



TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL

Israeli Ambassador Abba Eban chats with newsmen after a 95-minute talk with Secy. of State Dulles while the world wondered just who got done out of what in Foster's fast talking. (See below.)

NATIONAL 10 cents
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MEXICAN LAW EXPERT ARGUES

Sobell was seized illegally, authority tells appeal court

By John T. McManus

A THREE-MAN BENCH of the U.S. Court of Appeals headed by Harold R. Medina on Mar. 5 heard one of Mexico's leading lawyers accuse the U.S. government of seizing Morton Sobell in Mexico in 1950 in violation of the Extradition Treaty of 1899 to try him with Ethel and Julius Rosenberg for conspiracy to commit espionage.

Dr. Luis Sanchez Ponton, Professor of Law at the University of Mexico, was formerly Minister of Education and has held several ambassadorial posts. He joined with counsel for Sobell in submitting the current appeal against a ruling by Judge Irving Kaufman last June denying a motion for a new trial. U.S. Embassy officials in Mexico first delayed granting Dr. Ponton a visa to come here, then agreed only to admit him for a period of days under full-time surveillance of the Dept. of Immigration. Protests on both sides of the border forced withdrawal of these restrictions.

Dr. Ponton, a dignified, strong-visaged man in his sixties, delivered his argument before Judges Medina, Galston and Waterman in English from a prepared text. The appeal brief, which was filed Dec. 12, was argued further by attorneys Marshall Perlin and Arthur Kinoy of New York.

BEYOND THE PALE: The Sobell appeal (GUARDIAN 12/24/56) asks for a directed acquittal or a new trial on grounds that Sobell was illegally removed from Mexico, that the prosecution knowingly introduced false and perjured evidence that he had been legally deported and suppressed evidence which would have proved that he was kidnaped. The appeal also challenges precedents used by Judge Kaufman, who presided at the trial where the perjured testimony was used, in denying Sobell a new trial despite the new evidence.

Dr. Ponton's argument pointed out that the only legal way Sobell could have been removed from Mexico was un-

der the Treaty of Extradition and that exhaustive search through Mexican government records failed to disclose any request for extradition. The only documents on the case in Mexico, he said, "disclose that neither the Dept. of the Interior nor the Ministry of Foreign Relations, nor any competent agency, had any knowledge concerning the detention and transfer of the accused to the border, except when the Immigration Official of Nuevo Laredo and the Mexican Consul at Laredo, Tex., notified these Ministries after reading of its occurrence in the public press."

The Sobell "arrest", he declared, "had all the features of a seizure carried out beyond the pale of all laws which govern our country" by U.S. police authorities who "seem to have forgotten that Mexico is a sovereign country, independent, with its own laws as advanced as those of any other country."

FALSE NOTATION: In the motion for new trial presented to Judge Kaufman last June the Sobell defense introduced new evidence to show that long in advance of the Sobell trial Mexican authorities had denied any part in Sobell's

(Continued on Page 8)

Passport denied

DR. W.E.B. DuBOIS and his wife, Mrs. Shirley Graham DuBois, were denied passports by the U.S. State Dept. to attend the March 6 celebrations marking the birth of the independent African state of Ghana. Both were invited by Ghana's Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, whom Dr. DuBois has known since they met at the 1945 Pan-African Congress. Dr. DuBois founded the Pan-African Congress in 1919. The State Dept.'s action on Feb. 28 came too late for court action. (Dr. DuBois' greeting to Prime Minister Nkrumah appears on Page 7).

WASHINGTON

Dixiecrats stall civil rights but backers still hopeful

By Lawrence Emery

ALL THROUGH FEBRUARY, with time decisive, orators from Dixie crowded into Washington to oppose at length the mildest of mild civil rights bills at hearings of subcommittees of both Houses of Congress. Some were Bible-quoters, some were table-thumpers, some were finger-pointers, all were voluble. A few were threatening and a few were abusive; Rep. E. L. Forrester (D-Ga.) called the pending legislation "a bunch of garbage."

Chairmen of both subcommittees—Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) in the House, Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) in the Senate—rode out the wind-storm and brought their hearings to an end—on Feb. 26 in the House and on March 5 in the Senate. Their time-tables were well off schedule but they still hoped that the legislation could be gotten to the Senate floor early enough to beat down a Southern filibuster.

4-POINT MEASURE: Less than 24 hours after he concluded his twice-extended hearings, Rep. Celler got his Subcommittee's approval—6 to 0—of a bill which now bears his name but which originated with the Eisenhower Administration and was sponsored in the House by a Republican. It provides for the establishment of a bipartisan commission to investigate and make recommendations in civil rights violations; the creation of a Civil Rights Division in the Justice Dept. headed by an Asst. Attorney General; new provisions

of law to strengthen the voting rights of Negroes; and authorizes the Federal government to act in civil rights cases through injunctions from Federal courts.

The subcommittee added some amendments (Continued on Page 4)



Pittsburgh Courier
 "Senator Eastwater will lead our civil rights filibuster without the usual reading of joke books, the Holy Bible, Aunt Mammie's cook books and sech licher. You see, Suh, the Senator cain't read."

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UN ATTITUDE: SEEING IS BELIEVING

Israel withdrawal hedged with conditions

By Tabitha Petran
 UNITED NATIONS

FOUR MONTHS AFTER the tripartite aggression against Egypt, the UN still awaited Israeli compliance with its many resolutions demanding withdrawal of all Israeli forces from Egyptian soil. Israel's promise to the UN, March 1, of "full and prompt"—but not unconditional—withdrawal was hardly made before new pretexts were found for delay. After another on-again, off-again weekend, Israel's second declaration of intent to withdraw met a seeing-is-believing attitude here. The conditions Israel had won as the

price of withdrawal were:

● Guarantees from the Western maritime powers that they would consider the Gulf of Aqaba an "international" waterway and would insist on the right of "free and innocent passage."

● Assurances from these same powers that the UN Emergency Force (UNEF) would be deployed indefinitely in the Gulf of Aqaba and the Gaza Strip so as to prevent belligerency and establish a de facto UN administration in Gaza.

DESIGN FOR DELAY: When these guarantees were originally advanced in the UN by Canada, it quickly became clear

that a resolution embodying them could not command the necessary two-thirds majority of the Assembly. Therefore, the U.S. undertook to work out "understandings" regarding these guarantees with Israel and France in Washington. The Christian Science Monitor (3/1) explained:

"The Assembly would not be asked to vote upon these understandings. There would not be a formal resolution . . . Understandings simply would be in effect on the basis of previous UN resolutions 'interpreted' in such a way as to authorize

(Continued on Page 8)

NOTICE

This month another large class of subscriptions falls due for renewal. If your address label reads March '57 or earlier your sub is in this category. It would be extremely helpful if you renewed NOW.

- To renew for one year mail address label with \$3 to address below. Label is on back of this coupon or on wrapper.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4 St., New York 9, N.Y.



Urges tax exposé NEW YORK, N.Y.

A recent broadcast by Paul Harvey from Chicago quoted a letter a lady had written to a newspaper angrily charging that the Federal, state and municipal governments have the average American in a tax vise. She charged that the Federal government is spending larger and larger amounts on foreign military and economic aid than it does for needed improvements at home. She said that the government is doing too much for strangers brought into this country than for some citizens in need of help, and she added the President now wants to send our young men abroad to fight instead of providing more and better opportunities for useful, creative work in their own country. Is there nobody to speak for us? she exclaimed.

We should make it very clear how deeply this three-pronged tax squeeze is digging into the income of the average individual and family.

A. Garcia Diaz

Ja vote CINCINNATI, O.

The total figure proposed for the 1958 fiscal year is \$72 billion—ten times that of 1938. In those days, 14% of the budget was considered to be for military services; today it is at least 59%. The government has thus progressed so steadfastly toward war-centeredness that the creation of the accompanying, enormous budgetary expenses of war-debt interest, veterans' benefits, special secret agents, etc., raises the whole war cost to a figure exceeding 80% of the total yearly expenditure.

The cost of the Federal Government operation in the 1938 budget was \$55 per person. In the 1958 budget (over 80% of which is for war) the cost is about \$455 per person. Most of these dollars are obtained through the individual income tax—the "backbone" of the present Federal tax program.

By paying taxes on April 15, the individual votes in favor of this trend.

Ernest R. Bromley

Let peace bloom NEW YORK, N.Y.

Peace is such rightful part of human life,
It is the mark of all intelligence...
But let peace bloom: and mothers know each child
That their love bore, shall live
and grow and thrive,
And at no time shall the world
go stark-wild
And hardly leave a thing on
earth alive:
We can but glimpse what future
we would know
In viewing Spring upon Frost's
overthrow.

Alfred Strong

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"General Dynamics... recognizes the limitations of straight salary for executives and attempts to offset these limitations with supplemental compensation, protective compensation and perquisites... Perquisites include such items as long vacations, medical programs, large offices with windows and the key to the executive washroom, which exert a profound influence on the morale and hence the motivation of executives."

—N.Y. World-Telegram, Jan. 29

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Henry Abrams, New York, N.Y.

Rebel from 'way back BUFFALO, N.Y.

The political and religious leaders of Jesus' day knew Him to be what in fact He was—a rebel. And since there was no place in their scheme of things for a rebel they did away with Him. The truth is that today's Christians have no more use for a character like the historical Jesus than had the leaders of His day. The political and religious leaders of Jesus' day feared, hated and crucified a reality. The political and ecclesiastical leaders of today worship a fiction, while they persecute rebels of today.

W.C. Mueller

Hallinan comments SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

In its decision suspending me from the practice of law for three years, the Court relied strongly on the testimony of a lawyer named Bruce Werlhof before the Bar Committee, that he had been a member of the Communist Party, acting as an undercover informer for the F.B.I.; that, while still such member, he had procured employment in my office through one of his associates; that, although the latter was seldom in his office, Werlhof had had a conversation with him within a few days after his employment "on the subject of Communism" which he at once reported to the F.B.I. He said: "I believe that Hallinan is a Communist and I think I can prove it." Apparently this proof was not sufficient for the purposes of these officials for he returned and had another conversation "on the subject of Income Taxes." In this conversation, he stated, I disclosed that I and my law partners were concealing income from the Tax Dept.

I denied that any such conversation had ever occurred although Werlhof had once opened a discussion on Communism with me. In a previous matter in which Werlhof had been a witness against another lawyer, I had testified that, in my opinion, Werlhof was a pathological liar and that his reputation for truth was bad. This was before the institution of any proceedings against me.

That such a witness should be

credited in a matter involving the right of a lawyer to earn his living in his profession is a sad commentary on our times. This is particularly true when we consider that the California Supreme Court is one of the most liberal in the country.

When you set out to disturb the existing distribution of wealth and power you must expect to get hurt. This is not the first blow I have sustained and I do not suppose it will be the last. I will utilize my time enlarging the struggle against the system which depends upon such repressions. Since the ultimate victory of the liberal and progressive forces is assured, I can quite calmly absorb whatever hardships are involved.

Vincent Hallinan

Oh, you Boccaccio! PUEBLO, COLO.

Your articles and editorials do not have enough life to them; not enough zip! Sure, our economic system, civil liberties, civil rights and the peace of the world are in a heck of a shape.—But cheer up!—Quit crabbing and worrying about it! Just remember: "Nuthin' beats havin' fun!"

Take this, my own "Tale of Boccaccio," for example. I dated a distinguished saleslady. The district salesmanager of this whole darned district! Things went smoothly; only one little difficulty developed: she is religious; and when she discovered she had dated a humanist (and socialist!) she reported me to the FBI!—Do I let this get me down? Do I crab and worry about it?—Heck, no! I'm going to date that woman again, even if I have to join both her company and her church!

Paul Stewart



Wall Street Journal
"There's been a little misunderstanding about our merger."

Bob Thompson's pension RICHLAND, N.Y.

Robert Thompson, who had several medals for bravery beyond the call of duty, was jailed when he differed from the administration's opinions, was nearly killed by an inmate of the jail and had his vet's pension taken away. President Eisenhower has not pardoned him. I think the President should ask Thompson's pardon and restore his pension.

Differences of opinion make horse races and much more important in the national scene, tend to progress. The plan that everyone must think alike leads to stagnation and final destruction.

Paul Hamilton

Pen-pals wanted WARSAW, POLAND

Our monthly magazine, *World Youth*, carries in each issue a list of addresses of young pen-pals in different countries. Those wishing to have pen-pals in Poland should write to Miodziez Swiata, Warszawa 43, ul. Smolna 40, Poland.

Specify age, sex, languages known, interests, hobbies, etc.

