

A rejoicing Cuba waits for Castro to spell out the future in freedom

By Elmer Bendiner

IT IS HARVEST TIME in Cuba. Fidel Castro, who planted the seed of revolt two years ago on a lonely beachhead in Oriente Province, was reaping. Last summer he told those who plant sugar that this year's crop, due to be harvested beginning Jan. 15, would be taken in freedom. There seems no doubt now that the cane will move freely from the fields to the ports under the auspices of a victorious revolution.

Other Cubans were reaping grimmer harvests. Those who had sown the island with corpses, filled prisons and concentration camps and tortured patriots as if no judgment day were possible, hoped only for escape. The politicians who had imported the most celebrated gunmen-croppers from Miami and Reno to build the gaudy facade of Batista prosperity were on the run. Only the U.S. companies, with their billion dollar investment in the island, were sitting tight—still confident that the revolution would leave the soil capable of yielding them the customary bumper crops of profits.

ECONOMIC OFFENSIVE: After dictator Fulgencio Batista on New Year's Day fled to the traditional refuge of deposed dictators, the Dominican Republic, crowds stormed through Havana's streets. They were not the revolutionaries although most were happy about the outcome. They did not wear the trade marks of the Fidelistas, the shaggy beard or the green arm-band. Even the looters chose as their prime targets the symbols of the Batista regime, the

(Continued on Page 4)



FIDEL'S ARMY OF RAGGED REBELS ON THE EVE OF VICTORY

The rebellion that toppled tyranny in Cuba on New Year's Day was won by youthful heroes and martyrs who will one day be legend. This photo, resembling a Brady print of the Civil War, shows the tattered victors, wearing the happy grin of freedom, as they took Fomento in the last week of the war.

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NO AUSTERITY FOR BIG BUSINESS

De Gaulle devalues the French wage-earner

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS
WHAT PRESIDENT de Gaulle has called the necessary sacrifices on the road to national recovery seem, above all, to be a sacrifice on the altar of the Common Market (once denounced by the Gaullists themselves as a danger to French economy) and the most serious blow in many years to the French wage-earner's standard of living.

The two main operations of the new economic program are (1) devaluation smoothly wrapped up in many other money measures and half hidden behind a "heavy" franc, and (2) an all-time austerity budget. It is already apparent that, internally, Big Business, and externally, West Germany, are the big winners in the operations, and that the middle and low income classes will foot the major part of the bills.

CONVERTIBILITY: Certain effects of the highly technical measures taken by the government are difficult to foresee. For example, take convertibility:

After the recent French-British dispute over a small versus a big European market and the charges by Paris and

London that each had forced the other's hand by first adopting convertibility for itself, some observers wondered whether Europe was on the threshold of full-fledged economic warfare. Others, seeing convertibility as obliging Europe sooner or later to throw itself wide open



Horizons, Paris
THE DE-VALUED FRANC

to American goods, feared that many European countries were not yet ready to face almost unrestricted U.S. imports without a severe shock to their own economy.

Convertibility, a measure without practical meaning for the average citizen here, is as yet limited in France to certain internal financial operations. But it has important indirect effects. Ten other of the 17 European member coun-

WE'LL ALL BE UN-AMERICAN

Walter grabs for more quiz power

THE FATE OF THE HOUSE Committee on Un-American Activities and the strength of the liberal tide were likely to be tested in the first few days of the new session of Congress amid the confusion of reorganization. Francis E. Walter, chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, faced with a wide-

spread demand for abolishing his witch-hunting apparatus, made a bold counter-proposal greatly to enlarge its powers. That proposal was winning powerful support from Democratic and Republican Party leaders as Congress convened. But Speaker Sam Rayburn, who had favored Walter's plan, abruptly backed down, apparently killing it with these words: "We're not going to do that."

Walter proposed that the committee be given jurisdiction over immigration legislation (currently the province of the Judiciary Committee) and passports (now handled by the Foreign Affairs Committee). To match its new authority the committee would be re-named the House Committee on Internal Security.

PETITION CAMPAIGN: Ever since the Supreme Court, in the Watkins decision, ruled in effect that the Committee had far exceeded its authority in "exposing" witnesses who had no way to answer the smears to which they were subjected, there have been mounting demands for the Committee's abolition. The American Civil Liberties Union in California sparked a widespread campaign of petitions calling for abolition this session. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms and the United Electrical Workers added their voices.

The National Lawyers Guild sent a letter to every member of the House urging a resolution to abolish the Committee. The Guild said: "The damage done to countless citizens by being brought before the Committee has been enormous. If a person is to be accused of crime, he should be indicted and tried in a court which affords due process."

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tries of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation have adopted limited convertibility along with France. This new state of affairs automatically puts an end to the 1950 European Payment Union and replaces it with a European Monetary Accord prepared in 1955. But whereas the EPU was lavish with automatic credits reimbursable only 75% in gold, the new Monetary Accord does away with automatic loans.

THE BIG WINNER: The credits offered are fewer, shorter in term, and no longer in the name of a multi-national organization but between individual countries. France, a perpetual debtor in the EPU where Western Germany was the chief creditor, bids fair now to become a perpetual debtor to W. Germany. Already the first substantial loan offer has come in from Bonn. The new loans, repayable entirely in gold, open up interesting financial perspectives for Bonn. A great influx of private German capital for investments in France is also expected. The German press makes no bones about how it looks at things.

"The granting of such credits," wrote the important Frankfurt *Allgemeine*

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The Peacemakers
CABOT, VT.

We are very glad to see your excellent coverage of Rev. Maurice McCrackin and the explanation of his position regarding payment of taxes for war. Your readers will be interested to know that there is a group in the U.S. who have for some years advocated and practiced the non-payment of Federal income taxes because so large a portion of the tax (about 80%) goes to support the military.

Some of the members of Peacemakers (10204 Sylvan Av., Cincinnati 41, O.) refuse to pay that portion of their Federal income tax which goes for war. Another group intentionally keeps its income below the taxable level in order not to contribute taxes for war. Some members of Peacemakers are also interested in forming small cooperative communities as the most conducive way to work for peace.

Although it may not be as intentional or purposeful, many members of the "beat generation" are also protesting the government through disengagement from all the "squares" concerns. This may be a more negative action than that of Peacemakers (who initiated the Walk for Peace, etc.) yet it is a form of rejection of a government whose actions are immoral.

Robert and Ann Stowell

One man's analysis
BURBANK, CALIF.

Not all of Formosa is as devoted to Chiang Kai-shek as we are led to believe. The inhabitants have not forgotten the massacres of citizens when the Generalissimo first took over. The Peking Government seems to consider that he is well aware of unrest both of army and people. So—disaffected troops are sent to Quemoy, mainland China is subjected to raids, which it retaliates by bombings. Troops which suffer bombing from Red China will pay little heed to propaganda leaflets telling them to rejoin the motherland and, best of all, America will send ample supplies of ammunition, planes, etc. This "war" gives Chiang an excuse to demand from Uncle Sam the tanks he needs to keep the populace docile.

Result? Chiang Kai-shek's own safety as ruler of Formosa is insured. Which is what he wanted in the first place.

John Manning

Imagine . . .
NEW YORK, N.Y.

Imagine Mr. Dulles and his wife set up on an island claimed by the U.S., and supported by the hard-earned tax millions of the so-called "free" Chinese! For a decade the American people have contributed millions of their hard-earned tax money to glorify Chiang Kai-shek and his wife so they could sustain the

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TULSA, Okla., Jan. 4 (AP)—Van Cliburn has been dropped from the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce's list of ten outstanding young men of 1958.

The pianist has a scheduled concert appearance at Birmingham, Ala., Jan. 17, which makes it impossible for him to attend the Jaycee awards dinner that date at Fort Lauderdale, Fla. The Jaycees require winners to accept the awards personally at the dinner.

At Tucson, Ariz., Mr. Cliburn said: "Such are the personal sacrifices one is called upon to make in an artistic existence."

The Jaycees chose Pat Boone, the singer, to replace Mr. Cliburn.

—New York Times, 1/5

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

myth of a majority in China who were longing for the old regime of corruption which permitted most Chinese people to be beasts of burden while a select few concentrated the major part of their country's wealth in foreign banks.

Miriam Stern

Burned children
DENVER, COLO.

The vivid newspaper descriptions of the children who were burned at the Our Lady of the Angels school in Chicago reminds us of what must have been the condition of those thousands of children burned in North Korea with napalm.

Chas. D. Hershfeld

That's a lot of brass
ERWIN, TENN.

The radio says Congress says it's going to cut off 16,000 veterans' pensions—because this many have private incomes. I'm wondering if Congress will cut off any of the pensions of the Big Brass who get salaries of \$100,000 and over? There's Gen. MacArthur, making at least that much, and the government hasn't mentioned reducing his pension of at least \$9,000 a year plus two government-paid secretaries and a suite of offices for life in N.Y.C. And, of course, there is our economy-minded President Eisenhower—with a pension of \$18,000 a year, although Uncle Sam pays him something like \$150,000 a year for punching a timeclock he's hardly ever there to punch.

Ernest Seeman

John Gates' story
QUEENS, N. Y.

I think Lawrence Emery's review of *The Story of An American Communist* is unfair. John Gates has a very lucid and interesting style and his book's merit lies in the synthesis of personal experience and political events.

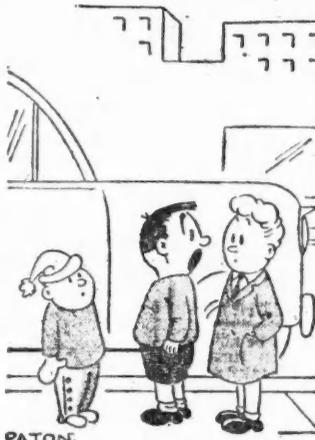
Emery, who appears to believe that a viable socialist movement can be built without labor's participation and support, may not be impressed with Gates' conclusions, but many socialists, some far from the Communist

Party, will find themselves in basic agreement with John Gates on this point. Nor does Gates exclude independent electoral activities by socialists. His point, I believe, is that the main problem, in reviving a Left, is to make contact with the democratic forces in American life and help influence their forward movement. Gates believes this to be the road to socialism—not the development of isolated sects.

The review's heading, "Another man's story of the American CP," and Emery's conclusion that Gates left the CP because he is tired of representing an unpopular cause are indefensible. Gates and thousands of self-sacrificing people left the CP because they felt that they could no longer advance the cause of democratic socialism as members, not because they are the tired dilettantes inferred by Emery.

Gates' book is not just another man's opinion of the events which took place within the CP, but a fundamental explanation for its virtual dissolution. It is an attempt to draw conclusions from this experience in the service of a new, broader and healthier American Left.

H. T.



Daily Mirror, London
"We must be growing up—he's never even HEARD of Davy Crockett."

Report from Scandinavia
RED WING, MINN.

Of course, all my friends were glad to see me come home all in one piece and totally sold on the way of life in dear old Norway where the building and maintenance of good homes, health, and social security seems to be the prime purpose of the Norwegian Labor government. The general development of social insurance to include both young and old in this small country of less than six million inhabitants provides an impressive pattern for much larger and richer countries.

The result of this type of legislation is seen and felt as soon as you enter a home. We visited much in common homes and traveled over 2,000 miles and we saw only comfort, good food, fine furnishings, lovely paintings, beautiful flowers, and the most heart-warming hospitality. And the people with their frank, open faces, their strong, warm hands, their never-failing courtesy and perpetual thrift were a never-ending source of delight. In their serious moments we always heard the same refrain, "We have it good in Norway now if we can only have peace."

Susie Stageberg

We've already got that
LEESVILLE, LA.

