



O, take them out of the ball game . . . Vice-President Nixon and Secy. Dulles are shown above at a recent Washington Senators game. Of still more recent date Nixon lost his voice campaigning and Dulles has been talking so much about Suez that no one seems to know what he's saying. Sort of balances things. And both President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson last week came out in favor of the World Series.

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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RIGHT NOW IT'S ANYBODY'S ELECTION

## Stevenson's hopes may hinge on shift of vote in Midwest

By Lawrence Emery

**M**ID-WEST FARMERS were getting the full political treatment last week. Top candidates of both parties were busily cultivating the Plains States where, all pollsters agree, there is a big shift in sentiment from Republicans to Democrats. If the shift is big enough, it could decide the election. In addition, there are nine crucial Senate races in the Mid-West states and in only one of them is there a Democratic incumbent, Hennings of Missouri.

The President himself made two starts in the farm belt before he got around to talking about his farm program. On Sept. 21 he appeared before a vast throng of farmers at the annual plowing contest at Newton, Ia., but ducked the farm issue. Instead he contented himself with a folksy talk about his boyhood in Kansas, pledged himself to peace, and came out strongly in favor of the plow and a straight furrow.

**PEORIA AND BACK:** It was some days later before his major farm speech was written. For its delivery, he made one of the strangest political tours of modern times. He flew out to Peoria, Ill., drove directly to a TV broadcast with an audience of college students, read his talk and went straight back to Washington. He didn't even get a chance to shake a farmer's hand.

In his talk he stood on his record (flexible price supports and the soil bank plan), leaned heavily on the cessation of hostilities in Korea, and said several harsh things about the Democrats. He called them "synthetic farmers behind Washington desks" engaged in "politicking at the farmers' expense," called their farm bill which he vetoed a "political grab-bag," described their program of rigid price supports at 90% of parity a "mockery and deceit," and blamed all the farmers' troubles on them. He studiously avoided any mention of his Agriculture Secy. Ezra Taft Benson.

**A CHALLENGED CLAIM:** He also de-



Farmers Union Herald, St. Paul

"The issue: Who speaks for the people?"

clared that farm prices have increased this year and said "we turned prices back up without a war." This claim was promptly challenged by Estes Kefauver in a speech at Anderson, Ind. He called the President's farm speech an attempt to sell the farmer an election-year "gold brick," said it misstated, distorted and misrepresented the farm situation, and declared that since Eisenhower has been in office, farm prices have gone down 18½% and in the first eight months of this year are 2% lower than for the same months last year.

Meanwhile Richard Nixon was pledging farm prosperity in Minnesota and Adlai Stevenson made three farm speeches in Iowa, Kansas City, Mo. (where he was introduced by Harry Truman) and in Denver. In Iowa he suggested politely that when the President speaks on farm problems, he doesn't know what he is talking about but simply reads a script handed to him. Stevenson not only

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### NEGOTIATION OR ULTIMATUM?

## Force not ruled out at Suez despite action before UN

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

**T**WO MONTHS to the day after Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal Co., the 11-member UN Security Council on Sept. 26 placed Suez on its agenda. The Anglo-French complaint against Egypt and Egypt's counter-complaint to the Security Council were discussed amid disturbing overtones of serious Israel-Jordan border fighting, brought to the attention of the Council president the same day by UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjöld.

Council members unanimously decided to discuss the Anglo-French complaint against Egypt's "unilateral action." Despite opposition from France, Australia and Belgium, Cairo's complaint against France and Britain was included in the agenda by seven votes in favor (U.S., the U.S.S.R., Formosa, Cuba, Iran, Peru, Yugoslavia) and four abstentions (Britain, France, Australia, Belgium). The Council gave priority to the Anglo-French complaint by a 9-2 vote, only the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia supporting Cairo's claim.

**NO DISPUTE:** The next meeting of the Council was scheduled for Oct. 5. Israel's request to take part in the debate on the sole issue of Egypt's blockade of Israel-bound ships in violation of both the 1888 Convention and previous Security Council decisions was tabled until that session of the Council, as several members wanted time to consult their governments.

Britain and France were careful to use the word "situation" rather than "dispute" in their complaint: Council members cannot vote in a discussion if they are parties to a "dispute."

**FORCE STILL POSSIBLE:** Placing the Suez issue before the UN does not completely rule out a last-minute desperate use of force against Egypt by Britain and France, perhaps with tacit U.S. support. Britain and France plan to ask the Security Council to endorse the proposal for international control of the canal carried to Cairo by the Menzies mission and rectified by President Nasser. This will certainly be turned down by Egypt, with

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### THE INFORMER RACKET GETS A STAY

## The meaning of the Matusow Case

By Albert E. Kahn

(Albert E. Kahn, author of such books as "The Great Conspiracy" and "High Treason," and a member of the firm of Cameron & Kahn which published Harvey Matusow's book "False Witness," is engaged in writing a book of his own on the entire Matusow story.)

**D**URING THE LAST DAYS of September, in the imposing U.S. Courthouse in Foley Square, N. Y., the Justice Dept. brought the judicial phase of the Case of Harvey Matusow to what this writer regards as a logically corrupt conclusion. After 18 months of Federal court proceedings, grand jury inquiries and Congressional investigations, Matusow was tried and convicted on a charge of perjury.

The crime of which he was found guilty, however, was not one of the spate to which he had confessed in various affidavits and his book *False Witness*. He was never indicted for repeatedly lying under oath as a paid Government witness, for the slanders he had spread while campaigning for Sen. McCarthy, for helping railroad people to jail, for the people he had blacklisted and the reputations he had ruined. Instead, the

law was arrayed against Matusow for allegedly lying in the confession of his crimes. Specifically, he had been charged with falsely accusing former Asst. U.S. Atty. Roy Cohn with inducing him to commit perjury in the 1952 Smith Act trial of 13 Communist leaders (the Flynn case). On this conviction Matusow was sentenced last week to five years imprisonment.

**THEY DON'T JUST QUIT:** The N.Y. Times said: "A high-ranking Government official . . . expressed relief at the result. 'It will have a far-reaching effect on informers everywhere,' he explained."

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He isn't voting, yet

**BELLEROSE, N.Y.**  
Your suggestion that we make demands upon the Democrats sounds interesting. But as practical people we know that they will not adopt a progressive stand on the issues you mention. Therefore, in November we will still face the questions: (1) Shall we pick the lesser of two evils? We have opposed this policy in the past and should continue to do so; (2) Shall we sit at home and protest by our silence? (3) Shall we vote for one of the minor parties of the left?

My suggestion is this: Throw your pages open to all parties. This must include the Republicans and Democrats as well as all the minor parties. We could better consider Vincent Hallinan's suggestion to vote for the Socialist Workers Party if we know where they stand on the issues. The major parties will take a progressive stand if they wish to bid for our votes.

At present my decision is not to vote. I would vote for a socialist party if they (1) take a reasonable stand towards peace and friendship with the Socialist nations, and (2) show a serious intent to decry their minor differences and work for unity.

Dominic Moscio

Agrees with Hallinan

**OSSING, N. Y.**  
I agree 100% with Vincent Hallinan that "America needs a united Left to work towards Socialism."

Here is one of the few first-rate men in the public eye today and I only hope I live long enough to see our people turn to him and others like him.

"You can't fool all the people all the time"—but it sure has been a long stretch.

Arthur Quinn

Lump in the throat

**HADDAM, CONN.**  
I guess there is no choice but to support the Democratic candidates but most of them are mighty hard to swallow.

J. E. McNutt

Remove fear first

**BROOKLYN, N.Y.**  
I think that we should have a third party (Socialist Workers Party) and rally all groups that are for peace and real freedom. At the same time we should strive for our constitutional rights. Those who are willing to listen to us are being scared by the F. B. I., so in order to get any results we must remove that fear.

J. B.

Make it clearer

**BRONX, N.Y.**  
I read with a great deal of interest your article on the 1956

**How Crazy Can You Get Dept.**

Worried about the business outlook? You needn't be.

A. W. Zelomek, economist with the International Statistical Bureau, said so here yesterday... Consumer spending is the most important part of our economy, he said... "It's a lot of hokum that consumer debt is too high."

"If I had my way I'd sell Americans up to their necks. The average American is not happy unless there are three collectors at his door." San Francisco Chronicle Sept. 22, 1955

One year free sub to sender of each item under this heading. Winner this week: L. L., San Francisco. Be sure to send original clipping and date of each entry.

election. You mentioned that people on the American Left would take one of three alternatives in making a decision. I do not believe you make it clear to your readers the exact policy you yourself would take. I hope that in the near future you will make a more definite statement about this matter.

The immediate task of all progressives and socialists is to work for a healthy political climate in which they would be allowed to function free from witch-hunting Smith Acts and other repressive laws. This can be better accomplished by supporting a Stevenson-Kefauver ticket than by a completely sectarian policy.

S. Klein

Middle and upper

**BROOKLYN, N.Y.**  
Slowly but surely, my own views have been tending in the direction set forth by Baldwin, so that upon reading his statement I took the final leap. His analysis of what happened at the conventions in August and the forces behind the candidates is correct. This business of sitting on the sidelines is a petulant attitude. If there were no difference between the two tickets I'd say it would be a waste of time to vote. But there is a difference—as a matter of fact a definite struggle between different factions of the middle and upper classes and we should take an active part in them, by supporting those who are advocating progressive policies.

D.L.

Platform hearings

**CHICAGO, ILL.**  
There are thousands of active, articulate liberals, trade unionists, Negro people and farmers who have been striving to compel the Democratic Party to accept a program that meets the needs and objectives of the mass people's organizations. The reasoning of these leaders is that they can best advance their program through either one or the other major party if they assert their independent strength.

Now of course, it may yet be proved that the people's interests cannot be served by either the Democrats or the Republicans, but this lesson will not be

learned from progressives who sit on the sidelines oblivious to the movements and stirrings going on within the two-party system.

I sat through almost every day of the six days of platform hearings preceding the Democratic convention. I was impressed with the fact that 95 organizations (exclusive of industry and commerce associations) testified on proposals for platform and that labor, liberal and Negro organizations played an outstanding role.

While the civil rights fight was lost in convention, it is my conviction that something substantial was gained as a result of those efforts. The level of activity and united effort of the main forces of the people's movement is now at a new high. This is the best guarantee that promises or lack of promises by the two old parties notwithstanding the civil rights movement will have to be reckoned with and important victories will be won in the period ahead.

William Sennett



Wall Street Journal  
"I DO hope he has something we can afford."

**Democratic platform**

**RED BANK, N.J.**  
Let C. B. Baldwin and those like him who are voting for the Democratic ticket ponder well over the following exact quotations from the Democratic platform:

"We pledge determined opposition to the admission of the Communist Chinese into the U.N. We pledge continued support to Nationalist China..."