Karol Laszecki, Editor

Extra dividend!
Additional letters to the Mailbag appear on p. 11

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March 11, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Righting the record

THAT GIMLET-EYED defender of national security, Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.), head of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, warns that "the Communist apparatus" has begun a nationwide campaign on behalf of Morton Sobell "coincident with the opening of an espionage trial against Jack and Myra Sobell and Jacob Albin of New York."

One wonders where to start picking the Congressman apart on this announcement. Morton Sobell is the man this paper has been going to bat for since 1951, when he was sentenced to 30 years in prison for alleged conspiracy to commit espionage. He was convicted with the Rosenbergs and sent to Alcatraz while they were in the Sing Sing death house.

There is most certainly a nationwide campaign in progress in his behalf. In fact, President Eisenhower has on his desk a letter initiated by commentator Elmer Davis and others (all of whom are going to be surprised to find themselves described as a Communist apparatus) asking freedom or a new trial for Sobell. This letter first went to the President almost a year ago.

BY NOW SOME 150 additional petitioners have signed it—among them the Chicago rabbi who delivered the invocation at the Democratic Convention last summer; the Protestant chaplain of Alcatraz penitentiary, where Sobell has been imprisoned since 1952; and former Gov. Olson of California who freed Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

As far as Jack and Myra Sobell and Jacob Albin are concerned, a lot of people have written and called this newspaper with the suspicion that the new "Sobell" case was deliberately launched by the Dept. of Justice at this time (after being kept on ice for ten years according to the FBI) for whatever effect it might have in surrounding with confusion the appeal of Morton Sobell which was argued this past week before the Circuit Court of Appeals in New York (see P. 1).

Space will not permit us to print the entire list of people who have publicly signed the Elmer Davis letter to the President in behalf of Morton Sobell. A preponderance of the signers are clergymen from all corners of the country. The Chicago rabbi mentioned above is Jacob J. Weinstein of KAM Temple. The Alcatraz chaplain is the Rev. Peter McCormick of San Francisco. Nobel Prize Winners Emily Green Balch, Harold C. Urey and Linus Pauling are signers. So are Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld of N.Y., former director of the Hillel Foundation; Rabbi Emanuel Backman of New York, past-president of the N.Y. Board of Rabbis; Dean Paul Roberts of the Episcopal Cathedral of Denver; Rev. Daniel Lyman Ridout, administrative secretary of the Methodist Church in the Baltimore Area.

Detroiters (and many others, we expect) will recognize the significance of the name of the Rev. Henry Hitt Crane among the signers. Another, author Waldo Frank, is known the world around. Practically everybody knows Bob Kenny, former attorney general of California; John F. Finerty, counsel in the Sacco-Vanzetti and Mooney-Billings cases and associated with Emanuel Bloch in the last months of the Rosenberg case; Lewis Mumford, frequent *New Yorker* magazine writer; historian William Appleman Williams of Oregon; and dozens of other signers.

YOU CAN GET THE FULL LIST (and Congressman Walter is right in one respect: it is growing) by writing to the Sobell Committee, 940 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. We urge you to do so, and then see if there are not one or more prominent citizens in your community who would join with these signers in their appeal to President Eisenhower for justice for Morton Sobell. —THE GUARDIAN

Workers in need MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

I find your paper interesting. However, I deeply regret that the American Left finds itself with so many different groupings. This weakens this progressive force and prolongs the day when it will reach its final objective, a socialist U.S.

I deem it the duty of the leadership of each grouping to make every effort to get together and

try to reach agreement on all necessary fundamentals with the purpose of building a Socialist Party in this country with a correct program. The American workers are surely in need of proper political information and organization. Just think of it, 60 million workers in the most advanced industrial country in the world voting for capitalist candidates and programs on election day.

C. R. Hedlunds

NEW LIGHT ON THE CASE OF MISSING DE GALINDEZ

Demands rise for probe of Trujillo agents here in strange deaths and disappearances

By Elmer Bendiner

THERE WAS A RISING demand last week for a thorough Congressional investigation of allegations that a series of murders and kidnappings can be traced to the Embassy and consulates of the Dominican Republic, officially regarded as a Caribbean anchor of the Free World. The Dominican intelligence service, operating in the U.S. with a reportedly large and efficient staff, is charged by many with having one obvious mission: to track down, bribe or murder the opponents of Dictator Generalissimo Rafael Leonidas Trujillo Molina.

Though Dominicans have been murdered in U.S. streets and U.S. citizens have died under odd circumstances, all with some connection with the Trujillo regime, there have been no arrests. District Attorneys have probed, the FBI has looked into the matter quietly, the State Dept. has on occasion made discreet inquiries.

Among those calling for a Congressional investigation last week of the Trujillo network in the U.S. were the Inter-American Assn. for Democracy and Free-

dom and the N.Y. Post. What prompted the move was the disappearance of an arch-enemy of Trujillo, Dr. Jesus Maria de Galindez, one year ago on March 12, 1956.

THE POSSIBILITIES: Last week N.Y. District Atty. Frank Hogan said the de Galindez case was still listed under "Missing Persons" but was being handled by the Homicide Bureau because a staff member of the Bureau spoke Spanish and, he added, because of "the possibilities that might develop."

The "possibilities" of the de Galindez case by the time of its first anniversary added up to not one suspected murder but perhaps three.

Dr. de Galindez was a Basque who fought for the Loyalists in the Spanish civil war. When Franco won, de Galindez fled to the Dominican Republic where he spent seven years as an official in Trujillo's Labor Dept. and as tutor to Trujillo's children. During that time he learned to hate his boss passionately and in 1946 he fled dictatorship again—this time to New York. He lectured at Columbia University on Latin American affairs, spoke and wrote against Trujillo. He also served as an agent for the Basque government-in-exile.

THE DISAPPEARANCE: In 1952, shortly after another foe of Trujillo's was found dead in an East Side doorway, Dr. de Galindez wrote a note saying that if anything happened to him the guilty parties should be sought in the Dominican Republic.

At 9:30 p.m. last March 12 Dr. de Galindez closed his lecture at Columbia, had coffee with some of his students,

as you or I—only he can't go any place. They didn't kill him because there's no need to. They're going to make an example of him."

MURPHY VANISHES: He named Arturo Espallat, Dominican Consul General in New York, as the man who recruited him for the job. Murphy's revelations to his fiancée also threw light on the mysterious maneuvers of the Dominican freighter *Fundacion* that was in New York the day de Galindez was last seen in the city. It put to sea quickly the following day and returned shortly afterward. The theory was put forward that de Galindez was murdered on board and his body stuffed in the ship's furnaces. Police later inspected the ship and questioned the crew, found no evidence and said the furnaces were not large enough to have served the purpose. Murphy told Miss Caire it was an elaborate ruse, that "Trujillo knew he would be blamed and used the boat to falsify the investigation he knew would follow."

At Miss Caire's urging, Murphy resigned his job on Thanksgiving Day but returned to Ciudad Trujillo to wind up affairs and discuss a business venture with Trujillo. When her plane stopped in Ciudad Trujillo on Dec. 3, Miss Caire saw Murphy for 20 minutes. He has not been seen since.

Dominican police on Dec. 4 reported finding Murphy's car on a cliff near a slaughterhouse whose refuse, dumped into the bay, made the waters teem with sharks.

THE 'EXPLANATION': On Dec. 10 Octavio de la Maza, a flashy, bemedalled airman who often flew with Murphy, appeared at the U.S. Embassy in Ciudad Trujillo to ask visas for himself and his parents. His parents left on Dec. 14. On Dec. 17, de la Maza was arrested. On Jan. 7 police said de la Maza had hanged himself in his cell, leaving a note to his wife to the effect that Murphy had made improper advances to him, and that he had then pushed Murphy into the shark-filled bay and was committing suicide out of remorse. The story didn't hang together. There was nothing in the record to make credible either Murphy's "advances" or de la Maza's remorse. In 1954 de la Maza had killed a Dominican consul in a "duel" and showed no such anxiety when the case was hushed. U.S. charge d'affaires Richard Stephens inspected de la Maza's cell and found it hard to see how anyone could have hanged himself in it.

The story followed a Trujillo pattern. In 1938 Episcopal minister Charles Raymond Barnes wrote full details to his sister about how Trujillo had massacred 15,000 Haitians. Rev. Barnes soon afterward was shot to death in the Dominican Republic by a man named Diaz, who, according to police, hinted the same improper advances from the Minister. Diaz has since disappeared.

Murder and threats of murder have dogged Dominican exiles in New York and Miami. In 1952 Andres Requena, vigorously anti-Trujillo editor, took a taxi to a dingy tenement on New York's lower East Side. While he scanned the directory, two shots from an ambush killed him. Later Wenzel Brown in *Look* wrote: "Two weeks before Andres Requena died, he telephoned me and gave me the name of a consular official who had threatened him with death."

Though *Look* did not name the official, before the issue hit the stands Felix Bernardino, former consul general of the Dominican Republic in New York, threatened to sue *Look* and Brown. In a story for his own exile paper, Requena had written only days before he died that Bernardino had threatened to shoot him "under any lamp post in New York."

'COMMUNIST PLOT': In 1935 a gunman shot another anti-Trujillo exile, Sergio Bencosme, in a west-side Manhattan



GENERALISSIMO TRUJILLO
His enemies disappear mysteriously

apartment. Before he died, Bencosme named his killer as Luis de la Fuente Rubirosa, who had shortly before the murder conferred with his cousin Porfirio, then Trujillo's son-in-law. Later Porfirio married successively Danielle Darrieux, Doris Duke and Barbara Hutton. (Trujillo's daughter went on to six other marriages.) All efforts to extradite Luis Rubirosa from the Dominican Republic failed.

Before he died, de Galindez had completed a book, *The Era of Trujillo*. Publication of its English version has been delayed by the complications resulting from his disappearance. The Spanish edition appeared in Chile last May and neatly chronicled the terror of Trujillo's tyranny.

From the Dominican Republic there have come only denials and bitter accusations of a "Communist plot" to discredit the most militant anti-Communist in the Caribbean. Several U.S. Congressmen protested the latest round of murders.

In the House Rep. Charles O. Porter (D-Ore.) charged that the U.S. policy of "toleration, conciliation and condonation" of Trujillo's dictatorship was responsible for Murphy's death and that there were some in the U.S. who "for a price are willing to blink at or ignore the unsavory aspects of the dictatorship. He included Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. in that group. Other Congressmen protested any offense to a "friendly" nation and at the Dominican Embassy last week, House Majority leader John W. McCormack of Mass., Reps. Katharine St. George (R-N.Y.) and Donald Jackson (R-Cal.) received high Dominican decorations.

Officially the U.S. has made no accusation against Trujillo. It came close to it once, when Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., acting as counsel for the Dominican Republic, last May asked Atty. Gen. Brownell to speed investigation of the de Galindez case. Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III wrote back asking whether Roosevelt had addressed any such appeal to the government of the Dominican Republic, "for which you are a registered agent..."

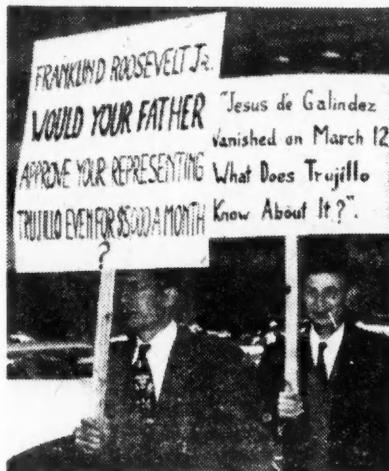
Last week President Eisenhower sent routine greetings and best wishes on the 113th anniversary of Dominican independence to Hector Trujillo, the dictator's brother and puppet president.

LYL dissolves

FIFTY DELEGATES to a national convention of the Labor Youth League in New York City last month voted to dissolve the organization.

Delegates from ten states reported that in its eight years of existence the group concluded "that the interests in socialism among young people were so diverse as to prevent their coordination into one organization." Government action against the LYL under the McCarran Act of 1950 was also listed as a reason for its failure to attract a wide membership.

The official announcement of the dissolution said: "The convention affirmed its belief that within the framework of great changes taking place in the United States and the world, young people who were members of LYL will continue to live up to the principled ideas of world peace, democracy and brotherhood, advocated by the LYL throughout its existence."



FDR JR. TAKES THE RAP
For his boss, Trujillo



JIMCROW OUTLAWED, BUT . . .

N.Y. school integration plan fails to please all teachers

THE N.Y. BOARD of Education last week clarified its position on integration in the city's school system through a question-and-answer statement prepared by the executive committee of the Board's Commission on Integration. This was the first official pronouncement since the Commission last Jan. 17 stirred controversy with its report on school zoning and teacher placement to effect integration. The Board three days after its clarifying statement unanimously adopted the Commission report.