"I believe that if a profound thinker tried to devise a state in which people would become more miserable instead of happier, would hate rather than love one another, he would have a competitive economic system such as prevails in most parts of the world today."

From the *Rosierucian Digest*, San Jose, Calif., October, 1958.
Jesse A. Keeble

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REPORT TO READERS

The Great Divides

NELSON A. ROCKEFELLER'S Inaugural Address as Governor of New York, delivered New Year's Day in the State Assembly Chamber in Albany, was described by the N.Y. Times (which supported him for Governor and probably would for President in 1960) as "a state paper touched with eloquence, perhaps with greatness."

The Times reporter covering the Inaugural noted that Gov. Rockefeller's emphasis on national and international problems "appeared likely to spur speculation that he was interested in the Republican Party's Presidential nomination in 1960."

Of course anything that Nelson Rockefeller now does, from eating blintzes to wearing a dark, double-breasted suit instead of striped pants and cutaway for his Inaugural, is likely to spur speculation about his 1960 aims. And as for eloquence, that's what speech-writers are for. But greatness? The Times' qualifying term, "perhaps," was well-advised.

IF ANYTHING, Rockefeller's maiden speech in public office was ungreat. Not that it was empty—a home-run hitter has to touch the bases and this Rockefeller did with traditional bows to the grandstands: "We cannot speak of the equality of men unless we hold high the banner of social equality in our communities." . . . "We cannot pretend to inspire young new nations in the ways of freedom and its institutions, if our schools do not enable our own youth to be enlightened citizens." . . . "We must plan—years into the future—expansion of our state institutions for higher education. For what we do not teach, we cannot save—and this is true of freedom itself."

BUT HIS INTERNATIONAL APPROACH was quite a shambles. He spoke of the "tragic ordeal of freedom"—of tyrants, "first Fascist, then Communist," shackling free nations, free peoples, challenging free men everywhere—and then proposed to the world "the practical demonstration" of the 21 republics of the Western Hemisphere of "dedication to peace and human dignity" and the "free association of free peoples."

And even as he spoke, on the afternoon on New Year's Day, 1959, the people of neighboring Cuba rose up and threw out their dictator, Fulgencio Batista, making the score six toppled Latin-American dictators in the last four years, and three still to go if you don't count Guatemala (where United Fruit Co. is the dictator) or those Western Hemisphere lands which are still colonies of the U.S., Britain, France or the Netherlands.

But if the state of affairs was exemplary in the Western Hemisphere (where Rockefeller was once President Roosevelt's Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs), it was divided four ways from the jack in the rest of Rockefeller's world, "divided and imperiled!"

It was divided between "those who believe in the dignity of free men and those who believe in the monstrous supremacy of the totalitarian state . . . those whose most potent force is their faith in individual freedom, and those whose faith is force itself . . . those who believe in the essential equality of people of all nations and races and creeds, and those whose only creed is their own ruthless race for power . . . those who believe in the brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God, and those who scorn this as a pious myth."

Rockefeller did not say which God he favored for fatherhood—the God of the Mohamedans, the Great Jehovah, the one worshipped by the Congregationalists (to which faith Rockefeller is a witness) or by the Episcopalians (whose church he attended before the Inaugural because the Congregationalists don't celebrate New Year's Day, at least not in Albany).

ANYWAY, THE GOVERNOR could hardly have finished reading the Times' flattering comments next morning when the countdown started across one of the Great Divides of the world of Nelson Rockefeller for the launching of the new non-denominational Soviet sky-rocket, which passed the moon as close as New York is to Moscow, and sailed on to orbit eternally that heavenly body which pious men once imagined was Apollo's chariot.

Rockefeller did say, early in his speech, that "for the first time in history the revolution of science and industry makes possible the realization of men's ageless dream . . ."

Scientist J. D. Bernal said it more succinctly, we think, in his *Science in History* (p. 862): "Man can now gain for the first time, without any need for supernatural support, a full confidence in his power over destiny."

We recommend scientist Bernal as a guide to politician Rockefeller over the Great Divides of the World of 1960.

—THE GUARDIAN

Ten years ago in the Guardian

IT IS QUITE POSSIBLE that this fighting in Indonesia may become the last big-scale colonial war in our time. . . . In spite of their superiority in arms the Dutch attempt to reconquer Indonesia may face a bleak future. The big question of this war is not whether a guerrilla army can wear down and thus defeat a regular colonial army. Certainly it can. The problem in this richest colonial area in the world is whether the Indonesians will have enough persistence and will hold out. If they have, they possess more than 75% of the chances for winning the campaign, and there is no evidence that their will to resist will collapse. No military recipe has yet been invented to break a protracted, large-scale guerrilla war.

—Max Werner in the Guardian, Jan. 10, 1949

A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE FROM NEW DELHI

Belfrage: Interview with Nehru

By Cedric Belfrage

NEW DELHI

PRIME MINISTER Nehru has granted me a half-hour interview for the GUARDIAN, in his pleasant Parliament House office with four Gandhi statues in the anteroom. A month ago I observed him handling a press conference. His personality and culture are supreme among the leaders of nations, and one recognizes in him the flower of the liberal tradition—perhaps even surpassing FDR, “a big man whom I admired,” as he remarked to me, “but I am not competent to judge his philosophy.”

Thoughtful Indians credit him with three great achievements: secularizing the structure of India (though the spirit remains recalcitrant), establishing free honest elections, and foreign-policy neutralism in history's most perilous period.

Humanity pays homage to his labors for co-existence, beginning with his Panch Sheela agreement with China which led to Bandung. His unweakening democracy continues to madden cold warriors: in one December week he and his spokesman Krishna Menon spoke out against dictatorship in Pakistan and apartheid in S. Africa, denounced France's “aggression” in Algeria, exposed the SEATO and Baghdad pacts, and called anew for suspension of nuclear tests and China's admission to UN.

DIFFICULT JOB: He is a tireless, disciplined worker and his statesmanlike press-conference performance — gracefully parrying “ticklish” questions, dealing with others forcefully yet gently—shows him to be right on top of his job. This is a man consumed not merely by the idea of democracy, but by the will to practice it. He told me that he was looking forward to seeing his friend Paul Robeson (whose fight for a passport he had movingly supported), and the press conference that he was “somewhat pained” by the Pasternak business though he hadn't yet read Zhivago.

Heading what is perhaps the world's most difficult enterprise, Nehru can never forget how India's domestic problems are meshed with its foreign relations. The existence of such an under-developed country has produced dangerous East-West rivalry for “spheres of interest” instead of cooperation to develop it.

Nehru knows India must industrialize; but wanting independence plus friendship with both blocs, his dilemma is that India's own capitalists won't and can't do the job, and Western aid comes with strings or is withheld if the “public sector” grows toward a socialist economy.

THE STRINGS: His October “ovation” from Intl. Monetary Fund delegates here, when he stressed the “tremendous ferment” in half-starved Asia and urged the West's big-money men to “keep political aspects out of consideration” at their conference, was strictly for the birds. In fact, almost half of the investment in Indian industry is foreign, and foreign liabilities and grip on the economy are growing.

The strings are apparent: the World



Bank deploras any “pursuit of welfare at the expense of efficiency” and India's “lavish social amenities,” and advises the government to “avoid assuming new responsibility, especially investment in industry and mining.” Conference spokesmen for the dollar and the pound made it clear that they wanted wage-cuts and lower taxes on business, in an India which should be made safe for capitalism as a source of cheap raw materials



THE PM TAKES TIME OUT FOR A CHAT WITH A YOUNG FRIEND
A man mindful of his people today and their ancient culture

and barred from free capitalist development.

The “private sector” agents of foreign capital have been striving to cut India's second Plan; on Nov. 4 the press announced a cut, and a few days later that it had been restored on the basis of more deficit financing. The second Plan spells out “rapid industrialization” with a big public-sector allocation, creation of new jobs and specific land-reform measures.

THE RIDDLE: Earlier efforts by Congress reactionaries to pare it down had considerable success, but Nehru refuses any further cuts, and is taking a tougher line toward capitalists seeking government loans for industries which benefit mainly themselves.

The riddle of Nehru remains: Is he “really” a socialist? If he were, would he not be far tougher with the nest-featherers, Western stooges and black reactionaries who surround him in the administration and Congress Party? On his recent 69th birthday the pro-Nehru weekly *Blitz* concocted a dialog in which the Nehru of the fighting anti-British days and long jail terms heckled the Nehru of today with his own past statements.

In those days Nehru stressed the “clearly defined meaning” of socialism and said the most unviolent-minded people could not “altogether escape revolutions”; now he “speaks of Gandhism and moderation,” yet *Blitz* insists “the cancers must be rooted out” and “it does not have to be a violent revolution.” In the dialog Nehru replies essentially as he replied to me, that he isn't a dictator and “what the people want is what I want.”

THE ESSENCE: This is Nehru's essence as I would appraise him: he is above all an Indian, mindful not only of his people today but of their ancient history

and culture. He does not idealize “the masses,” but in constant contact with them in the past has “always found more than I expected” and believes their “200 years of battering” have left both good and bad imprints.

He recalls how their tolerant, originally materialistic and communal culture, now so distorted, influenced and absorbed all the procession of foreign invaders except the Europeans. The West introduced its democracy to India when the franchise was limited; but universal adult franchise is “relatively new” and nothing shakes Nehru's faith in it to make the necessary changes peacefully.

He has no misgivings about “illiterate voters” and, paying tribute 14 years ago to the peasant's “common sense,” wrote: “Certainly where the peasant is the main problem, the peasant's opinion is far more important” than the educated man's. At his office desk he recalled with a smile that “we put an end to hundreds of independent princes peacefully except in one case—they couldn't resist and had to give up.”

THE PATTERN: Does his “socialist pattern” imply a permanent place for the private sector? As far as land goes he “would rather call it the cooperative sector, for all strategic controls are in the state's hands.” He will now look ahead no further than to village-sized

cooperatives, with separate shares in joint farming which is “different from collective farming”; the present stage is service cooperatives, “then comes the stage of throwing fields in together.”

Industrially, the policy is based on “the qualification that the state can take over any industry when that is desirable. We need production so badly we must try to encourage everyone, but private industry must to some extent fit in with our Plan, and the public sector will gradually grow. Of course there is resistance but one simply rests one's hopes in the democratic process, because the average person who gets elected is not interested in big private industry. It will be very difficult to make us go back on our policy.” He repeated several times: “We want to proceed with the consent of the people.”

In his frequent appeals for a Chinese-type spirit of popular enthusiasm, Nehru rejects the methods used to arouse it. He commented cautiously to me on the latest Chinese production statistics: “I incline to think they create a wrong impression—the rice figures are almost fabulous—but the main thing is that the people are working terribly hard and producing results. I am told that factory workers fall asleep at their machines. I don't know if the people consent to such pressure, but certainly a great number do because of the results they get.”

PLAN FOR YOUTH: He said it would be “difficult to do like China here unless we changed the whole structure”, but that limited plans—“starting with say 100,000”—were being worked out for a national one-year youth service scheme: “Others have military conscription, why not the same here for social work?” The scheme would cover many categories from doctors to farmers and village-industry workers, and eventually “we think of having every young man and woman give a year” to “gift work” such as peasants now do on roads, wells, etc.

My own brief journey leaves the impression that India's masses would respond to a call from Nehru for much broader and more radical measures. Administrative and parliamentary burdens have greatly reduced his opportunities to meet the people. Everyone agrees that he alone holds together the Congress Party, the national liberation movement whose chief backers are the Tata industrial empire and Bombay's big businessmen.

