

# Macmillan is reported pressing Western bloc for a summit parley

By Kumar Goshal

**P**RESSURE OF EVENTS abroad and at home last week seemed to be pushing a reluctant Eisenhower Administration toward a summit meeting.

On his return home from the Soviet Union, British Prime Minister Macmillan said his conversations with Soviet Premier Khrushchev had convinced him that Moscow is prepared to negotiate a settlement of the Berlin and the Germany issues. He was reported to believe that the Western powers could not stand pat but must offer realistic counter-proposals to the Soviet Union.

As counter-proposals, Macmillan was said to be seriously considering a modified version of the Soviet proposal for a confederation of East and West Germany. He reportedly felt that within the framework of such a provisional confederation, for a term of years, Khrushchev's proposal for a demilitarized free city of West Berlin might be worth exploring—provided its status and Western access to the city were guaranteed.

**COMING HERE MARCH 20:** Above all, Macmillan was said to be convinced that summit talks were not only possible and advisable but might be more fruitful than a foreign ministers' meeting. He was thus reported to be determined to press these views as he embarked March 9 on a crucial selling tour to Paris, Bonn, Ottawa and Washington, where he will meet President Eisenhower March 20.

French President de Gaulle and West German Chancellor Adenauer still were said to be firmly opposed to a top level meeting; but within both countries dissatisfaction with prevailing policies was dramatically manifesting itself.

• Returns from the March 8 municipal elections in France showed impressive gains for the Communist Party and proportionate losses for the Gaullists. As evidence of rising popular opposition to de Gaulle's recent economic measures, complete returns from Paris and the 12 largest cities showed the CP's popular vote up by 19.5% and the Gaullists' down by 21.5%. Discontent with de Gaulle's economic measures might conceivably lead the people to question his policy of collaboration with Adenauer and West German monopolies.

• In West Germany, on March 8, Erich Ollenhauer, head of the German Social Democratic Party, made what the



Walt Partymiller in York Gazette & Daily  
**IT'S STILL VERY COLD**

*N.Y. Times* called "a daring political decision" in accepting Khrushchev's invitation for a private talk in East Germany. The Soviet Premier has been visiting the Leipzig Fair and discussing the terms of a peace treaty with the East German government.

After a two-hour "friendly talk" with Khrushchev the following day, Ollenhauer told the press: "I came away with the impression that the Soviets are ready to negotiate, want to do so quickly, and are willing to have a thorough debate of

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## NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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**BUT NOT QUITE AS CLOSED AS SOME OF THE MINDS ON CAPITOL HILL**

The East Front of the Capitol in Washington is getting a renovation to provide more space and facilities. After digesting the latest activities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (see below) and Congress' concentration on repression (see Report to Readers, p. 2) we suggest a renovating job on our **WHOLE** national legislative apparatus.

### LOS ANGELES AND PITTSBURGH LAUNCH BIG NEW HUNT

## Un-Americans hell-bent to stifle opposition

**W**ITH HEARINGS in Los Angeles and Pittsburgh behind it, the House Committee on Un-American Activities seems fairly launched on what it clearly hopes will be one of its most active—and destructive—years.

The Committee is finding it difficult to generate the retreat from democratic practices which was common during the late Sen. McCarthy's heyday. Instead, it is faced rather with a public indifference to its latest "revelations." Informers seem harder to find; in California not one "cooperative witness" appeared. And a movement to abolish the Committee, while still small in scope, continues to attract support.

But members of the House have indicated that they intend to fortify, not curb, the Un-American Activities Committee. Without opposition, they voted a \$327,000 appropriations for its 1959 operations. And not a single voice said "nay" when the Clerk asked for unanimous consent to pass Committee chairman Francis E. Walter's bill enlarging the scope of the Smith Act. The Committee's latest field forays were obviously intended to silence the opposition and bring the public to heel.

**NO COOPERATION:** The Los Angeles hearings, held on Feb. 24 and 25, took chairman Walter and Committee members Morgan Moulder (D-Mo.) and Au-

gust Johansen (R-Mich.) to the camp of their main (and thus far, only) Congressional opposition, Rep. James Roosevelt, who moved to eliminate the Committee and transfer some of its power to the Judiciary Committee. Of 31 witnesses subpoenaed, 25 were heard in what were described as closed hearings. Walter, however, used the hearing breaks to snipe at Roosevelt, broadcast general alarms about the danger to the nation's security, identify the witnesses and deplore their refusal to accommodate the Committee.

"Not one of them would cooperate with this committee," he said. "We were very

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### UNEMPLOYED CONFERENCE: APRIL 8-9

## Jobless compensation may lapse

By Robert E. Light

**S**ECRETARY OF LABOR James P. Mitchell on March 5 predicted to a group of New York businessmen that by the end of the year the country would achieve "the highest level of employment and the lowest level of unemployment it ever experienced in peacetime." On the same day Sen. Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.) told the Senate of a "grey specter of hunger and deprivation" that covered parts of his state because of chronic unemployment.

Mitchell's rosy outlook was part of the Administration's monomaniacal dedication to a balanced budget and opposition

to Federal spending for the unemployment crisis which might upset the balance.

In Congress, Republicans were ready to allow the Temporary Unemployment Compensation program to expire on March 31. If it is not renewed by March 26, when Congress takes its Easter recess, 400,000 jobless will be cut off immediately from unemployment benefits.

**DISUNITY:** Democrats were divided on the issue. House Speaker Sam Rayburn and Majority Leader John W. McCormack pushed for hearings this week and a quick vote before recess. But in the Sen-

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RACISM GROWS IN ALABAMA

# For this cartoon: 60 days on a chain gang

By Louis E. Burnham

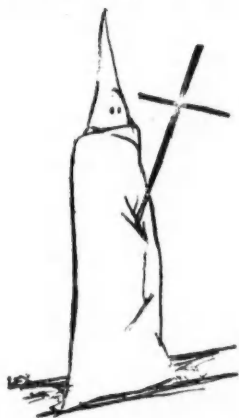
**D**ESPITE INCREASING protests from trade unions, civil liberties groups and Negro organizations, Asbury Howard, the Bessemer, Ala., Negro labor leader, continued last week to serve a 60-day sentence on an Alabama chain gang. Appeals to Gov. John Patterson, President Eisenhower and the Dept. of Justice have brought no action from state or Federal agencies in one of the most flagrant recent cases of official violation of a citizen's civil rights and liberties.

Howard, international vice-president of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union, was convicted on Jan. 24 of violating a local ordinance against "obscene, lewd, nude, scurrilous, libelous" publication. As president of the Bessemer Voters League, he had ordered a white sign painter to prepare a sign portraying a Negro with wrists chained, face turned toward heaven, and praying: "Lord, help all Americans to see that you intended human beings everywhere to have the same rights." That was his "crime."

**THE CHAINS THAT BIND:** As he left the courtroom, free on a \$200 bond pending appeal, he was set upon and severely beaten by a mob of 40-odd white men. His son came to his rescue and was also beaten. Some 15 cops were in the building which also houses the police headquarters. They permitted the mob to disperse and then arrested the son, Asbury Howard Jr., on a disorderly conduct charge.

On Washington's birthday Asbury Howard—still recovering from head and neck wounds which required 16 stitches—was back in court appealing his conviction. The judge of the Jefferson County Superior Court refused to hear the appeal, revoked his bond and returned him to the custody of Bessemer police. That same day the symbolic chains which bound the wrists of the Negro figure in the cartoon became real chains for 52-year-old Howard. He was shackled and sent with a prison gang to work on the streets of Bessemer in the neighborhood of his home.

**ACLU TAKING PART:** Howard's attorneys, Robert Hood of Bessemer and Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, worked feverishly to rescue him from the chain gang. On March 2 a Federal district judge denied a motion for a writ of



De Groene, Amsterdam

habeas corpus, pending appeal. Shores then filed in the Alabama Supreme Court an appeal from the lower court conviction and urged the court to set an early date for the hearing. But nothing could be slower than justice for Negroes in Alabama; as of this writing the Howard appeal has found no place on the calendar.

On March 7 Asbury Howard Jr. was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a \$100 fine, and thrown in jail with his father.

The American Civil Liberties Union denounced the treatment of Howard and announced it would participate in the appeal. Exec. director Patrick Murphy Malin called upon Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers to order a Federal inquiry. He charged that "at least a de facto con-



IN ALABAMA THIS WAS 'OBSCENE, SCURRILOUS AND LIBELOUS'  
The cartoon that got Asbury Howard a beating and 60 days

spiracy had occurred when, in violation of the Federal civil rights law, police officers stood by" as Howard and his son were mobbed.

