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# **NAACP** sees the goal of rights in sight but hard work ahead



AFTER THE LAST SPARKS THE NATION'S STEEL MILLS ARE DARK AND EMPTY

A steel worker taps the last furnace in a Braddock, Pa., steel mill as the union called a strike on July 14. The companies' last offer was for a one-year wage freeze, an end to cost-of-living increases and greater management prerogative over working conditions. The companies clearly wanted a strike to blame for the price increases they plan. But in all the talk, no one has yet suggested a freeze on profits.

### WASHINGTON POST: DROP IT AND FORGET IT

# **U. S. hangs on to Powell sedition indictment**

OHN AND SYLVIA POWELL and Julian Schuman won a round in their fight against sedition and treason charges when a six-months-old treason charge dismissed here for lack of evidence on July 13. But government attorneys

on July 13. But government attorneys indicated the fight is far from over. The latest development came when U.S. Commissioner Joseph Karesh refused a government request for an additional delay and threw out the charge. He pointed out that Article III, Section 2 of the U.S. Constitution declares: "No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court." U.S. Attorney Lynn J. Gilliard acknowledged that the government had neither a confession nor witnesses.

CASE GOES ON: Gilliard later said that the government would continue its investigation for two or three months and

to decide whether to present its case to a new grand jury for another treason indictment. He pointed out that there is no statute of limitations on treason charges. He also pointed out that the defendants are still under indictment for sedition and can be brought to trial at

The Washington Post on July 18 said "the Dept. of Justice has been left looking rather silly... The sedition charge against the defendants is still pending. It ought to be dropped and forgotten. In point of fact it should never have been brought in the first place."

Defense attorney Doris Brin Walker said the government "can't prove a case because they haven't got a case." She said the treason charge was made "in a spirit of revenge" when the government's sedition case blew up last January. THE MISTRIAL: The Powells and Schuman, all U.S.-born citizens, were indicted for sedition in April, 1956, for writings they published in China Monthly Review in Shanghai during the Korean War. The magazine, owned and edited by Powell, was published in China from 1917 to 1953. The indictment was handed down more than two and one-half years after the three had come home from China in 1953.

The case finally came to trial last January after numerous delays, and after five days a mistrial was declared as a result of prosecution attempts to introduce inadmissible evidence and because local newspaper stories had quoted the judge as implying the defendants were guilty of treason.

Immediately the government moved on a treason charge and predicted an in-dictment within two weeks. But after

THE PREVAILING MOOD at the Golden Jubilee convention of the NAACP en Jubilee convention of the NAACP was one of quiet confidence. "Full equality of opportunity and rights has not yet been attained," said Board of Directors chairman Channing H. Tobias in his keynote speech, "but the goal is now in sight."

In a discussion of the battle in the courts, Thurgood Marshall declared that "there is not yet a signal declared that

"there is not yet a single item on the horizon that can turn aside the forward progress of the struggle for legal recog-nition of Negroes' constitutional rights." And exec. secy. Roy Wilkins asserted that "the philosophy of segregation, with its handmaiden, discrimination, has been ruled out of American democratic gov-ernment. There remains only segregation as a practice to be rooted out."

But during the week-long sessions of

the convention which began at the New York Coliseum on July 13 it became clear that the rooting-out process posed gi-gantic problems which are nowhere near solution. Marshall, himself, noted that "the last stretch of this long hard pull could possibly be the toughest."

A GLOOMY PICTURE: Discussion leaders revealed just how tough it could be. (Continued on Page 8)

### In this issue ISRAEL AND RELIGION

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six months, it was clear that there was no evidence to support the charge. Treason carries the death penalty.

DEFENSE CONTINUES: Officials of the Powell-Schuman Defense Fund said their work would continue because the defendants are still under indictment on the sedition charge. The Fund asked that letters be sent to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers in Washington urging him to drop the sedition indictment.

In Los Angeles on Aug. 5 a Folk Arts concert will be held at the Ashgrove, 8162 Melrose Av., with proceeds going to the Fund. Participating artists include Jeronimo Villarino, flamenco guitarist; Dorris Hankerson, blues and spiritual singer; Joyce James, Mike Janusz and others. Reservations may be made by calling HO 4-2522 or DU 2-1188.