TWO CAMPS: Two views were often expressed to me by politically informed Indians. One group accused him, with varying degrees of anger, of “weakness” toward his reactionary, corrupt and deceitful colleagues. They concede that he is holding together something he believes important, but predict that the longer he does so the more devastating will be the crash when he goes.

The other group's view was expressed by a trade union leader who said: “Nehru is not as weak as many think. He knows when to be strong, as when Pant and others tried to make him intervene in Kerala. He is a great administrator and in a remarkable way holds together not just the Congress but the country.”

Yet unless the spirit of pre-liberation days blazes up again across India, its whole renaissance could be aborted by a new economic imperialism. Today such a spirit is observable only in the Maharashtrian movement for separation of Bombay into two linguistic States. Thousands suffered and died for India's freedom, yet statues of paleface imperialists still dominate the cities and continued British operation of jimcrow swimming-pools rouses little stir. Middle-class Indians say, “We have no desire to revise history—we are a tolerant people,” and some seem ashamed of the “Mutiny” of a century ago.

New Year's Resolution

SIGN UP THREE NEW GUARDIAN READERS for \$1 introductory subs, and earn for yourself:

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Splitter Awake; 95 pp., soft cover; OR

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Either book free, for three \$1 subs. See coupon blank on p. 6.

All Cuba rejoices

(Continued from Page 1)

roulette tables and the dice cages. They were marking not only the overthrow of a bloody tyranny but of a shoddy racket administered from the Presidential Palace.

The final push against this gangster rule came swiftly and was as much an economic as a military offensive.

Cuba is basically a one-crop island and "bitter sugar" lay at the heart of Havana's gaudy corruption as well as of the fortunes and misfortunes of the seasonal farm-hands who cut the cane. By the end of November 60% of Cuba's sugar crop was controlled by the rebels in an "internal blockade." Rebel forces completely dominated all access from the cane fields and refineries to 12 of the 23 sugar ports. At seven other ports rebel forces partly controlled the roads and rails by which the crop would move. Only in Havana and three other ports could the forces of dictator Batista guarantee the flow of sugar.

DICTATOR'S TRUMP CARD: The "internal blockade" was as deadly for Batista as any outright military defeat. The dictator had been playing as his trump card what passed for prosperity in Cuba. The sugar crop looked promising and there was only the large seasonal unemployment that chronically afflicts the is-



land. In Havana he had arranged for U.S. racketeer Meyer Lansky to run the roulette tables and attract the tourist. The 30-story Habana Hilton had been opened only last March with the assistance of the canon of Havana Cathedral, movie stars and an armed guard. Batista had boasted that in the cities, at least, as long as there were bread and a few such circuses the revolt would dry up in the hills.

But as 1958 ended the tourist trade had dwindled, hunger dogged the cities in the wake of what had become nationwide civil war, and now the blockade of the sugar crop threatened to ruin the facade of prosperity.

REBEL ARMY OF 10,000: The "internal blockade" brought the revolution home to the business interests, U.S. and Cuban. U.S. sugar companies complained that they would have to write off the crop as a loss this year. The Church and the Chambers of Commerce called for peace, but it was certain that Batista could not impose it.

When victory came the rebels were credited by one writer with 10,000 military effectives, of whom 3,000 were equipped with modern infantry weapons and the rest with hunting rifles and pistols. In addition, the Fidelistas had the support of the people in the villages and countryside. In many of the cities as well there was active support, although the workers in the capital had shown only a benevolent neutrality toward Fidel Castro.

Against this military threat Batista had what would seem to be crushing superiority. Fleets of B-26's bombed villages and roads in rebel hands during the last days of the war. The British had sold Batista 18 Sea Fury fighters equipped with rockets, small cannon and .50-caliber machine guns. Britain had also sent Batista 15 Comet tanks, 30 tons of ammunition, a test pilot, mechanics and instructors.

THE BACK DOOR: The U.S., which had imposed an embargo on arms shipments

to either side of the civil war, was reportedly selling 45 tanks to Nicaragua for re-shipment to Havana. And dictator Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic had agreed to send 30 planes (purchased from the U.S.) along with dependable Dominican fliers. The fliers were important because Batista's air force had displayed a reluctance to bomb their countrymen. Some on bombing missions would change course and head out of the country. Many of the bombs dropped by Batista's planes failed to go off and one writer reported that the rebels then used them as an important source of dynamite for blowing up rails and roads.

A few days before the end Washington had apparently washed its hands of the Batista regime. The N.Y. Times' Russell Baker reported that unnamed U.S. experts had concluded that Batista's army "has proved incapable of coping with the rebellion and shown little will to fight it."

THE JIG IS UP: Of all the crimes charged against Batista it was this failure to suppress the opposition that finally lost him the crucial U.S. support he needed. Throughout Batista's regime the U.S. had supplied the dictatorship with the economic, diplomatic and, until recently, most of the military support he needed. In the final days of the war there were widely-circulated rumors that the U.S. was contemplating open military intervention.

Ambassador Earle T. Smith, whose bitter hostility to Fidel was a national scandal, returned to Washington in mid-December for consultations. Apparently he passed the word that the jig was up. When Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) head of a subcommittee on Latin-American affairs, called in State Dept. officials he got a firm promise that the U.S. would not intervene.

RETRIBUTION AHEAD: It was after this that the dictator sent seven of his eight children to the U.S. along with his high-placed associates, then fled with his wife and one of their children to Ciudad Trujillo. He left his lesser henchmen to struggle by themselves against the deluge. Some forced themselves at gunpoint aboard airliners, occasionally forcing the pilot to fly them to safety with a gun at his head. Others went into hiding. They feared the fulfillment of a prophecy made last April by Joseph Martin and Phil Santora of the N.Y. Daily News who, fresh from Cuba, wrote that the world must understand "for instance, that when a young girl is raped by a police chief while his grinning cops hold back the anguished father, the day of reckoning can include no mercy."

What would come after victory was the question vexing not only reporters but the revolutionists themselves. Batista turned Cuba over to a Junta under Gen. Eulogio Cantillo who picked an elderly Supreme Court Justice, Dr. Carlos Piedra, as President. The interim regime fell in a matter of hours. Castro refused to deal with them. Newly freed from the concentration camp for political on the Isle of Pines, Col. Ramon Barquin called on Fidel Castro to come to Havana.

THE NEW PRESIDENT: Amid tumultuous celebrations in Santiago de Cuba Castro proclaimed Manuel Urrutia the



PRESIDENT MANUEL URRUTIA
The right of revolution

provisional president of Cuba. Urrutia at 58 has a reputation as Cuba's constitutional revolutionary. As presiding judge of the Urgency Court in Santiago in May, 1957, he voted to acquit 150 young rebels. His grounds: Article 40 of the Cuban Constitution, which provides that when constitutional rights are violated resistance is legitimate. After that he was forced into exile. He lived quietly with his family in the Woodside section of New York City until last month when Castro sent for him.

He had earlier endeared himself to the rebels when he investigated the aftermath of Castro's first rising, on July 26, 1953. He insisted on entering into the legal record photographs showing that 86 of those martyred rebels had been shot by Batista's soldiers while they were stripped naked in prison.

GENERAL STRIKE: Urrutia was chosen by Castro as the man above factions, without taint of corruption. On political matters he has said only that he is anti-communist. The speeches in Santiago and his first cabinet appointments gave no further clue to Cuba's political future.

The rebels were still concerned with consolidating their victory and restoring the country to normalcy. Castro himself took charge of the armed forces. The rebels on entering Havana had closed down the town in a completely successful general strike until Jan. 5. Police agents and leaders of private armies, unable to flee with Batista, were still holding out knowing they could expect no mercy. Castro delayed his entry into Havana, making a slow and festive journey through cheering crowds in the countryside which his well-disciplined soldiers nevertheless combed thoroughly for possible assassins.

THE TRADE UNIONS: Castro had declared Santiago de Cuba the provisional capital partly in honor of the city's early adherence to his cause for which the Santiagueros paid a bloody price. But some also saw in the move a slap at Havana where the general strike of last March collapsed in a display of disorganization and apathy, thus delaying the final victory.

The absence of Havana's organized workers from Castro's inner councils and their failure to rally decisively to him

until very late in the day was sure to color Cuba's future. The Cuban trade union movement has been controlled rigidly by Batista's lieutenants, particularly the much hated Eusebio Mujal, president of the General Confedn. of Workers; he took refuge in the Argentine Embassy as soon as Batista fled. The rank-and-file in other days had been strongly influenced by the Communist Partido Socialista Popular, outlawed and hounded by the dictatorship.

PROGRAM IS UNCLEAR: The PSP followed its traditional policy of mistrusting adventures, however gallant, and, until late in the day, remained aloof from the guerrilla movement in the hills, putting its trust in an eventual rallying of Cuba's workers. Castro, though he blew hot and cold, was equally distrustful of the PSP and workers' action. The son of a sugar planter, he encountered his first revolutionary winds in his student days. Throughout he depended on students, intellectuals and the villagers in the hills.

No full political program ever emerged from his headquarters. There were manifestos calling for nationalization and sweeping land reforms and control of foreign investments. But these were later repudiated. Some reports said that the social ideas emanated from Fidel's brother Raul. Others said they came from Ernesto Guevara, an Argentina-born physician high in the military command. Fidel gave few clues as to his own convictions. But he made it clear he would not quietly play the game of the Cuban politicians in Miami, many of whom had only one ambition: to return to the gray bowl from which Batista had shouldered them.

THE OLD GANG: One of the politicians, ex-President Carlos Prio Socarras, flew to Havana as soon as the military victory was apparent. It was likely that the U.S. would favor some such old-line "respectable" politician who might take his cut but be unfailingly cooperative and certainly more dependable than the bearded men in fatigue uniforms who had come out of the hills.

The U.S. is not likely to take chances with Cuba. Tourists may lose their roulette games but the big money rides elsewhere on the island. For example, the American and Foreign Power Co. has \$221,000,000 invested there; the Moa Bay Mining Corp., a subsidiary of Freeport Sulphur Co., \$75,000,000; Nickel Processing Corp., a subsidiary of National Lead, \$43,000,000; Standard Oil of N.J., \$30,000,000; Cuban Telephone Co., a subsidiary of Intl. Tel. and Tel., \$61,000,000; Republic Steel, \$16,000,000; Texaco, \$14,000,000. In addition Firestone, Phelps Dodge and the sugar companies headed by United Fruit have substantial stakes.

WRITING THE FUTURE: Foreign investors did so well under Batista that in the last six years of his dictatorship they put \$800,000,000 in fresh capital into Cuba. More than half of the new investments came from the U.S.

U.S. investors reportedly were unworried as Batista fled. The ragged band of heroes had stormed the ramparts of a bloody tyranny, but the citadel of dollars was still intact.

Noto loses Smith Act conviction appeal

ON THE LAST DAY of the old year the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the conviction of John F. Noto, former chairman of the upstate New York Communist Party, under the membership clause of the Smith Act. He had been convicted in Buffalo in April, 1956, and sentenced to five years on a charge of knowingly being a member of a party that taught and advocated forcible overthrow of the Government.

The decision of the three-man court was unanimous. In the opinion, Judge Sylvester J. Ryan wrote:

"We need not here speculate and attempt to resolve subtle distinctions in the case of one who may have innocently

joined the party for some utopian idea, because this defendant was shown to be a leader steeped in party discipline and dedicated to its objectives . . . Clearly, this is not a prosecution of membership per se, but of membership with knowledge and criminal intent."

Six other membership cases are pending, awaiting a Supreme Court decision in the case of Junius Scales of North Carolina. The other defendants are: Claude Lightfoot of Chicago; Dr. Albert Blumberg, convicted in Philadelphia; Max Weiss of Chicago; Joseph Russo of Boston, and John Hellman of Butte, Mont. The case of Emanuel Blum of Indiana was dismissed last year on Government motion.