"We inaugurate and we strongly favor collective defense arrangements such as NATO..."

"We declare our deepest concern for the plight of the peoples... now under the yoke of Soviet dictatorship."

"We will continue to support programs providing succor for escapees from behind the Iron Curtain and bringing help to the victims of war and Communism."

And Stevenson said (N.Y. Times, Sept. 4): "We will look for every peaceful way to fight the Communist enslavement of peoples, never acquiescing in that cruel situation."

As a charter member of the Progressive Party, Mr. Baldwin, I feel sorry for you!

Besse Strasburger

**A shame**

**NORWALK, O.**  
We note Mr. Baldwin's analysis and advice in the alleged "battle of the ballots", with which we agree. But we do think it is a shame that some 45 to 50 million qualified voters in this country always have to vote for the "lesser of two evils" if they wish to vote, or stay at home as millions do.

Ray S. Kellogg, Editor Action Publications

**Friend & critic**

**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
Apropos Cedric Belfrage's discussion of the future of Soviet democracy, and the continuing debate on whether it was possible to be a true friend of socialism and yet point out respects in which the U.S.S.R. was less than perfect, Guardian readers may be interested in the following from an article of mine in the American Sociological Review, June, 1944:

"For the future, it is to be ex-



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**REPORT TO READERS**

**So long, Vic**

WITH A HEAVY HEART, THE GUARDIAN reports the death on Sept. 28 of Victor Levitt, our good friend and closest associate since the very beginnings of the GUARDIAN in the summer of 1948. The printing firm headed by Vic Levitt at 17 Murray Street was the GUARDIAN's home until May of this year; and until he entered his final illness in April he was as much a part of the GUARDIAN as anyone on its staff, advising on the production of the paper, participating in its campaigns and sharing far beyond all expectation in its burdens.

Vic was that rare thing nowadays in the newspaper world, a reporter and editor of great ability but equally at home in every phase of publication, from the lofty perches of editorial policy-making to the deep recesses of the pressroom. He loved newsprint and all its great potentialities; believed deeply in the power of an honest press; violently eschewed the artifices of the slick-paper field.

When the GUARDIAN was shaping up, Cedric Belfrage took its pre-publication problems to Vic Levitt one hot summer afternoon in 1948. They had never met before. Belfrage outlined the project—unpretentious, campaigning, truth-telling, and less than a shoe-string to start on.

Levitt reached down into the recesses of a well-stocked desk, came up with a dusty bottle of brandy and two equally dusty ponies, and poured into each a gentleman's portion. Thus was the GUARDIAN launched.

FROM THAT MOMENT on there was scarcely a day until illness overtook him that Vic Levitt was not elbows deep in GUARDIAN affairs. Of his own salty humor he contributed much, and of his caustic criticism when it was warranted. He kept Fowler's English Usage within arms length of his desk to settle all argument on style; he would quote ad lib and at length from Mark Twain to puncture pomposity and bring a writer down to earth. He read voraciously, had stored up an enormous fund of knowledge in his 54 years; and it was yours for the asking, on any subject. Often his command-performance chess or pinochle games at the end of the day turned into evening-long disquisitions on well-thumbed topics ranging from Karl Marx to Isaac Walton.

Cancer began to cut him down in late 1954. He made a remarkable return to action after an operation at that time but within a year the condition had returned, this time for keeps. We saw him regularly during the long hospital months, brought him much-relished news of GUARDIAN people and affairs, right to the end got our accustomed bouquets and brickbats on the conduct of the paper.

We at the GUARDIAN are all conscious of our deep debt to Vic Levitt, for more times than we can count, keeping the paper alive when it would surely have expired in the hands of any other printer. How fond we all were of him personally perhaps we did not fully realize until the final leave-taking. His like will not pass our way again.

— THE GUARDIAN

pected that repressive and, what is more to the point, extra-Constitutional measures adopted in response to the pressure of war... will disappear as the world position of the U.S.S.R. becomes more secure and the possibility of another 'crusade against Bolshevism' disappears. More important, in view of what I believe to be the absolutely consistent adherence of the Soviet leaders to Marxist principles and objectives, efforts will be made to involve ever larger sections of the population in the administration of the country, and the present trend toward increasing minorities of non-members of the Communist Party in the highest government organs may well continue. But the same considerations make it evident that neither the right to employ others, nor to advocate

the reinstatement of capitalism in any form will be countenanced.

"If one may venture to guess—and speculation is always hazardous—it is quite possible that Soviet electoral practice may be amended to permit the name of more than one candidate to appear on the final ballot."

The failure to call a Party Congress for many years after the war (not until 1952), and the increasing deification of Stalin, later caused me to doubt "the absolutely consistent adherence of the Soviet leaders to Marxist principles and objectives." Clearly, they're now on the way back—and ahead!

William Mandel  
P.S.—We New Yorkers can argue this and other points in my course, "The Soviet Union Today," at the Jefferson School, beginning this month.—W.M.



THE DIXIECRATS AT WORK

# A Washington smear job: school integration hearing

By Eugene Gordon

**S**HORTLY AFTER THE U.S. Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow public school decree on May 17, 1954, President Eisenhower said he hoped the nation's capital would be a model for integration. The District of Columbia integrated 57,243 Negro and only 42,612 white pupils when the 1954 school term opened. The reason—according to Harry S. Ashmore's *The Negro and the Schools*—was that "... the white families who trekked from the central section [of Washington] to Maryland and Virginia suburbs [after World War II] included a high proportion of those with school-age children, which sent Negro enrollment upward from 38% of the total in 1940 to 51% in 1950, the highest proportion in any American city of more than 100,000."

The Negroes—nearly 43% of the capital's 800,000 persons—occupied 60% of the slums on annual incomes averaging under \$2,000.

**DIXIE, D. C.:** Citizens of the District of Columbia are voteless. They elect neither local nor Federal officials. Washington's "city council" is the U. S. Congress, not responsible to Washingtonians. The Deep South Negroes, historical opponents of the Dixiecrats and proponents of economic, political and social integration, are as politically disarmed as the District dwellers. They are therefore powerless to keep the anti-integrationists out of Congress. So, Dixiecrats representatives and senators accumulate seniority; and seniority secures important committee chairmanships.

One such chairmanship is that of the House District Committee. It is held by S. Carolina Dixiecrat John L. McMillan, who acquired some notoriety during President Truman's administration. He scared the chairman of the three-member District Board of Commissioners out of going ahead with a plan to integrate Washington's Negro and white firemen. McMillan a few weeks ago appointed Georgia Dixiecrat John C. Davis to head a House District Committee subcommittee purportedly set up to investigate juvenile delinquency in the District public schools.

**STACKED DECK:** Other members were Dixiecrats John Bell Williams of Mississippi and Woodrow Wilson Jones of N. Carolina; Republicans A. L. Miller of Nebraska, Joel T. Broyhill of Virginia and DeWitt Hyde of Maryland. Davis, Williams, Jones and Broyhill signed the Southern manifesto calling for defiance of the Supreme Court's anti-jimcrow decisions; voted against the Powell amendment withholding funds from school districts disobeying the high court desegregation rulings; against Eisenhower's civil rights proposals.

Baltimore **Afro-American** reporters Louis Lautier and Larry Still wrote from Washington (9/29) that the subcommittee "obviously set out to prove" that: (1) too-rapid integration followed the Supreme Court ruling; (2) that lowered educational standards resulted from integration; (3) serious problems of discipline were caused by race mixing; (4) Washington's experience was not a fit model for any other community.

**McGURK'S VIEW:** U. S. News and World Report (9/21), consistent sniper at the Supreme Court for its civil rights opinions, published "A Scientist's Report on Race Differences" by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, until recently on the U. S. Military Academy staff and now associate professor of psychology at Villanova University. Dr. McGurk's conclusions were:

(1) Negroes as a group lack "capacity for education" equal to that of whites; (2) "the vast improvement in the social and economic status of the Negro has not changed his relationship to the whites regarding capacity for education" since the World War I Army "Alpha" and

drawn because Negro children entered some schools; that integration did not reduce the cost of school operation; that the District integrated schools cannot be followed as a model by the rest of the country.

**SOME ARE HUNGRY:** Jefferson Junior High School principal Hugh Stewart testified that integration had brought "unusual disciplinary problems"; but Mr.



A WASHINGTON TEACHER IN AN UNUSUAL PUBLIC ROLE  
Cameramen at the integration hearing found reluctant subjects

"Beta" tests; (2) improvements in the Negro's social and economic status have not improved his intellectual capacity, "because such improvements have been given to both racial groups . . . and the whites have profited more from them."

**THE WHOLE STORY:** Publication of a study of eighth-grade Henderson, Ky., students coincided—and agreed with—McGurk's report. Both reached approximately the same conclusions as those the sub-committee seemed to be aiming for. (Henderson County school supt. Charles Byrd West told N. Y. Times education editor Benjamin Fine that it was not wholly the Negro children's fault if they lagged: "It may be the lack of equipment, the poorer buildings, or weaker supervision in the Negro schools.")

NAACP exec. secy. Roy Wilkins said McGurk's report seemed to be "an attempt, by means of an unscientific and incomplete presentation of scientific data, to implant desired conclusions which could not be so implanted if the whole story were given." Wilkins noted that McGurk's conclusions ran counter to those of Dr. Otto Klineberg and Prof. Ashley-Montague, "generally regarded as among the foremost authorities on this subject."

**McGURK CHALLENGED:** Dr. Carl Pfaffmann of Brown University declared on behalf of the Rhode Island Psychology Assn.: "It is not possible to say, on the basis of available evidence, that Negroes have inherently lower learning capacity than whites. The reason is that the only tests which have been employed—and this is true of all intelligence tests—are influenced by environmental experiences. You are asking a man to perform. Not only is his skill in the use of languages involved, but also even the motivation and general attitude with which he approaches the tests. I think that in terms of the evidence Dr. McGurk's conclusions are unwarranted. This man is taking test differences at face value."

So were the subcommittee and its counsel, William T. Gerber, a Memphis, Tenn., lawyer, for many years Boss Ed Crump's legislative hatchet-man. The subcommittee called District Board of Education president C. Melvin Sharpe, who said that integration had been too rapid; that "a great many" white students had with-

drawn volunteered several facts the subcommittee was not seeking:

"... You get many of these children who thought that you got what you wanted by fighting. We had a great deal of attempting to get, let us say, small bits of money from children at lunchtime. Part of that, I think, may have been due to the fact that there wasn't the food at home and the children didn't have the money to buy it. . . ."

"However, I have found, frankly, a great improvement . . . Children who were ready to fight the first year are now in my ninth grade, and I had occasion just the past day or two of one of them who was in a fight in the seventh grade saying to a new boy, 'You don't fight in this school,' and so I feel that the things that happened at first may have been the result of a different type of discipline [in the segregated schools]."