The AFL-CIO civil rights committee, headed by Charles Zimmerman of the Intl. Ladies Garment Workers Union, called upon all unions to join the protest. Midwest locals and regional bodies of the packinghouse, auto, shoe, textile and electrical workers adopted resolutions condemning the actions of Alabama officials. Strong protests were sent by Mine-Mill affiliates in Canada.

**A REIGN OF TERROR:** The jailing of Howard is the latest of a long series of events which underscore the determination of Alabama officials to use the crassest kind of police state methods to crush even moderate demands for equality which may arise among Negroes, one-third of the state's population.

While Howard was serving his time on the chain gang, a Selma, Ala., jury sentenced another Negro leader, Rev. Lewis Floyd Anderson, to 10 years in prison for his involvement in a fatal automobile accident on Jan. 20. Anderson was an NAACP leader before the organization was outlawed in the state in 1957. He preached against segregation in his pulpit. Commenting on his sentence for first degree manslaughter, a local resident said: "The Citizens Council people here hate him. For years they have been saying that they would 'get him' and 'run him out of town'—I guess this is their way of doing it."

**THE EUFALA STORY:** In Mobile, J. L. LeFlore, a veteran civil rights fighter and also a former NAACP official, directed a letter to the Dept. of Justice demanding investigation of the slaying of a state prisoner, Cleothis Smith, at a convict camp near Calver, Ala., last year. He also asked them to look into several other cases involving police brutality and enforced segregation on buses, railroads and in waiting rooms.

Police in Eufala recently arrested Ne-

groes who were members of the Albert St. Club, a civic group. The club had protested the razing of Negro homes near a white school and adjacent to a white residential area. The demolition plan was part of the city's effort to forestall demands for school integration.

When Negroes countered by applying for space in a lily-white Federal housing project, the enraged segregationists fired Negro workers employed in white businesses and homes. Some Negro protestants, however, worked for Negro concerns, and could not be reached by this economic retaliation. But the police could get to them, and did. The cops, in picking up their Negro victims, told them they were being arrested for being "mean and independent." When hailed before the court, the Negroes were fined for "raising a disturbance."

**THE MONDAY MEETINGS:** Birming-

ham, the state's largest city and industrial center, has been the seat of the most sustained offensive. With the banning of the NAACP in 1957, a young Baptist minister, Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, began rallying Negroes to the banner of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights. The new movement in time initiated suits to integrate schools, buses, railroad terminals and public parks. Hundreds, sometimes thousands, of Negroes attend mass meetings which have been held each Monday night for the past 18 months.

The response of Birmingham's Commissioner of Public Safety Eugene (Bull) Connor has been characteristic of his long record of bitter enmity to the Negro. Shuttlesworth was mobbed in September, 1957, when he took four children, including two of his own, to seek admission to the white Phillips High School; none of his attackers were brought to justice.

Connor has assigned two city detectives to every Negro mass meeting and selected church services to take notes. In January, Rev. Calvin Wallace Wood, 25-year old pastor of the East End Baptist Church, was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$500 because he urged his people to stop riding jimcrow buses.

**THEY'LL KEEP MOVING:** At mass meetings the police ticket automobiles indiscriminately and arrest Negro participants for "loitering." Since 1956 there have been 30 bombings of Negro homes and churches in Birmingham, but the police have not made a single arrest. Only once, when enraged Negroes fell upon two bombers and sent them to the hospital, did the police feel forced to make their next lodging the jail.

Despite the repression, Negro leaders of Alabama have expressed their determination to push their demands for equality. Rev. Wood, responding to his conviction for preaching equality, said: "To be first-class citizens, we must do first-class things." And Rev. Shuttlesworth explained to Helen Fuller, *New Republic* correspondent, the difference between the Negro's militancy and President Eisenhower's indecision on civil rights: "Eisenhower always catches the bull by the tail rather than the horns and so gets tail results."

**A CLEAR WARNING:** On Jan. 24, a group of 75 Negro leaders met in Montgomery at the call of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; W. O. Patton, president, Alabama State Coordinating Assn. for Registration and Voting, and Rev. K. L. Buford, president, Tuskegee Civic Assn.

In a message to the President and Congressional leaders they warned of the "potentially dangerous state of racism in Alabama" and called for Federal protection of the Negro citizens' "rights to vote without fear of bodily harm or economic reprisal, their freedom to assemble without police interference and the security and sanctity of their homes."

Rights which other Americans take for granted are breached daily and brutally for almost a million Negroes in Alabama.

## Theodore Bayer dies at 66

**T**HEODORE BAYER, administrative secy. of the Natl. Council of American Soviet Friendship, died March 7, 1959, at the Memorial Center for Cancer and Allied Diseases, after a long illness.

Born in Odessa Oct. 21, 1893, he emigrated to this country in 1910 and became an American citizen. An economist by training and experience he was, in addition, a scholar of Jewish culture. For many years his main activities were in the field of working for better American-Soviet relations.

He held his post as administrative secretary for the past 13 years. For ten years before that he was managing editor of the magazine *Soviet Russia Today*.

**ON BEHALF OF THE COUNCIL,** Rockwell Kent, well-known artist and its national chairman, made the following statement:

"One of the leaders in the National

Council of American-Soviet Friendship since its establishment 16 years ago, Theodore Bayer gave to the Council's work continuous and unwavering devotion. His good mind served his heart. It might be said of Theodore Bayer that he gave his life for peace—but that throughout his years of illness and increasing suffering it was his faith in peace that most sustained him. That faith will be his legacy to his associates; and only peace on earth can be his true and everlasting memorial."

Services were conducted in New York on March 8. They were conducted by Rabbi Max Felshin. Tributes to Bayer were given by Richard Morford, his associate at the Council; Rev. William Howard Melish and Rockwell Kent. A message from Corliss Lamont was read.

Bayer's home address was 200 W. 15th St., New York City. Surviving are his wife, Minna, and two sisters.

# Labor story

(Continued from Page 1)

ate Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) saw no reason for haste. He said if the measure passed the House, he would demand hearings before his Finance Committee which could extend beyond March 26.



Herblock in Washington Post  
"Look—things are picking up"

The program, enacted last Spring as an anti-recession measure, provides for unemployment insurance payments to those who have already exhausted state benefits at the same rate for a period equal to half as long as the state provides. The program is financed by Federal loans to the states. Participation is voluntary and to date 21 states have accepted the plan.

**WOEFULLY INADEQUATE:** AFL-CIO president George Meany gave the program no formal endorsement. He seemed to fear that if Congress renewed the program it would not be moved to enact more comprehensive changes in the unemployment compensation structure. But the independent United Electrical Workers urged protests to Congress for renewal of the temporary program as well as long-term aids to the unemployed.

Even if the program is renewed it will only continue a woefully inadequate system. Under present law unemployment benefits are governed by the states and vary widely. In some states payments are made for as little as six weeks and average 20% of weekly wages. In addition, millions of workers in certain kinds of jobs are not covered. At present about one-third of the unemployed are not receiving benefits. For aid they must rely on loans or welfare payments.

When unemployment compensation began in 1939, benefits averaged 50% of weekly wages; the present coverage is a

## NEXT WEEK IN THE GUARDIAN—

# The Krebiozen Story:

Anti-cancer agent or hoax?

Read an impartial survey of the controversy in the medical world in the GUARDIAN dated March 23, 1959.

little more than one-third. Major revisions in the law have not been made since.

**WAIT TILL '60:** But last month the Kennedy-Karsten bill was introduced with 119 co-sponsors in the House and 31 in the Senate, to reconstitute and standardize unemployment compensation.

It would set these minimum standards for all states: (1) payments to cover 39 weeks; (2) a rate of payment at least 50% but not more than two-thirds of average weekly wages; coverage of domestic, agricultural and other workers not presently protected.

Despite its wide bi-partisan endorsement the bill is buried in committee. Along with other liberal legislation it is being saved for 1960 campaign ammunition.

**LABOR CONFERENCE:** Pressure to bring

it to the floor along with minimum wage and shorter work week bills will be applied on April 8-9 when an AFL-CIO conference on unemployment will be held in Washington. The conference, which is a watered-down version of a proposal for a mass march, is expected to bring thousands to the capital. In some areas rank-and-file groups feared that many of the demonstrators would be paid union officials; they were seeing to it that at least some of the delegates would be unemployed rank-and-filers.