The clarification did little to appease the opposition of teachers' groups to what they saw as an attempt to transfer teachers from "good" schools to "difficult" ones. The High School Teachers Assn., Teachers' Guild and Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations all insisted that if conditions in the "difficult" schools were "brought up to standard," teachers would voluntarily seek posts in them "to meet the educational challenge." Teachers Union, which had supported the Commission's recommendations from the start, said that simply a pledge by the Board to raise the standards of the "difficult" schools would be enough to attract volunteers and make any forced transfer of teachers unnecessary.

"PATTERNS": The Commission's statement pointed out that "official segregation" in the city schools is outlawed by statute, but added that there was "a concentration on certain ethnic groups in some schools" resulting from residential "patterns." As to what the Integration Commission had done:

"There are six subcommissions, five of

which have already released reports. Three . . . have already been approved by the Board of Education. The first . . . calls for providing facilities to raise the level of achievement in schools in culturally deprived areas, so that all children may receive the best possible education. The second . . . calls for increased guidance in these schools and greater stimulation of gifted students. The third . . . calls for improvement of school buildings in underprivileged areas. It also recommends the location of new buildings in fringe areas, so that they will serve a mixed population. All three reports met with almost universal approval."

HOUSING IS BASIC: The statement said that zoning lines were constantly being redrawn to meet changes made by new housing and population shifts. Future zoning lines "will be drawn in such a way as to encourage integrated instead of segregated schools." That would not do away with "the principle of the neighborhood school."

Children would not have to travel by bus from one borough to another.

Most transporting of children by bus occurs where they live far from a school or when there is an "overcrowded school near an under-utilized one." The Commission said that though it would be desirable to integrate all N.Y.C. schools, "our segregated housing pattern makes this impossible . . . for the time being."

The Board intends to staff "difficult" schools—generally located in depressed areas—with volunteer teachers wherever possible. In the meantime, the statement



TO BE INTEGRATED IN N.Y. SCHOOLS
But ghettos make it difficult

said, improvements would be made involving reduction in class size, rehabilitation of physical plant, more remedial teachers, increased supervisory help and more free time for teachers in "difficult" schools.

CHILDREN FIRST: The statement proposed that additional funds suggested for teachers in "difficult" areas "would be better spent in improving teaching conditions in these schools." Some teachers will be inconvenienced in being transferred to such schools; but "the needs of the children are primary." The Board of Education's personnel division "would not reassign teachers of 20 years service or more and would certainly consider individual cases of hardship" before transferring them to difficult assignments. The mixing of children from depressed areas with those more favored will result in the "general quickening of the educational pulse."

On the opposition to the Commission's proposals, the statement said: "There is always resistance to change, especially to change that means certain inconveniences. The Commission on Integration, however, is confident that the people of the City of New York will recognize their moral and democratic responsibilities . . ."

the other specific discriminations mentioned in the planks on civil rights embodied in Democratic platforms."

BARE MINIMUM: Although this declaration was clearly partisan, nearly all proponents of civil rights legislation seemed agreed that the bare minimum represented by the Administration proposals was the most that could reasonably be hoped for at this time.

Even Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People and spokesman at the Senate hearings for 26 organizations, was willing to settle for that much now. He said Southern Negroes want "a minimum guarantee" of their rights and that they have pursued a course of "non-violence in the face of extreme provocation." He added: "What they are asking of this Congress . . . is a minimum safeguard of the Constitutional rights which have been so long denied them. But in the face of this patience, in the face of these provocations, even this minimum is being challenged."

ABOVE THE BATTLE: But Southern Democrats, heretofore generally assured of conservative Republican support, now standing alone on an issue they consider most crucial to the preservation of their ways, seemed likely to be more desperately determined than ever before to fight to the expiration of the last rebel yell.

Some reports had it last week that Sen. Eastland, in a commanding position to make or break aspirants to the judiciary, was ready to trade with the Administration: President Eisenhower could have either his appointee to the Supreme Court, Justice William F. Brennan Jr., or his civil rights bill, but not both. The N.Y. Post reported that "Eastland has sent word directly to Atty. Gen. Brownell that he will not allow Brennan to be confirmed by his Committee unless the Administration uses its influence to delay action on the omnibus civil rights bill."

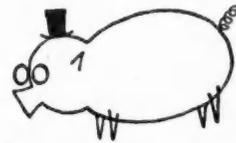
Whether or not this was the club that would be used, two things were clear: Dixie wasn't giving in without a rough-and-tumble fight, and President Eisenhower himself was far above the battle.

GOP CHEERS HARRIMAN

6 unions may sue on N.Y. power giveaway

GOV. AVERELL HARRIMAN of New York last week was bombarded by brickbats from his allies in the labor movement and elsewhere following his give-away of state-owned power from the St. Lawrence Seaway to Reynolds Metal Co. and the Niagara Mohawk Power Co.

Six unions, hitherto friendly to the Governor's political career, charged that the contracts signed on Feb. 25 violate the State Power Act which gives the public preference over business and industry in allocating power. Hinting at a possible law suit, the unions in a joint statement said they were "not convinced that these contracts can stand scrutiny in the courts or before the Federal Power Commission."



The unions are the United Auto Workers; Intl. Ladies Garment Workers; Textile; Papermakers; Hat, Cap and Milliners; and Intl. Union of Electrical Workers. Building trades and steel unions whose members would be involved in constructing the Reynolds plant at Massena and a General Motors foundry to go up nearby, supported the contracts.

BOUQUET FROM GOP: The Liberal Party, hitherto a supporter of the Governor, also criticized the give-away and said it would "resist a repetition" when Niagara River power contracts come up for signing: Blaine Stockton, president of the state Rural Electrification Administration, charged that the Governor had been "swayed by political consideration." Claiming that under the contracts the public and co-operative utilities would get only 1% of the output, Stockton said that if the power awarded to Niagara Mohawk and Reynolds had been turned over to his agency "we could have used it and set up a power pool of our own."

Harriman suffered almost as much from bouquets as from brickbats. Republican state chairman L. Judson Morhouse said the Governor had "accepted and embraced completely" the GOP view on how to dispose of the state's power. The Liberal Party noted how quickly Morhouse "moves in for the kill" in preparation for the Niagara contracts.

Meanwhile Robert Moses, chairman of the State Power Authority and mainly responsible for pushing through the contract, was demanding retention of full control of the agency. The contracts were originally approved by a three-to-two vote in the Authority. Opposing them were A. Thorne Hills and former Gov. Charles Poletti. With Moses in the majority were William Wilson and John E. Burton. Burton's term expires May 6 and Moses has written to the Governor asking that he be re-appointed.

GETS HIS WAY: Moses is known for making sure that the top administrators in any agency he heads are heart-and-soul with him, ready to walk out if he should resign. His threats to leave are always formidable and generally effective.

Authority members get \$10,000 a year and are not required to give full time. They work on the outside as lawyers, engineers or educators.

Gov. Harriman's problem was made tougher by Moses' demand. To comply, he must continue the GOP majority on the Authority. And by re-naming Burton, he would have to ignore one of the nation's top experts on power now in the state, Gordon Clapp, former TVA chairman. Clapp, critical of the give-away, favors sending St. Lawrence and Niagara power over public transmission lines to New York City which, he says, could cut electric bills for millions.

Dixiecrats stall

(Continued from Page 1)

ments which would prohibit the Justice Dept. from starting a damage suit without a sworn statement from the complaining person; would bar subpoenaing witnesses to testify outside their own judicial circuit; and would hold the proposed Civil Rights Commission to rules of procedure now followed by House Committees in investigations.

TROUBLE AHEAD: Rep. Celler said the amendments were added to make the bill "less unpalatable" to Southern opponents but conceded that he didn't expect the additions to win any Southern votes. On this he was backed up by Rep. John B. Williams (D-Miss.): "There is no such thing as a Federal civil rights bill that is palatable to the South or consistent with the Constitution."

The Celler bill is expected to pass without trouble in the full House Judiciary Committee, which Rep. Celler also heads, but may run into a snag in the Rules Committee, which acts as a traffic cop for pending legislation and is presided over by Rep. Howard W. Smith (D-Va.) of Smith Act fame.

Much more difficulty confronts the bill in the Senate where, in order to get to the floor, it must clear the hurdle of Mississippi's James O. Eastland who heads the full Judiciary Committee. Even if a majority blasts it out of there, it will almost certainly provoke a filibuster in the Senate. Under existing rules, Senate debate can be cut off only by two-thirds of the entire Senate—64 votes.

EASTER DEADLINE: Republican Congressional leaders, cheered by a noticeable shift to their party in the Negro vote last Fall, were confident, in public state-



Herb Lubank in Washington Post
"We don't want you to fall down and hurt yourself."

ments at least, that the Administration measure will be adopted in this session. Rep. Joseph W. Martin Jr. thinks the House will adopt the bill by mid-March, and Sen. William F. Knowland was hopeful that the Senate could begin action on it before the Easter recess, which starts April 21. Delays beyond that time could strangle the measure in the press of other legislation.

Northern Democrats also expressed high hopes, but were piqued that the GOP seemed to have taken the lead on the civil rights front. The new Democratic Natl. Advisory Committee, meeting in San Francisco last month, complained that Republicans "have belatedly copied" civil rights proposals from Democratic high declarations of the past. The Committee said Congressional Democrats "are hereby urged to proceed . . . to enact pending legislation introduced by Democratic members in their unflagging efforts to eliminate discrimination of all kinds in relation to the right to vote and to engage in gainful occupations; and

Read 'em and eat

NEW YORK, N.Y.

TABLE CARDS with printed prayers for grace before meals are being sent to restaurants by the Linen Supply Institute.

GOVERNMENT TRIES TO CALM FEARS

AEC belittles radiation danger but scientists wary

ATOMIC Energy Commission officials in recent months have been strenuously seeking to calm popular fears. In their latest semi-annual report to Congress they called the safety record of atomic power installations "without parallel in industrial history." The report said there had been "essentially no reactor accidents" having "serious consequences."

Conceding that an accident at an atomic reactor could lead to an explosion, the report said such a disaster was "extremely unlikely" and that if one did occur, it would be "a very sluggish reaction," not "even remotely approximating that of an atomic bomb."

At the same time N.Y. City Health Commissioner Leona Baumgartner warned of increasing radiation peril from industrial atomic installations now still operating on a small scale. She said her department's "sanitarians" (radiation detectives) in 1956 had found 32,960 places in the city "where persons are potentially exposed to radiological hazards."

STRONTIUM-90: The manager of the AEC N.Y. Operations Office Merrill Eisenbud was reassuring about the perils of strontium-90, the highly radio-active particles lofted into the stratosphere by bomb tests which fall invisibly over the earth, seep into pasture land and reap-

pear in milk. Eisenbud said that all atomic tests to date raised the dosage of strontium-90 in the human body only 7% above the normal radiation soaked up from the earth's surface, and far below any danger point.

The danger point calculated by the AEC, however, is far above that given by most scientists outside the government.

Less reassuring was the speech to the Overseas Press Club last November by Dr. William F. Neuman, chief of the biochemistry section of the AEC project at the University of Rochester. Dr. Neuman said: "Our ignorance in this field is so great that we cannot say with any certainty that we have not already put so much strontium-90 into the stratosphere that harmful fall-out is now inevitable."

Dr. Lauriston S. Taylor of the Natl. Bureau of Standards said that latest researches had reduced by one-third the "maximum permissible dose" of radiation.

SAMPLE OF BONES: Three scientists of the Lamont Geological Observatory, a division of Columbia University, sampled human bones in 500 autopsies in 13 countries and found the amount of strontium-90 far below the maximum safety mark. They concluded in reports published last month that nuclear bomb testing could safely go on at the present rate indefinitely.

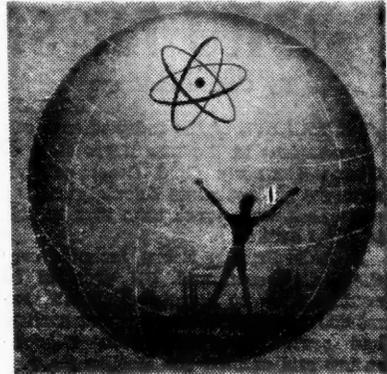
Their conclusions had to be hedged, however. They admitted that many scientists disagreed sharply over what constitutes a safe dose of strontium-90. They also said that even if no more bombs are tested, strontium-90 will continue to crop up in human bones because the stratospheric fall-out from previous bombs will continue until 1970.

They projected their findings to arrive at an average amount of strontium-90 per person throughout the world of one ten thousandth of the safety standard set for industrial workers. Actually, the sampling of 500 would be very slight for a world population of 2 1/4 billion. Moreover, the fall-out is far from uniform throughout the world. There are high concentrations in certain areas and in children whose growing bones absorb three to four times the amount of strontium-90 in bones of adults.