**COMMITTEE SPLIT:** Rep. Hyde was among subcommittee members who attended the hearings only intermittently because he was campaigning at home for reelection. He and fellow Republican Broyhill lost a move by a 2-2 vote to postpone further hearings until after Nov. 4. Miller, the third GOP member, attended none of the hearings.

Rep. Roy Wier (D-Minn.) demanded that subcommittee counsel Gerber be suspended for his "disgraceful" conduct of the hearings. Wier is a member of the District Committee. So also is Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D-N.Y.), who told the AP he "certainly would attend" a full committee meeting if it became necessary to stop Davis from trying "the same thing" as in his probe of integration in Washington's fire department.

These conclusions on the hearings seemed clear as the GUARDIAN went to press: (1) Some ugly facts uncovered proved that integration was long overdue, for the evils arose from segregation; (2) the separate-but-equal doctrine was again proved a lie; (3) Negro teachers and Negro schools less well equipped than white teachers and schools turn out inferior products; (4) the remedy is to hasten rather than to delay integration, with special "remedial" classes for backward children; (5) wholesale differences in educational achievement will persist until wholesale improvements are effected in the overall environment.

NEW COURT TESTS

# Hundreds more ask amnesty for Smith Act Victims

**L**AST DECEMBER Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, Elmer Rice and Henry Steele Commager headed a list of more than 40 prominent Americans on a petition seeking amnesty for Communists convicted under the Smith Act.

After the petition was sent to President Eisenhower the Rev. A. J. Muste, secy. emeritus of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, received numerous requests from educators, clergymen and others who wished to add their names to the petition. Last week, as the Supreme Court convened for a session that will review some of the Smith Act verdicts, Muste made public a list of several hundred additional amnesty advocates. The additional signers come from 21 states and include:

Philosophy professors James Gutman, Columbia; John Wild, Harvard; Brand Blanshard, Yale; Huston Smith, Washington. Also: Julia F. Allen, Dean of Women, Berea; Marie Jahoda, psychology professor, N. Y. U.; John Dillenberg, assoc. prof. of theology, Harvard Divinity School.

**THEIR MOTIVATION:** Among the clergymen who signed the petition were: Harold A. Bosley, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.; Emerson Hagen, First Cong. Church, Long Beach, Cal.; Henry G. Kroehler, president, Michigan-Indian Synod, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Jackson, Mich. Also signing were Frank Marquart, educational director, Local 212, United Auto Workers, Detroit; and Francis Bello, science editor, Fortune Magazine.

The petition declares the signers "are in fundamental disagreement with the philosophy of the Communist Party and essential elements in its program and are motivated in their present action by their attachment to the democratic way of life."

**A BUSY SESSION:** On the docket for Supreme Court hearings beginning the week of Oct. 8 are appeals by Pittsburgh Communist leader Steve Nelson, and Californians Oleta O'Connor Yates, William Schneiderman, Henry Steinberg, Loretta Stack, Al Richmond and Phillip Connelly. The Justice Dept. at the same time asked the Subversive Activities Control Board to order the California Emergency Comm. to register as a "Communist front." The committee had helped organize the defense of the Californians.

The Dept. of Justice last week asked that the Nelson case be remanded to the lower courts to examine the credibility of Joseph D. Mazzei, a government witness against Nelson. U. S. attorneys insisted that Mazzei's testimony against Nelson was true but said they now "had reason to doubt" other of Mazzei's sworn statements on CP plans to assassinate Senators and judges. The government said Mazzei had also testified falsely when he said he was often paid \$1,000 a month by the FBI.

**MEMBERSHIP CLAUSE:** The Court will also hear appeals from Claude Lightfoot and Junius Scales, testing for the first time before the high court the "membership" clause of the Smith Act.

Clinton Jencks, former officer of the Intl. Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers, will make his appeal early in the term from a conviction for making a false non-communist affidavit under Taft-Hartley provisions (see p. 8).

The Court has not yet decided whether it will hear the appeals of Mrs. Shirley Kremen, Samuel Coleman and Sidney Steinberg, convicted on charges of assisting Communist leader Robert Thompson while he was a Smith Act fugitive. Also waiting the Court's decision to hear his appeal or not is Paul Robeson, testing the State Dept.'s right to deny him a passport.



## The Matusow Case

(Continued from Page 1)

Like gangsters, Government informers are not casually permitted to quit the mob. Matusow was not the first defector whose fate was intended to serve as a warning. One year ago another Government witness, Mrs. Marie Natvig, was sentenced to eight months, not for the perjury to which she had confessed, but on a charge of lying in her recantation.

Even before his sentence, however, Matusow had quit the gang. His change impressed newsmen perhaps more than any other aspect of his trial. "Matusow looked like dependability itself in court . . ." said the N.Y. World-Telegram. "He is a trim 145 pounds . . . All in all, defendant Matusow of today was a far cry from the fat, badly-groomed wisecracker of yesteryear—when he was a government witness in a Communist conspiracy trial prosecuted by Mr. Cohn." The metamorphosis went deeper than the fact Matusow had lost 80 pounds.

**A BIG CHANGE:** The present Matusow was not the same person Angus Cameron and I had first met in October, 1954, to discuss the possibility of publishing a book in which he would reveal his operations as a professional Government witness. Then he was a garrulous exhibitionist who said he wanted to undo the harm he had done through his false



ROY COHN  
A note of indignation

testimony; but he still spoke of his informer exploits with a debonair air.

In the intervening two years, he had faced the full truth about his past; he had settled down, married and was providing for his wife and young stepdaughter by working as a salesman under an assumed name.

At the start of the trial, U.S. Atty. Paul Williams, with full pomposity, indicated why the Government considered

### Election forum Oct. 19 at L.A. Unitarian church

**A** NEW public forum series will begin at the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles Friday night, 8 p.m., Oct. 19, with the topical subject, "How Can I Vote in November to Get What I Want?" The Democratic, Independent and Republican points of view will be presented by Robert W. Kenny, former attorney-general of the State of California; Mrs. Almena Lomax, editor of the Negro news-weekly Los Angeles Tribune, and labor lawyer John Leo Harris, former vice-chairman of the Republican County Committee.

There will be a special question and answer period. Tickets are available at the church office, 2936 W. 8th St. Admission is 75 cents.

Second Forum event will be Nov. 30, with the Nobel prize-winning Cal-Tech scientist, Dr. Linus Pauling, speaking on "Significance of Radiation Damage to Human Beings, Born and Unborn."



HARVEY MATUSOW  
Before (above) and after (right)

the Matusow case of the highest importance. "The integrity of the Justice Dept. is at issue," he declared. It was a rare understatement. The Justice Dept.'s integrity had been under a dark cloud since Matusow's sensational disclosures about its sordid informer system first made headlines early in 1955.

**SOME IGNORED FACTS:** Williams' presence solemnized the affair, but the actual prosecution of the Matusow trial was conducted by Asst. U.S. Atty. Thomas Bolan, who had zealously supervised the Federal grand jury investigation of the case. (Bolan once recommended to me, as a model of "objective reporting," the book McCarthy and His Enemies, an ardent apologia for the Wisconsin Senator by William F. Buckley.)

Bolan charged that Matusow by recantation, in the Flynn case, had sought "by one terrible lie . . . to set free" the Communist defendants. He ignored the fact that Federal Judge Edward Dimock had granted a new trial to two defendants in that case on the ground that there was conclusive evidence of Matusow's having lied at the trial.

Throughout the trial Bolan insisted that Matusow had told the truth as a professional witness and had lied in his recantation after "falling into the clutches of the Communists." Again Bolan ignored the fact that Matusow had discussed his lying proclivities with such persons as Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Russell Brown (law partner of former Atty. Gen. Howard McGrath), commentators Elmer Davis, Marquis Childs, the Alsop brothers, Drew Pearson, and half a dozen U.S. Senators. Moreover, as early as 1953, Matusow had delivered affidavits to the New York Times and Time, Inc., retracting lies he had spread about them.

**HE KNEW THEM:** Bolan asked Matusow why, if he had lied as a Government witness and wanted to recant, he had not first made his confession to a Congressional investigative committee. "I wouldn't trust any of them," replied Matusow. "I had worked for them."

And why, asked Bolan, hadn't he gone straight to the Justice Dept. "I feared being killed," said Matusow.

(The Justice Dept.'s interest in seeing Matusow's story suppressed was indicated by its strenuous efforts to interfere with the publication of False Witness by hailing Cameron and me before a grand jury and trying to indict us for conspiracy; effecting a contempt sentence against me; placing us under FBI surveillance, and having FBI agents persuade various printing concerns to break their contractual agreements to print the book.)

**THE VISHINSKY BOOK:** In Matusow's affidavit recanting his testimony in the Flynn case, he had stated that Roy Cohn had persuaded him to link defendant Alexander Trachtenberg with a book by the late Andrei Vishinsky which the Government wished to introduce as evidence. According to Matusow, Cohn's first reference to this book had occurred during a conference attended by four other Justice Dept. attorneys and an FBI agent.

Matusow was asked by his attorney,



Stanley Faulkner, whether he had known that the Federal perjury law stipulates that for prosecution purposes there must be at least two witnesses to an act of perjury. Matusow answered in the affirmative. Why then, asked Faulkner, had he specified the presence of six witnesses? Because it was the truth, Matusow replied. He had realized at the time, he added, that he might be putting his head "in a noose."

**COHN ON THE STAND:** As the trial proceeded, the noose was drawn tight. One after another, the Government lawyers and the FBI agent named denied that Cohn had mentioned Vishinsky's book to Matusow in their presence. Their testimony under cross-examination disclosed a number of discrepancies in their recollection of the meeting five years before. But on Vishinsky's book their memories were singularly clear, precise and uniform.

When Roy Cohn took the stand, Bolan retired and Williams took over to give the proceedings the utmost respectability. But even the most deferential treatment could not wipe away the memory of Cohn's services in the Rosenberg prosecution, or as McCarthy's hatchet man.

Cohn indignantly denied all. When Faulkner sought to challenge his credibility by questioning him about his use of the congenial liar, Harry Gold, as a witness in the Rosenberg case, and his introduction of doctored documents as evidence at the Army-McCarthy hearings, Judge McGohey ruled out this line of interrogation as improper.

**NO DOUBTS:** Each of the former Government attorneys who had helped prepare Matusow as a witness in the Flynn case was asked by Bolan whether he had

### Forum in Detroit Oct. 12 on U.S. road to peace

**T**HE Michigan Fellowship of Reconciliation is sponsoring a public symposium on "America's Road to Peace and Democracy" Friday, Oct. 12, 8 p.m., at the Downtown YWCA, Witherell and Montcalm, Detroit.

The speakers will be Farrell Dobbs, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President; Rev. Carlon Foltz, of F.O.R.; Charles Fox, chairman, Detroit chapter, United World Federalists; Harold Norris, attorney and vice-president, Detroit chapter, Natl. Lawyers Guild; and Fred Thornthwaite, manager, Cooperative Dairy Service, Inc. The moderator will be Charles Lockwood, civil liberties attorney.