One theme the delegates might adopt was sounded by Rep. Elmer Holland (D-Pa.) at a committee hearing on three labor "reform" bills which hog-tie unions in varying degree. He told Labor Secy. Mitchell: "I don't think any one of these three bills is worth a damn. I believe the solution to the whole thing is repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act."

### LOS ANGELES

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BEHIND EUROPE'S MONETARY MANIPULATIONS—II

U.S. Big Business stands to gain most from the changes

By Victor Perlo (Second of two articles)

IN THE SHUFFLING of economic relationships of West European countries early this year U.S. foreign economic policy scored another victory. American corporations anticipated greater advantages from their overseas investments and Wall Street bankers foresaw increased power over West Europe's finances.

The shuffling resulted in the birth of a six-nation (France, West Germany, Italy and the Benelux countries) fenced-in Common Market; a European Monetary Agreement (EMA), replacing the European Payments Union; currency convertibility by most West European countries; a 17 1/2% devaluation of the French franc; and a fund offered by American, West German and other banks to stabilize the French currency.

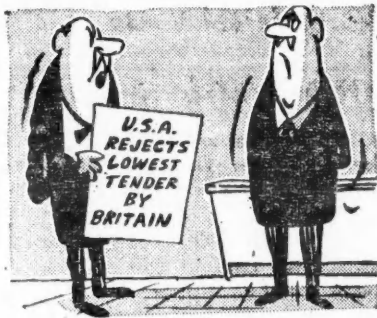
All these measures seemed made to order for U.S. foreign economic policy which, since World War II, has been aimed at breaking down other nations' governmental control over foreign trade and financial transactions. U.S. purpose is to open doors for export of American goods, and especially capital, and to facilitate withdrawal of profits made abroad by American companies.

PROFITS AND CONTROL: At first glance the tariff fence around the Common Market would seem to be an obstacle to the circulation of American-made goods; but this is only partly true. Three-fourths of U.S. exports to Western Europe are raw materials and food products, some of which will continue to enter Europe duty free or at very low duties. France, for example, while setting up preferences for Common Market manufactures, eliminated quotas on traditional U.S. exports such as cotton.

In any case, large U.S. corporations will gain more than they lose since the bulk of their foreign sales are now handled through overseas factories. Increased currency convertibility will make it easier for American corporations and wealthy individuals to extract profits and royalties from West European countries and buy control of properties there. For example, an American making money from a transaction in France may take it home in dollars, or convert it into Deutsche marks to buy company shares in West Germany.

Currency devaluations are regularly pressed by U.S. interests seeking to cheapen labor costs and purchase of going business enterprises in foreign countries. Labor cost is already low enough in Western Europe: excluding fringe benefits, a Ford assembly worker's wage in Detroit is \$2.44 an hour; in Britain, the wage is \$1.05; in West Germany, 69c. This pressure is likely to increase now, since recently American companies have been more active in buying up existing West European firms than in building new plants, although they are not neglecting the latter.

MIGRATION OF BUSINESS: The Common Market will help modern U.S.-owned factories in continental Europe to sell mass-produced goods throughout the



London Worker "Mumble! Did you forget to arrange for the call girls?"

six-country area. U.S. direct corporate investments in the area approached \$1,600,000,000 nominal value by 1957 and were rising rapidly. Convertibility and devaluation of the French franc will give them an added impetus.

Probably not by coincidence, the currency convertibility measures were accompanied by passage of control of Aluminium Ltd.—Britain's leading aluminum company—to the American Reynolds Metal Co. in alliance with Tube Investments, Ltd. According to Business Week magazine, sales of products from U.S.-owned plants in West Europe before the recent economic rearrangements were so great that one owner boasted it was "at least twice as profitable as our domestic business." Now, it says:

"Almost any place where U.S. businessmen meet for a drink or a confer-

ence . . . you can hear them talk of a new phenomenon in industry—the overseas migration of U.S. business."

BRITAIN'S FEARS: The other side of the picture is that the increased currency convertibility reflects strengthened financial reserves of most West European countries except France. It will help them make further inroads in U.S. trading positions in Latin America and Asia.

However, because of the predominance of U.S. investing interests over export interests, the advantages outweigh the disadvantages for U.S. monopolies. Moreover, convertibility involves the risk of outside raids against West European currencies. Misgivings about this are particularly strong in Britain. Recently, British Labor Party leader Hugh Gaitskell said:

"In the short run [convertibility] may have a superficial favorable effect on the value of the pound. But it is certain to make sterling more vulnerable to speculation and will therefore be dangerous should external conditions turn against us."

ROCKEFELLER VS. MORGAN: U.S. financial interests will now be able to enhance their influence through the European Monetary Agreement and the French currency stabilization fund. The U.S. has supplied \$236,000,000 of the \$600,000,000 EMA fund, thus gaining a major voice in saying who is to have access to the fund and on what terms.

The Wall Street syndicate headed by Chase Manhattan Bank, co-leader and agent of the syndicate, and First National City, co-leader, are providing \$200,000,000 of the \$450,000,000 French currency stabilization fund. This is a new source of direct power in France for these institutions. In the first major transaction with the de Gaulle regime the Rockefeller bank has ousted the Morgan banks from the leading role in dealings with France.

OBSTACLE TO STABILITY: There are, however, obstacles to the successful realization of the reactionary stabilization maneuvers of world capitalist economy. One is the aggravated conflicts among the European capitalist countries, especially between Britain and the Continent, and the conflict, certain to worsen, between the U.S. and West European countries over foreign markets and imports



Drawing by Dyad "Tell Russia not to worry about overtakin' us!"

into the U.S.

But the West Europeans face great odds, because of their basic relative weakness in finance and industry. And currency convertibility will make easier repetitions of the recent spectacle of the U.S. giants ALCOA and Reynolds Metals struggling for control of the main British producer with Reynolds emerging victorious.

Another obstacle is the continued instability of the economy of the capitalist countries, the lingering recession in West Europe, and the U.S. economy resting on an uneasy military base. France's financial position remains perilous. With depressed prices, raw material producing countries will buy less imported goods. And a few months bad turn in trading balances could bring devaluation of other West European currencies.

THE PROSPECTS: The most decisive obstacle is popular resistance. French labor's opposition to lowered living standards cannot be discounted. Besides, all economic arrangements are necessarily related to the U.S.-dictated and dominated military build-up in the NATO area. It causes growing economic strain in Western Europe. With modern weapons, the policy is hardly viable militarily. It insures the ultimate linkage of the powerful European peace movement with labor's defense of its living standards in a force which reaction will find difficult to withstand.

Whatever the temporary success, the measure will not lead to a fully integrated, peacefully achieved common European capitalist market. They will instead collapse in deeper crises of European and world capitalism.

The Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

disappointed. I thought at least one or two of them would talk."

In the course of the hearing, the Los Angeles Civil Liberties Union filed two suits against the Committee: the first asked \$2,600 damages for loss of employment suffered by a newspaper man who appeared before the Committee last September; the other requested the Superior



Herblock in Washington Post "What—no calls from the Supreme Court asking me to serve as counsel?"

Court to quash the subpoena of a school teacher called for the February hearing. As a result, Walter withdrew the subpoena for the teacher and four others who had been called. But he announced that the Committee would return to Los Angeles in the summer to investigate "a barn full"—some 30-odd teachers whom the Committee suspects of subverting the remainder of the 24,000 in the Los Angeles public school system.

'NOT WITHOUT HARM': Four leaders of the Mexican-American community were among the unfriendly witnesses. Walter used their appearance to warn that he might propose quotas on immigration from Latin America.

Two leaders of the Communist Party and a number of persons active in various youth organizations were among other witnesses called. Frank Wilkinson, secy. of the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, pointed out that the Committee's visit was "not without harm." He noted the improved civil liberties climate in Los Angeles, but added that "the attack by the Committee aroused old fears particularly in the field of education and the Mexican-American community."

The Committee's plans for Pittsburgh seemed more ambitious than for Los Angeles. For four days of hearings, March 10 to 13, 52 witnesses had been called. Among them were a large number of trade unionists, foreign-born citizens who had won deportation cases initiated by the Naturalization and Immigration

Service, and a handful of Communist Party leaders.