NORWAY WORRIED: In the U.S. this winter very little radioactivity was reported by the AEC monitoring network which maintains 26 stations in the U.S. and 62 overseas. What little showed up on the detectors was attributed by the AEC to Soviet bomb tests. In Norway, however, the radioactive fall-out in September was clocked at 10 times that of August as the result of the Siberian tests. Worried officials there pressed for some international system of prior warnings before a test as the first step toward international control and reduction.

Japan was worried, too. On Jan. 16 the Japanese delegate to the UN called on the General Assembly to by-pass the Disarmament Commission and limit or ban outright all nuclear bomb testing. At the very least the Japanese asked for a prior warning system such as Norway proposed. Japan gets a full dose of fall-out from U.S., Soviet and British tests. Some time between March and August the British plan tests over Christmas Island in the middle of Japanese tuna fishing waters.

The Japanese UN appeal was to have

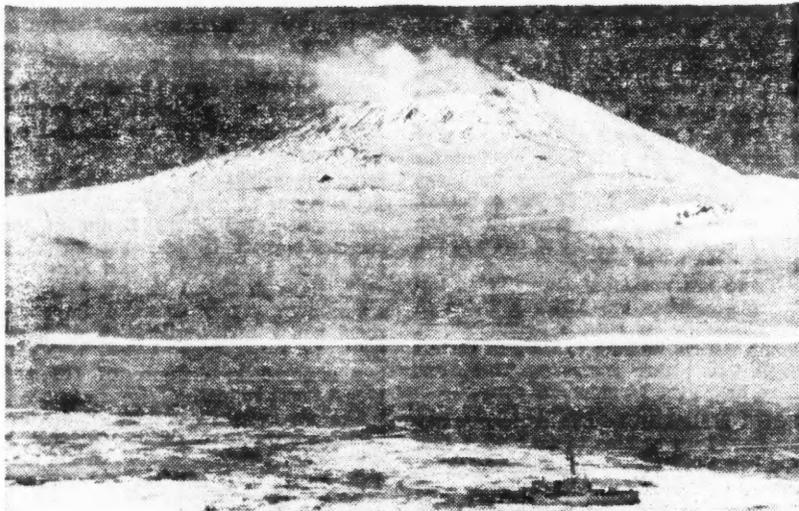


been strengthened by a personal appeal from Mrs. Suzu Kuboyama, whose husband, a crew member of the *Lucky Dragon*, died as the result of a U.S. thermonuclear bomb test. U.S. authorities have so far refused to grant her a visa.

X-RAY WARNING: The American College of Radiology asked that X-Ray use be limited to what is necessary for proper diagnosis and treatment and urged that all who administer X-rays be properly trained. Only 4,000 of the 126,000 who administer X-ray treatments in the U.S. are adequately skilled, the College said in a special bulletin.

The damage from X-rays as well as from weapons test fall-out was to be studied by the U.S. Children's Bureau which has established for the purpose a "National Committee to Reduce Hazards to Inheritance and Child Development."

A central government research agency on radiation dangers and safety measures was advocated by Sen. Richard L. Neuberger and Rep. Charles Porter, both Oregon Democrats who said on Feb. 14 they would introduce legislation to set it up. Sen. Neuberger charged that the Federal government "has lagged in undertaking programs to protect people from the menace of radiation."



COLD WAR THAWS FOR SCIENCE'S 'DEEP FREEZE'

Scientists of all nations are cooperating for the 1957-58 International Geophysical Year in which exploration of Antarctica figures largely. Last week an icebound Japanese ship was rescued by a Soviet ice-breaker. Here U.S. ships of "Operation Deep-Freeze" are shown as they prepared to leave snow-swept Mt. Erebus and its icy seas.

NEW GOV'T WITNESS APPEARS

Matles citizenship trial ends

TRIAL of the government's suit to denaturalize and deport James Matles, Rumanian-born director of organization of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, (UE), ended Feb. 28 in Brooklyn with submission of written summations and motions. Federal Judge Bruchhausen reserved decision.

On the last day of the 22-day trial the defense presented a procession of rank and file UE leaders testifying to Matles' good citizenship; and a deposition from Matles' 85-year-old mother which made a liar of Joseph Zack Kornfedder, professional Dept. of Justice witness who testified he knew Matles as a Communist in 1925-26. Mrs. Matles confirmed defense evidence showing that Matles had come to the U.S. in 1929 at age 19, a few months after his mother emigrated to this country in November, 1928. She produced documentary evidence that he had never left Rumania before that.

The judge denied requests of the defense to recall Kornfedder and to examine reports he allegedly gave the FBI on Matles.

NEW WITNESS: A "surprise" govern-

ment rebuttal witness was one Walter Robert Snow, one-time staff member of the *Bronx Home News* and *N. Y. Post*, who said he had been a Communist Party member until 1940 under the name of Clark. Snow did not know Matles. His testimony was calculated to neutralize defense evidence that Matles had never enrolled as a Communist on the N. Y. election rolls although he voted every year after obtaining citizenship in 1934. He enrolled as an independent in 1935-36; ALP from 1937 until he went into the army; and Democrat thereafter. Snow testified that his instructions as a Communist in 1935-6 were to register to vote but enroll in no party.

Matles' citizenship has been under fire by the Dept. of Justice for more than four years in proceedings similar to those used to harass West Coast longshore leader Harry Bridges for 20 years. The government gave up on Bridges after a fifth attempt failed in 1955. The prosecutor in Matles' case intimated during the trial that a decision favorable to Matles would be appealed.

Judge Bruchhausen's decision is expected later this month.

WOULDN'T BE BRUSHED OFF

Chicago ballet dancer talks back to State Dept., makes headlines for Youth Festival

OUR REPORT TO READERS Feb. 25 told of a Chicago ballet dancer named Barbara Perry who had written to Secy. of State Dulles urging official U.S. recognition of the International Youth Festival in Moscow July 28-Aug. 11. We promised to tell you how she made out.

First, Miss Perry got a reply from a State Dept. underling saying that this country regards the festival as "an instrument of Communist propaganda which serves the purposes of the Soviet Union and its orbit" and strongly urging her "not to engage in any effort to encourage participation."

Miss Perry took this letter to the *Chicago Daily News*. Result: a 3-column wide feature story Feb. 23 interviewing her on the Festival. She said 2,000 young people were going from Britain alone and asked:

"How can we get our message across to the Russians unless we meet them, talk to them? We can't do it sitting on separate sides of the ocean."

FOR MUTUAL TRUST: Miss Perry then capered off to Washington where, under the wing of the *Chicago Daily News'* bureau chief Edwin A. Lahey, she spent Mon., Feb. 25, collecting brush-offs from the outer guards of Dulles, Vice-President Nixon and others.

One who didn't brush her off was her Congressman, Barratt O'Hara (D-Ill.). Miss Perry, who is 22, told him she had been a *Youth for Eisenhower* voter in 1956, but had split her ticket for O'Hara. Result: O'Hara made a speech about Barbara on the floor of the House. Said he: "Miss Barbara has come to Washing-

ton to see the President and to ask him point blank if he does not trust the youth of America to the same extent that she in the *Youth for Eisenhower* trusted him . . .

"Barbara only wants to ask the Secretary and the President, if American youth trusted Mr. Eisenhower to mix with King Saud of Saudi Arabia, and was not afraid that the President would become tainted, why cannot President Eisenhower trust American youth to mingle with Russian youth and try to sell them an American bill of goods in the same way he tried with King Saud?"

PASSED THE TEST: Thereafter, O'Hara got Barbara in to see the State Dept. officer, Ralph S. Collins, who had answered her letter to Dulles. They talked for an hour and a half, but the most Barbara got out of him was the reassuring statement that he had had her investigated when her letter to Dulles reached him and was "happy to give you a clean bill of health."

Although they were "pretty stuffy about it" (as Miss Perry told Collins), the State Dept. does not bar travel to the U.S.S.R. on U.S. passports. The Festival Committee Miss Perry represents has it figured that a U.S. participant can go (from Chicago and return) for the all-inclusive cost of \$421.60 including food and lodgings. Getting a passport takes a little time, and a visa from the Soviet Embassy in Washington takes 12 weeks, although this may be cut. Only 15 weeks remain until take-off time. To get cracking, write the Festival Committee, Room 403, 189 W. Madison St., Chicago 2, Ill.

ON THE EVE OF GHANA

White colonialism bucks drive for self-government

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON
ON THE EVE of the independence celebrations in the new Negro state of Ghana (formerly Gold Coast colony), struggles against white colonialism filled more newspaper space than ever in this imperial capital.

In India Premier Nehru, incensed over the British-sponsored UN proposal to send a force to disputed Kashmir, reminded his people how the imperialists had sown disunity between religious groups and created the Moslem state of Pakistan. He accused the British government, and other white powers whom he was "amazed" to see supporting it, of again trying to weaken India by the old tactics.

In Ghana—unattractive climatically to white settlers, and held to be "strategically" valueless—Britain was giving up on March 6 its long, harsh resistance against the Africans' fight for equality of status in the Commonwealth. The Ghanans faced tough problems to win not only economic liberation from the United Africa Co. stranglehold, but national unity among the tribes whose differences Britain has continued to "an. To avoid further delay of independence; they had to accept a constitution putting heavy obstacles in the way of effective centralization of their government.

MALAYA: For Malaya, a British-Australian-Indian-Pakistani Constitutional Commission proposed a federal set-up dividing powers between a central government and those of the nine "princely states" and two "settlements." The draft constitution seemed designed to perpetuate communal tensions between Malay and Chinese communities and Moslems and other religions. A "monarch" elected from among the rulers of the states was



proposed, but there was no provision for ultimate inclusion of the British base Singapore, whose chief minister Lim Yew Hock was due back in London to discuss a separate and less independent constitution.

The proposals must be accepted by the British government, and by the Malayan parties which had little to do with their formulation, before they could come into effect on the target date, Aug. 31. From Britain's strong economic grip on Malaya they offered no escape, and it was understood that British troops would remain another 30 years.

MALTA: Labour Prime Minister Dom Mintoff of Malta (population 321,000) was in London to promote his own formula for improving his people's lot. A bill was almost ready to go before Parliament which would give Malta three MP's at Westminster and lay foundations for economic "equivalence"—parity of living standards—by integrating the island with Britain. Mintoff was hopeful that the bill, which carefully defines Britain's retention of powers over defense and foreign affairs, would go through.

BUGANDA: From Buganda, west of Kenya in central Africa, came new demands less than two years after the agreement with London under which the Kabaka (paramount chief) was returned home from exile. A petition from the

Lukiko (Buganda council) expressed dissatisfaction with the 1955 agreement, made "at a very difficult time . . . the only way to return our Kabaka." The Lukiko now pressed for a definite policy "which will lead us to self-government in a fixed time within the Commonwealth."

KENYA: Elsewhere the Ghanans' victory seemed to stiffen both the fight for freedom and Britain's resistance to it, and "terrorists" were being suppressed with intensified severity. In Kenya, despite British protests and the recent abatement of "Mau Mau" activity, the death sentence imposed on Kenya African leader Dedan Kimathi for possessing a revolver was carried out. Fenner Brockway, veteran Labour MP who leads the anti-colonialism fight at Westminster, commented that this could only re-sharpen the people's bitterness and that an execution on such a charge, when Britain itself was considering abolition of the death penalty, was particularly outrageous.

CYPRUS: Brutal repression in Cyprus was the theme of House of Commons press conferences held on two successive days by Brockway's Movement for Colonial Freedom, now the liveliest political organization in Britain. Two British ex-servicemen recently employed as warders at Korkinotrimithia detention camp described techniques used there on persons suspected of "associating with terrorists," including rifle-butt beatings and deprivation of water and medical attention. After the two warders had "formed undesirably friendly relations with certain of the persons detained" (Cyprus government statement, London Times, 2/21), they were shot at on their way back to the camp, they said; a week later their resignations were rejected and they were given two hours to get out.

At the MCF's second press conference two Australians fresh from an investigation of Cyprus, Labour MP D. A. Dunstan and Sydney University Prof. K. Buckley, said they found no proof that violence is used on "detainees" there as a matter of routine. But complaints were heard everywhere about the treatment of arrested Cypriots at police stations and in the "interrogation camps," and the visitors "thought it extraordinary" that no inquiry was held about the case of the Cypriot Cristaforo who emerged from 14 days in a camp with broken ribs and multiple injuries.