### 'IS IT NOT TIME TO PRACTICE PEACE?'

## Pacifists end 33-day vigil at Nebraska missile base

## **INSIDE CUBA**

K UMAR GOSHAL, the GUARD-IAN'S foreign affairs editor, has left for Cuba to cover the events folving the dramatic resignation of Fidel Castro as Premier. He will be on hand for the 26th of July celebration and will remain for a reporting tour of some weeks' duration. Goshal's background as an expert on colonies— present and past—makes him emi-nently qualified to report on the progress of this remarkable revolution to our south. Watch for his first dispatch in next week's GUARDIAN. And sure that your friends see the

PACIFISTS CLOSED their tents outside the Atlas missile base near Mead, Neb., on July 21 and ended 33 days of action and prayer for peace. But during their action, the pacifists, called Omaha Action: Nonviolence Against Nuclear Missile Policy, standing often in silent vigil, sounded a note loud enough

By Robert E. Light

The action was launched on June 18 with public meetings in Omaha and Lincoln and then a 35-mile march to the The pacifists encamped outside the site on June 24 and set up a round-

to shake the nation's conscience

On July 1, with prior public announce-

obedience phase of operations. In this phase, 15 pacifists were arrested, 12 for attempting to enter the site and three for sitting in the path of trucks delivering to the base. By pre-arrangement, 12 pleaded guilty and were sentenced to jail terms and fines; the others pleaded not guilty in order to bring the issues before a court. The cases are scheduled for hearing in October.

NINE IN JAIL: At first Federal Judge Richard E. Robinson suspended the paci-fists' sentences on condition that they discontinue their activities and stay away from the base. But when some returned to the vigil, they were re-arrested and ordered to serve six months in fail and pay fines of \$500 each. Currently nine are in jail.

One of those in the Federal prison in Springfield, Mo., is Karl Meyer, 22-year-old son of Rep. William H. Meyer (D-Vt.). He was one of the first to be arrested for attempting to enter the base. Released on probation, he returned to the vigil. The next day as he stood on a knoll and watched two other pacifists try to enter the base, a U.S. marshal and his deputy handcuffed and shackled him and took him to fail.

PROBATION REVOKED: The charge against Meyer in his second arrest was (Continued on Page 4)



Vigil at Detrick
NEW YORK, N.Y.
Over the Fourth, I took part Over the Fourth, I took part in a truly inspiring peace action, the vigil at Ft. Detrick in Frederick, Md., which is a non-violent appeal against germ warfare, sponsored by the Middle Atlantic Chapter of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. The action had originally been planned to last only five days, but it was felt by the leaders (including Stewart Meacham, George Willoughby, Charles Walker and Lawrence Scott) that the inter-Stewart Meacham, George Willoughby, Charles Walker and Lawrence Scott) that the interest being stirred both locally and nationally warranted prolonging the vigil, so it is now hoped to continue it until September.

One of the major enthusiams of the vigil was the cheerful cooperation by many different types, ages and persuasions of participants. Together we stood 
"on the line" just outside the Fort, in the blazing sun, meditating in our various ways and tating in our various ways, and striving not to feel accusative or self-righteous, but to join simp-

self-righteous, but to join simply in this symbolic act, which could surely arouse the minds and hearts of many.

We were profoundly moved, especially at the sounding of Retreat on the Fourth, to consider that this kind of non-conformist patriotism would not be allowed in many countries today; but that we here in America were still free to take a stand in protest against majority opinion

were still free to take a stand in protest against majority opinion without fear of false accusation and reprisal.

Several articles describing the newest developments in biological weapons and irrational gases can be found in recent national publications. Those who respond to the moral and spiritual call against their use are urged to come and take part in the vigil. come and take part in the vigil. Headquarters are at 327 N. Mar-ket St., Frederick, Md.

Jeanne S. Baghy

For Michael Magdoff

BROOKLYN, N. Y.
Enclosed is a contribution of \$10 in memory of my nephew, Michael David Magdoff, a devot-Michael David Magdoff, a devoted reader of your paper, who died on July 6. He would have been 20 years old on July 19. I am sure that many of the family would be grateful if all intended birthday gifts be sent to the GUARDIAN in his name.

H. Malamud

The GUARDIAN also received in Michael's memory this week \$25 from his grand-parents, Carl and Sylvia Weinstein; \$10 each from Michael's aunts, Rose Katz of Detroit and Mary Dombey of Oak Park, Mich.; and \$12 from Mrs. Weinstein's co-workers of the C & C Dress Co. of the Bronx. Ed.

A Jewish protest

CHICAGO, ILL.
We, as members of a Jewish organization, were shocked at the news that the Israeli government had concluded an

#### How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

The San Francisco Post
Office is going to get a card
for use by scattered members
of a family after nuclear
bomb attack.

The postage-free card will
provide space for the writer
to say he has come through
the attack safely and to give
his present address.