"OURS TALKS."
Herblock in Washington Post

FIDEL CASTRO'S LONG MARCH FROM JULY 26, 1953

A handful of men fired Cuba to topple Batista

ON DEC. 2, 1956, Fidel Castro at the age of 29, a tall young man wearing heavy glasses, came ashore on the coast of Cuba's Oriente Province with 82 followers. His only previous military experience: leading a futile raid on an army barracks by 165 students on July 26, 1953. Half those who followed him in his first venture had been killed in action. Now, with far fewer men, he proposed to overthrow one of the toughest dictatorships in the Americas, Fulgencio Batista's. It seemed a gallant, futile adventure. Most of those who gained the beach-head with Fidel were killed. But the movement took root in the hills and spread over the island. On New Year's Day, 1959, the dictator had been driven out and all Cuba was chanting: "Viva Fidel."



In the early days Batista's troops tracked down the guerrillas in the rugged mountains as if they were hunting small game. And they treated their quarry like animals.



A suicide squad of 45 students stormed Batista's heavily guarded palace in March, 1957. All were killed. Batista told newsmen how he saved himself; it was only a reprieve.



For youngsters it was no lark. Many, like Manuel Echeverria, shown above being led away (his mother and sister at his side), were imprisoned or shot.



When Batista closed down Havana University many of the students took to the hills. Fidel's black-and-red standard drew Cuba's youthful rebels.



By the end of 1958 the nation had a new symbol: a man with a beard and sideburns, holding a rifle, shouting: "Viva Cuba Libre." The man: Fidel Castro.



Victories came swiftly in the fall of 1958. Here Ernesto Guevara, Argentine-born officer of Fidel, leads his army into Fomento, a woman-soldier at his side.

ON THE EVE OF THE CPSU'S 21ST CONGRESS

7-year plan and school reform get wide debate

The new Soviet seven-year plan, projecting for Soviet citizens a living standard second to none, has provoked as much discussion abroad as at home. Within the U.S.S.R., the discussion is largely confined to working out details of meeting the plan's targets. Abroad, especially in the West, there has been skepticism about the plan's feasibility, together with fear of its profound effect on the under-developed countries should the plan succeed. And, on the basis of the Soviet Union's phenomenal past achievements, even the most skeptical has prudently conceded the possibility of the plan's fulfillment.

But even the most sympathetic Westerner has speculated on how the Soviets can achieve a sharp rise in the standard of living and at the same time decrease working hours. In the following article *GUARDIAN* correspondent Wilfred Burchett throws much light on this and on the much-discussed school reform plan.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

ABOUT HALF THE SPACE in Soviet newspapers these days is given to the nation-wide discussion now going on about the seven-year economic plan and school reform project to be presented at the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party this month.

Foreign residents are wondering how it will be possible to nearly double industrial and agricultural production in seven years and at the same time go over to a working week of 30 to 35 hours. Part of the answer seems to be in a mighty drive towards automation.

At least 1,300 fully automatic major industrial plants are to be put into operation. In the normal run of things and with the size of plants here this could easily mean anything from two to five million workers looking for jobs. Tens of thousands of other plants will automate varying proportions of their productive processes. Automation will be carried out above all in the machine-building industry.

NO LOSS OF JOBS: Agriculture, too, will receive a big impetus in mechanization with another million tractors and about 400,000 harvesters. Power consumption in agriculture, according to the draft plan, will increase about fourfold. So there will be a continuing surplus of manpower on the collective farms.

There will be 11,000,000 more factory and office workers by 1965, bringing the total up to 66,000,000. Plenty of reserves for industry, not to mention housing. Building fifteen million city flats and seven million country houses in seven years will doubtless absorb a good proportion of the unskilled and semi-skilled labor from the countryside.

Automation and mechanization do not mean loss of jobs in this organized society. It means shorter hours and more housing which seems a proper logical way to allot the benefits of labor-saving processes.

The economic plan, despite the vast leap ahead in heavy industry, is a better

balanced one than ever before—almost doubling production and slashing the working week is not the only illustration. It represents a tremendous step ahead in building a communist society—but the public is getting substantial benefits immediately this time. It is by no means a "pie in the sky" building for future generations only plan.

THE GAINS: The per capita production of all staple foodstuffs will surpass that of the U.S. by 1965. Keeping in mind the tremendous housing boom of the past few years and what is planned ahead, about half the entire population will be living in new homes.

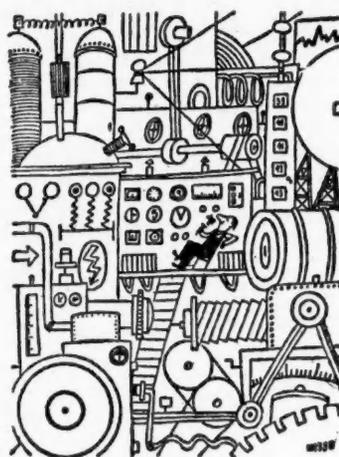
Although there is no provision for a very big increase in automobile output, there is for a radical improvement in public transport. Air transport, for instance, will increase six to seven times and about 90 airports are to be built or reconstructed.

Wages of lower paid workers will be almost doubled, pensions are to be increased again and there will be a 40% increase in average wages of all workers and the incomes of collective farmers. So this time, there is no question of tightening the belts to achieve heavy industrial figures which even a few years ago seemed quite fantastic.

THE SCHOOL PROJECT: The question of school reform has excited even more public interest than the economic plan. This is something that touches every family in the land.

I had a talk with Olga Oblazova, who is head-mistress at a Moscow school and who is also a member of the Supreme Soviet. She has an informal meeting with her electors twice a month and she told me that for weeks past, ever since Khrushchev first outlined ideas on the reform, her bi-monthly meetings have been entirely taken up with impassioned discussions.

"Most of the parents agree on their children going straight into production after the 8-year school," she said, "but there are others, intellectuals and so on, who are a bit appalled at the idea. They want their children to finish secondary school and go straight on to universities and institutes. The odd thing is that



Drawing by Kasso, Budapest
Socialist perspective on automation.

the children themselves are all for some physical work. It is just those that have been pampered at home who love to scrub the school floors and do all sorts of rough jobs we give them at school."

CHANGES NEEDED: Something has to be done with the school system here, everybody agrees. This year, for instance, 1,600,000 children graduated from secondary schools. The universities could accommodate not more than 400,000. The rest have to go into industry or agriculture—many of them ill-prepared physically and psychologically.

In his report Khrushchev pointed out that there are now over 4,000,000 students at Soviet universities and other higher educational establishments, more than four times as many as in Britain, France, Italy and West Germany combined, and that 7,500,000 university and institute graduates are now working as specialists in the national economy. University space has been expanded very quickly but it is obviously impossible to increase it to accommodate every school-child.

The new plan is to give every child a full eight years of education and then an interruption before they go on to complete their secondary education. "It is expedient that all young people be drawn into socially useful work from 15-16 years," states Khrushchev's report. "One of the main vices of the old society was the chasm between manual and mental labor. . . . The school reform should be carried out "so that boys and girls who finish ten-year school have a good general education opening the road to higher education and at the same time be prepared for practical activity. . . ."

Two principal ways of completing secondary education while taking part in production are proposed:

- After the first eight years' schooling, pupils go to factories or collective farms, are given at first vocational training in the job they are to do and then spend part of their time working, part of their time studying at special secondary schools. They may work only half

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days or have two or three days off a week from work to study. They will get professional training while completing their secondary schooling. This is proposed as the main method.

- After the eight-year school, pupils enter a labor polytechnical school which, on the basis of the needs of nearby industrial plants or collective farms, can combine full secondary education with vocational training and work in production in a three-year course.

HIGHER LEARNING: For specially gifted pupils in the arts and sciences—especially mathematics—there will be special schools where they will be exempted from taking part in production. But these will be very special, carefully checked cases. Priority for university entrance will be given to students who, having completed secondary education in production, have high all-round marks and especially high marks in subjects connected with their chosen specialty.

In a contribution to the discussion on school reform, two members of the Soviet Academy of Science, Y. Zeldovich and A. Sakharov, made a plea in *Pravda* for special treatment of mathematical geniuses:

"Many of the biggest discoveries and valuable investigations in these spheres of knowledge (mathematics and physics) have been made by talented scientists at the age of 22-26 who at 20-22 had completed their higher education. To retard the education of such people, is, to our mind, to harm the development of science and technology. A bent for mathematics and physics can become very noticeable at the age of 14 and 15.

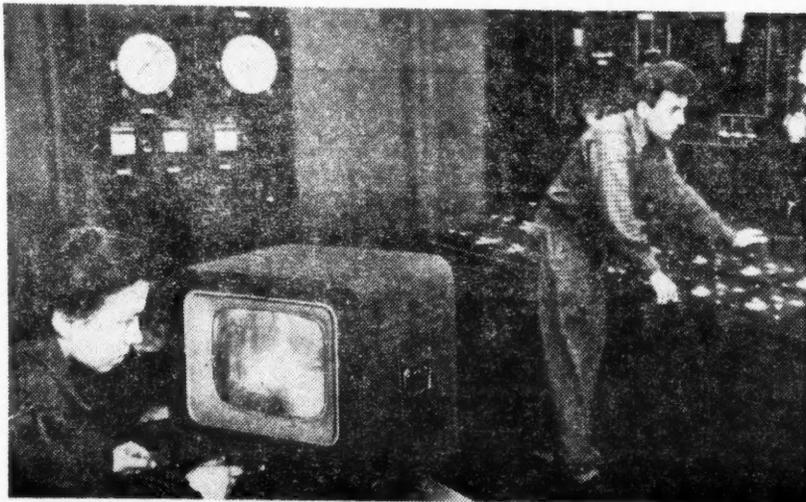
Pupils displaying good abilities should be provided with conditions for the earliest admission to college . . ."

Provision will be made for exceptions in the arts, music and science, but 95% of Soviet children in the future will have three years of work at a factory bench or on a collective farm before they have any chance of going on to a university, which among other things will ensure that the universities have the cream of the entire youth of the country to pick from, young people who have proven practical abilities in the professions they intend to study.

All foreign born: You must register

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE for Protection of Foreign Born urges that all non-citizens be reminded that under the Walter-McCarran Law they must report their current addresses to the Attorney General in writing during January of each year.

Special forms for making this annual report are available at all local post offices and local offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Individuals with questions or problems relating to registration should communicate with the ACPFB, 49 E. 21st St., New York 10, or with a local organization or attorney familiar with the procedures of the law. The 12-point program of the ACPFB, stressing the need for revision of the immigration law, is available free upon request at the above address.



THE RUSSIANS DISPLAY THEIR PROGRESS IN AUTOMATION
A woman shop chief at a chemical plant in the Ukraine uses a TV set to observe operations as a foreman (r.) mans the remote control panel.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG SAYS PEKING FEELS IT HAS TIME ON ITS SIDE

China's basic policy: Get U.S. forces out of all East Asia

By Anna Louise Strong
Special to the Guardian

PEKING

TWO DIPLOMATIC events here suggest that Peking is now consciously taking on the "world imperialists," and especially Washington, and using the lack of diplomatic recognition as an asset which gives her a freer hand. I have a ringside seat at these events.

Two banquets were held in succession last month in the big banquet hall of the Peking Hotel, where a stage behind the speakers' table permits song and dance programs between the courses. The first was given by Chen Yi, Vice-Premier and Foreign Secretary of China, to the delegates of the Algerian Provisional Government, which most countries know as "the rebels." The following evening Kim Il Sung, Premier of North Korea, gave a farewell banquet ending his significant Chinese tour.