NO SOLUTION: The denial of civil liberties in Cyprus, said the Australians, goes "far beyond what is necessary to reduce and control the EOKA resistance organization." But popular feeling against the government is so intense that, to avoid widespread disorder, Britain must keep its present armed forces (costing British taxpayers £85,000 a week) or even larger ones in Cyprus. No "military" solution is possible, and without a political one—which means, first and foremost, the unconditional return from exile of the Cypriots' elected spokesman Makarios—order can never be restored.

A 19½-hour day

HERE IS THE SCHEDULE followed every workday for weeks by an African laundress living in the Alexandria location outside Johannesburg: Up at 2:30 a.m. to cook a family breakfast of thin cornmeal over a fire of wood scraps. Out on the rutted roads of the location by 3 a.m., her shoes in her hand to guard them from wear, her baby on her back. On the surfaced highway by 3:15 and over the hills into Johannesburg. There she works over a basement washtub for the day, then shuffles back with the throng on the highway to prepare supper. To bed by 10 p.m.

—U.S. News & World Report, 3/1.



FROM MONTGOMERY TO JO'BURG

Militant South Africans boycott buses rather than pay boosted fares. But the fight has many fronts as these demonstrators make clear.

THE LONG WALK TO JOHANNESBURG

S. Africa boycott spreads as government resorts to force

By Kumar Goshal

IN PITCH-DARKNESS, hours before dawn, Negro men and women begin to stir in the shanty-towns miles outside the city. As briefly as possible, they light stubs of candles and small kerosene lamps to prepare to go to work in the city. When they leave their hovels, built of stolen firewood and old newspapers and potato sacking and flattened gasoline cans, they ignore the buses and head on foot for the offices, factories, kitchens and laundries in the city. Before dawn breaks, thousands have walked as much as ten miles, up the steep hills and down again, leaving the buses empty.

These are not Montgomery, Ala., bus boycotters. They are Africans, living in "locations" miles outside Johannesburg, South Africa, walking to work in protest against bus fare increases. They, too, have heard the Montgomery story.

POOR MAN'S BUDGET: African workers have been walking to work since Jan. 7, when the Public Utilities Transportation Co. boosted fares by 2c each way. Seemingly a small sum, the increase was a considerable portion of their income.

The Johannesburg City Council's African Affairs Dept. recently reported that 60% of African heads of families earn \$28 to \$42 a month; a 10% elite earns a little over \$56 a month; the remaining 30% earn less than \$28. The average monthly budget of the first group on basic items like lunches at work, candles, coal, wood, sugar, salt, tea, meat, mealie meal (an African staple), rent, matches and bus fare totals about \$40.

Spending on basic food items is far from lavish; the budget, for example, allows only 56c for a month's supply of meat; it makes no allowance for clothes, vegetables, milk for babies, or entertainment. In contrast, the South African Race Relations Institute has estimated that an African needs a minimum of \$65.80 a month to maintain a family of five on the barest essentials.

THE CRACKDOWN: The bus boycott began in Johannesburg, soon spread to Pretoria, involved about 60,000 African workers. Sympathy boycotts in Port Elizabeth and Bloemfontein brought the number to 100,000, the largest mass demonstration in years. When the boycott was extended to Johannesburg's municipal beer halls, the government decided to get rough to prevent the mass movement from becoming a political weapon for the Africans. "If they want a showdown," the Transport Minister told Parliament, "they'll get it."

Police began to harass the walkers, tried to force them into buses or to pull them out of cars driven by sympathetic white men who had offered a hitch. More than 10,000 Africans were arrested under small pretexts or none at all. But

the boycott held.

As the police made walking to work dangerous, Africans at mass meetings decided: "If we find it impossible to get to town, we will sit here and starve to death." Leaders began "save food" campaigns in the locations. Workers spoke of extending the boycott to products of factories owned by members of the governing Nationalist Party if the fare increase was not rescinded.

MORE REPRISALS: Despite the "growing evidence of solidarity and organization among the Negro Bantu in the current boycott [which] has surprised and alarmed all white South Africans," (U.S. News & World Report, 3/1), the government grimly extended its apartheid policy and confiscation of tribal lands in South-West Africa, which it has annexed in defiance of UN and World Court rulings.

The government has introduced a bill in Parliament to establish apartheid in the two universities—Cape Town and Witwatersrand—that admit non-Europeans without segregation.

Albert van de Sandt Centlivres, former Chief Justice and present chancellor of the University of Cape Town, told the University Club last month: "I am not aware of any university of real standing in the outside world which closes its doors to students on the grounds of color." Centlivres, students and faculty condemned the government's bill as interference with academic freedom.

BEWARE LARGE STONES: At the UN last month the indefatigable Anglican clergyman, Rev. Michael Scott, once again pleaded on behalf of the South-West Africans, whose land was being systematically transferred to white settlers since the former Trust Territory was annexed by the South African government.

Supporting Scott, Lincoln University student Mburumba Getzen—the only Herero tribesman who has succeeded in leaving the territory—quoted a tribal proverb: "He who swallows a large stone has confidence in the size of his throat."

Despite protests at home and abroad against apartheid, the South African government continued its racist policies, persecuting non-European and sympathetic white leaders arrested on trumped-up charges, depending upon filling the police vans to crush opposition. But the Africans seemed less and less impressed by police terror.

Even African children sang as they played in the bleak shanty-towns: "Jon-gani e police station; Kukhona amapolisa . . .": Look at the police station; there are policemen there. This is the greatest disease in this place. Arise from your sleep and leave off praying! This is the greatest disease in this place.

DU BOIS WRITES AN OPEN LETTER TO NKRUMAH

A future for Pan-Africa: Freedom, peace, socialism

On March 6, 1957, the Gold Coast, a British colony on the West Coast of Africa, will become a Dominion of the British Commonwealth, ranking with Canada, Australia and the Union of South Africa. This former center of the slave trade to America will assume the name of Ghana, an ancient Negro kingdom of north-west Africa which, between the 5th and 15th centuries, included much of the present territory of the Gold Coast.

Ghana will occupy an area about as large as the United Kingdom, with 4,125,000 inhabitants, nearly all of whom are black Africans. Within its borders will lie the ancient kingdom of the Ashanti, which fought six wars against England and, despite insult and humiliation, never surrendered the golden stool of its sovereignty. Ghana will be independent and self-governing and the inauguration of this state will be witnessed by officials from many of the world's leading nations, including the Vice President of the United States.

I have just sent the Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the following greeting:

HAVE your kind invitation of Jan. 22, 1957. In behalf of myself and of my wife, Shirley Graham, I thank you for it and want to say how great was our desire to accept it. But since the U.S. government refused to issue us passports, we must with deep regret inform you of our inability to accept. I have recently also, and for the same reason, been compelled to my sorrow to decline a trip to China for lectures and participation in the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

However, because of the fact that I am now entering the 90th year of my life, and because of my acquaintanceship with you during the last 12 years, which cover the years of your imprisonment, vindication, and political triumph, I trust you will allow me a few words of advice for the future of Ghana and Africa.

I venture the more readily to do this because, 40 years ago at the end of the First World War, I tried to establish some means of co-operation between the peoples of African descent throughout the world. Since then five Pan-African Congresses have met and, at the last one in England in 1945, I had the pleasure of meeting you.

TO DAY, when Ghana arises from the dead and faces this modern world, it must no longer be merely a part of the British Commonwealth or a representative of the world of West Europe, Canada, and the U.S. Ghana must on the contrary be the representative of Africa; and not only that, but of Black Africa below the Sahara desert. As such, her first duty should be to come into close acquaintanceship and co-operation with her fellow areas of British West Africa and Liberia; with the great areas of black folk in French West and Equatorial Africa; with the Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somaliland; with Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika; with the Belgian Congo and all Portuguese Africa; with the Rhodesias and Bechuanaland; with Southwest Africa,



A SMILE AND A BALLOT IN GHANA
Miss Betty Smith of Accra, capital of the new state, shown voting in recent municipal elections.

the Union of South Africa and Madagascar; and with all other parts of Africa and with peoples who want to co-operate. All the former barriers of language, culture, religion and political control should bow before the essential unity of race and descent, the common suffering of slavery and the slave trade and the modern color bar.

Ignoring the old sources of division and lack of knowledge of and sympathy for each other, Ghana should lead a movement of black men for Pan-Africanism, including periodic conferences and personal contacts of black men from the Sahara to the Indian Ocean. With a program of peace and with no thought of force, political control or underground subversion, a new series of Pan-African Congresses should be held; they should include delegates from all groups and especially from the African congresses which already exist in many parts of Africa and which got their inspiration in most cases from the first Pan-African Congress in Paris in 1919.

THE NEW SERIES of Pan-African Congresses would seek common aims of progress for Black Africa, including types of political control, economic co-operation, cultural development, universal education and freedom from religious dogma and dictation.

The consequent Pan-Africa, working together through its independent units, should seek to develop

a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe and Asia, taking from and contributing to both. It should stress peace and join no military alliance and refuse to fight for settling European quarrels. It should avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalists who seek to get rich on African labor and raw material, and should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life; rejecting on the one hand the exaggerated private initiative of the West, and seeking to ally itself with the social program of the progressive nations: with British and Scandinavian socialism, with the progress toward the welfare state of India, Germany, France, and the U.S.; and with the Communist states like the Soviet Union and China, in peaceful co-operation and without presuming to dictate as to how socialism must or can be attained at particular times and places.

Pan-African socialism seeks the welfare state in Black Africa. It will refuse to be exploited by people of other continents for their own benefit and not for the benefit of the peoples of Africa. It will no longer consent to permitting the African majority of any African country to be governed against its will by a minority of invaders who claim racial superiority or the right to get rich at African expense. It will seek not only to raise but to process its raw material and to trade it freely with all the world on just and equal terms and prices.

PAN-AFRICA will seek to preserve its own past history, and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folk which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all, the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa and for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stoolpigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character.

I pray you, my dear Mr. Nkrumah, to use all your power to put a Pan-Africa along these lines into working order at the earliest possible date. Seek to save the great cultural past of the Ashanti and Fanti peoples, not by inner division but by outer cultural and economic expansion toward the outmost bounds of the great African peoples, so that they may be free to live, grow, and expand; and to teach mankind what non-violence and courtesy, literature and art, music and dancing, can do for this greedy, selfish, and war-stricken world.

I hereby put into your hands, Mr. Prime Minister, my empty but still significant title of "President of the Pan-African Congress," to be bestowed on my duly-elected successor who will preside over a Pan-African Congress due, I trust, to meet soon and for the first time on African soil, at the call of the independent state of Ghana.

W.E.B. Du Bois

A GEORGIA OFFENSE: MIXED POPCORN EATING

Nightriders fire on Koinonia Farm as interracial settlement battles boycott

By Eugene Gordon

KOINONIA FARM, under harassment by racists (GUARDIAN, Feb. 25), is not only beginning to feel a tightening of the economic screws, but is now under armed attack. The 14-year-old 1,100-acre interracial cooperative near Americus, Ga., reported in a recent newsletter that a wholesale hardware company, a mechanic's shop, and a livestock barn have been frightened into joining a boycott against it. Night-riders have fired on the settlement recently.

NIGHT IN THE COUNTRY: An earlier newsletter described the Jan. 14 destruction of the community's Roadside Market by dynamite. Up to that time there had been no special attempt on anybody's life. But the latest newsletter reports:

"The first effort [to kill] came at 1:15 a.m. on Jan. 29, when a speeding car raked the residence nearest the highway with what seemed to be machine-gun fire. A burst was also fired at the car in which [cooperative member] Harry Atkinson was sitting as he kept watch that night. One bullet entered the car on a level with Harry's head, about a foot and a half to the right. Harry isn't too sure of what happened after that, because he thinks he ducked so hard that his head got caught between the clutch and

the brake pedals."

As he ducked, there was a burst at the house in which several people were sleeping.

THE POPCORN SCANDAL: Shortly after nine three nights later "two cars came from the direction of Americus and opened fire with shotguns." A volley blasted the cluster of residences. Stray pellets rained about children playing on a lighted volley-ball court. One shot pierced the window of a house, barely missing a young girl. Sheriff Fred Chappell reckoned that one to be a .22 rifle bullet.

Complaints of Chappell's seeming unconcern with these attacks include the charge that he neglected to respond to an emergency call from Koinonia. Instead of denying it, he gave it credence by indicating that he shared the attackers' viewpoint. One news story quoted Chappell:

"We get reports of whites and Negroes strolling down the street together in Americus. One report said a white girl and two Negro boys walked down the street all eating popcorn out of the same bag."

OR WAS IT PEANUTS? The voluntary, uninhibited social contact of white mem-

bers with Negro members, arising from their working and living side by side—that seems to be the ghost which never-endingly haunts neighboring white-supremacists. As the sheriff's statement implied, the horror is most aptly symbolized in terms of Negro male-white female relations: very bad when the male is a boy; much worse when he is a man.