ECLC CAMPAIGN: Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, headed a campaign in Pittsburgh to alert the public to the menace of the Un-American group. He detailed the Committee's record on a TV news interview, in appearances before students at Pittsburgh U., the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom, and other groups. One Pittsburgh daily reported Foreman's position for abolition under the headline: "ECLC Says Un-American Activities Committee Here Not for Legislation but for Repression."

Between the Los Angeles and Pittsburgh excursions the Committee retired to Washington long enough to issue its annual report, covering its activities through 1958. Nine hearings and ten consultations with what the N.Y. Times called "experts in Communist pulse-feeling" were the main features of the Committee's labors.

The report repeated the line which the Committee has worked hard to sell for the past few years: that the continued decline in Communist Party numerical strength is accompanied by an increase in the CP's influence. Because the party is smaller, the Committee contended, "it has greater discipline, unity of purpose and drive than a large, loosely knit organization."

As usual, the Committee was especially harsh on "pseudo liberals or genuine liberals who innocently become puppets for communism in their zeal."

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FIRST REPORTER IN AMARA PROVINCE—I

## Iraq's revolution and the peasant

At GUARDIAN press time reports came from Cairo of a revolt in northern Iraq led by a Col. Abdel Wahab Shawaf, commander of some brigades in the oil city of Mosul, against the regime of Iraq's Premier Kassem. From Baghdad came word that the revolt had been put down quickly.

Since it has favored neither the Baghdad Pact nor a merger with the United Arab Republic, the Kassem government has not been popular either with Washington or Cairo. Recently it convicted and sentenced to death Col. Arif, an extreme Arab nationalist who participated in the July 14 revolution, for an attempted coup aimed at overthrowing the Kassem regime. It was believed that Arif sought Iraq's merger with the UAR. Last Dec. 8 Kassem announced he had smashed an anti-government plot which had "foreign backing."

Shawaf's position and support remained unclear. He had reportedly broadcast a policy of positive neutrality and good relations with all states, especially the UAR. In an interview with the London Times last week, Kassem himself said he was steering a neutral course and would "brook no interference" from either East or West. Moscow charged the U.S. was behind the Mosul rising.

In the article below, the GUARDIAN's Tabitha Petran, the only Western correspondent roaming Iraq's interior, describes the results of the land reform already achieved in Iraq.

By Tabitha Petran  
Guardian staff correspondent  
(First of two articles)

BAGHDAD, IRAQ

THE REMOTE PROVINCE of Amara lies along the lower reaches of the Tigris, where it divides into many branches which flow into the great marshes of Southern Iraq, while the main body of the river moves on to join the Euphrates at Qurna, one of the many legendary sites of the Garden of Eden.

The 200-mile, eight-hour drive from Baghdad to the provincial capital, the town of Amara, cuts across desert land, much of the way roadless except for tire tracks and almost impassable ruts. The only transport service between the two cities is by taxi. Drivers' earnings depend on the number of passengers, so there are never less than four crowded into the back seat of a small model car.

"It's a hard way to make a living," the driver said in English remembered from a Basra mission school 28 years before. "We each drive only once or twice a week and must pay all expenses." How hard became clear when a burned-out axle toward the end of the trip reduced the driver almost to tears in silent despair at the thought of repair costs.

**STRONG REACTIONS:** Our route passed through only one town, a few green fields, and for the rest a wasteland which seemed to be covered with snow—actually salt, sometimes encrusted and inches thick. But we frequently met Bedouins on the move and passed near clusters of black goats-hair Bedouin tents; through villages of oval mud houses and later small settlements of the reed and thatch huts common to southern Iraq.

The further south we went, the stronger the reaction among nomads and villagers to the sight of a European. The majority ignored us, but others shouted imprecations ("We will kick you out of the country!"), shook their fists or spat in contempt. The first incident provoked lengthy discussion among the male passengers and the driver, with all of whom I had established an elementary political understanding. At the second incident we stopped and the driver shouted: "You are all wrong. This is my sister. You don't like Dulles. Well, she doesn't either. She is a democratic American, a true woman of Iraq."

A little discussion often cleared things up. Sometimes questions were asked: "Why don't you throw out Eisenhower like we threw out Nuri Said?" In a small village a shopkeeper assured me: "Never mind, some day your country will be as democratic as mine." Always our impromptu gatherings ended happily with cheers for Abdul Karim Kassem and peace and friendship between the Iraqi and American peoples.

**POVERTY PERSISTS:** Friends in Baghdad who had warned me not to go to Amara because it was so "primitive and disease-ridden" (no reporter had been there since the Revolution and probably none before) had left me unprepared for its physical loveliness: a land of sweeping, flat expanses, whose palm-fringed

or reed-lined rivers, creeks, lagoons, canals and marshes form the only arteries of transport, and whose soft monotony is relieved by the changing hues of wind and sunlight on the water, the swift streak of a brilliant bird, the bright red or green of a blanket drying on a mel-

lowed golden-grey hut. River, formerly part of the 6,000-acre domain of Sheik Jabr Hatem, we were welcomed by a score or more fellahin, all of us crowding into the tiny mudhif (guest house). Like other reed houses, the mudhif consists of arches made from 20-foot marsh reeds tied together at the top, the whole covered by reed matting to form a dome-like hut. The flat ends are closed with vertical reeds. The entrance, a slit or low opening at one of the flat ends, is the only source of light.

**THEIR STORY:** Black-clad women outside (custom still keeps women in a menial status and even in Republican Iraq they wouldn't dream of joining the men inside) produced a kerosene-filled bottle with a rag wick. In its flickering light all the fellahin wanted to talk at once, and did—with gestures so graphic I could almost understand them without an interpreter. This is what they said:

"We could never get our share of the barley crop even though it was only one-fourth. Whatever the sheik wished would be. He and his soldiers—there were 30 of them—took all our food. They left us



La Gauche, Paris

tell. The fraction of the crop theoretically due the fellah was reduced by special levies to cover the sheik's coffee expenses for his guests, to feed the sheik's cows, pay his guards and servants. Sheiks claimed the rivers as their property and took most, if not all, of the fish caught by the fellahin. If the fellahin did not pay in advance for the right to cultivate the land, he was given no land to cultivate. So he sold whatever possessions he might have and tried to make a living weaving marsh reeds into mats.

Sheiks banned radios for the fellahin and resisted government efforts to build schools along the waterway. School teachers were hounded out of the district. Sheiks maintained their own armies, guards, prisons and even African slaves.

All this is changed now. Along the rivers, sheik's palaces—squat one-story brick or stone buildings, their white paint peeling, faded and streaked, their windows barred—stand empty. Right after the Revolution the sheiks absconded—most of them to Baghdad.

**THE REAL STORY:** I met only one sheik in Amara. He was a bewildered-looking young man who showed us around his "estate" politely but with obvious embarrassment, all the while clutching for support the hand of the union leader who accompanied us. The fellahin, treating him with a friendly contempt, explained that he had "had connections" with their secret societies before the Revolution, so they let him stay.

The rest of the sheiks "became like cats and went into hiding." More than one fellah said frankly: "We wanted to kill them. We would have hunted them out and killed them but the Union told us not to." A long-time leader of one of the peasant societies explained: "We had to keep the peace and we wanted to make the Revolution like human people. Of course, the sheiks deserve to die. But we are men now and cooperating together. So it isn't necessary."

This new cooperation among men is the real story of Amara. Land reform officials believe that one of its results may be a doubling of agricultural production. For not only are the fellahin working better but all the fellahin will be employed to cultivate all the land in contrast to former years when much of the land and many of the fellahin remained idle.

### Annette Rubinstein speaks in Minneapolis March 15

**A**NETTE T. RUBINSTEIN, candidate of the Independent-Socialist party in New York last fall, will speak at a jointly-sponsored National Guardian-Twin City Labor Forum meeting in Minneapolis at 8 p.m. Sunday, March 15, in the Andrews Hotel.

"Outlook for United Socialist Political Action" is Dr. Rubinstein's subject. She will deal with experiences of the New York campaign, and prospects for building a socialist movement in America.

All Minnesota friends of the Guardian are invited.



MOURNING FOR VICTIMS OF 'ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE'  
Iraqi women carry photos of loved ones slain in the revolution

lowed golden-grey hut.