A spokesman for Postmaster John Fixa said cards
would be shipped here by October 1 "for safe and ready
storage."
Instructions for distribu-

Instructions for distribu-tion to the public have not been received, he said.

—San Francisco Chronicle, 7/14

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original elip with each entry. Winner this week: C.V., San Francisco, Cal.

agreement with the government of West Germany to produce and sell grenade launchers to them for their military forces.

To the protests that have been voiced in Israel, we add our voice, as should all decent-minded persons, Jew and non-cow alike, to any steps for the rearm-ing of a Germany that has not shaken off the poisonous doc-trines of the Hitlerites.

We make our protest as friends and well-wishers of the people of Israel, with the understand-ing that there can be no moral basis upon which the Jews of basis upon which the Jews of that country or the decent people of any country, including our own, can again put the means of launching another war in the hands of those who are so universally condemned, based on the history of World War II.

Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago, Leo Berman, president.

### What's in a name?

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

I notice that when writing about our No. 1 witch-hunters you refer to them as The Committee on Un-American Activities. Now that is not quite correct. The correct nomenclature for this cutties. rect. The correct nomenclature for this outfit is The Un-American Committee on Activities.

Hate serum

CLEARWATER, FLA.

Our government and most if not all radio announcers are sat-urated with hatred towards all the rest of the world except the European-American colonial capitalist countries, even including such horrors as Spain and Porsuch horrors as Spain and Portugal. Many are Catholic and have been inoculated with hatred from the cradle and, of course, they know nothing of the Church's past or even present activities, being as innocent as the average "good" Christian American citizen. No wonder we have an unending hell on earth. But life does improve, however, and there is still hope.

C. Bovay Annear

C. Boyay Annear

State of our health OLATHE. COLO.

In Modern Man's Philosophy, Dr. Szekely gets down to facts: people are not healthy that are cooped up in factories and hitting the pace we do today, Seventy-five per cent of the people

### Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

ACKIE ROBINSON, first Negro hired in U.S. big league baseball, was called last week before the House Committee on Un-American Activities to match his Americanism with that of Paul Robeson. Counted on to attack Robeson (for an alleged statement that U.S. Negroes would not fight Russia), Robinson instead aimed a withering attack on jimcrow. Other leading Negroes called as witnesses did likewise, almost to a man. White supremacist members of the

Committee found excuses to be absent when the Negroes appeared.

The Committee intended to grill Paul Robeson after the others were through "refuting" him. After the back-firing appearance of Robinson and the others, the GUARDIAN's John B. Stone reported, the Committee abandoned its plan.

National Guardian, July 25, 1949

-National Guardian, July 25, 1949

are in cities and 25% are on farms. If this was reversed we would still have plenty produced. The people that lived on the Polynesian Islands that Captain Cook and Bougainville discover-

Cook and Bougainville discover-ed were far superior in strength to those we call civilized.

They were vegetarians and lived in the mountains. When later some moved to the seaside and ate fish, their population dwindled from 240,000 to 10,000 in 160 years.

worked to the stablish a sensible workable system with sick people to engineer it—even capitalism is slipping faster with alling rulers than it would if they were

Dr. B. Broyles

Dilemma

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Weekly work hours are not getting shorter, but longer. To meet the high cost of living and inflation, people are forced to hold two jobs to make ends meet.

Unions take note.

Harry Fries



"Calm! How can I be calm? I send him off to college so he can be useful in the business, and he mes back a Zen Buddhist!

Portia at Aldermaston

MILL VALLEY, CALIF.

According to legend, the gods permit Shakespeare to return to his beloved England once a year, and to rewrite one of his plays in modern context. This year The Bard chose to visit Alder-The Bard chose to visit Aldermaston during a peace demonstration. Here is a speech from the play he retitled The Merchants of Death.

The quality of strontium\* is not strain'd,

It droppeth with the gentle rain from heaven

Upon the place beneath, and blights east, west:

blights east, west; It killeth him that gives and him that takes; Tis mightier than the might-

A

is mightler than the might-iest; it becomes part of every monarch, mightler than his crown; its sceptre shows the force of temporal power, he attribute to awe and majesty. His

majesty,
Wherein doth sit the dread
and fear of kings;
But strontium is above this

sceptred sway
When 'tis enthroned in the
blood of man,
An attribute of our great sun

An attribute of the state of th

sider this, That in the course of living,

none of us none of us
Shall good seed gender; we
must fight this fallout,
And that same fight shall
teach us all to render
The deeds of mercy.

—Jaime

\*In Elizabethan Eng pronounced stron-chum. English,

Room at the top

SALEM, ORE.