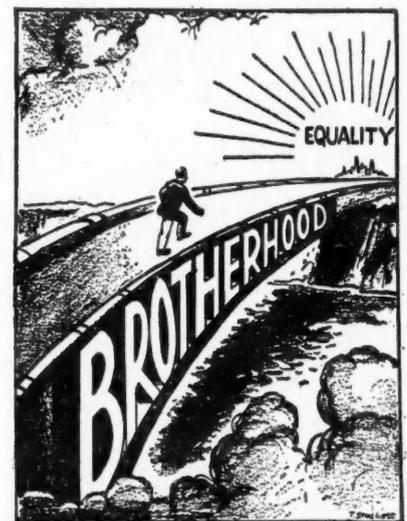
A Newsweek report on Koinonia Farm probably relates to the incident reported by Sheriff Chappell:

"Local feeling was summed up by Charles F. Crisp, president of the Americus Bank of Commerce . . . 'But when they deliberately tried to upset our equilibrium by having a white girl and a Negro man walk down the street side by side, eating peanuts out of the same bag—it was a calculated affront . . .'"

Clarence L. Jordan, a 44-year-old Southern Baptist minister and a co-founder of Koinonia, said "the trouble" complained of by the sheriff and the bank president is not always easy to avoid.

He cited an example: "Say our kids are going into town to get [medical] shots. Are we going to run a car in to get white kids shots and then come back and make another trip for the Negro kids? They say: 'They came in to flout our traditions.' We didn't. We came in to get the shots."

THE KKK WAY: Koinonia Farm work-coordinator Norman Long reported last week that, following an Americus fair-grounds rally, a KKK motorcade of 150 robed but unmasked Kluxers had driven into the interracial community. The leader suggested that the way to end the



Stockett in Baltimore Afro-American
The only bridge to universal peace

shootings, the house- and cross-burnings and the bombings would be to sell out.

Long said: "We told them that there was another way of life, the American way, which gives us all the freedom to live according to our consciences and that we were trying to practice that way of life by staying here. We told the Klan that there's no freedom in being allowed to live as everybody else lives; that there's freedom only if you're allowed to be different."

Israel withdrawal

(Continued from Page 1)

action. This scheme was satisfactory to Israel. Indeed, Israel delegates were described as elated."

Israel preferred this "procedure" to a resolution, according to the N.Y. Times (3/3), because a resolution "would have had to call for stationing UN forces on the Israeli as well as the Egyptian side of the armistice line," and this Israel has flatly refused. Its later dissatisfaction because the U.S. formulation on Gaza in the UN was not explicit in barring Egypt's return to that territory, as apparently U.S. secret assurances to Israel were, seemed designed chiefly to postpone withdrawal until after the UN's adjournment.

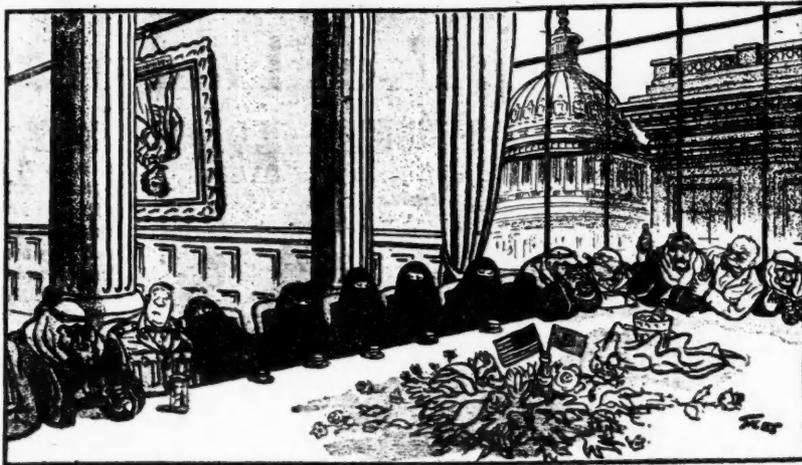
UN RESENTMENT: The entire U.S.-French-Israel plan provoked widespread resentment at UN chiefly for these reasons:

- UNEF's function is precisely defined as that of supervising the cease fire and withdrawal; its presence in Egypt is dependent on Egypt's consent. Therefore, any broadening of UNEF powers can take place only by agreement with Egypt and by specific Assembly authorization—not through unilateral "interpretation" by some powers of UN declarations and resolutions.

- The only specific action authorized by the UN's most recent resolution (Feb. 2) is that after Israel's unconditional withdrawal UNEF be stationed on both sides of the Armistice line. But Israel's—and presumably the U.S.'s—"interpretation" of this resolution now is that UNEF be deployed on the Egyptian side alone.

- Neither the Assembly nor Egypt have agreed on UNEF's deployment as an army of occupation in Egypt or to UN administration of Gaza. Suspicions as to Western intentions on this score were heightened by UNEF Commander Burns' announcement that Latin American and Scandinavian units would be sent to Gaza and Aqaba. The N.Y. Post (3/2), noting that India, Indonesia, and Yugoslavia "have indicated their units would be withdrawn as soon as Egypt requested it," said Burns' choice "indicates Israel has some ground for its assumptions," i.e., that Egypt will not be permitted to return to Gaza. The N.Y. Herald Tribune (3/4) reported from Jerusalem that Secy. Dulles has given Israel "absolute assurances" on this score. (Egypt has indicated a willingness to compromise on Gaza but could hardly be expected to accept an imposed solution about which it has not even been consulted.)

- The Gulf of Aqaba and Straits of Tiran are in the Arab view territorial waters and cannot be made "international" by Western fiat. International law holds that gulfs and bays with entrances up to 12 miles wide are territorial; it also admits the territorial character of gulfs and bays so considered for 100 years. Entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba, which has never been international, is 9 miles wide.



Giles in Daily Express, London
"Kindly remove thy hand from knee, O Major. We ain't dolls, we're FBI."

Exercise of sovereign rights in sovereign territory (i.e., territorial waters) cannot be considered "an act of belligerency."

(Egypt has indicated its willingness to let the International Court of Justice adjudicate this question but Western assumption of the right to proclaim these waters "international," and Israel's declared intention to shoot its way through them, if necessary, will not promote compromise solutions.)

EGYPT BITTER: In sum, the U.S.-French-Israel plan attempts to cloak with UN authority a purely Western solution. What anti-imperialist countries at UN resented most was the effort of the Western powers, including the aggressors against Egypt, to impose a settlement upon Egypt without even consulting it. In a voice heavy with bitterness, Egypt's Foreign Minister Fawzi said of the Washington negotiations:

"It is generally and rightly felt that what has taken place, and is taking place, has already ignored the very existence of Egypt and the UN and has, on the contrary, gone to every extreme to satisfy and be at the service of Israel and of Israel aggression . . . Egypt has barely been informed of vital developments concerning none other than Egypt itself . . ."

Anti-imperialist countries also voiced apprehension over what they considered to be U.S. efforts to take advantage of Egypt's weakened position, following the invasion, to enforce overall settlements of long-standing issues in the area. The apprehension was heightened by the fact that the efforts were being made jointly with France. These powers saw in the communique on the talks between President Eisenhower and French Premier Mollet "an identity of thought." This was the more repugnant because arrived at in the context of Mollet's bitter philippics against nationalism and the Egyptian government in public addresses here. India's Krishna Menon commented:

"I subscribe to this doctrine that nationalism in its exaggerated phases is an evil to the world. But what I want to ask is this: what is a more exaggerated phase

of nationalism than the attempt of a nation to plant its flag on someone else's country? Imperialism is the most exaggerated form of nationalism . . . Let the U.S. understand the sentiment of our peoples. If they do not, then they take their lot with the imperial countries whose sun has set . . ."

U.S. STRATEGY: Many UN diplomats were unable to reconcile the U.S.'s support of Israel's "assurances" in the UN with Dulles' assurances to representatives of the Arab states in Washington that no "promises" had been made to Israel. Behind this ambiguity, dictated by efforts not to offend the Arab states too openly, U.S. strategy, however, was clear enough. Agreement to Israel's conditions would:

- Assure quick Senate action on the Eisenhower Doctrine. This has been stalled by the desire of some Senators to control U.S. policy toward Israel and by rising opposition to foreign aid. Defeat (58-28) of an amendment eliminating the foreign aid provision followed quickly U.S. support of Israel's assumptions.

- Permit all-out pressure on Egypt to reopen the Suez Canal on Western terms. Egypt will not begin negotiations until Israel forces have withdrawn. The Eisenhower-Mollet communique registered "emphatic agreement" (Baltimore Sun, 3/1) on what to do about Suez.

- Facilitate the re-cementing of the NATO alliance. Repairing NATO seems to be for the moment more important to Washington than its courtship of the Arab states. It feels apparently that Egypt and Syria have been so isolated and weakened that it can incur their resentment with no great loss to its Mideast program. Before the rest of the Arab states it will dangle the millions of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

THE CAIRO CONFERENCE: But its calculations may prove somewhat erroneous both as to NATO and the Arab states. For the expressions of "goodwill" and "common approaches" which marked the

Eisenhower-Mollet talks could not conceal their failure to tackle concrete problems. France ranged itself with the U.S. in opposition to NATO military cuts but most of its own NATO troops are in Algeria and probably will remain there since Mollet has taken no initiative towards an Algerian solution other than to repeat his demand for a cease-fire on French terms. The U.S. gave approval to "European integration" and France's "Eurafrica" development scheme without apparently accepting the reported proposal for an American-French consortium in which the U.S. would hold 49% of the shares. France obtained a private loan from U.S. banks to pay for oil imports but no remedy was found for its financial crisis resulting from the sharp fall in dollar and gold reserves.

The Cairo conference of the chiefs of state of Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia did not lend much support to the U.S. thesis of a split among Arab neutrals. Its communique reaffirmed the "positive neutrality" of the four states and their determination to protect "the Arab nation" from the harms of the cold war. It also underlined their rejection of all attempts to reduce Egypt's "absolute sovereignty" over the Suez Canal, their support for Egypt's claim for war damages and for the rights of Palestine Arabs and Arab sovereignty over Arab territory and territorial waters.

BOLD STEP NEEDED: The fact that the communique contained no reference to the Eisenhower Doctrine may mean the four are split on this issue or that they are awaiting final Israeli withdrawal and clarification of the U.S. role towards Israel before defining their stand. The communique also made no mention of recent Soviet proposals for the Middle East but the goal of "positive neutrality" coincides with the stated aim of the Soviet plan. This calls for an arms embargo, liquidation of foreign bases and military pacts in the area, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Middle Eastern countries. These proposals have been studiously ignored by the Western powers but more than one prominent American has pointed out that the only sane U.S. policy for this part of the world is to be found in neutralization. The latest was former U.S. Ambassador to India, Chester Bowles, who wrote from Afghanistan (Washington Post, 2/25):

"America's over-emphasis on military arms in the whole region is facilitating the long-run Russian aims . . . The way out of this dilemma is, I believe, this: A prompt proposal in the UN for an embargo or moratorium by America, the U.S.S.R. and all others on the shipment of arms to the Middle East and the Indian subcontinent for a period of years. Such an embargo would check the future flow of Soviet arms to Egypt, Syria and Afghanistan. It would relieve Israel of the terrible pressures which led her last fall to risk a preventive war. In return for these very substantial gains we would forego arms shipments into Pakistan, Iran and Iraq . . . We must soon make some such bold step for the time in South Asia and the Middle East is steadily running out."

Sobell hearing

(Continued from Page 1)

removal from Mexico (by English-speaking men who identified themselves as Mexico D.F. policemen searching for a bank robber named Johnny Jones). A U.S. border official nevertheless wrote "Deported from Mexico" on Sobell's manifest, although he and the prosecution knew this to be false. The original motion and the appeal both argue that Sobell's illegal removal by legal precedent invalidates any subsequent proceeding against him.

Dr. Ponton associated himself fully with all the contentions of the Sobell appeal, although his argument largely went to that portion dealing with the circumstances of Sobell's removal from Mexico.

"I did not agree to serve," he told the U.S. Court, "until I arrived at a personal conviction of the justice of this case and the interest my country has in defending its prestige and sovereignty."

Excerpts from Dr. Ponton's argument follow:

"MORTON SOBELL was not expelled or deported by the Government of Mexico.

"His return to this country was not due to a spontaneous action of the Government of Mexico, and hence the arrest and removal of Morton Sobell to the common border of the two countries occurred for no other reason than the interest which the United States Government had in having this performed, and it was the United States Government that set in motion and organized the method whereby Sobell was removed for the purpose of delivering him to the legal authorities to stand trial for a crime with which, until that time, he had not been charged.