Written questions will be accepted from the audience, after which there will be answers to these questions, discussion and summary. Admission will be 50 cents.

had any reason at the time to doubt Matusow's reliability. No, each answered, although it was public knowledge that he had testified under oath at Congressional hearings that he knew more than 10,000 Communist Party members by sight, that there were more than 100 "dues-paying" Communists on the Sunday staff of the Times, which numbered less than 100. In addition their files at the U.S. Attorney's office contained a confidential FBI report advising that Matusow had been suffering from "a psychoneurosis of a mild but acute form" while in the Army.

**A MARGINAL NOTE:** There is, however, evidence in a document given to me some months ago by Bolan himself that at least one member of U.S. Attorney Williams' staff doubted that all the Government lawyers who worked with Matusow in the Flynn case believed he was then telling the truth. The document is a mimeographed copy of the Government memorandum submitted to Judge Dimock opposing the motion for a new trial of the Communist defendants. The copy contained this passage: "Throughout this pre-trial preparation, none of those attorneys responsible for Matusow's preparation found any reason to believe that he was not then telling the truth." In the margin beside this passage was written in longhand: "This is hard to believe." Bolan told me the notation was not his. He did not suggest which of his associates might have written it.

After less than two hours deliberation, the jury found Matusow guilty. When the verdict was announced, a young woman Justice Dept. employe seated near me sighed loudly and clasped her hands in obvious delight. Her gesture was symbolic of the Justice Dept.'s resolution of the Matusow case—vindictive.

**UNALTERED FACTS:** Sending Matusow to jail cannot alter the extent to which his revelations have (1) exposed the informer racket; (2) brought to public attention grave malpractices in the Justice Dept.; (3) helped change the murky witch-hunting climate in the U.S. As John Steinbeck wrote when Matusow's book was published: "His testimony and re-testimony may well be the little push which causes the pendulum of common sense to swing back. It seems to be happening right now."

Before sentence was passed on him, Matusow told me: "You know, a person who committed the crimes I did deserves to be punished. The pity is that I'm being sent to jail for something I didn't do."

12-3-4; 1474; 1476).

Throughout this pre-trial preparation, none of those attorneys responsible for Matusow's preparation found any reason to believe that he was not then telling the truth

(M. 956, 1194, 1475, 1724, 1833)

#### WHOSE HANDWRITING?

The tell-tale notation in a copy of the Government memorandum opposing a new trial for the Communists in the Flynn case. Someone in the U.S. Attorney's office had doubts.



MASSACHUSETTS STANDS

Dr. Struik teaches again at M.I.T.



DR. DIRK J. STRUIK  
The state said 2 and 2 made 5

FIVE YEARS AGO Dr. Dirk Jan Struik, world-renowned mathematician, was suspended from the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The action came after Dr. Struik had been indicted by a county grand jury on charges of conspiring to advocate the overthrow by force and violence of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the U. S. Government. This spring the Supreme Court ruled that individual states lacked jurisdiction in sedition cases and the case against Struik was quashed.

Last May Struik's suspension was lifted and last week he resumed teaching at M.I.T. Next week a report by a special faculty review commission will be submitted to the governing body of M.I.T. A spokesman said no inference should be taken from Dr. Struik's return at this time. When the review commission was named, the Institute said it reserved "all rights to take such future action as seems appropriate."

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, meanwhile, remains un-overthrown.

IN N. Y. OCT. 11

Banquet to honor Forer and Rein

A TESTIMONIAL banquet for attorneys Joseph Forer and David Rein of Washington, D. C., will be held at 6 p.m. Thursday, Oct. 11, at the Hotel Belmont Plaza, Lexington Ave. at 49th St., New York City. Among the guest speakers will be the Rev. Kenneth Ripley Forbes, Dr. Corliss Lamont and Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith.

The banquet, under the auspices of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, will mark the appearance of Forer and Rein before the U. S. Supreme Court on Oct. 18 to argue in behalf of Charles Rowoldt, Walter-McCarran Law deportation victim.

On March 16, the Supreme Court agreed to take a new look at political deportations under the Walter-McCarran Law when it agreed to review Rowoldt's case. Rowoldt, 72, a resident of Minneapolis, Minn., has lived in the U.S. for more than 40 years. He was ordered deported on a charge that for a few months in 1936 he had been a member of the Communist Party.

There are more than 350 cases like Rowoldt's; a favorable decision in this case may help to stop the Justice Dept.'s drive to deport non-citizens solely on the basis of past or present political beliefs.

Reservations for the banquet, at \$6 a person, may be secured from the offices of the American Committee, 23 W. 26th St., N.Y.C., or by calling MURray Hill 4-3457.



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O, EAST IS EAST AND WEST IS WEST . . .

## Berlin: Shall the twain ever meet?

By Mary Wolfard  
Special to the Guardian

**BERLIN**  
THE FACT that crossing the street in Berlin can literally mean stepping from capitalism to socialism in construction is at the root of practically all the differences between the East and West sectors of the city. It lurks behind the glitter of the Kurfurstendamm—the Fifth Av. of W. Berlin—where luxury goods delight the eye but make an impossible hole in the pocket, where model clothes cost several times the average industrial monthly wage and where those with time and money may sip coffee and eat cream cakes as they watch the more active members of the population go about their work.

It's impressive to the traveler from the East sector. The tasteful displays contrast with the often needlessly inelegant shops of E. Berlin while the abundance of goods, frequently at prices considerably lower than in the Eastern

but not in the Kurfurstendamm.

Analogous is the fact that the best-dressed, best-fed, best-housed and best-shod in the West are the idle and near-idle, while in the East it is the skilled manual and intellectual workers who get the privileges.

There are other less visible differences. In the West, women workers get about 60% of the man's rate for the same job. In the East it's equal pay for equal work. In the West, the Communist Party is banned but not the neo-fascist parties. In the East, neo-fascist parties are banned, while members of the Socialist Unity Party, in which is incorporated the former Communist Party, form part of the coalition government.

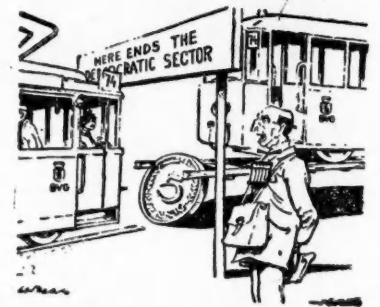
In the West, automobiles, TV sets and fountain pens are cheaper than in the East. In the East, bread, potatoes and electricity are cheaper than in the West and luxury goods are heavily taxed to provide funds for the indus-

his Marks and go shopping in the West, and W. Berliners may only buy in E. Berlin (where purchases are subject to presentation of an identity card) for Westmarks on a one-to-one basis, although the Bonn government equates one Westmark with four to five Eastmarks. Nevertheless local unofficial East-West trade flourishes.

There are separate radio and TV programs where political recrimination, charge and countercharge add interest to otherwise deplorably similar programs. There are separate automobile registration series and differing traffic laws. Education is quite different, the best in the West going to money, and in the East, to capacity. And although East sector youngsters tend to run around in red scarves and, like their Russian counterparts, to call themselves pioneers, it is harmless enough, particularly in comparison with the tendency of certain W. Berlin youth to copy the worst examples of American youth gangs.

**OTHER DIFFERENCES:** Rationing (by price only in the West) is, the East government promises, to be abolished in the German Democratic Republic next year. Prices will be leveled somewhere between the comparatively low prices of rationed fats, meats, eggs, sugar, milk and the high unrationed prices. Today rationed butter sells for 4.20 Marks a kilo (2.2 lbs.), 20 Marks unrationed. Everybody has a ration card (and has had for the last 18 years), the amount purchasable varying according to a rough social evaluation of the work done. An end to this system will cut the food bills of those with the lowest ration cards—usually the worst paid—while increasing those with category-A ration cards—usually the best paid.

There are separate postal systems with separate postage stamps making it mandatory to mail that letter before crossing the sector boundary. There is no telephone communication between the two sectors so that a person living in the Berlin equivalent of Queens with a mother, aunt, brother or boss in the equivalent of Manhattan, had better



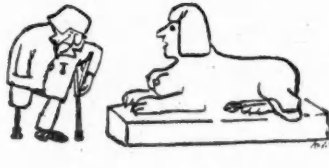
The West Berlin conductor shouts: "Change here for higher living standards!" The 5-pfenning piece marks the difference between the 25 pf. fare in W. Berlin as against 20 pf. in E. Berlin.

take the subway or elevated for quick contact. These connect the two sectors of the city without a break (although the subway fare is 50% higher in the West than in the East) but streetcars and buses stop a hundred yards short each side of the sector boundary.

Motorists and pedestrians cross freely but may be asked for identity cards or checked for customs. These controls are minimal and although caught smugglers are no doubt dealt with as stringently as anywhere else, a walk along the sector boundary shows that stories of terror are all part of the witches' brew.

**THE COPS:** Perhaps one of the most significant differences between W. and E. Berlin is in the police forces. They are typified by two recent incidents. In one, an elderly woman stood off the curb in face of a red light when she should have remained on the sidewalk. A policeman, on whose arm a swastika was almost visible, abused and ridiculed her despite her explanation that she was new to Berlin. In the second, an E. Berlin policeman signalled a car to stop and most courteously explained that the driver had overlooked a certain traffic sign and please look out for it next time.

Just a case of two individuals? No. They represent two contrasting systems. No former Nazis are accepted by the E. Berlin police. The W. Berlin police force appoints ex-SS officers to positions of authority. To cite one of many, Hans Jueterbog, former personal guard to SS Chief Himmler, is today chief officer of the W. Berlin political police.



The riddle of the Sphinx: "Chancellor Adenauer, what walks on four legs in the morning, two legs at noon and three legs in the evening?"

sector, draws the eyes like magnets. Few W. Berlin workers can afford more than occasionally the grapefruit, oranges, peaches, grapes, apricots, bananas, apples, pears, melons and other fruit in the open-air markets of W. Berlin, but even the top paid workers of E. Berlin cannot, at the time of writing, buy more in the way of fresh fruit than windfall apples and midget pears.

**SOME CONTRASTS:** A marked difference between the Kurfurstendamm and E. Berlin's show street, the Stalin Allee—an impressive street whether or not you like the architecture—is that workers live and shop in the Stalin Allee,

trialization of the country. Nevertheless prices in general are being steadily cut, the 17th in a series of price slashes having been made a couple of months ago. In the West there's unemployment; in the East, a labor shortage.