To the town of Amara, standing at a fork of the Tigris and Butera rivers, rice, barley and wheat grown in the backlands are brought by pitch-lined, high-prowed canoes, sailboats and motor launches for trans-shipment to Basra. Amara boasts ancient crafts and skills, chiefly rug-making and silverwork, but poverty is still absolute.

All land is owned by the state, but until the Revolution nearly all of it was in the actual possession of four sheik families. What sheik rule was like I learned from the fellahin (peasants) on a number of unforgettable trips by motor boat and canoe up the rivers and creeks and into the marshlands.

In a 40-hut settlement near the Majer

nothing. For simple faults we were punished severely. The sheik made us pay fines. If we couldn't pay, he beat us and poured hot water over us." (Scars of these and other wounds were exhibited.)

"If a fellah took water to irrigate his land" [the pump was owned by the sheik and water sold only to those he favored] "the sheik would put him in a box with a cat, nail it up, and have his guards roll it and roll it on the ground, while the cat clawed the man inside. If a fellah went to the police to complain, the sheik sent a man to bribe the policeman. Then the fellah would be driven away and he would never again be given land to cultivate."

**ALL CHANGED:** Every village we visited in Amara had much the same story to

BEHIND THE 'RIOTS'

# Nyasaland in turmoil

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

**A**FTER YEARS OF BLOODSHED which need never have been, Britain last month conceded an inevitable minimum of sovereignty to its colony Cyprus. With the ink hardly dry on that agreement, the imperialists were setting the stage for an equally futile—but possibly far worse—bloodbath in Nyasaland, E. Africa.

Nyasaland is a poor agricultural country, left undeveloped while imperialism exploits it as a source of cheap farm labor for the Rhodesias and S. Africa. Under British "protection" since 1891, its people were told in 1953 that they were being thrown into the new Central African Federation with N. and S. Rhodesia. Since this meant rule by S. Rhodesia—a white-supremacy regime as vicious as S. Africa's—they violently objected.

Imprisonment and exile of popular leaders, and "emergency" restrictions on free speech and assembly, only deepened opposition to the Federation scheme; but in 1956—with final ratification set for 1960—the scheme was imposed, with apartheid "strong man" Sir Roy Welensky as Federal Prime Minister.

**PUT HOPES IN BANDA:** The Nyasalanders' pleas to their "protectors" (Britain still has this official role) fell on deaf ears. Confidence in Britain faded to zero, self-government became the universal demand, and the people rested all hopes in their own Nyasaland African Congress under Dr. Hastings K. Banda. A physician who returned from practice in London and Accra to head the NAC, Banda has generally been regarded as a "moderate."

Last June Banda visited London to try to reason with the Colonial Office and bring Nyasaland's case for self-government to the British public. Last month another NAC leader, youthful M. W. Kanyama Chiume, left his country for the first time on a similar mission to London.

In a dignified, forceful appeal to Colonial Secy. Lennox-Boyd, Chiume said his people would never accept an "act of aggression" (the imposing of Federation).

He drew attention to police beatings of Nyasalanders merely for cheering Banda; to the systematic intimidation of chiefs by "civil servants who are in fact civil masters" and "agents of the United Federal Party"; to the closing of schools because the people would not accept their being turned into Federation propaganda-mills.

Describing the police terror, he called Nyasaland "one of the few countries in which agriculture is taught to the people by imprisonment of the people." He conveyed the NAC's modest demands for universal suffrage and restoration of civil rights, and for reorganization of the Legislative Council—now comprising 18 representatives for the 6,500 whites and 4,500 Asians, and 5 for the 2,500,000 Africans—on a basis of 32 Africans and 8 non-Africans.

**PROVOCATIONS:** Chiume said his people well knew why Federation was being imposed: "To prevent, as the Europeans of Central Africa demanded, the growth of 'Gold Coasts' [Ghanas] in the neighborhood of S. Rhodesia and thus establish Europeans as a master race in the area." The European settlers in East and Central Africa (they are 1/20 of the population in Northern, 1/14th in Southern Rhodesia) stand solidly in the way of a Ghana-type solution.

In the latter part of February "disturbances," many looking like provocations, were increasingly reported from Nyasaland. "Unauthorized meetings" were broken up with many arrests; by the 20th, white troops were being moved in from the Rhodesias; then police fired on "attacking" African crowds while planes dropped tear gas, and Welensky promised "most rigorous" suppression as S. Rhodesia's press demanded a "show-down" with African Natl. Congresses.

On the 25th, British Labor MP John Stonehouse, 33-year-old anti-colonialist with 2½ years of African experience organizing co-ops in Uganda, arrived in S. Rhodesia. The press denounced him as an "irresponsible agitator" after he warned a S. Rhodesia ANC meeting against using violence but told them to "lift your heads high and behave as if the country belongs to you." Next day an "emergency" was declared in S. Rhodesia, 400 ANC leaders there were arrested and all ANC's declared illegal.

Arrests and shootings intensified; on the 28th police were moved into Nyasa-

spread intimidation by police and administrative officers."

On March 5 the death roll of Nyasalanders in the "disturbances" had mounted to 30, although as Banda cabled "we have killed not a single European." By this time Nyasaland's white Governor had declared an "emergency" and a 12-hour curfew, although 24 hours earlier he had said there was no need for it. Finally Banda and his colleagues were rounded up and deported to S. Rhodesia, and a 7-year jail term was set for continuing membership in the NAC.

A storm broke in Parliament, and Colonial Secy. Lennox-Boyd said the "emergency" was made necessary by the discovery some days before of a plot to massacre Europeans. Britain's jingo press burst forth in "Massacre Plot" scare-heads, and the *Daily Express* featured a slogan for the hysterical: "Remember Mau Mau!" At the same time the ways in which the Mau Mau scare had been faked in Kenya were daily being revealed at the trial of Rawson Macharia, chief witness against Kenya African leader Jomo Kenyatta who was jailed for seven years. Macharia has admitted that his evidence of Kenyatta's "Mau Mau" connection was perjured and paid for with government bribes, and he is being tried for perjury in saying so.

**NO SOLUTION IN SIGHT:** Most British papers, however, were seriously concerned. Even the *Times*—though still defending Federation as the alternative to African "balkanization"—was worried by Welensky's deportation of an MP and introduction of white Rhodesian troops into Nyasaland. In the House of Lords, Lords Ogmoo and Boothby attacked the British government's "abnegation of responsibility" and the "blunder of the first order" in deporting Banda and his colleagues to so "absolutely crazy" a place as S. Rhodesia.

The Labor Party leaders' indignation in Commons had little effect, in view of their own part in setting up the Federation and their continued insistence on "multi-racial democracy" as the solution. The obvious fact was that if Nyasaland was to be democratic, the government must be overwhelmingly African.



Neues Deutschland, Berlin  
**AFRICA RISES**

land from neighboring Tanganyika, a UN "trust" territory; on March 3 Stonehouse, who was scheduled to go to Nyasaland, was forcibly put aboard a plane for Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika.

**30 KILLED:** In a letter to the Africa Bureau in London, and a Feb. 26 cable to the Committee of African Organizations here, Banda said his people had behaved calmly although "troops are everywhere and planes droning overhead." For "silently demonstrating confidence" in him they were being "dispersed with batons and bullets," and "men and women going about their lawful business were being beaten" in a campaign of "wide-

FRANCE'S LACAZE AFFAIR

## Spotlight on some Fifth Republic heroes

By Anne Bauer

Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

**E**VERY FRENCH REPUBLIC has had its scandals. The current Lacaze affair, the Fifth Republic's first, is as revealing, politically, as any of the others. It throws a garish light on the nature and the affiliations of some of the people in power today and some of the people behind them.

Immediately after World War I Juliette Lacaze and her brother Jean came to Paris from the provinces. Juliette, exceptionally beautiful, became a model for some of Paris' best artists, changed her name to Domenica, and soon married Paul Guillaume, a well-to-do art dealer. Brother Jean became an accountant.

**AN ADOPTED BABY:** Domenica became a leader of Paris high society and presided over one of the city's most elegant salons where she entertained all the top figures in politics, industry and art. When her husband died in 1934 he left a fortune of \$40,000,000 and a priceless art collection.

Ten months later Domenica adopted a baby boy—some said to protect her inheritance. In 1941 the adoption was made legal and the son was named Jean-Pierre Guillaume, now known as "Polo." In the same year Domenica married Jean Walter.