"Thus, in view of the fact that the interest in Sobell's apprehension existed only on this side of the border, there was not, nor could there have been, any other legal grounds save those stemming from the Treaty of Extradition which is, in

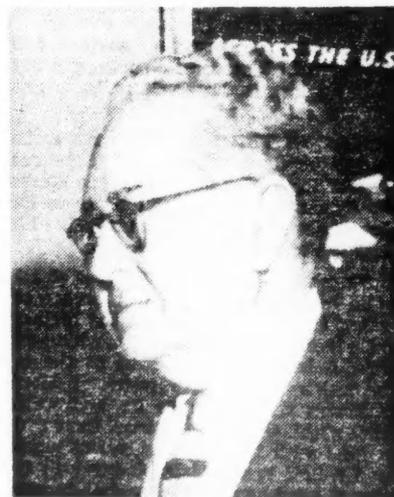
fact, the only law pertinent to this case.

"As has already been argued before this Court, the Treaty in question is not only a commitment entered into between the Governments of the United States and Mexico, but it also carries the weight of Constitutional Law in both countries, in keeping with the juridical system known as 'Incorporation' of international agreements into the law of the land.

"It is for this reason that we can unhesitatingly affirm that the provisions of the Treaty not having been followed, not only has there been in this case lack of respect for international agreements, but also suppression of personal rights which are enjoyed by any stranger in a country, as well as by the person accused in his country of origin when he is found on foreign soil.

"Lastly, all of these facts have led the defense to the conclusion that since there has been in this case a violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Extradition, the Courts of this country are without

(Continued on Page 10)



LUIS SANCHEZ PONTON
The argument was strong

PEOPLE CRITICIZE BUREAUCRATS BUT—

Czechs prefer not to rock the boat

By George and Eleanor Wheeler
PRAGUE

THE ATTITUDE of Czechoslovaks to the Hungarian events and the developments in Poland and Yugoslavia must be understood as arising from their geographical position, as well as in relation to economic developments and cultural background. Bohemia has always been exposed to German aggression and the Czechoslovak people have suffered much from fascism and now see Nazi General Spidel and other war criminals back in command—this time heading NATO troops.

Czechoslovaks had this remilitarization and renazification in mind when they saw the turn the Hungarian events took. A glance at the map indicates why any democratic Czech or Slovak would be concerned with having a reactionary Hungarian government in power.

The Hungarian revolt, the Czechs and Slovaks felt, suddenly confronted them with the imminent threat of war. Not only were they relieved that Soviet troops were called in, but they want them to stay until the threat to their security is past. This realistic attitude may shock many honest people thousands of miles away, but here it seems quite sensible.

PRODUCTION UP: The economic background is also important in determining the attitude of the people, not just to the Hungarian events, but also to the con-

tinued "promises" of Radio Free Europe to help liberate them. Czechoslovakia now stands among the first ten countries of the world in industrial production—and higher in its standard of living. Last year industrial output was more than two-and-a-half times the pre-war level. In 1956 industrial production went up 9.5% and productivity per worker by 7%. Livestock production increased 9.2%, and the total agricultural output was the highest on record.

These increases brought the sixth price cut in consumer goods since 1953; a 3% rise in industrial wages and a 10% rise in farmers' incomes; a cut in the work week to 45 hours; broader social security and boosts in free medical care, education and culture.

Rather than being fertile ground for unrest, Czechoslovaks want an end to the provocations of the Cold War so they can get on with improving their economy and standards of living.

THE BUREAUCRATS: Many problems remain, and people talk about them much more freely than in the past. The weight of bureaucracy and its inherent resistance to innovation and change is a cause of dissatisfaction. Some of the bureaucracy is in a near-coma with self-satisfaction at the progress made and resists most criticism by twisting it into a criticism of socialism itself. These bureaucrats were disturbed by the Polish developments and frightened by the Hungarian revolt. They oppose discussion of almost any subject, from political to literary, as tending toward disturbances and opportunities for provocations of the Hungarian type.

A major problem is to obtain flexibility for rapid technological and cultural advance without upsetting the machine that is now making good progress. Most workers, even those seriously concerned about the inequality of piece rates, have rallied behind the government and are not pressing their grievances. This is giving more time to work out more general and lasting solutions of the problems. In brief, the Polish and Hungarian events have had the definite effect of slowing down

changes in policies and methods here, but the impact of the Soviet CP Congress on all phases of life in Czechoslovakia should not be underestimated.

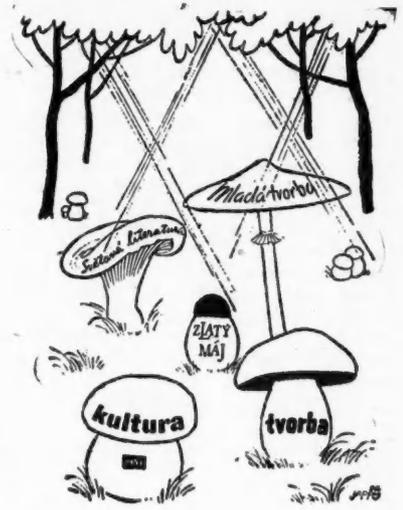
TRENDS IN CULTURE: In the cultural sphere, the Hungarian events had a sobering effect on discussion and boldness of criticism. There is now a definite feeling that "it can happen here," and so each word is weighed for its effect.

Influences from Poland have acted as leavening in Czechoslovak culture, although there is not as much frank and unequivocal admiration of Polish satire, Polish theater and Polish letters in general as filled the pages of literary journals here last spring. The impact of the Chinese watchword, "Let every school of thought contend," has made its way to Czechoslovakia, too.

When we first came to Prague there were three literary and cultural papers: *Literární noviny*, the organ of the Writers' Union; *Kulturní politika*, the most original and independent of the lot, which folded in 1949; and *Tvorba*, a solid political and cultural weekly which also was closed in 1951, leaving *Literární noviny* alone in the field. This monopoly position of one paper was not good for culture in general or for authors' opportunities in particular. Book reviews were written almost as seals of approval or disapproval, articles followed the Writers' Union policy, and there was a feeling that there was only "one true line" in literature.

RECENT FERMENT: In 1954 a new monthly appeared in Brno, Moravia, *Host do domu* (Guest in the House). It had a revivifying effect for a while, but soon became almost indistinguishable in policy from *Literární*.

The months following the April, 1956, Congress of Writers were a fruitful period for literary journals. *World Literature*, with long excerpts from foreign works, accompanied by critical studies of the authors, is attempting to break down the unfortunate isolation which came with the fight against "cosmopolitanism" during 1948-55. *Kultura* reflects the artistic tastes of admirers of Appollinaire,



Host Do Domu, Prague
Publications grow like mushrooms after the rain

Mallarmé and the Paris school in general—as well as featuring lyrical works with a very indigenous Czech quality. Two new journals are at the disposal of young writers. Regional papers are starting in places like Ostrava, Moravia (mining and industrial center). In January *Tvorba* was revived. It got off to a rather creaking start, disappointing old *Tvorba* fans. It uses the chaos of Hungarian cultural life as an awful warning when editors feel certain writers exhibit too much "bourgeois liberalism." This journal cannot be evaluated yet, but it can now be said that the monopoly is broken in Czechoslovak cultural publications. The new blood injected into the Writers' Union has brought the paradoxical situation that their organ is probably the most yeasty and "non-monopolistic" of the lot, the most critical of schematism in the past and the most effective promoter of each writer's independent individual line.

These trends in literary journals are a sort of barometer of currents in cultural life in general. The same can be seen in the tendencies in theater, films, novels, poetry, music and art.

Anybody suggest a better argument for socialism?
CINCINNATI'S gas rates are going up a bit on Feb. 25. The average homeowner who uses gas for heating, cooking and hot water will pay about a dime more a month.
Gas is going to cost more—the new rate will be 10.25 cents per 1000 cubic feet—because you haven't been using much of it. Mild weather toward the close of 1956 kept consumption down, but it didn't lower C.G.&E.'s costs any. That's why gas is going to cost more. The utility's revenue has dropped.
— Cincinnati Post, Feb. 2

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Wash., Jeff et al
WASHINGTON, KANS.
If the eastern seaboard has recently felt earth tremors they no doubt were caused by Washington, Jefferson, Adams and other American patriots turning in their graves at the appalling spectacle of the President of the democracy which they founded setting the precedent of personally fawning upon a despotic, slave owning, harem-master monarch.
Ernest B. Benne

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TAKING VITAMINS?
SEE PAGE 12 FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY OFFER.

Sobell hearing

(Continued from Page 8)

jurisdiction to judge and condemn Morton Sobell.

"AS AGAINST THESE FACTS and the legal grounds advanced, the representatives of the United States Government advance the thesis that Morton Sobell had fled to Mexico to foil justice because he knew himself to have committed a crime and that under such conditions it was admissible to pursue him, arrest him, regardless of the means adopted to bring about such an arrest, and to bring him to justice. Thus, these representatives claim that it was right and proper to treat him as a 'fugitive'.

"There are words which appear to have

the magic power to resolve the most intricate problems, and the word 'fugitive' is just such a magic word.

"If we are to accept as genuine coin the ideas expounded here by the prosecution, all means, lawful or contrary to law, are admissible when dealing with a fugitive. It is good and proper and legal to whisk him out of his home in the middle of the night. It is good and proper and legal to tear him away from his wife and children, to bludgeon and humiliate him, to commit him to prison without an order from the competent authorities, and, on the basis of such acts, to sentence him to 20 years of prison.

"THE ONE FACT that stands out in this case is that Morton Sobell never was a fugitive.

"When arrested in Mexico there was no accusation as yet against him, or at

least he was not aware of any . . .

"The representative of the Government of the United States hints in his rejoinder to the appeal lodged by the defense that very likely the Government of Mexico, and specifically through the members of the secret police of Mexico, have cooperated for the apprehension and transfer of Sobell through what might be a sort of international courtesy or because of a sense of concern for the security of the nations of this hemisphere.

"Of this, there is not a shred of evidence. In my position, not being associated in any way as an official representative, but merely in my capacity as a Mexican attorney whose services have been solicited in defense of a man whom we consider to have been unjustly condemned, I want to declare here that if

the Mexican authorities had been asked to deliver a criminal who was placing in jeopardy the security of this continent, they would have found a legal method for surrendering this man to the United States authorities; but the fact is that investigation has disclosed the Mexican authorities did not intervene in this matter . . .

"INTERNATIONAL ORDER is based on generally acknowledged principles such as those of *pacta sunt servanda*, good faith, and the juridical conscience of the peoples.

"Without respect for the obligations freely accepted by the nations, the order on which is based the peace and tranquility of the world would be destroyed in a way that, as in primitive times, only brute force would rule."

ASSIGNMENT CHINA

ON THE TV PROGRAM College Press Conference on Feb. 24, Charles Edmundson, former U.S. Information Agency official, said that the State Dept. is afraid to allow U.S. newsmen to go to China because they might discover that at least two of the American prisoners are Central Intelligence agents.

Much has been said and written about the stupidity and injustice of keeping reporters out of China and it is not our purpose here to editorialize about freedom of the press. What disturbs us is the lack of information Americans have about China. China is a country encompassing one-fourth of mankind; the Chinese Revolution has had deep effect throughout Asia and Africa. Any American concerned with world affairs needs to have detailed information about life in China.

About here you may be asking why we have taken all this space to tell you what you already know. The story is this: Last week we were given a book to read. Frankly the appeal of late TV programs has cut down our reading considerably. But this book blacked out our TV and kept us awake until well past midnight. The book was Julian Schuman's **ASSIGNMENT CHINA**. Schuman is a former correspondent for the Chicago *Sun-Times* and the ABC network and an editor of the *China Monthly Review*. He spent six years in China during the period of the revolution and consolidation of the new government. His book is a personal account of what he saw.

Schuman tells how he got to China (including a few hilarious incidents of how the U.S. Army tested him extensively for his knowledge of French and, when he passed, assigned him to study Chinese); what China was like under Chiang Kai-shek; how the people overthrew the Kuomintang and how the peasant and worker live under the new government.

We finished the book in two days and set to wondering how we could help circulate it. We made a drastic decision for us—we decided to sell the book.

Normally we are not book sellers. Appliances, TV, bicycles, and the like are our line. So you can guess how excited we are about **ASSIGNMENT CHINA**.

The book sells regularly for \$4 a copy; our price is \$3. If you can visit our store, come down and pick up a copy. If you live out of New York, send \$3, we will mail a copy anywhere in the U.S. and will pay the postage ourselves.