**SOME COMPLICATIONS:** A city politically divided complicates life. Apart from a two-way lure (to escape the Western draft or to gain Western glitter) there's the fact of two currencies. Both governments refer to their own coinage as Deutschmarks and to each others' as East or West Marks. Each disregards the other's valuation. It is illegal for an E. Berliner to exchange

## Stevenson's hopes

(Continued from Page 1)

pledged to restore 90% parity price supports, but promised other things that not even FDR's New Deal could deliver. At Denver he accused the Republicans of bringing on a "farm depression," declared that "change is the law of life" and that "it is time for a change," pointed to a "New America" and said that "the issue of peace is above politics."

**NON-GROWING FARMERS:** Farmer audiences at these oratorical fireworks were not very demonstrative. Some might have noted that both Ike and Adlai own farms but neither of them grow anything. Those with long memories recalled the Eisenhower promise of 1952 when he spoke at Kasson, Minn., at the annual plowing contest and said:

"And here, and now, and without any ifs or buts, I say to you that I stand behind—and the Republican Party stands behind—the price support laws now on the books. This includes the amendment to the Basic Farm Act, passed by votes of both parties in Congress, to continue through 1954 the price supports on basic commodities at 90% of parity."

Later that same year he was even more specific at Brookings, S.D.: "The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90% price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100% parity, with the guarantee in the price supports of 90."

At Newton, Ia., a team of New York Times reporters polled the huge crowds before and after both Eisenhower and



### HOT POTATOES

Part of a group of about 200 wives of potato growers in Long Island and three other Eastern states who descended on the Dept. of Agriculture in Washington to demand that something be done about sagging potato prices. They arrived in three buses and picketed the Department until they were granted an audience by officials, whom they gave a thoroughly bad time. Many brought blankets and vowed to camp in front of the Department "until we get action."

Stevenson spoke there. Their report: 10.6% of those who said they voted for Eisenhower in 1952 now say they will shift to Stevenson; 13.4% who said they voted for Eisenhower are now undecided.

**A MORAL WRONG:** Samuel Lubell, the noted one-man poll-taker who has an impressive record of being right, found the same shift in a tour of the mid-West states and calculated that the switch of votes from Ike to Adlai is about one-

third—enough to be decisive. He reported that "the much-publicized soil-bank plan is regarded by most of the farmers I have talked with in recent weeks as largely a 'vote-getting' farce" and added that "among the farmers I have interviewed the sentiment runs overwhelmingly against the soil bank." He said many farmers consider it morally wrong to plow under growing crops. One farmer referred to the plan as "Benson's Acres" and described it as "land the government

pays you not to grow anything on but wouldn't have grown anything anyway." Lubell said he "found relatively few whose voting seems to have been changed by the program."

But the total picture was spotty. Many a farmer, Lubell said, has "a deep sense of gratitude to President Eisenhower for ending the Korean war." But they don't like Benson or Nixon. On the other hand Kefauver is popular among farmers, but Stevenson is generally disliked. As of last week in the mid-West, it seemed to be anybody's election.

### The solution is simple: stop making the missiles

● In this era of push-button war, one of the greatest hazards is how to keep some eager beaver from pushing the wrong button, thereby triggering the greatest war in history.

● One of the leading authorities on guided missiles, T. F. Walckowicz, says war and destruction by accident is "so possible that it's frightening."

● For example: An electrical storm of sunspots could give the impression through radar of an attack by enemy guided missiles. A nervous operator, misreading the spots, would pass the word on to higher headquarters, causing U.S. missile commands to retaliate with intercontinental atomic missiles.

● Experts agree that half the planet could be destroyed before anybody discovered that it was all a mistake.

—Iron Age



THE FIGHT FOR DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM—I

# This is Poland today

By Tabitha Petran  
Guardian Staff Correspondent

WARSAW

**H** EADLINE NEWS HERE for some weeks recently was the trial in Cracow of a certain Mazurkeiwicz for the murder of half a dozen people during the past decade. Mazurkeiwicz's lurid career of crime, reaching into respectable Cracow society, came to light in bizarre fashion after he shot a friend in the head. The friend, at first feeling nothing, accepted Mazurkeiwicz's playful explanation that the gun was not loaded; later he complained of severe headaches to a doctor who found the bullet in his brain. He became the chief witness for the prosecution.

Wide press and radio coverage of the trial and avid popular interest suggest a difference between Poland and other socialist countries. For the Poles are a highly individualistic people whose approach to socialism is very much their own and not easily defined.

There is almost no uplift propaganda here. "Our people are fed up with big words," a party functionary explained. Political humor is a national pastime. (A current joke concerns an alleged discussion between the late Premier Beirut and Mao Tse-tung. "Do you have an opposition?" asked Beirut. "Oh, yes," replied Mao, "about 25 million. And what about yours?" "It's about the same," said Beirut, "25 million.")

**ROLE OF RELIGION:** The Catholic Church seems all pervasive. Churches overflow and religious shrines are found in abundance at street corners and country villages. Religious superstition is still very much alive. After a recent robbery in Warsaw's St. John's Cathedral, it was seriously said in the neighborhood that the hair of the Cathedral's Christ statue had shortened by an inch.

There is a substantial current of anti-Russian sentiment. Despite the tangible evidence of big factories built largely with Soviet aid (like Nova Huta with one of the biggest and most modern rolling mills in Europe) the story persists that the U.S.S.R. is squeezing more out of Poland than it puts in.

After the war, Moscow renounced its reparations from Silesian territories turned over to Poland. In return it got long term agreements for Polish coal deliveries at low prices. At one time, Poland was selling coal to Czechoslovakia for \$24 a ton while paying \$20 for a pair of Czech shoes. Such inequities, coupled with the tying up of so much coal (Poland's chief export) at low prices, rankles. The reason for the original agreements has been long forgotten. Government economists insist that on the whole, Poland gets more from the U.S.S.R. than the U.S.S.R. from Poland. The price of coal to the U.S.S.R. has gone up recently.

**THEIR OWN ROAD:** The Poles are a proudly independent people with a history of successive uprisings against foreign occupation. During World War II, in all Europe, there were only two uprisings against the Nazi occupation. Both took place in Warsaw. Today more than any other people in the socialist world Poles openly voice their determination to travel their own road, and there are signs of considerable differences within the United Workers Party over relations with the U.S.S.R.

Does this mean that people here are against socialism? "It is curious," a writer explained, "now that people can talk freely, they don't oppose socialism, don't want the old times back. For years we didn't detect it but now that the opposition has come out in the open we find that basically it wants the same things we do. It wants to go about things differently, but it isn't against socialism."

However, if the overwhelming majority envisages no return to capitalism, it is also dissatisfied with the way socialism has been administered. Although the government feels the people appreciate that progress in the past 10 years has been greater than in any decade of Polish history, some officials admit: "The people

are probably angry with us for the stupid mistakes we made. We have lost their confidence."

**CROWDS AND QUEUES:** For Poland is a poor country, one of the poorest in Europe, and living standards remain low. Housing is short. Reconstruction since the war, when Poland was virtually leveled, has been striking, but not enough to accommodate the great influx of people into the cities which accompanied industrialization. The average person has difficulty making both ends meet—and queuing interminably for meat, bread, buses and streetcars.

Queuing in stores is at least partly the result of inefficiency. In all Warsaw there

foreign exchange) produced a tendency to work on tight programs with insufficient reserves. The result: a whole industry might have to slow down or come to a halt for lack of raw materials. This, in

This article, and the one which will follow next week, were mailed from Warsaw by Miss Petran on the day she left for Egypt. Her next dispatches will be from there.

turn, produced a chain reaction.

**THE SACRIFICES:** This economic disorder was partly responsible for what might be called the psychological crisis among the workers revealed by the Poznan incident. For throughout the Six Year Plan much use was made of patriotic and moral appeals (rather than economic incentives) and workers responded. But, as they saw factories not fully utilized, machinery idle, bad economic planning



A DEPUTY RISES TO MAKE A POINT IN COMMITTEE  
A lunchtime meeting in Warsaw of a Parliament agriculture group.

may be a dozen or so cash registers. Clerks use abacuses or add items on scraps of paper; seldom have change; keep money unsorted in drawers—so buying is a time-consuming process. Even two new self-service groceries, though small, suffer this same bottleneck. Poorly organized distribution is another factor.

Poland's problems are real and difficult. Its economy suffers from serious disproportions, arising in part from the forced (and it is now believed too rapid) pace of industrialization in the last six years, and in part from the substantial military program launched in 1951, which was simply beyond its means. The most basic disproportions are:

1. **Between industry and agriculture.** Industrial production increased 185% during the Six Year Plan (1949-1956), agricultural production only 19% instead of the planned 50%. Only 10% of the land is organized in peasants' cooperatives, with an additional 13% in state farms. The 77% of the land still in private hands is held largely by peasants owning 5 to 12 hectares (a hectare is 2½ acres). Among the peasantry dissatisfaction is rife, judging from the peasant deputies' speeches in recent Sejm (parliament) session. They complained of bureaucratic over-centralization; waste involved in carrying even the smallest decisions to Warsaw; red tape which created as many as 10 classifications for one agricultural product; size and prices of compulsory quotas; difficulties in getting machinery, building materials, fertilizers, etc.

2. **Within industry.** There is a big disproportion between investment and production programs, on the one hand, and available raw materials, on the other. Shortage of raw materials (many have to be imported and there is a shortage of

and mismanagement, they began to wonder if their sacrifices were necessary or even worthwhile. On top of this was the failure to fulfill the Plan's promises on living standards. Real wages rose only 13% during the whole period and, between 1951 and 1953, actually fell. The government now admits that many workers "were no better off in 1955 than in 1949," and that some are even worse off now.

In the two years before the 20th Soviet CP Congress last February, widespread popular dissatisfaction was growing and becoming more vocal. With the Congress it erupted into the intellectuals and political ferment of recent months.

Out of this ferment came new lines for the development of Poland's economy, new approaches to incentives and administrative methods, and probably the most advanced political thinking in the socialist world on the basic problem of developing democracy under socialism.

**THE PARLIAMENT:** The recent session of parliament demonstrated that a real process of democratization is under way here. Poles boast that theirs is the most democratic parliament in the socialist world. Attending this session I noted that, within the framework of general support for the government's objectives, there was outspoken criticism and lively discussion of many aspects of its program for achieving them. Such criticism, people say, would have been unthinkable six months ago.

Deputies criticized the government for omitting details on the "outrages" committed in the past by the Security Police, demanded clarification regarding the whole program of Soviet economic aid and, above all, insisted on a greater role

and authority for the Sejm itself in the business of government. They wanted to know why the Sejm hadn't been called into session following the Poznan incident; why its appropriate committees (the Sejm recently constituted itself into committees along the lines of the U. S. Congress) had not participated in the Poznan investigation; and why it had been given no part in the mixed government-party commission which is streamlining the administration. (On this latter point, and on some others, the Sejm at least partially had its way.)