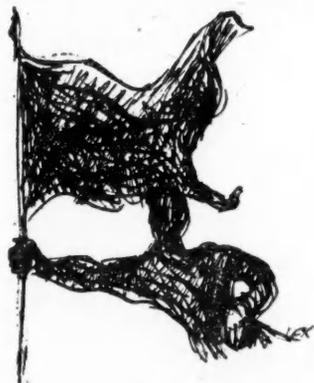
Both banquets were put on in a style that recalls that Peking has known the diplomatic ropes for centuries. Red streamers fell from a ceiling several stories high and were caught back against balconies; the stage was banked with flowers. Chen Yi specifically toasted the diplomats for coming, and thus made one aware that diplomats from many lands were greeting the Algerians in China before their home governments had recognized them.

DIVISION OF LABOR: Noting the Ambassador from India, and another from Ceylon and others from the socialist bloc, I turned with a sudden thought to a Chinese seated by me and asked: "Has the U.S.S.R. or any of the European socialist bloc recognized the Algerians?"

"No," he replied, adding: "It doesn't matter. There's division of labor."

Suddenly one saw that Moscow, engaged in diplomatic duels with Washington over Berlin or nuclear warfare, might find the Algerians embarrassing, but that Peking can use the freedom given by lack of relations with the UN and with America to cheer Algerians as much as she likes. She chose to do it at the moment when all nationalists in Africa assembled in Accra, with Algeria as their symbol both of imperialist greed for Sahara and of a people's anti-imperialist war.

China is the first big power to recog-



nize the Algerian Provisional Government. The Arab recognition, for which Peking correctly waited, hardly impressed the world. Peking's recognition carried North Korea and North Vietnam with it and encouraged Indonesian recognition. Through Peking, the Algerian revolution now seems to Asia a hopeful cause.

THE INVINCIBLES: The Algerian representatives were met at the airport by top ministers, cheered by the Peking populace in rallies, and then told by Chen Yi in a diplomatic banquet: "Despite hundreds of thousands of troops sent by France and modern armament sent by America, a people that has stood up to fight imperialism is invincible."

Then Chen Yi directly signalled Accra in these words: "The African people have entered the international arena. The re-



A TANK UNIT OF THE CHINESE VOLUNTEER ARMY WITHDRAWS FROM NORTH KOREA
This was the first unit to go last April, and they got a warm send-off

sounding slogan, 'Africa for the Africans,' rings through that continent." He mentioned the United Arab Republic, "a mighty force," and the Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Guinea as newly independent lands and said: "Of Africa's 220,000,000 people, countries with 100,000,000 have won an independent position."

This must have been heard as far as Accra. If anyone in Paris or Washington wonders what material aid to the Algerians will follow this recognition, they have only themselves to thank if Peking's exclusion from normal diplomatic world relations leaves her actions quite untrammelled.

KIM'S TOUR: Next day the Kim Il Sung banquet opened a challenge to "imperialists" in another area. Consider the sequence: The Chinese Volunteers come home from North Korea and various demands are made that the U.S. also take its troops from South Korea, a demand which the Americans refuse. Fighting in Taiwan Strait goes on long enough to put the U.S. on record before the world as intruding close to the China mainland and "plotting two Chinas."

Then Kim Il Sung comes to China—a military mission and a song and dance ensemble also come at about the same time—and all these Koreans get red carpet treatment in various Chinese cities. Then Kim drops down into Vietnam, collects some more applause, and returns to a publicized meeting with Mao Tse-tung and all China's top leaders in Hankow, against a background of the Cen-

tral Committee, meeting there at the time. After which is the banquet in Peking and a joint statement by both governments, signed by Kim Il Sung and Premier Chou En-lai.

Also consider that Mao Tse-tung has just published a collection of all his past remarks about "imperialism as a paper tiger" and this is being studied across China as a statement of policy.

Against this background Kim Il Sung thanks the Chinese at a banquet for the help they gave Korea "against the aggressors," meaning against the U.S. in the Korean War. Chou En-lai assures the assembled guests that "China's Taiwan will assuredly be liberated and the expanse of Korea with all its beautiful mountains and rivers will certainly be unified." He adds: "The American paper tiger can intimidate no one." All of which is said with great confidence.

A COMMON POLICY: Suddenly you recall the map of China, where the two long peninsulas of Korea and Vietnam hang down like pears from a tree: you see that the wars in Korea, in Taiwan Strait, in Vietnam are not as separate as they seem from a seaward approach, but are all connected by the China mainland; and you realize that the Chinese have reason for their belief that all these wars were an attempt by "world imperialism," and especially by Washington, to destroy the Peoples Republic of China, a republic which grows stronger every day and which does not expect to be destroyed.

Then you know that three nations—

North Korea, North Vietnam and China—are announcing to the world's diplomats a common and confident policy, to send the American troops out of all their areas, back home to the U.S.

This is confirmed next morning when the joint statement by China and North Korea "condemns the United States" and specifies actions in all three of these areas and demands the withdrawal of American armed forces from them all.

ABILITY TO WAIT: Americans may think it just a bit of propaganda. Asia will know that it announces a definite policy, that Peking declares that it is less interested in U.S. recognition or membership in the UN than in clearing the American armed forces out of East Asia. Most Asians will agree with the idea and only hope it can be done without war.

China apparently thinks it can be. For China has no desire to see an atomic war. But the Chinese Communists have shown, throughout their civil war, an ability to wait, to apply pressure, to take advantage of economic and political means and to use, at times, a combination of "shooting and not shooting" under careful control.

If Americans doubt this possibility I suggest only one question. What will happen when eventually Washington wants diplomatic relations with Peking for many reasons, and Peking replies: "Not until you get out of our territory and the territory of our allies." Peking thinks time is on her side. Peking can wait. She can also encourage world pressure while she waits.

How we felt about Taiwan nine years ago

FORMOSA, politically, economically, geographically is part of China . . . politically and militarily it is a strict Chinese responsibility.

Loss of the island is widely anticipated, and the manner in which civil and military conditions have deteriorated under the Nationalists adds weight to these expectations:

Formosa has no special military significance.

The United States has no "special interest" in or "designs" on the island or any military base in Formosa.

Seeking United States bases on Formosa, sending in troops, supplying arms, dispatching naval units . . . would involve the United States in a long-term venture producing at best a new area of blistering stalemate and at worst possible involvement in open warfare.

—Secret policy information paper concerning Formosa issued by the United States Information Service Dec. 23, 1949, and on Jan. 5, 1950, confirmed by President Truman and Secy. of State Dean Acheson in simultaneous public statements.



Dyad in London Worker
"They've ceased fire, what the heck do WE do now?"

Lion Feuchtwanger's great legacy to mankind

By Jack Wheelock
Special to the Guardian

LION FEUCHTWANGER, a passionate anti-fascist and one of the great historical novelists of this century, died in Santa Monica, Calif., on Dec. 21.

His death came almost on the same day the newspapers of the Soviet Union printed his New Year's greeting, in which he spoke warmly of the patience and dedication of the U.S.S.R. in preserving world peace.

More than 50,000,000 copies of Feuchtwanger's novels were sold; he was printed in more than 40 languages. In recent years he was a best-seller in East Germany; his *The Jewess of Toledo* was printed in many languages of the Soviet Union; all his books have been published in Eastern Europe within the last decade, and last year the Chinese Peoples Republic issued a beautiful edition of his *Simone*, which one reviewer characterized as "the timeless topic of the triumph of idealism over selfishness." In the U.S., three of Feuchtwanger's books—*The Jewess of Toledo*, *Power* and *The Ugly Duchess* have been issued in paper-back editions, each with a printing of 500,000 copies. None of his novels has sold less than 2 million copies.

BORN OF A WEALTHY Munich manufacturing family, Feuchtwanger early turned to intellectual pursuits. As a youth, he once told an interviewer: he was interested in 211 disciplines, including Hebrew, applied psychology, Sanskrit, compound interest and Gothic. He received his Ph.D. from the University of



LION FEUCHTWANGER
An optimist to the end

Munich; his dissertation was on Heine's *Rabbi von Bachrach*. The degree was "nullified" by the Nazis and "restored" by the Bonn government.

Until World War I, Feuchtwanger was an advocate of art for art's sake. But imprisonment by the French in Tunis and later service in the German Army changed his convictions. During the war he wrote several anti-war plays, all of whose productions were speedily closed by the police. He was close to the first German revolution and wrote a play, *Thomas Wendt*, describing its betrayal. As a result of his revolutionary experience, he found, he told a reporter last year, "that writers are not good practical revolutionaries." To his friends he was fond of quoting Goethe: "The man of action is always unscrupulous."

At a time when most of Germany and practically all of the world, with the exception of the U.S.S.R., regarded the brawling National Socialist movement as no more important than the shenanigans of beer-hall hoodlums, Feuchtwanger wrote *Success*, a masterly analysis and artistic representation of the Nazi development and the danger it held for mankind.

THROUGH HIS WRITINGS, Feuchtwanger early earned the enmity of German fascism and was forced to flee his native land at a time when even many liberals were still thinking the Germans were too sane to tolerate a Hitler. In France, where he "exiled himself to save his life," as he would say, he continued his anti-fascist writings, further infuriating the Nazis. When the Wehrmacht rolled into France, orders were given that Feuchtwanger be captured and executed. He fled, disguised as a woman, and, with the aid of American friends, came to the United States.

Among the best-known of Feuchtwanger's historical novels are *Power*, *The Ugly Duchess*, the classic *Josephus* trilogy, *The Oppermanns* (which Stalin told Feuchtwanger "saved me two divisions"), *Paris Gazette*, *This is the Hour*, *'Tis Folly to be Wise*, and *Jephthah and His Daughter*. *The Devil in France* is an account of Feuchtwanger's travail in occupied France; *Moscow, 1937*, describes a year Feuchtwanger spent in the Soviet capital and includes a historic interview with Stalin, and *The Devil in Boston*, a play, is probably the most penetrating study of Cotton Mather and his times yet made.

ONE OF FEUCHTWANGER'S novels caused him immense grief. *Power*, a magnificent portrayal of

the age of absolutism, was distorted into an anti-Semitic movie by the Nazis and exhibited in every country they conquered. "First came the movies and then the pogroms followed," Feuchtwanger told an interviewer. He added: "The irony is that I am due royalties. I don't want them, but maybe I should make an effort to collect them and turn them over to Israel." He was a stout and unflinching champion of the young Jewish state, even when wishing that "it might be a bit more neutral."

"I write things not as people want them but as they are," he once told an interviewer. "In *Jephthah and His Daughter*, all the stories on that subject have his daughter saved. But I have her sacrificed. Thousands of years ago, human sacrifice was common. All the circumstances lead to sacrifice. I cannot change facts and truth to provide a happy ending where there can be none."

Through the historical books of Feuchtwanger, his readers could much better understand the people and situations of their own time. The motivations of men and the dialectics of human actions had not changed much in the past 3,000 years, he felt. Confronted with the same stimuli, men pursue the same course now as they did in the past.

THE GREAT anti-fascists who left the U.S. for Europe after World War II, such as Thomas Mann, urged Feuchtwanger to return to his rootland, but Feuchtwanger declined. "The political climate [in the U.S.] is terrible, but the climate is good," he replied. He had much work planned: a long essay on the historical novel, followed by a novel about German refugees in the U.S., then several Biblical novels.

In all of Feuchtwanger's books, there is not only love for the honest intellectuals and the workers, but an attempt to have each understand the other. He was very conscious of the need for intellectuals to relate themselves closely to the people. Commenting on *This is the Hour*, he declared: "I wanted to show how many profound personal and sociological experiences and awareness of them must coincide before great art can be created."