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THE AMERICAN SOCIALIST Third Anniversary Dinner at the home of Jessie & Harvey O'Connor, Sat., March 16, 7 p.m. Speaker: Bert Cochran. For information and reservations call: NO 7-9809.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) "ANGEL AND SINNER," March 9. DeMaupassant's two best-known stories of the Franco-Prussian war, magnificently cast and superbly acted. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10:30. Members \$1; non-members, \$1.25. Next week: "STORM WITHIN" (Free)

POLISH PRESS BAZAAR. Choice of books, stationery, handwork, dolls, Polish aircraft. Bargains you can't find elsewhere. Polish Food and Film Program. Saturday & Sunday, March 16 & 17. Doors open 1 p.m. at POLONIA CLUB, 201 Second Av. near 12th Street. Contribution 25c.

Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein will discuss "Ulysses in The Brave New World HUXLEY AND JOYCE" 8-10 p.m. Monday March 11 Penthouse 10A 59 W. 71 St. Single Adm. \$1.50 (Registration for Thursday Shakespeare classes closed)

SATURDAY, MARCH 23, 8:30 P.M. Seaman's Defense Comm. invites you to a birthday celebration for CAPT. "TUC" MULZAC Esthonian Hall, 2091 Lexington Av. 4-1533. Entertainment by EARL ROBINSON Dancing to Liova's Orch. Contr. \$1.50.

MAINSTREAM FORUM Friday evening, March 15 at 8:30 p.m.

DR. CORLISS LAMONT and DR. HOWARD SELSAM will discuss "FREEDOM OF CHOICE—WHAT DOES IT MEAN?" Hotel Great Northern 118 W 57 St. Contrib. \$1.

New Lecture Series SOCIALIST UNITY FORUM (Friday Evenings at Eight)

March 8: THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE and Robert Meagher U.S. State Dept. Lecturer, Member Foreign Policy Association A. J. MUSTE Fellowship of Reconciliation

March 15 — U.S. ECONOMIC TRENDS and MARXIST THOUGHT C. TO KAWIYAN Assoc. Prof. N. Y. University, Executor Albert Einstein Estate VICTOR PERLO Author of "American Imperialism," and other works on economics.

March 29 — SCIENCE, SOCIALISM & AMERICA Auto-nation, Synthetic Foods, Solar and Atomic Energy, etc.—Their effects on Capitalism and Civilization

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* PAUL M. SWEETZ * Lectures on AMERICAN CAPITALISM Tues., March 12: "The Role of Govt." Thurs., March 14: "An Overall View." HOTEL CLARIDGE, Broadway & 44 St. Adm. \$1.50. Students \$1. — Auspices: Monthly Review Associates, 218 W. 10 St. Phone: OR 5-6930.

Due to unforeseen circumstances the Lower East Side Guardian Club cancelled its Feb. 27 forum. We regret any inconvenience to our friends. Watch this space for future announcements.

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Books and Publications

BOOKFAIR'S BARGAIN OF THE WEEK: Three volumes of the works of Maxim Gorky, in superior, new translations. "Selected Short Stories," 640 pp., \$1.25. "Literary Portraits" (impressions of Tolstoy, Chekhov, et al) 310 pp., \$1. "Five Plays," \$1.50. Add 15c per book for shipping. Write for our sale list. BOOKFAIR, 113 W. 49 St., New York 19, N.Y. JU 2-3195.

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Good question EL CAJON, CALIF.

During the effort made here last fall to saddle us with an oil "conservation" law, the opponents to this act put up billboards depicting the oil industry as a fat wallowing hog. How close to the truth!

While you and I pay King Saud of Arabia millions in order to keep him in line for the oil industry, those "gentlemen" don't even seem to have the decency to pick up the check for their medical expenses. This in face of the fact that they did raise the price of gas.

Robert Karger

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Bilateral withdrawal

BELHAVEN, N.C.

As regards Hungary, what would we have done if there had been a pro-Soviet, anti-American revolt in West Germany or Japan? If we expect Russian forces to withdraw from Hungary, should we not, then, withdraw from West Germany and Japan? Russian power is in the satellite countries to counter American power in adjacent countries, so we are jointly responsible with the Russians for the Hungarian situation. Only a bilateral withdrawal will relieve this tragedy—and Russia has suggested this.

In these days we should be given the gift of seeing others as we see ourselves. Vernon Ward

ALS: a friend differs NEW YORK, N.Y.

I wonder whether Anna Louise Strong hasn't allowed herself to be influenced on Hungary by the avalanche of emotionalism that passes for analysis which has swept everybody — except only those who have followed Miss Strong — off their feet and out of their senses. She has momentarily put aside hard, material facts which alone can be the basis for judgment and attempted to analyze the Hungarian counter-revolution on the level of psychological speculation. This has led her for the first time to doubt her own long-held opinions on socialism which have heretofore withstood all tests because, I am sure, they were firmly grounded in her objective analysis of socialist theory and its continuing confirmation in life. Nothing that has occurred in Hungary—or Poland or Yugoslavia—should change that.

Miss Strong concluded her article: "The Hungarian tragedy grew from old enmities inflamed by Communist stupidities and American agents' plots. Moscow bears heavy blame, not for the final intervention but for 11 years of bad policies which in the end made intervention necessary."

Taking for granted as a permanent attribute of imperialism the "American agents' plots," I would say rather the Hungarian incident occurred because of (1) the vacillation of the Hungarian government; (2) the hesitation of the Russian government. If we reflect for a moment we should see that but for these two causes there would have been no "Hungarian tragedy"; no disturbance which encouraged counter-revolutionaries, which involved shooting, which led to panic and disorder and violence and looting, which threatened the existence of the government, which compelled the use of Russian troops.

Had the Hungarian government not vacillated it would have acted promptly and firmly to warn that disorder would not be tolerated—while taking immediate cognizance of the grievances which prompted the initial demonstration. Of course, as we now know, a government whose dominant party showed itself incompetent would be indecisive at such a moment. Had the U.S.S.R., recognizing the impotence of the Hungarian government, not hesitated, it would have promptly served notice that disorders would not be tolerated and taken the necessary preventive steps with which all governments are familiar, to halt the disorders before they could get under way.

Had either of those steps been taken, there would have been no "Hungarian Tragedy." The coun-

ter revolutionaries would have gone back to their plotting and lost their chance to stir up strife; the workers would have gone back to their homes and shops without falling prey to their enemies' agitation; the capitalist powers would have returned to their routine anti-Communism and plots without the chance to pose as "defenders of democracy" and "supporters of heroic refugees"; the 166,000 Hungarian runaways would not have shown themselves to be summer soldiers and sunshine patriots, but would have — grumbling, discontented if you like—buckled down to the job of making Hungary a better land.

And good Americans would not be taken in by the delusion that "there must be something wrong with socialism," but would learn once more that socialism doesn't happen like a rainbow; it has to be achieved and then preserved, in struggle against those who first oppose its achievement and then resist its preservation.

A. Unger

Cheers for Modesto

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Three cheers for the reader from Modesto! He says, "It is not clear to me why an attempt to destroy socialism in the world is not far more shocking to socialists than an action to save it. Or perhaps some think armed fascists can be conquered with sweet reason. Let us be realistic..."

How a Marxist can hold any other viewpoint is difficult for me to understand. M.



Wall Street Journal

"The way some of you carry on is enough to make a man take matters into his own hands!"

Suppose, for instance...

PAROWAN, UTAH

The clerical Fascists, having used their powerful influence to weaken the support of her Communist regime, struck at the time Hungary had reached an economic crisis, to pave the way for clerical Fascist intervention and seizure of her government. This reactionary world bloc, its agents infiltrating this nation as well as others, could be secretly plotting the same thing in America and other countries at a time when the economy of these nations was verging on temporary depression. Guarantees of separation of church and state would be threatened by the rule of clerical-Fascism, which would destroy freedom of conscience.

In such a case the U.S. Government might be obligated to ask a foreign like-minded nation to intervene in her behalf, in order to stop counter-revolution and to save her constitutional democratic government from the rule of clerical-Fascism. Olive Carroll

Patience, fortitude

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Thank you for keeping a clear line of thought open in this confused and confusing time.

The ultimate goal of a just and prosperous world is on its way. I have no doubt that the road is hard but naturally so considering the forces involved. As I heard a man say once long ago, "Revolution is a great thing but the first 100 years are a little difficult." Zena Druckman



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the SPECTATOR

The silent chief

ONCE UPON A TIME, in the land of Pentagon-on-the-Potomac, there dwelt a chief named Eye-sen-hower, affectionately called Eye-Like-Ike.

Many moons before he had been a fearless warrior. Once he had led the Gee-Eye-Joes across the channel to assault the western flank of A-dolph the Aryan, and to prevent him from enslaving or exterminating all the non-Aryan tribes.

Back from the wars, wherever Eye-Like-Ike went he declared that henceforth men must live as brothers. He was cheered and honored. Even when a party was tendered him—the Re-pub-lican Party, he chose to call it the Peace Party. He sat with the Re-pub-lican elders, and they passed the pipe from one to another.

"IKE," SAID ONE ELDER between puffs, "you have proved yourself a man of action. Now you must test your prowess with words."

"I know many words," said Eye-Like-Ike. "Every night I read myself to sleep with stories of the west."

"You shall master the words of the east, for they are as powerful as the rising sun," murmured a smiling sage.

"I know eastern phrases, too, for when I ruled Co-lum-bia on the Heights, I officiated at the sheepskin giving ceremonies . . ."

"Ivy League!" interrupted a paunchy elder. "You must gird your loins for the Big League. You will have need of magic words prepared for you by the keenest minds of our tribe. I refer, of course, to the Madison Men."

"It is decreed by the stars?" asked Eye-Like-Ike.

"It is, indeed," answered the eldest elder. "You are to be chosen Chief of all the tribes of the U-nited States. Let us pass the pipe around to seal the agreement."

Eye-Like-Ike understood why the gods had brought him into this smoke-filled room, and he fell silent.

SO IT CAME TO PASS after the first frost that Eye-Like-Ike moved into the White Wigwam. Every day he spoke the Madison Men's words in councils and on the prairies, while receiving visiting chiefs and while driving the little white ball over the green meadows. He echoed their explanations of too much maize and too little wampum, or too much giveaway and too little takehome, of too many tomahawks and too few tepees.

There were dreamy days when Eye-Like-Ike forgot or did not care what the Madison Men had told him, and his heart raced faster than his tongue. Then it was that all the tribes listened and loved him, for he thundered against violence and pleaded for peace among men. Even the mountains trembled when he denounced tribes across the sea for fomenting hatred and bloodshed.

NOW AMONG THE PEOPLE of the U-nited States there was one dark-skinned tribe which had been persecuted for a long time by others who believed themselves superior beings, much as A-dolph the Aryan had believed. Though this tribe had been freed from slavery, for a hundred years they had been waiting for the rights they had been promised they would acquire gradually. But "gradually" had come to mean "not-if-we-can-help-it," so the long-suffering tribe quietly insisted the time had come to ride their horses, graze their cattle, vote for the council, build their tepees and provide for their papooses like all the other tribes.

In many villages the response to this soft-spoken but firm request took the form of violence. Some mean, lighter-skinned tribesmen sneaked into their neighbors' village when the moon was hidden and they set fire to the tepees of the dark-skinned tribe. Some they chased off the land. Some they murdered.

The victimized tribe remembered how Eye-Like-Ike had led his warriors against A-dolph the Aryan. They recalled how righteously he had condemned the mistreatment of one tribe by another in foreign lands. After all, they were a tribe of the U-nited States of which he was the Chief! So they sent him a smoke signal of distress, urging him to visit the south and speak out against the injustice. They knew his voice would shame the murderers and end the terror.

The dark-skinned people waited for a reply. They waited longer. They waited in vain.

"He ought to say something about our plight," they complained. And other tribes took up the cry. "He must say something. He must!"

THEN SUDDENLY, like a flash of lightning which makes the dark valley bright, came the news: "Eye-Like-Ike has left the White Wigwam! He has gone to the south!" With that the voices of millions blended into one mighty roar that rolled in from the fertile lands and the deserts, from the villages and the seacoast and the hills. It landed in the south and stopped in front of Eye-Like-Ike. "Speak, dear father," the voice of the people of the U-nited States implored him. "Even Harry gave them hell. Say the words that will prove you are a friend of peace. Speak!"

Eye-Like-Ike rested thoughtfully on the club which he used to drive the little white ball over the green meadows. "I am not a man of words," he said. "I am only a man of action."

"That is even better," said the voice. "Do something."

"Watch me," exclaimed Eye-Like-Ike. Then he braced himself like a true warrior, gripped his club, and sent the little white ball sailing over the roof of the Augusta summer tepee.

—The Spectator