Walter was owner of the fabulous Zellidja lead mine in Morocco which he developed into a vast industrial basin which eventually accounted for 10% of France's total foreign revenue. Domenica persuaded her husband to make her brother general manager of the properties.

**CONSTANT COMPANION:** When Walter



**YOUNG 'POLO' GUILLAUME**  
*The man to be removed?*

was killed by an automobile while on a fishing trip in June, 1957, Domenica—and her adopted son—became heirs to one of France's greatest fortunes. Domenica and her close friend, Dr. Maurice Lacour, a fashionable psychiatrist, were both present when Walter was killed. Dr. Lacour has long been her constant companion.

At the time of Walter's death, Polo was serving as a paratrooper lieutenant in Algeria. Domenica recently told reporters that her adopted son had disappointed

her by failing in school, keeping bad company and passing bad checks.

Polo now claims that five months after Walter's death Jean Lacaze tried to have him murdered. The assassin was to be Camille Rayon, a fervent Gaullist and former paratrooper, for a fee of \$20,000. Arrangements are charged to have been made by Dr. Lacour through Armand Magescas, assistant to the director of the extreme right-wing Paris weekly *Jours de France*. Rayon eventually weakened, warned his prospective victim and says he told the police the whole story. But no action was taken then.

**THE CALL GIRL:** Next chapter in the affair concerns a plot to disinherit Polo. A fashionable call-girl known as Maite has told police that Lacaze offered her \$30,000 to testify that Polo was her procurer. If convicted of the charge, Polo would lose any claim to his inheritance. Later Maite changed her story and said she originally went to Lacaze in an attempted shakedown. There the affair stands at the moment.

Frenchmen are asking: Is this just a sordid fight between millionaire clans or is it also a fight between different political outlooks?

The late Jean Walter represented the "liberal" trend among the colonialists. The Moroccan newspaper *Maroc Presse*, of which he was the sole backer for a time, expressed his anti-ultra views. Walter later turned over a majority of his shares in the paper to a millionaire friend, Lemaigre-Dubreuil, with the same "liberal" ideas. Lemaigre-Dubreuil was assassinated in Morocco in June, 1955.

One of the men accused but never convicted, Antoine Mellero, later joined Jacques Soustelle's USRAF, one of the

undercover organizations that prepared the Algiers putsch. Damiani, another man implicated, also named fascist lawyer Tixier-Vignancour, former Pétainist and Gestapo agent Dides, and fascist organizer and present UNR deputy Biaggi in connection with the killing.

**CAST OF CHARACTERS:** These are the past and present political affiliations of the major figures in the affair:

- **Camille Rayon**, owner of a swank restaurant at Antibes on the French Riviera, was a member of the Gaullist secret service during the occupation, was a major 1947 Gaullist party organizer in his region, today is UNR delegate for the south-east of France. His restaurant was a meeting place for some of the people who prepared the May 13 Algiers "cold revolution."

- **Dr. Lacour** has been a Cagoulard, the secret fascist society at whose door many political murders have been laid. Just as he was at the scene of Walter's death, he accompanied a wealthy American woman, Mrs. Margaret Biddle, to the Opera the night before her sudden death. Mrs. Biddle in 1946 had become financially associated with Jean Walter in the Zellidja enterprises.

- **Armand Magescas**, middleman between Lacour and Rayon, was a volunteer in the Spanish civil war—on Franco's side. His father was a close political friend of Dr. Lacour's.

- **Guillain de Benouville**, director of *Jours de France*, and Magescas' employer, personally "organized" Jacques Soustelle's flight across the Swiss border on his way to Algiers last May. He is now a UNR deputy.

Such are some of the actors in the Lacaze affair.

To many Frenchmen the fact is that the new regime and the putsch that has carried it to power is unthinkable and inseparable from people like these.

'AMERICAN VOICES' AND 'OF DUST AND STARS'

Two volumes of verse to live by

WHAT IS THIS THING, Poetry? Children recite certain rhythmic crazy things as they skip rope, and they often go off and chew a pencil and come back with something that they call a poem.

Then the children go conventional or imitative for a while. The schools get them. They write like Wordsworth or Longfellow (and not the Wordsworth of the Lyrical Ballads).

But later they may start again and something has happened. They've reached themselves again and resurrected the sun.

WALTER LOWENFELS is something like that himself. He wrote in the childhood of the Twenties, in the expatriate days of Transition and small volumes in France—a song about Apollinaire (very good, a real sun)—and poems about sea deaths and twilight and gaslit Parisian streets.

And then a silence. And then a remarkable new sun: some pamphlet poems and Sonnets of Love and Liberty. And he returned to himself.

NOW THERE IS American Voices,\* the finest validation of the simple—naive—thought that good poetry can have something to say. That peace can sing. That love can separate strontium from the different heat that opens buds in spring, and can be a rolling challenge. Listen:

Our eyes see ahead of the little murderer earth we learned to love and we know we are moving with the lives of others. The only death is to be alone.

And there are larger cadences, sustained fixatives in the rushing light.

With all its different forms, this book is a single total flow. It has poems spacing documentary letters and news clippings, and documents spacing poems. It has poems to annotate a wife curled in a bed. It has kidding poems and poems about the author's own angel-head children. And out of the humanity it has a rage against annihilation and the threat to future children.

THIS IS NOT a labored poetry. It does not feel labored anyway. Perhaps



Drawing by Korf

you couldn't always say what every line means:

I free myself by association. I will be Indian . . .

But the meaning is slipped to you. Guilt by association. Prison. Lowenfels went to prison. So he has a right to say. "That was my blood you heard calling Wacoba Wacoba."

You don't feel this as labored poetry, but it works. It works fully. It may be the labor we need. Maybe birth labor. Or maybe a lot of fine gathered-up seeds the writer is throwing into the wind trying to cancel fall-out.

—Millen Brand

\*AMERICAN VOICES, by Walter Lowenfels. Jacket by Rockwell Kent. Roving Eye Press, 37 W. 38th St., New York 11. \$2.50.

No star dust in this work

DON'T BE MISLED by the title of this collection of poems (Of Dust and Stars\*). Vernon Ward is not a man whose eyes are clouded by star dust. He is keenly conscious of his world, its beauty and good, and all its ugly and mean.

Hard-headed "practical" men sometimes dismiss the poet's role as that of a "visionary" or "a dreamer out of touch." They look down a "practical" nose at the poor poet who may, in the spirit of Georgia's Sidney Lanier, consider trade and commerce as "war grown miserly" and want no part of them.

But in every age the poet has lifted

his voice, even as one crying in the wilderness. For not always do the people hear or understand.

The poet looks and sees deeply. His role is to keep alive the finest potential for the people's future, to enliven and feed the sensitive and gentle inner heart of man, full of hope and promise.

Jesus had this poet spirit. His great searching hunger for beauty and peace and love to grow in the heart of man was boundless. But theologians substituted a hard "practical" unfeeling dogma for that poet spirit. Hardly could they have maintained status in a greedy, violent world by preaching peace, goodwill, love, justice, equality—or "even as ye have done it unto one of the least of these . . ."

And so—our world has too little of the poet spirit!

THERE ARE TOO FEW Vernon Wards. He is a poet of hope who retains a deep faith in man's destiny on this earth. "Of dust and stars man is made," he sings. Conscious of great sorrow and evil, he declares:

No need to cry to God; We are doing the blasting.

Then, speaking to those who do the paying—and the dying—he says:

We have been paying for heaven And getting hell.

A native Southerner, graduate of the University of North Carolina, this poet sees the solution of the race problem in simple Christian terms:

Words are broken arrows, They cannot reach their mark.

The solution to the race question Is to forget race. Nothing wipes out color Faster than friendship.

Digging his living from the Carolina soil, this poet lives with everyday reality—and truth. "War is love's essence lost," he writes.

Each day I hope to hear That nations, classes, races, creeds Are to merge into brotherhood, That the whole earth is to be Our common neighborhood . . .

Then, contemplating history, the fact that even Jesus lay in prison, Vernon Ward says:

I think it must be good To go to jail. So many great men have rested there.

Of Dust and Stars is a book to read, enjoy and keep—and makes an excellent gift to a friend.

—Don West

\*OF DUST AND STARS, by Vernon Ward. Exposition Press, 386 Fourth Av., New York 16. \$3.

So you want to know how to prevent a recession?