A new Sejm will be elected in December, and while electors will continue to be presented with a single slate, there will be a choice within the slate and mass organizations will have a greater voice in the selection of candidates.

**THE PARTY:** Another key problem is that of democratizing the Communist Party itself or, as it is put here, "returning to Leninist norms."

In this connection, two reforms have been made: (1) restoration to the elected organs of the party, i.e., its committees, the functions and authority largely usurped by the party's paid employees; (2) an effort to eliminate the dual administration—party and state—which had developed. In the past, secretaries of the party committees have directed the work of party members in government councils and administration, often down to the last detail. In effect, the party was prescribing what the state should do.

The feeling now is that the party committees should direct only the general line of party members in the state councils and should cease to interfere in every detail. This is especially important in the judiciary and the trade unions. "If there are always questions which the party committees should decide," a party functionary explained, "they are very few and certainly only the most important. Party members must use more initiative and judgment."

**THE LAW OF 1946:** Parallel with these developments toward greater economic and political democracy, Poland is moving to establish the independence of the judiciary as provided in its 1952 Constitution. The new Minister of Justice, Mrs. Zofia Wasilkowska, told me that this Constitutional provision had been largely nullified by a 1946 law, still in effect, permitting the Ministry of Justice to fire judges; and by the Ministry's past practice of sometimes interfering with the courts and their activities.

Pending action by the Sejm on a draft law, now in preparation, to insure the independence of the judiciary, Mrs. Wasilkowska (an attractive blonde who was formerly a Supreme Court Judge and later Secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions) has publicly stated she will not use her rights under the 1946 law and not allow her ministry to find a court judgment good or bad.

A further step toward guaranteeing the basic right of citizens, according to Mrs. Wasilkowska, is the revision of the criminal and civil codes now being undertaken.

"The mistakes of the past are in process of being cleared away," a Supreme Court judge said. "The most important thing is the new spirit."

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## SOUTH AFRICA TODAY—I

## Madness of apartheid: The forced move of 100,000 non-whites

By Kumar Goshal  
(The first of two articles)

**R**ELENTLESSLY PURSUING its apartheid (total segregation) policy, South African Premier Johannes Strijdom's government recently brought its iron fist down on 100,000 non-whites in eight areas of Johannesburg.

Indians, Africans and colored people in six areas were notified at the end of August that they must move out to make room for whites by Aug. 3 next year; those living in the other two areas were given until Aug. 3, 1958. Typical of the affected groups are 22,000 S. African-born Indians who must give up homes, shops and businesses in the city, sell property valued at nearly \$4 million, and move to a location 20 miles out of town.

No home or business can be sold without the approval of the Group Areas Development Board, established by the government, which will set the basic property values while reserving the right to expropriate. If any property is sold for more than its basic value, 50% of the excess must be paid to the board; if it is sold for less than the basic value, the board has promised to make up 80% of the loss. Failure to comply with the board's requirements is punishable by a \$280 fine or six months in jail.

**WHAT COLOR BLOOD?** The Strijdom government also has classified some occupations—such as firemen—as reserved for whites; applied segregation to blood banks, ruling that containers with blood donated by whites and non-whites must be marked with white and black labels, respectively; ordered the Johannesburg City Council to remove from their "locations in the sky" (rooftops of buildings) all non-white apartment and office building cleaners in excess of five to locations some miles outside the city.

Non-whites have organized against eviction from and loss of their homes and businesses in Johannesburg. Indian leader Dr. Y. M. Dadoo has urged the formation of "vigilance committees for the purpose of defending the legitimate rights



and opportunities of all sections of the people irrespective of race, color and creed." He has called for support from the Chambers of Commerce and Industry and trade unions "to prevent the country's economic progress and welfare being disrupted" by apartheid. Uneasily observing that the new measures might set up unwelcome precedents affecting all property rights, opposition members of the Parliament and Provincial and City Councilors have also protested strongly.



**THE FACE OF UNREASON**

Prime Minister Strijdom (above), the apostle of apartheid, has decided that such children as these (left), shown in a street of Johannesburg, comprise a threat to the security and property of the white minority and must be cast out.

**WHITES PROTEST:** The Capetown City Council has opposed the law reserving certain jobs for whites only, pointing out that the local fire brigade, for example, was short staffed because whites disliked the 24-hour shifts. Although the S. African Medical Council has meekly approved blood bank segregation, the blood transfusion service director, Dr. M. Shapiro, has courageously opposed the move as having "no justification on scientific grounds."

The very moderate S. African Institute of Race Relations has asked Interior Minister Donges to reject as unjust the total segregation program that would in

time affect 16 of S. Africa's principal cities and towns. While the official Dutch Church supported the Strijdom government's policy, the Transvaal Methodist Church has protested against the "untold hardship" removal from the cities would impose on thousands of Africans.

Rev. Z. R. Mahabane, president of the Interdenominational African Ministers Fedn., has invited all African organizations to send representatives to a convention Oct. 11 "to review all aspects of the life of the Africans and their relationship to the S. African government." Whites, Indians and coloreds have been asked to send observers to the convention.

**EVEN INVESTORS BALK:** Students at the Universities of Witwatersrand (Johannesburg) and Capetown have protested against the government's ban on non-white students in their schools. In London, Indian High Commissioner Mme. Pandit has called on the Indians in Johannesburg to organize for peaceful resistance against segregation laws, as Gandhi did there at the turn of the century. The Indian delegation to the UN has once again asked the General Assembly, convening Nov. 12, to review S. Africa's treatment of persons of Indian origin.

Both S. African industrialists and potential investors from abroad have become increasingly worried by the possible loss of cheap African labor through implementation of the government's segregation policy. Hopefully looking forward to "benefit substantially from economic troubles in other parts of the world," S. Africa's gold and diamond baron Sir Ernest Oppenheimer has urged moderation on the part of the government's political and racial policies.

Representing some 500 U.S. businessmen on a fact-finding tour to explore investment possibilities in S. Africa, Chicago Tool and Die Institute president Walter Kreiger said in Johannesburg last July: "I wouldn't invest a dime in your country in its present circumstances... People should be as one, not fighting one another."

## The Suez story

(Continued from Page 1)

the support of at least the U. S. S. R. and Yugoslavia, furnishing Britain and France with the excuse for action outside the UN.

Prime Minister Menzies, himself, in a bristling, bellicose report to the Australian parliament, said: "We need not get into a timid state of mind in which the very mention of the word force becomes forbidden." The London *New Statesman & Nation* (9/29) saw in Menzies' words not only contempt for the UN but "the warning... that the West still hankers for military action" and that the appeal to the UN "may be no more than a cover for that intention."

**AMBIGUOUS ANTHONY:** British Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell said last week that he found Prime Minister Eden's repudiation of force ambiguous. The *N.Y. Times* (9/30) found the Anglo-French appeal to UN "a sort of procedural step that had to be got out of the way before the next 'action' step could be taken." U.S. Secy. of State Dulles last week cautiously said force was "a last resort" that could not be ruled out. Some observers foresaw the possibility that the U.S., after the Presidential elections, would look benevolently on Anglo-French military action against Egypt, waiting to pick up the pieces after the dust settled.

But the passage of time is making military action increasingly difficult to undertake. The 18 nations that gathered in London Oct. 1 to organize the Suez Canal Users' Assn., as conceived by Dulles, are meeting without much enthusiasm. Japan and Pakistan are represented by observers uncommitted to join the association. Ethiopia is uncertain. Iran has made her adherence conditional upon renunciation of any military action.

**JUKE-BOX JINGOES:** British reservists called to duty at the peak of Eden's "tough" attitude towards Nasser, reportedly are becoming demoralized (*AP*, 9/26). Known as the "juke box fusiliers," they spend their time picking blackberries for the officers' mess, perform "initiative tests" in which they have to find out the names of saloon keepers in the neighborhood, listen to juke boxes in camp canteens and cafes. Mostly family men, the disgruntled reservists have complained in letters to parliament members and newspapers.

Another obstacle to Western military action against Nasser is the continued Asian support for Egypt's nationalization of the canal. After a visit to Saudi Arabia last week, Nasser announced a joint communique pledging Saudi Arabian support to Egypt "in every attitude she takes." India's Premier Nehru saw King Saud after Nasser, and a joint statement was issued urging a Suez settlement "negotiated between the parties concerned without any derogation from Egyptian sovereignty and authority."

Columbia Broadcasting System reported (10/1) that a potent argument Egypt will use at the UN debate will be material reportedly found in the archives of the Suez Canal Co.'s offices in Cairo, indicating the company's plans to sabotage and prevent nationalization when the company's lease expired in 1968. This seemed to justify Egypt's suspicion that the company and the Western powers never intended to relinquish control of the canal even when the company was supposed to be liquidated.

Meanwhile Egypt has been able to operate canal traffic smoothly, despite the recall on Sept. 15 of over 400 foreign employees, including 140 pilots. London shippers have dropped surcharges imposed on the belief that traffic would

get snarled. Egyptian confidence has been bolstered by the arrival of Soviet, Yugoslav and American pilots who are now in training. The U.S. pilots were warned by the State Dept. of possible "loss of nationality through employment by a foreign state."

**BERSERK:** The Suez Canal crisis increased tension between the Arabs and Israel. On Sept. 23 firing from across the Jordanian border killed four Israeli archaeologists and wounded 17 just outside Jerusalem. Jordan said the incident was caused by one of its soldiers temporarily going berserk. The following night an Israeli army unit, admittedly bent on reprisal, crossed the Jordan frontier, raided several Jordan army units including a company stronghold, killed 30 Jordanian policemen and soldiers. The Israeli Foreign Ministry said: "There cannot be a double standard: a frontier open to Jordan attackers and murderers cannot be closed to Israel defenders."

In New York, UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold warned representatives of Jordan and Israel to bring the situation "under control." Hammarskjold notified the UN Security Council President (on the same day the Council discussed the Anglo-French and Egyptian complaints) of the situation, said he would ask for Council action if border clashes continued. In a longer report two days later, he implied that a UN Suez settlement may also set off the "chain of reactions" that would improve Israeli-Arab relations, by reestablishing the right of Israeli ships to pass through the canal unmolested and by persuading Israel to withdraw its troops from the Israeli-Egyptian demilitarized zone.

**ASIA BACKS EGYPT:** The UN Security Council debate on Suez, beginning Oct. 5, would be fruitful only if the West is genuinely interested in negotiation rather

than ultimatum. The Indian plan for international supervision of canal traffic with Egyptian sovereignty over the canal, might well supply the point of departure for such negotiations.

Western gunboat diplomacy and threats of economic reprisal against Egypt have



Humanite, Paris  
"We represent the Association of Users of Bank Bills."

succeeded in dividing the world once again, after the guns have fallen silent everywhere except in Algeria. But the new division finds most of the colored and underdeveloped nations ranged alongside the socialist countries. As Walter Lippman said (9/27), "Nasser has the support not only of the Soviet Union but, for all practical purposes, of all the non-European powers."