Feuchtwanger leaves behind him a great legacy to mankind: an appeal to reason and a hope in the future. "I am an optimist," he stated proudly, a few months before his death. "I believe that, despite all setbacks, man advances toward reason."

BOOKS

A study of Mark Twain as social critic

DR. FONER'S critical biography *Jack London: American Rebel* is, to my mind, one of the best works of socio-literary analysis in American letters, and I therefore approached his *Mark Twain: Social Critic* with the expectation of a companion volume.

This anticipation of mine is surely not Dr. Foner's responsibility. I state it here only to warn the reader of whatever part it may have played in forming certain of my reservations as to this interesting and valuable, but not comparable, study.

The present volume begins with a brief account of the public facts of Twain's life, somewhat misleadingly called "A Brief Portrait." This is succeeded by a second short chapter entitled "Jester or Social Satirist," which summarizes a number of the leading critical discussions on the subject, from that of his first publisher and of Twain himself to the well-known debate between Van Wyck Brooks and Bernard De Voto.

The next 150 pages, which constitute the real body of the book, are divided into five chapters, each dealing with Twain's attitude toward certain specific social problems—"Politics and Government," "Religion," "Capital and Labor," "Brotherhood of Man," "Imperialism."

IN EACH of these fields there are substantial quotations from Twain's work, including as sources not only well-known books and less well-known letters, but also many almost entirely unknown fugitive articles hitherto published only in scattered contemporary periodicals.

"Politics and Government" is largely devoted to a detailed discussion of the social criticism embodied in the 32 chapters Twain contributed to *The Gilded Age*. Foner shows how sharply this part of the novel projected "the corrupting

influence of the speculative spirit and the greed for sudden wealth" of the period and "the three-cornered alliance of western speculators, eastern capitalists in Wall Street and a corrupt government." And how clearly Twain saw "the moral decay of the gilded age" and the hypocritical Christian piety of the Robber Barons who ruled it!

After noting the complete lack of any suggestions for reform in the novel, Foner speaks of Twain's own somewhat absurd proposals of a multiple suffrage law, of his early support for woman suffrage, and of his later active advocacy of a sort of non-partisan balance-of-power party to elect "good men" to public office.

TWAIN'S LIFELONG contempt for aristocracy and monarchy are vividly documented. His more important and relevant respect for the right of revolution is also amply illustrated from *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*, from his letters and articles against Russian Czarism, and from his outspoken support for the 1905 revolution.

The next chapter, "Religion," deals largely with Twain's criticism of hypocrisy or dishonesty in clergymen, but seldom reaches and never exceeds the general pragmatic level which was, indeed, Twain's own high water mark in this field.

The following, and perhaps the most important chapter in the book, is that on "Capital and Labor." Documented by many speeches, letters and hitherto uncollected articles, this shows how strongly Twain sensed the growing strength of the labor movement, the reality of class conflict it implied, and the role workers would have to play in building the civilization of the future and preserving it

from the "moral rot" caused by the "money-fever."

NEXT WE HAVE over 50 interesting pages devoted to "The Brotherhood of Man." This begins with Twain's early championship of the persecuted Chinese, surveys his growing consciousness of the evil of slavery with his consistent sympathy and respect for the Negro, quotes a now almost forgotten, but once much argued, essay "Concerning the Jews," and concludes with a brief note on his protest to President Cleveland against the abuse of the Indians.

The lengthiest discussion is naturally based on Twain's literary treatment of the Negro in his major work, *Huckleberry Finn*, and in the less important novel *Pudd'nhead Wilson*. The quotations are well chosen, and I certainly have no quarrel with Foner's admiring conclusion, but here again one feels that an almost mandatory opportunity to achieve a fuller

understanding of Twain's social thinking has been missed by Foner's simply stating, without grappling with, certain of its profound contradictions.

These include not only his apparently casual indifference toward the Civil War, but his extraordinary perversion of the last few chapters in *Huckleberry Finn* and his final apparently unquestioning acceptance of the effect of "Negro blood" in Roxana's son, although as Twain himself pungently says earlier in the book: "Only one-sixteenth of her was black, and that sixteenth did not show . . . To all intents and purposes Roxy was as white as anybody, but the one-sixteenth of her which was black outvoted the other fifteen parts and made her a Negro. She was a slave and salable as such. Her child was thirty-one parts white, and he, too, was a slave, and by a fiction of law and custom, a Negro."

IN SECTIONS like this the lack of literary criticism becomes a limitation in social criticism as well, and justifies a regretful contrast between this work and Foner's earlier more theoretical study of Jack London.

The same kind of illumination might well have been cast on much of the material so well presented factually in the last of these chapters, "Imperialism."

Clearly, Dr. Foner has performed a service for us as well as for Mark Twain in this volume. It seems ungrateful to demand more. But although he has here effectively presented a wealth of new material on Mark Twain: *Social Critic*, "the first large-scale study of Mark Twain as a serious thinker," which the book jacket promises us, still remains to be written. Perhaps with the materials laid out so neatly to hand, Dr. Foner will now complete his labor of love by a companion volume utilizing them in a truly analytic study of Mark Twain's thought and art.

—Annette T. Rubinstein

***MARK TWAIN: SOCIAL CRITIC, by Philip S. Foner. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Av., New York 16. 335 pp. \$4.50.**



Wall Street Journal
"Harry, our company needs a man with your know-how, your initiative, your connections, your four million dollars."

WASHINGTON CONFERENCE MAPS ACTION

Women seek equal opportunity in science

By Barrow Lyons
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON
WHILE AMERICA'S top men scientists were plotting the conquest of outer space here this week, the women interested in science were working on plans for the conquest of the men. They weren't looking for husbands, either. Most of them have husbands, and many have children—even grandchildren.

What they were after is equal opportunity for women to become scientists and engineers. The Russians have them all stirred up. Our most responsible reports from today's U.S.S.R. have it that the gals have just as good a chance to become scientists, engineers, and technicians as the men. In medicine, there seem to be even more women than men in Russia. And there are all sorts of special benefits to help them get there.

But our gloriously "free" American women appear to be struggling with ancient prejudices that handicap them from becoming scientists and engineers—from even wanting to become such. It starts in the nursery, when little girls are told that they are made of "sugar, and spice, and all things nice," a New York psychiatrist told the women.

LET'S DO IT: All this started in the Willard Hotel here on Dec. 29 when about 90 professional women brought together by the American Assn. of Scientific Workers discussed the problems of women in science—and then decided to do something about it. They even expect to have bills drafted for introduction in Congress providing various subsidies so that women can have babies and at the same time pursue technical studies or careers.

And this would be not just to make the women happy, but also to help end what Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, told them was a desperate need for more well-trained scientific workers.

He warned that it wasn't going to be easy for them to get what they are after.



Evening Standard, London
"Miggs minor, don't keep calling out Da Da to me, just say yes."

The men don't want the women in their engineering, medical and other technical schools. And there is an age-old prejudice that after they are married women ought to spend all their time looking after husbands and children.

But, from the sort of conversation that went on at this first Conference on the Participation of Women in Science, it was evident that the revolution in the status of women which began a few generations ago is now under full sail.

FULLER LIVES: Yet the meeting was not a belligerent, anti-male, feminist gathering. While it was composed of women of all ages from college students to really old ladies, with a sprinkling of Negroes and Asians, the main tenor of talk was in search of ways in which women might lead fuller lives without sacrificing homes and children—indeed, might enhance the happiness of their homes through broadening the satisfaction of the women in them.

Gray-haired, kindly and impressive, Dr. Melba Phillips of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., presided over the gathering in the Presidential Room of the Willard. Before Dr. Flemming arrived, the principal speakers were Dr. Elizabeth A. Wood of the Bell Telephone Laboratories, Murray Hill, N.J., Dr. Anne Steinmann of Hofstra College, Hempstead, N.Y., and

Dr. Annabelle Motz of the University of Maryland, College Park, Md.

All were handsome women. All were married. Dr. Wood, a crystallographer, has no children; but Dr. Steinmann, a psychiatrist, has three and is a grandmother; and Dr. Motz, a sociologist, has two small children.

Dr. Wood told the group that there are two deeply ingrained social attitudes to be overcome, if women are to have equal educational and job opportunities in science and engineering with men. They are (1) the notion that mechanical gadgets and scientific interests are strictly in the province of boys, and (2) that girls generally win approval of family and friends only when they concentrate upon marrying and raising children. This is drilled into both boys and girls from the time they begin to learn to talk; and it is small wonder, she indicated, that men hesitate to take women into scientific companionship in science and the mechanical pursuits.

THE HANDICAPS: "Even women trained in science carry with them this cast of thinking—that they can't really be as good as men in scientific work," she said. "Their childhood training has indoctrinated women scientists with a deep sense of inferiority in mathematical and scientific pursuits."

Dr. Wood also urged sex desegregation of men and women in scientific societies and meetings. She thought that scientific societies for "women only" indicated a clinging together on their part out of a sense of insecurity.

But she did not deprecate home-building for women during child-bearing years, for, she said: "That is a most skilled profession, too."

Dr. Steinmann advocated technical courses for married women so that they might enlarge their skills.

Dr. Motz contrasted the scientific approach to life with the "feminine" approach. One of the principal difficulties to be overcome by scientific women, she said, was the tendency to shift back and forth between the role of scientist and conventional female, and thereby lose power in both.

"Changing gears," she called it "One minute trying to be a woman and being treated as such, and the next trying to be an objective thinker pursuing the riddles



A MODEL ATOP A COMPUTER
While women fight for the right to a career IN science, some men think their only place is sitting ON science.

of science." Many women desert their scientific field, or stay out of science, because they find it too difficult to keep changing roles.

OPEN THE DOORS: Secy. Flemming said that if there is to be a rapidly expanding economy, we must expand our scientific and engineering manpower greatly.

"We know our limiting factor is manpower," he said. "Under these circumstances this nation must make sure that we fully utilize the women who have the aptitudes and training for work in technical fields. We know that opportunities for constructive service in these fields are

unparalleled today.
"I am convinced that there are many women who could make just as significant contributions in the fields of science and engineering as men. But the schools of engineering and medicine do not welcome them. This is true of graduate work in many sciences.

"I think the heads of these institutions have not yet really accepted the fact that we are up against serious shortages in these areas. If they had, it seems to me, they would do everything possible to encourage women to enter them. We should work in season and out to convince the men that they should open the doors of their institutions to women."

PLAN OF ACTION: From the reports of four panels a plan of action emerged.

It was decided that the chairman should appoint a committee representing the groups operating in the conference, and that other groups and individuals be called upon to help open greater scientific and engineering possibilities for women. The meeting was sponsored not only by the American Assn. of Scientific Workers, but by Sigma Delta Epsilon (a women's scientific society), the American Woman's Assn., the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, the Natl. Council of Women of the United States, the Natl. Fedn. of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the U.S. Natl. Student Assn.

The group will seek as objectives:

- National subsidies for women with small children, to enable mothers to pursue scientific callings by providing care for their children in mother's absence;
- Reduction of non-scientific requirements for women in college, in order that they may take more science courses;
- Industrial fellowships not tagged with requirements for practical factory experience, where women are not permitted to work in factories;
- More opportunities for women in medical schools;
- More training for school teachers in mathematics and various sciences, chiefly so they may inspire pupils, even in grade schools, with a desire to pursue scientific studies later;
- Stimulate cooperation between men and women in technical schools, and indoctrination of instructors and professors to demand of women students standards as high as those demanded of men.

The women were exhorted to examine their own attitudes, and to adapt themselves to a world in which greater opportunities are opening for them more rapidly than ever before.