Considering the roots you are planting, the GUARDIAN can emerge as the most representative publication in the entire world. All the things in which you believe and for which you work will grow and last forever. All the things Dulles and Hoover, et al, believed in and worked for are rapidly reaching oblivion.

Ted Stuver

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### REPORT TO READERS

## Midsummer madness

THIS IS THE WAY LIFE IS in New York on a warm July night: An average American, with no hate in his heart, takes a seat in Madison Square Garden, along with 18,000 other persons, and cheers the superb artists from the Soviet Union presenting a festival of song and dance the like of which has rarely been seen here. At the end, he rises to applaud again, though his palms hurt, and smiles with pleasure as the dancers and singers applaud him. Then, full of human fellowship, he makes his way to the corner to pick up the morning Times and reads this headline: SENATE APPROVES ITS 40 BIL-LION BILL ON DEFENSE, 90-0. The ensuing feeling is something like being smothered in a large wet blanket.

The news this July has indeed been largely of the wet blanket —at least from Washington and, via Washington, from Geneva.

 The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy last week approved the giveaway of our atomic equipment and know-how to seven allies, including Adenauer's Germany. Unless an opposing resolution by seven sane Representatives is carried in the House, the giveaway will go into effect this month and next. No action is contemplated in the missile-minded Senate.

● In Geneva, the Soviet Union's Foreign Minister Gromyko spelled out the Soviet proposal of June 19 on Berlin: (1) a "truce" on Berlin for 18 months while (2) an all-German commission (East and West Germany) seeks to work out reunification, a peace treaty and greater contact between the two Germanys. When Gromyko made his proposal on June 19, as Walter Lippmann noted sharply on July 14, it was blacked out in the U.S. press. Only now is it being given prominence, mainly because of the obvious need for the West to come up with an alternative. Washington insists, at least publicly, on a status quo in Berlin. This means in effect that Adenauer's Germany will continue to arm to the teeth behind the propaganda barrage of a "free" Berlin, East Germany, Washington argues, cannot possibly sit down as an equal with West Germany because it has only 18,000,000 people as against West Germany's 53,000,000. Washington does not argue that by the same token India should have 100 votes in the United Nations to Costa Rica's one. Besides, everyone knows that East Germany, like China, does not exist.

Lippmann said that the only defense for West Berlin, if the status quo persists, would be "the threat of a world war with nuclear weapons." For Washington to persist in its rigidity would be madness; yet there is mounting evidence that Dulles is not really dead.

• The U.S. is transferring 200 nuclear-armed bombers from France to Britain—bombers at the ready to attack an enemy before the enemy attacks. A curiously submissive House of Commons received this news as though it were listening to its own death sentence.

 President Eisenhower told Secretary of State Herter that Herter really doesn't want Ambassador Charles Bohlen back from the Philippines as his chief adviser on Soviet affairs. Everett Dirksen and Styles Bridges, the Neanderthal twins of the Senate, gave the President his instructions. Then the President got a new set of instructions and said he never said what he said.

How do these events and the other depressing tidings from Washington (see Russ Nixon, p. 5) stack up against the news of growing American-Soviet exchange, such as patents, doctors, musicians, exhibitions, etc.? They don't. Thus, the feeling persists that sanity is breaking through despite the cave men of Washington.

O THE RUSSIANS REALLY MEAN it when they say they don't want war? The Times of London, in an editorial on July 8, reported the Soviet census at 209,000,000. Going back to figures for 1940, it concluded that World War II had cost the Russians 45,000,000 dead: 10,000,000 in the armed forces, 15,000,000 civilians; 20,000,000 unborn babies and dead infants. The **Times** said: "It is a tragic revelation, which casts a new light on Russian words and actions since the war. Above all, these figures compel belief in the ordinary Russian's asurances that he wants peace. He knows what war is like.'

Speaking last week in favor of the atomic giveaway, Sen. John O. Pastore (D-R.I.) also spoke of peace. He said: "Peace is uppermost in our minds, but we will only win it from a strong position, and not from a weak one. This is the only kind of talk that the bully under-

Spoken like a bully, Senator. Another bully named Hitler spoke in similar fashion to the Russians and learned that this was exactly the kind of talk they refused to understand. They proved it even at such a dreadful toll—because they wanted to live. They



ORTHODOX JEWS STAGE A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST MIXED BATHING IN JERUSALEM Opening of a public swimming pool was considered a desecration of the city. The "struggle to avoid struggle" on the religious question is a foremost issue in Israel today.