A UNION PRINTER who used to work in the same plant when we published the GUARDIAN at 17 Murray St.—Harry Kelber—has set up a sideline venture called Straight Talk Pamphlets, and we are late in reporting that the first one, Recessions, and How To Prevent Them, has already sold out one edition and is now in its second printing. It is a pocket-sized 40 pages with illustrations by cartoonist Fred Wright.

Straight Talk pamphlets are conceived in the belief that more people would be in favor of socialism if they were told about it in terms and in language they could understand.

Recessions does this neatly. These are some of the points it makes:

• There is a built-in bust in every boom. All we can be certain of is that if we survive one recession, we must look forward to another in a few years.

• Even at the pinnacle of American prosperity, there were 2,500,000 unemployed.

• For every dollar the industrialists paid out in wages in 1957, they made, on the average, slightly more than 50c in profits.

• The average citizen is paying nearly one-third of his gross income in Federal, State and local taxes, direct and indirect.

• Under public ownership of industries and resources, unemployment could be wiped out by (1) the 30-hour week (shorter if necessary) without reducing wages; (2) re-training programs at full pay to enable workers to move from over-expanded or "sick" industries to jobs where labor shortages exist; (3) locating plants and new industries in distressed areas; (4) using the billions now going for profits, interest and dividends to "put a little beef" into low and middle income purchasing power.

• Our basic industries are "rotten-ripe" for nationalization: 1/20 of 1% of U.S. corporations own more than 42% of all business assets; banks and insurance companies own or control most big corporations; "there is no earthly reason why the banks and insurance companies, which are supposed to be quasi-public institutions anyway, should be permitted to dominate our economic life."

• All the factors about our economic, political and cultural development assure

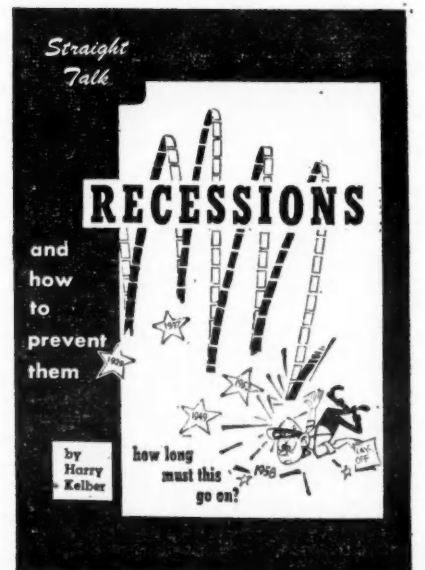
that our brand of socialism will be a distinctly American model. . . . The U.S. would make its debut as a socialist nation from the vantage point of the greatest industrial power in the world.

• A "Program for Today" points out that just half the annual Pentagon budget would construct 300,000 apartments, 900 schools, 200 hospitals, 2,000 playgrounds, 1,000 libraries and still leave some \$10 billion for parks, child care centers, soil conservation, flood control and other works, all with just one year's money.

Kelber's pamphleteering is a "labor of love," which means that the next one (on automation and the shorter work week) depends on this one paying for itself. Others are planned with the help of experts in the fields of taxes, health, atomic energy for peace, Negro equality and disarmament.

Single copies are 25c, \$1 buys five, \$5, thirty. Or you can enclose a list of names to receive individual copies at the bulk rates. Order from Straight Talk Pamphlets, P.O. Box 191, Brooklyn 1, N.Y.

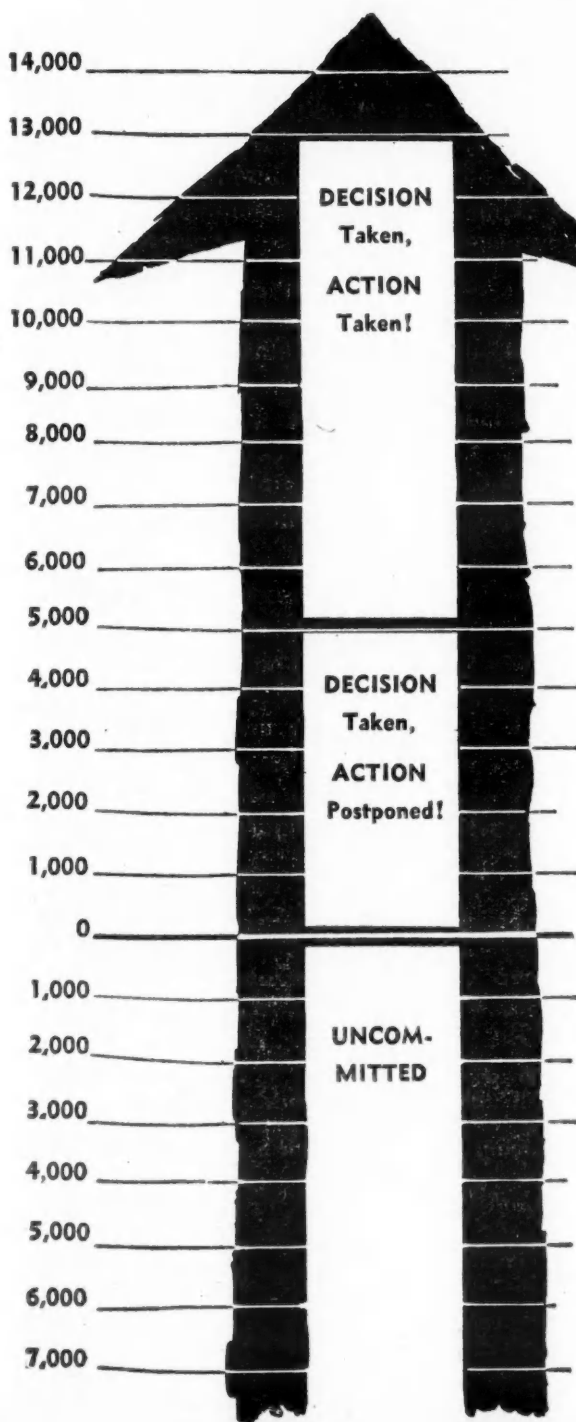
—John T. McManus



This is the cover drawing of the pamphlet by Kelber



# DECISION TAKEN... ACTION NEEDED!




In a little more than a week after this ad appears we'll know whether our belief is a true one. We believe that a considerable number of you who haven't yet joined Liberty's Prometheus Book Club—2,000, 3,000, maybe even 5,000—fully intend to join us. The decision has been taken but the action has been postponed. This is normal. Most of us at one time or another have postponed taking a step even when we have made up our minds.

We could urge you if you're one who hasn't yet acted to read again the materials pictured above, which tell why we feel a club which offers a book a month at a dollar a month to GUARDIAN readers and other progressives is a good and necessary step. Or we could tell you about the wonderful response we've had, which has launched the club successfully. (See graph left). But we don't think this is necessary. Following up the decision you have already made with the action you intend to take is what is necessary. It will decide the ultimate strength of your new book club.

The club is launched. The leap forward has been taken. As a result of the wonderful response to date eight thousand members are enrolled. But how much elbow room we will have for future development depends upon how many more members we can enroll now. For the kind of club you want, we need another 5,000. We believe that there are that many more of you who have made up your minds. In each instance all that stands between firm intention and action is a signature, a cross beside the preferred option, and an enclosure. (No stamp is required on the envelope we sent you). Won't you take this moment by the scruff of the neck and send us your decision?  
—THE EDITORS

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# Summit talks

(Continued from Page 1)

concrete proposals from both sides." With good will, he said, he was convinced a peaceful solution could be found. He added: "My impression is that the Soviets are seeking a permanent solution of the German question."

**THE PRIVATE PICTURE:** The Eisenhower Administration at home, however, was torn by contradictions. By inclination it was unwilling to accept any Soviet proposal. This has been evident, for example, in the way it has been blocking an agreement at the Geneva conference to ban nuclear tests, and accusing Khrushchev of insincerity when he offered alternate proposals.

On the one hand, it has stated that new data has emphasized the difficulty of detecting underground tests; on the other, it has accused the Soviet Union of being unreasonable in demanding the right to "veto" inspection of any reported violation of the test ban on Soviet territory.

Evidence given before the Humphrey disarmament subcommittee in the Senate—hidden from public view until recently—presents a totally different picture. This evidence indicates powerful opposition to any suspension of tests by most of the Pentagon, the Atomic Energy Commission, Dr. Edward Teller (the "father" of the H-bomb) and scientists who side with him.