Indicating the significant role Asians have come to play in world affairs, Lippman said: "It is not possible to negotiate successfully with Nasser as long as we propose terms which the Soviet Union and all of Asia will back Nasser in rejecting." Israel, too, seemed to have come to realize its Asian destiny: it has sent former Prime Minister Moshe Sharett on a two-month goodwill tour to the Far East. Sharett will discuss mutual aid and economic cooperation while he visits India, Burma, Thailand, Nepal, Japan, Ceylon, Malaya and the Philippines.



BOOKS

Kids and prejudice

By Ruth Pearson Koshuk

THIS BOOK\* was written to speed the transition from segregated to integrated schools in America. Based solidly on a mass of factual data, (the bibliography lists 149 titles, most published since 1940) it presents in readable, usable form the main findings of science as to the "double standard of social decency" in our society, with its crippling effect on all children who absorb the prevailing racial and religious prejudices in growing up. The author, Kenneth B. Clark, is the distinguished social psychologist who assembled the research materials cited by the Supreme Court in its historic desegregation ruling. He believes that if parents and the rest of us realize that no child or group benefits by the "continuous cold war for status" we will no longer tolerate discrimination. Dr. Clark writes:

"The legal power of our government is now clearly on the side of protecting our children. There remains, however, the problem of translating this legal decision into practical and beneficial changes. This problem is primarily the responsibility of individual citizens in their local communities [who] . . . should have the same type of objective information that was available to the justices of the United States Supreme Court."

IN THE SHADOW of recent events in Kentucky, Texas, Tennessee and elsewhere, these pages take on added weight. Appropriately, Part I concerns "The Problem of Prejudice" and Part II "A Program for Action." The first chapters show that children get their racial and religious attitudes from many interrelated social influences even before the age of six. The effects of "rejected minority status" penetrate and warp every aspect of a Negro child's personality, leading to deep feelings of inferiority, humiliation and confusion, a generally defeatist attitude, apathy, extreme hostility, or a variety of other patterns of self-protection. White children, in turn, are faced with



KENNETH B. CLARK  
No cynics, please

a fundamental moral conflict: "The same institutions that teach children the democratic and religious doctrines of the brotherhood of man and the quality of all human beings—institutions such as the church and the school—also teach them to violate these concepts through racial prejudice and undemocratic behavior toward others. It is difficult for the young child to resolve these contradictions. . . .

"Moral cynicism and a disrespect for authority may arise in the child of the dominant group as he observes what he may consider the hypocrisy and deceit of his parents and other respected adults in their handling of the racial problem."

SOME 500 SOCIAL scientists were queried on this point. Of those replying, 83 percent held that racial segregation has harmful psychological effects on members of the majority group, as well as the minority.

It is recognized that children's prejudices can be prevented or changed only by "altering the social conditions under which children learn about and live with others"—e.g. by assuring equal opportunity for schooling and employment, doing away with residential segregation, etc.

Statement Required by the Act of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) Showing the Ownership, Management, and Circulation of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published weekly at New York, N.Y., for Oct. 1, 1956.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Editor, James Aronson, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Managing editor, none. Business Manager, John T. McManus, 197 E. Fourth St., N.Y. 9, N.Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

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5. The average number of copies of each issue of the publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: 34,006.

JOHN T. McMANUS,  
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 28th day of Sept, 1956.

FAY KAHN, Notary Public.  
My comm. expires Mar. 30, 1957.

Encouraging reports are cited of successful desegregation of public-housing projects, "even where the initial opposition was strong." Most sensitive and thought-provoking is the chapter titled, "What Can the Schools Do?" Here actual experiences are given from newly-integrated schools, where subtle forms of discrimination often

continue if not promptly identified and dealt with.

Suggestions follow as to what may be done by churches, social agencies and parents. Never was there a more timely volume!

\*PREJUDICE AND YOUR CHILD, by Kenneth B. Clark. 251 pp. Beacon Press Inc. Boston, \$2.50.

Must Clinton Jencks go to jail?

BAYARD, N. M.

Your past coverage proves you will do all in your power to prevent a man spending five years in the penitentiary on perjured evidence.

This man is Clinton Jencks. Guardian friends probably saw him in Salt of the Earth, when he played the part he lived with us for seven years. Unless the Supreme Court, in its first consideration of such a case, reverses the conviction, this is what will happen; because Jencks, a former organizer for the Intl. Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, was found guilty of falsifying his T-H non-Communist affidavit after Harvey Matusow testified against him.

Following the trial in El Paso, Tex., in 1954, the government prosecutor wrote Matusow, congratulating him for "fine cooperation . . . your testimony was absolutely essential to a successful prosecution (of Jencks)".

However, since that prosecution four important developments have taken place. Matusow has admitted that his evidence regarding Jencks (and others) was wholesale perjury. Following this recantation, a New York judge granted new trials to two persons against whom Matusow was a witness; the Ninth Circuit Court in San Francisco last winter reversed the conviction of another union leader on the very same legal grounds on which the Supreme Court has agreed to review for Jencks; and in the

spring the top court refused to consider a brief brought against the Communist Party because it contained testimony from Matusow and other such "pros".

Legal issues of high merit will be considered in the Jencks argument. They include: 1. refusal of government prosecutors (and the court) to order the FBI to produce informer reports which pertain to the exposure of possible perjury on the part of Matusow; 2. whether or not a judge may substitute dictionary definitions for legally established ones in defining "membership" and "affiliation"; 3. whether or not a judge should charge a jury to weigh the testimony of an informer with particular care and caution.

In the past year victories have been won toward ridding our country of notorious, unstable, well-paid witnesses like Matusow. But how successful Clinton Jencks will be in his appearance before our high court depends in part on how widely these facts are known.

A Supreme Court reversal for Jencks—holder of the Distinguished Flying Cross and a man respected by thousands of us for his years of work in this area—is right and necessary.

Juan Chacon, President  
Local 890, IUMM&SW

NEW YORK

THE DEFENDANTS

Three weeks ago six New York men were sentenced to jail under the Smith Act. This week the Supreme Court hears arguments on 4 other Smith Act cases. Next month a new trial begins in Puerto Rico. Each succeeding case gets less publicity than the last and the American people with few voices to awake them, are being lulled into believing that secret men driven by devious motives are being put into jail.

Below are excerpts from Dalton Trumbo's pamphlet, "The Devil In The Book" (on sale for 15c at Standard Brand):

All are or have in the past been public officials of the Communist Party, in which capacity they have openly and vigorously professed their political views through every medium of communication open to them. They are not private and secret persons: they are public and voluble.

They are persons in the lower economic brackets, earning an average income of perhaps fifty dollars per week.

No violence of any kind has been charged against them. No illegal thing was found in their possession. No property was stolen by them, no door was forced, no purse was rifled. They cheated no one by the sale of worthless securities, stole no funds, collected no usury, evaded no taxes. No man was lynched at their hands, nor was any racial or national or religious minority humiliated or degraded by their words. No woman's body was sold by them in prostitution, they instructed no youth in the use of drugs, and no child lay maimed or dead in the streets for their carelessness.

What they actually have done and said may be found in the public press, in their political speeches and campaigns, in hundreds of leaflets they have distributed in thousands of copies, in the record of their political conventions, in the constitution of their party, and in their theoretical organ which is called POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

They are vigorous proponents of active trade

unionism, in which they view racial and sexual equality and united political action as essential to the successful struggle of American workers to better their economic condition. They advocate a comprehensive federal health program, increased social security coverage and benefits, a broad program of federal housing, and a federal fine arts department such as most civilized countries have had for decades.

From the very inception of their party they have participated in the continuing struggle of the Negro people. In similar fashion they have entered the lists on behalf of practically every national minority within the country, and in defense of the rights of those who are foreign born.

In foreign affairs they stand committed to peaceful co-existence between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism. They demand the abolition of colonialism and imperialism and the prohibition by all nations of atomic weapons. They propose negotiations as a solution to international tension, the expansion of east-west trade, and increased cultural exchange between all countries.

However deeply one may disagree with the foregoing summary of the defendants' sworn political beliefs, it cannot be said of these fourteen men and women that they have kept them secret, or have been reluctant to profess them to the widest possible number of persons.

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UNION SAYS AN EXPLOSION IS INEVITABLE

# The textile industry: An 'American crisis'

**SUB-STANDARD** and deteriorating conditions of work and wages in the textile industry constitute a "crisis for America" and make an explosion inevitable, the Textile Workers Union of America warned in a full-scale survey published in the September issue of its official magazine.

General president William Pollock reported that textile wages as a whole are 25% below the average for all U. S. industry, and that textile is only 25% organized, compared to 75% in other manufacturing industries. The lag in organization is charged to employer resistance, community opposition (mostly in the South), and to Federal and state anti-labor laws. In addition, the industry is cursed with bad and irresponsible management and is being strangled by foreign imports, the report said.

**MILLION AFFECTED:** Pollock wrote: "The day of reckoning is sure to come. When nearly a million Americans and their families—perhaps four million in all—are condemned to an ever-declining standard of living, to an ever-widening gap between themselves and other American workers, an explosion is inevitable. We do not want an explosion. We speak for conservatism, in the best sense of the word. We want to relieve, to mitigate—yes, for the time being, even to compromise—in order to forestall the methods of desperation which may otherwise be applied."

Describing textile workers as "the 'poor relation' in the nation's industrial family," the report notes that from 1951

through 1955 organized workers in major manufacturing industries received increases from 41 cents to 48 cents an hour while textile wages in that period went up only 7 cents. Average earnings of Southern textile workers are \$1.25 an hour, compared to \$2 in steel, \$2.10 in auto, \$2.35 in soft coal. Few Southern textile workers get the "fringe" benefits—health, welfare, pensions, holidays, vacations—enjoyed by other organized workers.

**BOSSES WELL PAID:** Although productivity in textile has increased 31% since 1950, wages have risen by only 6%: "The emphasis is strictly on greater production spurred by the ruthless application of new engineering techniques; in plain language, more work for less pay."

The industry itself is not poverty-stricken. The report points out that top executives of the biggest companies receive from \$140,000 a year to \$386,588 a year in salaries alone. It adds that "textile investments are among the most lucrative, over the long haul surpassing even General Motors." It cites as an example: "Anyone who had invested \$1,000 in Burlington in 1935 would have by [last November] reaped \$5,686.80 in dividends while his stock would have increased in value to \$8,981.70."

Young workers are no longer attracted to the industry, which "means a rapidly-aging work force, less adaptable to change and less able to meet the harsh pressures of modern, high-speed production." The report adds: "The price paid by workers for the privilege of drudging in Southern

textile mills can be measured in the poor teeth, brittle bones, stunted growth and slumped posture of their children."

