss Taylor provides a case history in Hollywood sentimentality and nonsense. She has become an acceptable performer—even though it is true that she has given the same performance of the same character three times now (*Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, *Suddenly Last Summer*, *Butterfield*). But only two years ago she was a pariah, having run away with one-half of Hollywood's ideal couple, and only two months ago she was at the point of death in London. She had been nominated four years running, which proves only that "truth crushed to earth shall rise again" (William Cullen Bryant, *The Battle Field*).

**WITH NO MAJOR NOMINATIONS** for the two most important films of the year (as far as content goes)—Dalton Trumbo's *Spartacus* and *Exodus*—there were still some awards that, on the basis of merit alone, should have been granted and were not.

Sal Mineo should have won hands-down as supporting actor for his exciting characterization of Dov Landau, the concentration camp victim in *Exodus*. The award went, instead, to Peter Ustinov, an accomplished ham, for his role in *Spartacus*.

The best male performance of the year was given by Trevor Howard in *Sons & Lovers*, which should also have won best film, best director (Jack Cardiff), best screenplay adaptation (Gavin Lambert and T. E. B. Clarke) and best supporting actress (Mary Ure).

Best original screenplay should have gone to Jules Dassin for *Never On Sunday*, just as best actress should have gone to its star, Melina Mercouri.

Meantime, in foreign parts, *Sons & Lovers* won best picture of 1960 (*New York Film Critics*), *Spartacus* won the Grand Prix Exceptionnel with the designation of "above all competition" (Belgium) and those cut-ups who put out the Harvard *Lampoon* voted *Butterfield 8* and Liz Taylor's husband, Eddie Fisher, worst picture of the year and worst supporting actor.

All of which proves the profundity of that classic repartee: "It's broccoli, dear." "I say it's spinach and I say the hell with it." (*New Yorker* cartoon).

—Alvah Bessie