**FAR ENOUGH AHEAD:** Scientists such as Dr. Hans Bethe, one of America's leading physicists, and Dr. James R. Killian—both members of the President's Science Advisory Committee—have testified that detection methods are advanced enough for an agreement to halt tests; that even without tests, in the laboratory, the efficiency of nuclear weapons can be doubled. These scientists have testified in

secret session that America's present development of nuclear weapons was sufficiently advanced for a halt in tests to be an advantage to the U.S.

On the conflict between scientists who approve a test suspension agreement and the military brass who oppose it, columnist Marquis Childs said:

"Only flashes of this, like figures suddenly silhouetted against a brilliant light,



Vie Naove, Rome  
If the atomic conference goes on until the year 2000 . . .

are revealed to the public. Military witnesses discuss the necessity of accepting 30 to 40 million casualties in the U.S. in a future war, but all this is censored out."

What the U.S. calls the veto is, in reality, the rule of Big Power unanimity prevailing in the UN Security Council. The Soviet Union has been unwilling to agree to accept within its borders any inspection team, supervising maintenance of test suspension, in which it can be outvoted. Even on this, however, the Soviet delegation at Geneva has agreed to consider a compromise whereby some decisions of the inspection teams would require Big Power unanimity and others would require only majority opinion.

Besides avoiding a test ban agreement, Washington was also reported to be "cool" toward Khrushchev's latest proposal that,

instead of demilitarization, Big Four or neutral troops garrison West Berlin after it became a free city under UN guarantee. To Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.), who supports Washington's frozen stance in East-West negotiations, Khrushchev's proposal showed not flexibility but guile.

**MORE VOICES:** Although the Eisenhower Administration has obtained bipartisan support for its inflexible policy toward East-West negotiations, important voices are being raised in favor of a test suspension agreement and a heads-of-government conference.

The Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy is pursuing a vigorous campaign to halt the tests. Clarence Pickett, executive secy. emeritus of the American Friends Service Committee, in a letter to the N.Y. Times, urged continuing negotiations. Adlai Stevenson has joined George F. Kennan, Walter Lippmann, Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) and Sen. J. William Fulbright (D-Ark.) in urging serious negotiations with Moscow.

**A LITTLE LESS EXPLOSIVE:** Stevenson paid the customary tribute to America's position. He added, however, that it would not matter too much if Moscow turned over East Berlin to the East Germans and said:

"Let us seek to explore with the Russians the possibility of a settlement in Europe less unstable and explosive than the present situation . . . I trust that we shall not show too much unwillingness to negotiate at the summit or at any other level."

In East Germany, Khrushchev said the May 27 deadline for transfer of power to East Germans was flexible and could be extended a month or two months "if we negotiate reasonably." As editor John Fischer said in *Harper's* (March, '59): "How we decide will surely affect the pocketbooks and possibly the lives of all of us."

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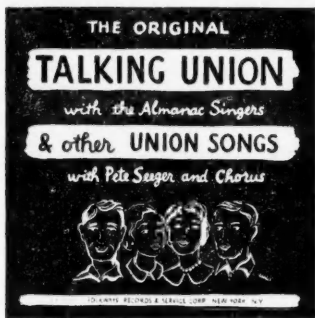
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*Now, if you want higher wages let me tell you what to do,  
You got to talk to the workers in the shop with you—  
You got to build you a union, got to make it strong,  
But if you all stick together, boys, it won't be long—*

That's "Talking Union" and it was recorded in the Forties by the Almanac Singers (Lee Hays, Pete Seeger & Co.), along with many other favorites: "Which Side Are You On?", "Hold The Fort," "Solidarity Forever," "Roll The Union On," etc. Now it's been re-issued as an LP album, with Pete Seeger and chorus singing a group of traditional union songs on the other side.

This is an album you must have for nostalgia's sake. As you listen you'll discover how appropriate the words are today. Furthermore, if you have a teen-ager in the family to whom you have tried to explain the old struggles, well... let the Almanacs do it for you...

*There once was a union maid, she never was afraid  
Of goons and ginks and company finks  
And the deputy sheriffs who made the raid—*

*She went to the union hall, when a meeting it was called,  
And when the Legion boys come 'round  
She always stood her ground...*

Here are 40 minutes of wonderful listening. No progressive home should be without this album.

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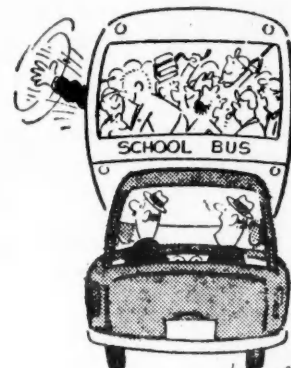


### On the campus

**H**OW DOES AN AMERICAN COLLEGE CAMPUS look to a middle-aging journeyman 23 years out of his own college? One looked very good to me last week. It was Antioch College, in Yellow Springs, Ohio, where I had been invited to speak on the state of civil liberties, with special emphasis on the Powell-Schuman case. The auspices were auspicious: the Socialist Discussion Club and the college chapter of the NAACP. The room was crowded, the questions brisk.

I tried in the lecture to show how the fight for civil liberties was linked with the fight for desegregation and, on a wider stage, for peace. Preparing the notes back home the constant question arose in my mind: what are the younger people today interested in, and how do you go about presenting things to them? Do you use a special yardstick with which to measure their understanding and interest, and then lard the presentation with academic humor?

I recalled the years in which I had taught a journalism class at a New York university, around the time the GUARDIAN was born, the variety of moods in the classroom ranging from apathy to eager curiosity, the incredible differences in the degree of preparedness for college and, above all, the lively discussion about journalistic ethics and practices. And how much I had learned from them.



London Evening Standard  
"He's probably signalling for help."

**B**Y THE TIME THE PLANE put down at Dayton Airport, the notes were gone over and I felt they were in order: they were the same as notes for a talk I would have given before an older adult audience. The talk was factual; the students listened carefully; there was no applause before, during or after. They accepted my presence on equal terms.

The questions were far-ranging but all pointed: Did I think that germ warfare actually had been conducted in Korea? If the Powells were found guilty, what protection could there be for any other newspaper that printed anything but government handouts? Was it possible to end the witch-hunt without political action? If not, was there hope that the American Left would stop its bickering and join in a solid front? Could socialism come to America if you didn't have the trade unions back of the move? Was the Independent-Socialist committee in New York going to stay in business?

There were no smart-aleck questions, no grand-stand speeches-in-the-form-of-questions. The serious mood and the obvious interest were impressive. They gathered around afterward for more give-and-take, and for still more in the college cafeteria the next day.

**W**ITH A FEW HOURS TO RELAX before heading home, I went to class with a first-year student—to a course in the fundamental concepts of mathematics (not my choice; I got lost early in the going) and a course in 18th century French literature conducted almost entirely in French, both by professor and students.

Once again I had the feeling of deep earnestness in the students, and a real desire in the teachers to share their knowledge. Everywhere, there was a sense of patience and kindness and unobtrusive guidance. They stress self-discipline and group discipline at Antioch and, by and large, the results show well.

The clothes match the relaxed approach; woolen white socks and slacks or skirt and sweaters for the girls (with every kind of outer garment), and chino pants or dungarees and slacks and colorful lumberjack shirts for the boys—plus a high incidence of brush on the young faces, some downy, some bristling fierce, some intellectually limp.

Several of the students are married, or plan to marry soon. They seem to accept early marriage as a perfectly sound idea and look at you oddly if you suggest that they might be on sounder ground if they waited a bit. Economy enters into the thinking, as with the young man who drove me to the airport some 30 miles away. "She's a great cook, my fiancée," he said, "and we can get a whole house for \$65 a month for both of us while we study. I get gas money and more ferrying people to trains and airport, plunk the change in a box, pick up 20 cents for ironing a shirt or 50 cents for pressing a pair of pants for a guy who's rushing off to a date."

**H**E BROKE OFF HIS FINANCIAL report, looked out the window and said: "Wow!" I looked out too and saw that we were passing Wright Airforce Base. The sky was streaked with jets; the whining whistle cut through the air; the sun glinted off the planes heading straight up trailing smoke.

We sat for a time in silence. Then I asked: "How do the people in the area feel about the jets here?" He shrugged: "I guess they just accept it. I guess they feel they have to get used to it."

I thought of the lecture, the classrooms and the eager eyes all looking to a future full of love and work and laughter. And, for the moment, Antioch seemed a million miles away.

—James Aronson