**ROUGH IN THE SOUTH:** The report is bitter about the industry's century-old hostility to unionism which is as strong today as ever: "The desperate efforts of many textile employers to prevent their workers from organizing unions have mocked the Bill of Rights, scorned the accepted tenets of decent human conduct and enlisted the worst form of racial, national and religious bigotry."

Anti-unionism is roughest in the South and consists of "intimidation, spying and brainwashing of employees; incitement to race and religious hatred; discharges of pro-union workers and violence by hired hoodlums against organizers." In most Southern mill towns, the employer controls the community at all levels, including the church: "He can induce clergymen to use their pulpits to invoke the wrath of the Almighty against union-minded workers."

In addition there is the Taft-Hartley law and 17 state "right-to-work" laws, most of them in the South. The report says: "Behind the general outline of how the boss, the community and the law obstruct organizing are hundreds of case histories," of which about a score are cited.

**GHOST TOWNS:** Irresponsible management has as its monuments the textile ghost towns of New England and the mid-Atlantic region where "countless mills have been used as pawns in the



Coak in AFL-CIO News  
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elaborate game of financial manipulation, passed from owner to owner and liquidated to meet some fiscal problem unrelated to the industry. Dozens of communities have been turned into 'depressed areas', tens of thousands of workers have been stranded, by the management failures . . . Communities [have been] left wallowing in a financial swamp by textile firms that blithely skipped out in search of coolie labor or were padlocked after financial manipulations aimed at tax gains through mill liquidations."

For those Southern towns offering every conceivable inducement to the textile industry, the report has a warning: "The community that depends upon the unorganized textile industry for its sustenance is gambling with its economic stability, its political and civil liberties and the future of its children."

Traditionally, the textile industry has been spread amongst thousands of independent firms but in recent years the familiar merger has been at work so that today "more than half the nation's production of basic textiles . . . is under the control of 41 firms operating 520 plants with 355,000 workers."

**SEVEN—AND OUT:** But the union sees no immediate danger of monopoly practices: "Our would-be monopolists are a bunch of high-stake dice-players. They wait for seven and get out." To curb this kind of mismanagement the union recommends "repeal of the carry-back and carry-forward provisions of the tax laws; a tax penalty on the liquidation of solvent operations; denial of tax benefits to local bond issues floated for the benefit of runaway plants, and the Douglas bill to help abandoned communities."

For the over-all solution of the industry's ills, the union sees organization as the only answer, which in turn is dependent on three major steps:

- "Repeal or drastic amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act to make it fulfill what it says in its preamble—that the encouragement of collective bargaining is the fixed policy of the U. S. government.
- "Genuine enforcement of Federal civil rights laws and of the Constitution.
- "Political action to insure the legislation required by the first step and the administrative reforms required by the second."



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CALENDAR

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Los Angeles

NEW UNITARIAN FORUM SERIES opens Friday, Oct. 19, 8 p.m., at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St. Three views on "HOW CAN I VOTE TO GET WHAT I WANT IN NOVEMBER?" Speakers: Robert W. Kenny, former Attorney-General of California; Almena Lomax, editor Los Angeles Tribune; and John Leo Harris, former Vice-Chairman of L.A. County Republican Committee. Audience participation. Admission 75 cents.

Second Forum Event: Nov. 30th: Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning Cal-Tech scientist, speaking on "Significance of Radiation Damage to Human Beings, Born and Unborn."

DEBATE: "AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM" DOROTHY HEALEY, L.A. COMMUNIST PARTY; CHARLES CURTIS, L. A. SOCIALIST PARTY Convention Hall, Embassy, Grand & 9th, Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m. Adm. 50c.

OCTOBER 19th, 8:15 P.M. "LABOR AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY in 1956" Speaker: MILTON ALVIN, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FORUM, 1702 East 4th Street.

WILSON RILES, recent arrival from extensive tour of U.S.S.R., speaks on "U.S.S.R. IN FOCUS," Sun., Oct. 14, 8 p.m., at Valley Unitarian-Universalist Church, 14933 Victory Blvd., Van Nuys.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "THREE CASES OF MURDER," Oct. 6. Orson Welles and John Gregson in three haunting stories by Maugham, Bret Harte and Roderick Wilson. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, \$1; non-members, \$1.25. Next week: "OUR TOWN."

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8-10 P.M. MONDAY, OCT 8 First meeting of 8-session course Masters of the English-Speaking Stage with DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN Penthouse 10A 59 W. 71 St. Single admission, \$1.50; course, \$10.

Old-fashioned HUNGARIAN VINTAGE FESTIVAL Sun., Oct. 7, at International Park, 814 E. 225 St., Bronx, 1 block from White Plains Rd. Hungarian Music, delicious Hungarian goulash, strudel, homemade cakes, Tokay wines, Dancing, Adm. 75c. Ausp. Hungarian Press Committee. In case of rain, Festival will be held at Hungarian House, 2141 Southern Blvd., Bronx.

Myra Tanner Weiss, SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY Candidate for Vice President, speaks on "American Workers Need a Labor Party," Fri., Oct. 12, 8 p.m., at 116 University Pl. (nr. Union Sq.)

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LOS ANGELES

Socialist to debate Communist Oct. 12

"AMERICA'S Road To Socialism" will be the subject of a debate between representatives of the Los Angeles local of the Socialist Party, U.S.A., and the local organization of the Communist Party at Convention Hall of Embassy Auditorium, Grand Av. at 9th St., Los Angeles, Friday evening, Oct. 12, at 8 p.m. Admission will be 50 cents.

The Socialist spokesman will be Charles Curtis, member of the California state executive committee. Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Los Angeles County CP, is the other speaker.

The debate will be the first local exchange of views between the two parties since before World War II.

Unlettered

YONKERS, N.Y. The American Legion, whose pranks conventionally are puerile and whose planks conventionally are infantile, has come out against the UNESCO, the NAACP and the ACLU. What are they trying to prove—that they're as unlettered as they sound? Miriam Brown

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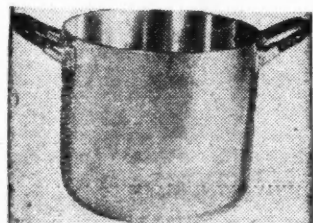
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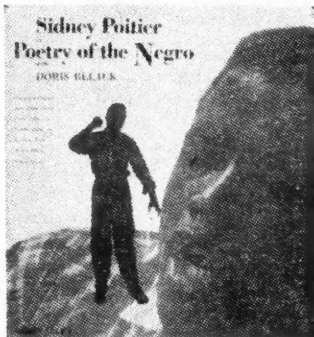
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More notes on a journey

**CO-EXISTENCE:** "We're glad you have come," said the director of the 100-year-old Lenin Machine Building Works in Leningrad, whose 6,000 workers now produce 20,000-kw. turbines for export to backward Asian countries. "We want as much contact as possible." "That's right," said the shirt-sleeved trade union chairman, wandering in and sitting down with a casual wave to the boss. "Do you know the British firm of Metropolitan Vickers? We'd like to re-establish our old contact with them." "We know their production very well," said the director, "a fine firm." Neither mentioned that it was Metropolitan Vickers men who, in the '30's, were convicted in the first trial of Westerners for using the "contact" to spy on the U.S.S.R.

**THE SMALL THRONE:** "The catalogue says this is the 'small throne room,'" said one of the British visitors in Leningrad's Hermitage, part of the old Winter Palace, now one of the world's great museums of art treasures including galleries of modern French from Cezanne to Picasso. "I suppose they needed it to use on maid's day out," said another, and the whole group laughed. Soviet sightseers inspecting the throne turned and shushed the foreigners angrily. Its historic association for them, someone suggested, was that their fathers died taking it from the Tsar; outsiders should find more suitable subjects for their humor.

**LESS SLAG, MORE STEEL:** My companions were five literary "names" in the Leningrad Writers Club, with its statue of Mayakovsky and walls hung with the works of Jewish artist Lev Kantorovich including a portrait of the late actor Mikhoels. Said editor Druzin of Zvezda: "Books like *Far From Moscow and Steel and Slag*—passing fashions, and one must say much more slag than steel. But we are still proud of the literature produced during the war, and above all of Sholokhov whom we regard as a living classic—and now with the dropping of the Cult we expect great things from our young writers like Nekrassov (*In the Trenches of Stalingrad*) and Granin (*Those Who Seek*). We are conscious of naivete, didacticism, simplification and photographic reproduction in our recent work. But in our country we have achieved drastic changes and continued to create great values—despite Stalin's blunders this was done by the people—and we writers feel we are strong enough to overcome our mistakes and go forward." What guarantee is there that another Beria can't appear on the scene and, through fear, put mediocrity back on the cultural throne? Said one: "State security was never controlled by the state in recent years, but now it is." Another: "We know how it happened and the symptoms of the disease, and so how to avoid it." The poet Reshetov pointed through the window to the ancient battleship Aurora, which the Kronstadt sailors brought in 1917 to shell the Winter Palace, lying in the river as a reminder of the revolution. "Because of that," he said.

**SMALL TALK:** On that boat returning from Leningrad's Peterhof, the former Tsar's playground smashed by the Nazis but now again a lovely week-end resort for the people, a young man was plainly smitten by the Estonian beauty sitting beside him. One of his first remarks as he got a conversation rolling: "Did you over-fulfill your plan last year?" "Can you imagine making an opening play like that with a girl?" whispered my British neighbor, "It's our kind of getting-friendly small-talk," shrugged our woman interpreter. "Why is it any worse than 'Haven't we been having terrible weather lately?'"

**NO TIME FOR GENERALS:** "How are you dealing with the cult of the individual on the screen?" I asked the director of a big studio. "Well, we aren't planning any film directly about it," he said, "but the great impact of the change on all creative minds is necessarily being expressed. In *The Rumyantsev Case* the treatment of simple human character is quite different, and you have the great stress by the militiaman on the danger of frame-up if people are held without proof of guilt. *The Battle of Stalingrad* was a 'cult' picture in putting all the emphasis on Stalin and the generals, but the new film *In the Trenches of Stalingrad* illustrates the change: it deals not with generals at all, only plain soldiers."

**13 YEARS AGO:** Among the relics of Leningrad's three-year siege, demonstrated in its museum by two old ladies of "good" pre-revolutionary families who radiate pride in what "we" did (no mention of Stalin):

- A matchbox-sized piece of black bread—the daily ration for all, which adults shared or gave away to the children;
- A thumb-indexed address book with only these entries, filled in by a little girl each under the appropriate letter: Aunt died (date); Uncle died (date); Masha died (date); All dead—alone.

**MEET ME AT THE OPERA:** Two U.S. businessmen, seeking big trade deal, overheard in Sovietskaya Hotel lobby: "Meet me tonight in the orchestra at the Bolshoi." "What are they playing?" "Who cares? It's the only place where you know they can't use hidden mikes to find out what our bottom price is."

—Cedric Belfrage

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