Walter's grab

(Continued from Page 1)

Persons questioned before the Committee are punished by damage to their reputations and loss of employment. If they are falsely defamed they have no remedy in actions for libel."

FOX AND HENS: When Walter proposed to take over immigration and passport legislation the outcry grew. Walter, chronically suspicious of or hostile to the foreign born, is co-author of the Walter-McCarran Act which clamps an iron curtain of suspicion around all immigrants.

Former Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, in a press conference at the Overseas Press Club in New York Jan. 2, said that "making Walter czar of immigration would be like putting the fox in charge of the hen house." Lehman warned that "this preposterous move" might have the "support of the House leadership on both sides of the political aisle" and said that it was designed "to enlarge the authority of Mr. Walter and to breathe permanent life into the moribund Un-American Activities Committee." He said his own party, the Democrats, "will bear a major share of the blame that will be assessed for this shocking project."

Like other critics of the proposal Lehman saw not only the menace of enlarging the Committee's inquisitorial powers but an "insult" in making immigration and passport affairs a matter primarily of "security." It seemed to

brand every alien and passport applicant a suspect of possible subversion.

RESTRICTIVE WALL: Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said he favored giving up some of his committee jurisdiction but not to the Un-American Activities Committee. He said: "I don't like the Un-American Activities Committee and I don't want its work expanded."

The Washington Post warned editorially that if the proposal was passed Walter "would be better able to build a wall

of legislative restrictions around and across the United States . . . The Un-American Activities Committee should be abolished, not reorganized and expanded. It has long outlived whatever usefulness it ever had."

The Providence Journal commented that Walter's record would indicate that his new powers "would be used to exploit his animosities toward aliens, just as he has used his present post to exploit his 150% Americanism at the expense of the public interest."

Three in Congress campaigned for peace

DETERMINED and consistent advocates of peace are a rarity in Congress on either side of the aisle. While there was a lot of talk about peace during last November's election campaign, most of the new legislators who swept in on the Democratic tide managed to do so without taking any sharp issue with the Eisenhower-Dulles brinkmanship in foreign affairs.

Perhaps the outstanding exception is Byron L. Johnson, who was sent to the House from Colorado on the basis of a vigorous campaign as a pacifist. Johnson, a member of the national council of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, told his audiences: "Our only choice in this atomic era is either to live together or die together." The nation's only real defense, he said, "is to fight for a just and lasting peace."

TWO OTHERS: Joining Johnson in

the House is William H. Meyer, whose unique position is only partly explained by the fact that he is the first Democrat elected from Vermont since 1862. Meyer is also a Quaker and campaigned for repeal of conscription and recognition of China.

According to Religious News Service, another Congressional candidate, Mrs. Rudd Brown in California also "expressed strongly pacifist views" in her campaign. She lost in a close vote.

From Wyoming 43-year-old Dale McGee, former professor of American history at the U. of Wyoming, will be moving into the Senate. He has championed the need for co-existence and the idea that "we have let the military get too intertwined with foreign policy." In 1956 he and his wife directed a tour group of business and professional men to the Soviet Union.

De Gaulle devalues

(Continued from Page 1)

Zeitung, "should be tied to certain financial and technical conditions as well as to certain guarantees. The country benefitting by such credits should also count on being given a certain number of economic, political and financial accommodations."

The British paper *Liverpool* found that "the monetary adjustments imposed by France show the whole world that W. Germany is the boss in the Common Market."

THE HEAVY FRANC: Devaluation, sugar-coated by the prospect of a gradual return to a "saner, safer heavy franc" (100 francs equal 1 heavy franc—a mere accounting operation) was inevitable if Paris was to enter the Common Market in competitive equality. Its immediate results in foreign trade are these: A devalued franc lowers French export prices, hence facilitates French sales abroad. But it raises import prices



Horizons, Paris
EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET

for foreign raw materials and finished goods. As a result, a great number of consumer prices—coffee, tea, wool, cotton, rubber, to name just a few—will go up almost automatically this month.

There are three possible over-all effects in the situation: (1) a drastic reduction of general purchasing power; (2) a general wage rise with controlled prices; (3) a run-away inflation that would quickly eat up all the benefits of devaluation. The government seems already to have made its choice: no controlling prices, but a virtual freezing of salaries, except for a token 4% rise for civil servants and a 5% increase in minimum wages set by law—but not to be put in effect generally.

THE BUDGET: Most revealing element yet of the new administration's too often concealed intentions is the 1959 budget, drawn up by Finance Minister Antoine Pinay under the personal direction of President de Gaulle, and with the help of several financial experts. (One expert advising Pinay, Jacques Rueff—known in financial circles as a "healer" of sick currencies—has two "saved" foreign currencies

A poor man's guide to rich terms

In the complicated European financial maneuvers, a few definitions are in order. Apply these to Anne Bauer's Paris dispatch and then paste them in your hat for future reference.

THE OEEC: (Organization for European Economic Cooperation): Composed of 17 nations: Britain, France, W. Germany, Italy, Portugal, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Iceland, Austria, Ireland, Switzerland, Greece, Turkey. Organized to coordinate the economic activities of the member nations.

EPU (European Payments Union): Set up within the OEEC to provide a form of "closed circuit" convertibility for its members; balances a country's credits against its debits, much as a bank clearing house does.

COMMON MARKET: Put in effect Jan. 1 by the European Community (France, W. Germany, Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Italy). Its six members already pool their coal, steel and atomic energy through the European Coal and Steel Community and Euratom. Now they will in stages reduce tariff and trade quotas until they are eliminated. The plan is eventually for the six nations to form a single economic unit in which raw materials, goods, currency and labor will move freely, as within the bounds of a single nation.

DEVALUATION: This is the process by which a nation reduces the value of its currency in relation to the currencies of other nations. The franc for more than 18 months has been 420 to the dollar; now it will be 493 to the dollar. It will make French products cheaper to foreign purchasers; but it also will make foreign products more expensive for French buyers.

THE "HEAVY FRANC": By this process the franc is revalued by dropping two zeros, thus giving the "heavy" franc 100 times the purchasing power of the old franc. There is no real change in value, but it is supposed to have the psychological effect of giving the French people greater confidence in the solidity of their money.

CONVERTIBILITY: Convertible currency is a franc, pound or mark that can be changed into any other currency its owner wishes. Thus, you can buy a product in England with marks, or something in France with pounds, since the seller knows he can convert the money back without losing in the process. Ten countries have agreed to a limited convertibility: Britain, France, W. Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Sweden, Norway. Limited convertibility means that these countries will take currencies from any foreigner who has them and give him in exchange any currency he wants. Full convertibility—still a long way off—would permit residents of a country to get any currency they want. Limited convertibility has largely been in effect in most of the ten countries. It will not affect American tourists to any great extent.

rencies to his credit in countries proverbial for their economic happiness and social justice: Greece, and Portugal.)

The government press has tried to build up a phony quarrel between two supposedly contradictory economic conceptions inside the government: Pinay's conservative, deflationary views as against the expansionist notions of Jacques Soustelle's new Gaullist party, the Union of the New Republic, recently given out to the press by the UNR's financial expert, Albin Chalandon.

WHAT IT DOES: Pinay's budget (which bears the mark of his "a franc is a franc" mentality) is a budget that distributes the country's austerity sacrifices according to the logic of the banks and trusts that boosted the new government into the saddle. Under the Pinay budget:

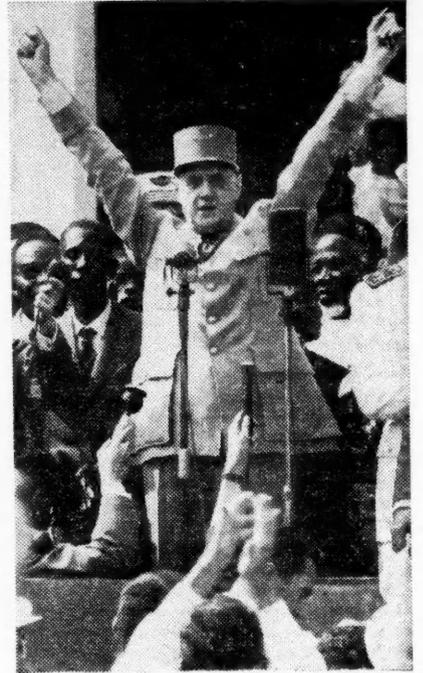
- Cost of many basic goods and services—gas, electricity, railway, subway, coal, agricultural machinery, bread, rice, flour, milk, etc.—will go up from 5% to 50% as a result of budgetary cuts in government subsidies.

- Indirect taxes (the most unjust, since they are paid by poor and rich on the same scale) are depended on to bring in 2/3 of the total tax return.

- Big Business, with one tax increased but several others dropped altogether, comes off with a substantial tax saving.

- State health insurance payments are curbed but a generous \$10-a-year increase in old age pensions is offered.

THE WAR GOES ON: The budget follows the classic pattern: less taxes for big capital, less buying power for the wage earner—all the way down the line. The trade unions have termed it an "un-



FOR THE GLORY OF PROFITS
De Gaulle tightens the worker's belt

precedented offensive by government and management against the interest and acquired rights of the working class."

The government's new economic policy leaves untouched the heart of the matter—Algeria—the prime cause of the country's economic deterioration over the years. The totally unproductive war expenses have been increased by another 120 billion francs. As long as a substantial part of the budget continues to go down the drain of the Algerian war, inflation will remain a stand-by of the country's economy.

Even among observers not basically opposed to the new government, the more lucid ones admit that the Algerian war is a permanent threat and a dangerous obstacle to the success of the government's enterprise.

On the burning of dissenters

AT EVERY CROSSWAY ON THE ROAD that leads to the future, each progressive spirit is opposed by a thousand men appointed to guard the past. Let us have no fear lest the fair towers of former days be sufficiently defended. The least that the most timid among us can do is not to add to the immense dead weight which nature drags along.

Let us not say to ourselves that the best truth always lies in moderation, in the decent average. This would perhaps be so if the majority of men did not think on a much lower plane than is useful. That is why it behooves others to think and hope on a higher plane than seems reasonable. The average, the decent moderation of today will be the least human of things tomorrow. At the time of the Spanish Inquisition, the opinion of good sense and of the good medium was certainly that people ought not to burn too large a number of heretics; extreme and unreasonable opinion obviously demanded that they should burn none at all.

—Maeterlinck: Our Social Duty

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Chicago Militant Labor Forum presents **JAMES NASH**, Sr., reviewing "Black Reconstruction" by W.E.B. DuBois, also a report by **CLIFTON DeBERRY** on the Carolina Cases of Racial Injustice. Fri., Jan. 16, 8:15 p.m., 777 W. Adams St.

NEW YORK

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DR. CORLISS LAMONT (Author, "The Illusion of Immortality," "The Philosophy of Humanism," "Freedom is as Freedom Does," "Man Answers Death," etc.) Fri., Jan. 9, 8:30 p.m., at Carnegie Hall, 154 W. 57 St. (Chapter Room, 5th floor). Cont. \$1.25, students 90c.

CARL MARZANI, author and lecturer, will speak on "The Berlin Crisis & American Foreign Policy." Sun., Jan. 11, 8:30 p.m. Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

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Report on Jewish life in U.S.S.R. in Chi., Jan. 17

TWO WELL-KNOWN Chicago leaders in Jewish life will speak under the auspices of the Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago on Jan. 17, 8 p.m. at the Masonic Temple, 32 W. Randolph St., on their personal observations and impressions gathered in Poland and the Soviet Union during the past months.

Mandel A. Terman and **Herman Bush** gathered information on film and on tape about Jewish life in these countries, with a critical eye and ear.

The Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago have arranged this program as a service to the Jewish and non-Jewish community because of the many questions that have been raised on the subject during the past few years.

The public is invited and the speakers are prepared to answer all questions to the best of their ability.

Classes on American life at Marxist School in N.Y.

EIGHT NEW COURSES on "American Life" will be offered by the Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 St., N.Y.C., in their Winter term, starting on Mon., Jan. 19. Registration is now going on, from 2 to 9 p.m. daily, at the faculty's offices, where catalogs can be obtained upon request, with full course descriptions.

All classes meet once weekly for seven sessions, at either 6:45 or 8:30 p.m. The fee is \$6 per course.



THE MOVIE MOGULS OF HOLLYWOOD are in an embarrassing situation of their own making. Last week they learned that **Nedrick Young**, an actor at Warner Brothers until 1953 when he invoked the Fifth Amendment before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, had co-authored a film under the name **Nathan E. Douglas**. If the movie had been a potboiler, they would have paid it no mind; it is an open secret in Hollywood that blacklisted writers are turning out scripts under assumed names. But, with **Harold Jacob Smith**, Young wrote **The Defiant Ones**, which the New York film critics voted the best picture of the year and for which they gave the writers a special award. The movie is a front-runner for this year's Motion Picture Academy Oscar and **Smith** and **Douglas** seemed certain to be nominated for the writing award.

Last year, however, the Academy instituted a rule barring an award to any person who has admitted membership in the Communist Party or who "shall have refused to answer whether or not he is . . ." According to Academy president **George Stevens**, this eliminates Young from the competition. But the Academy's embarrassment continues over what to do about **Smith**, who was never called before a committee. If they bar the film from competition, they would make a further mockery of the vaunted Oscar. Can they give **Smith** half an Oscar and the other half to **J. Edgar Hoover** to hold in escrow until Young answers committee questions?

One solution might be to give **Smith** a full Oscar and Young the Oscar that has been sitting in their offices for two years. That one was awarded in 1957 to "Robert Rich," which turned out to be a blacklisted writer's pseudonym. Since the real "Rich" could not come forward for his prize, the statuette has been gathering dust. Another way out, of course, is for one of the moguls to stand up against the blacklist. As of this writing they were all sitting down.



A NOTTING HILL CHRISTMAS CAROL

Some folk in the Notting Hill section of London may have been dreaming of a lily-white Christmas but **George David**, a West Indian, did a great deal to rid the area of the "Little Rock" stigma it was given some months ago by white hoodlums who staged a race riot. He played **Santa Claus** at a party for white and colored children.

THE HOLIDAYS WERE NOT JOYOUS everywhere in the country. In Washington, D.C., someone crept into the backyard of **Margaret Jenkins** on Christmas Eve and stole a statue of the Virgin Mary. . . . **Holly K. Stratton**, a delicatessen store owner in Ferndale, Md., hired a man to sell Christmas trees outside his store dressed as **Santa Claus**. Sales went very well. All trees disappeared from stock. So did **Santa**—with \$400. . . . But in Racine, Wisc., **Warren David** got the gift of his dreams. Weeks before the holiday Mrs. David asked her husband what he wanted for Christmas. Finally he told her his wildest desire. She placed the request in a box at a local store. On Christmas Eve the store owner appeared at the David house with a large box marked for Mr. David. When he opened the parcel, out stepped just what he had ordered: a beautiful blond, five feet two, measuring 38-24-36. . . . On the West Coast there is an organization called The Great Council of California Improved Order of Red Men. Its purpose is "to emulate the noble traits of the Indian and their love of freedom and devotion to friends." The by-laws restrict membership to whites.

ENGLISH CARTOONIST VICKY predicts for 1959: "Mr. Dulles will visit the United States. Mr. Eisenhower will visit the White House." . . . Americans spent 6.8% more on cigarettes in 1958 than in the previous year. But sales dropped on chewing tobacco and snuff. . . . **Dr. Fred Cagle** of Tulane U., just back from the U.S.S.R., says Russian scientists "are being given the freedom to do work they wish to do and they are so spoiled they don't think about money." . . . Playwright **Tennessee Williams** told an interviewer: "People talk glibly about what kind of cars they will have in 1970 and how long it will take to get to the moon. My opinion is that the human race won't be here in 1970. We talk seriously about living in outer space when we haven't learned to live on earth without fighting each other. If people acted like nations, they would all be put in straightjackets." . . . A New York store offers: "Photos taken at the front by Nazi soldiers."
—Robert E. Light

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But—not every album of merit is recorded by well-known performers. For example, we have heard several recordings by extremely talented young artists we are sure you will enjoy.

LEON BIBB sings **FOLK SONGS** with chorus and orchestra conducted by **Milt Okun**; **Fred Hellerman**, guitar. If you are familiar with Bibb's work around the New York area, particularly in the City Center production of Kurt Weill's "Lost in the Stars," then don't bother to read further, move right down to the coupon. But if you have never heard him, you are in for a treat. He has a beautiful, trained lyric baritone voice which ranges into the tenor register. In a sense it is a misnomer to call this a folk album because the orchestral arrangements and Bibb's voice are not in the "folksy" tradition. Perhaps it is best labelled a collection of American songs beautifully sung and arranged. There is the same excitement here as was found in Harry Belafonte's early work.

Songs include: Sinner Man, East Virginia, Turtle Dove, Darlin', Rocks and Gravel, Poor Lolette, Look Over Yonder, Red Rosy Bush, Take This Hammer, Skillet, Jerry, Dink's Blues, Irene.

SONGS with GUY CARAWAN. People in the Los Angeles area and along the hootenanny circuit should be well acquainted with Guy Carawan's lovely tenor voice. However, something new has been added to his repertoire. In the summer of 1957 he went to the Moscow Youth Festival. There he learned songs from all over the world. He was invited to tour the U.S.S.R. and China singing his special brand of Americana. On his return he recorded this album. One tune we know you will like is called Chinese Flute,



which, Carawan says, "I learned from Wang, a Chinese railroad worker. It's played on a six-hole bamboo flute that was given to me by a young Chinese fellow whom Pogy Seeger and I met out in a boat one day on the lake of the Summer Palace near Peking. Peggy and I were floating along playing tre guitar and banjo and before we knew it we were surrounded by a dozen or so rowboats of Chinese. We started swapping tunes with a flute player in one of the boats and before long were having a hootenanny. When we left, the flute player insisted I take his flute and learn to play it."

Songs include: Old Blue, Cripple Creek, Whoa Buck, Three Little Pigs, Boll Weevil, Brazos, Buffalo Gals, Virgin Mary, Sinner Man, The Water Is Wide, Sourwood Mountain, Weary Blues, The Little Black Flies, This Is The Way I Feel, Hava Na Geala, Chinese Flute, Katusha, Strangest Dream.

FOLK SONGS for babies, small children, parents and baby sitters by THE BABY SITTERS—Lee Hays, Alan Arkin, Jeremy Arkin, Doris Kaplan, Jeff Kaplan, Adam Arkin and Co. It's wrong, of course, to include Lee Hays in a grouping of young folk singers. The senior mem-

ber and basso profundo of the Weavers has been at it for longer than he would care for us to mention. Alan Arkin perhaps fits the category better. He is a member of the Tarriers who filled the juke boxes with their recording of Cindy. But the rest of the group we know you never heard before. Two of the ladies are housewives making their professional debut, and the rest—we'll, they never recorded before because they have just learned to talk.

Please note, they are offered at a new, low GBS price: \$3.75 per album including postage and handling.

Sound offbeat? It is. It's one of the most charming, ingenious albums we have ever heard. Recorded in a living room—with time out for feedings, diaper changes, etc.—the album is a collection of children's songs and games. It's the kind of album youngsters will listen to and sing along with for hours at a time, while the parents get on with the chores. It is like having a nursery school teacher at home. But as the title indicates, there is a certain charm that captures grown-ups as well! This might become the most popular children's record of the year. If there is a youngster at your house, you'll want this record.

Songs include: Come On and Join the Game, Over in the Meadow, Fiddle-I-Dee, Bobby Shafto, Ha-Ha Thisaway, By'm By, Cape Cod Boys, Where's Miss Finky, Tell Me Please, The Step Song, Hush Little Baby, Daylight Train, The Little House, Mister Policeman, Alouette, Billy Boy, I'm Not Small, This Old Man, The Clock Song, Counting Sheep.

the SPECTATOR



The golden link

MOSCOW

THE DAY BEFORE leaving for the Soviet Union as a guest of the Union of Soviet Writers, I saw my dear friend, Rockwell Kent, in New York City. He and his wife, Sally, had just returned from Russia, and he was full of enthusiasm about their wonderful experiences. But the first thing he said was this: "I must tell you about our interpreter! She was marvelous! You must meet her."

Countless visitors to the Soviet Union share that sentiment. I have seen many remarkable phenomena since arriving in Moscow, but few more remarkable than the interpreters. To call them simply "interpreters" is a gross understatement.

For in addition to interpreting, they act as administrators, organizers, guides, friends and, not infrequently, diplomats. When train tickets are to be obtained, they get them; theater tickets to be selected, they help in the choice; places to be seen, they lead the way; schedules to be planned, they assist in the planning. The list could be indefinitely prolonged. In endless ways they aid guests and visitors; and they do so with incomparable patience, thoughtfulness, sensitivity and understanding.

SOME OF THEIR TASKS and talents can be appreciated when one realizes that hundreds and thousands of visitors are pouring into the Soviet Union from all over the world—from India, China, Egypt, Australia, Germany, America, Africa—and that these visitors include doctors, agronomists, clergymen, poets, historians, educators, engineers and plain sightseers. The interpreters are conversant with not only the language but also the cultural backgrounds and special interests of the visitors. (They have, of course, broad knowledge of the culture and history of their own country.)

One interpreter I met was working with a delegation of Indian writers: she reads and speaks Urdu, Hindi, English, Polish—and is learning French; she has translated a book on Indian art into Russian . . .

One afternoon I talked with a famous folk bard from Iraq; I could not speak his language nor he mine; but his interpreter spoke both, and we conversed without difficulty. We not only talked; we became friends. I have an interpreter to thank for that.

SOVIET WORKERS have accomplished world-shaking wonders; but I doubt that many workers work harder than the interpreters. Certainly few workers keep such hours. They start the first thing in the morning and rarely, I think, get home until the early morning hours of the next day.

Frequently they have to travel with visitors for days on end. I have a mental image of scores of husbands of women interpreters



TOURISTS IN MOSCOW: CAMERAMAN'S PARADISE

who rarely see their wives, and scores of wives of men interpreters who sometimes wonder if they are married. To these husbands and wives, we guests in the Soviet Union owe, I think, an apology.

I have special reason to apologize. During my first three weeks in the Soviet Union, I had half a dozen different interpreters—all wonderful persons. But three took sick and three could only work a short time on an emergency basis. Two who took sick were young women just back from the Tashkent Conference, where they had obviously exhausted themselves by their labors. I say this not in self-excuse. I was obviously the last straw for them.

AND IF I AM any sort of an example, I can imagine what interpreters have to tolerate in some visitors, what sort of idiosyncracies they have to put up with. Granted, I am a particularly difficult case, aggressive, tempestuous, anarchistic, and Lord knows what else. So I feel personally responsible for the collapse of the interpreters who worked with me.

No, the title "interpreter" is not enough. Said one Indian writer: "The interpreters are a golden link in a chain of friendship." I am not exaggerating when I say that without them many of us visiting the Soviet Union would simply be lost, and that through them our stay in this wondrous land is vastly enriched.

"I do not work to live," said one of my interpreters. "I live to work."

What more is there to say?

May I propose a toast? A toast to interpreters!

—Albert E. Kahn

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