### THE FIGHT FOR A THEOCRATIC STATE

## Why Israel has no constitution

By Cedric Belfrage (Second of a series)

SINCE 1948 ISRAEL has received some \$60 millions a year in gifts, loans, technical aid and "surpluses" from the U.S. government (three-fourths of it on loan in 1958-59), plus United Jewish Appeal funds now reportedly running around \$45 millions a year. Of Israel's \$608-million foreign currency income in 1958-59 (one-fourth of which was W. German reparations and "personal compensation"), one-sixth came from the U.S.

Such bounty doesn't come without strings, and while it flows the "benefactor's" efforts will not cease to retard the economy's public sector. Yet socialist elements have played and still play so important a role in the world Zionist movement, that there seems to be a big difference between what the U.S. wants to buy with its money and what it can succeed in buying.

Western planes were permitted to use or fly over Israel for the Suez attack and the Jordan "police action," yet this is the only Western-orbit country where you never see a GI or a Coca-Cola sign. Stiff tariffs put U.S. goods beyond most people's reach, although a few U.S. firms have set up Israeli plants

MILLIONS OF TREES: U.S. influence on Israel is good as well as bad. Its dollar and technical aid has been widely harnessed to peaceful development projects—for example, the transformation of the landscape, climate and soil with millions of trees. Human U.S. exports vary all the way from kibbutzniks to the Elizabeth, N.J., proprietor of Beersheba's only night club (the world's weirdest—and also friendliest, though it provides a barside noose for customers wishing to kill themselves).

U.S. kibbutzniks, recruited and trained for communal living before "free enterprise" could corrode them, have brought here the best of America's traditional spirit—its neighborliness and love of pioneering despite hard-

ship. The country's outstanding art exhibit is the museum at Safad with the sculptures and paintings of Licenstein, who found a working haven in Chicago from Mussolini's fascism.

On various levels, people "playing it safe" with a newly-met U.S. correspondent show awareness—born of frequent contact with our tourists—of standard U.S. prejudices. A Yemenite-born boatman plying over the coral "flower-beds" off Eilat insisted he came from Jordan—because, as a Mapam friend later explained, "he thinks you might regard a Yemenite as 'colored', and that Americans dislike colored people." Managers of a factory and a mine, both state-owned, strove to head off any notion that these were "socialist." Here and there, people anxiously reassured me that very little atheism exists in Israel.

ON PREJUDICE: Actually, there is some color prejudice here—it would be strange if there were not, in such a new melting-pot of white, brown and black—but far less than in the U.S. There is a very healthy amount of "creeping socialism," with the State and the Histadruth (labor union federation) running hundreds of enterprises, 70% of agricultural produce coming from one kind or another cooperative farm, and the Histadruth's superlative health service providing "socialized medicine" for all but a few percent of those who most need it. And the overwhelming majority of the population—perhaps 80%, but I heard estimates as high as 95%—take absolutely no interest in "religion" as interpreted by the Rabbinate.

In view of their numerical insignificance, the orthodox religious elements have an influence which progregatives consider "fontastic"—clearly due to the support

In view of their numerical insignificance, the orthodox religious elements have an influence which progregatives consider "fantastic"—clearly due to the support they get from UJA contributors, few of whom practice in the U.S. what they preach to Israel. Thus, as most sophisticated Israelis understand, one of America's major exports is its own peculiar form of "religious" hy-

SABBATH SHUTDOWN: Ancient ritual observances

here present a strange contrast with the ultra-modern reconstruction seen on every hand. Young couples have the option of marriage by a rabbi or living in sin. Public transport is banned on the Sabbath (though private cars jam the highways), and the home base of El Al—a first-class airline with the slogan "We fly everywhere every day"—is the world's only airport which closes down for 24 hours every week.

Most eateries even in the Negev proclaim themselves kosher (whether strictly so or not), mainly for the benefit of U.S. tourists who cheerfully eat the flesh of the hog back home. Visiting the Hebrew University in Jerusalem—a modern architect's dream, with its air-conditioned, fully, automated, 2,000,000-book library—you ascend into the interior of a white mushroom-on-stilts edifice which is the campus synagogue. "Most students are not religious," my honest guide explained, "but the Americans wanted us to have it. It's occasionally used for weddings."

With a whole section in which even young boys, pale from constant immersion in the Torah, wear side curls and traditional "ghetto" costumes, Jerusalem is the only place where the ultra-orthodox are to be seen in significant numbers. A bronzed, vigorous, lightly-clad young couple of the normal Israeli type, who accompanied me there, expressed frank disgust at the sight. ("Some of these unfortunate kids," they said, "are taught to smoke as early as ten years old to quiet their study-frayed nerves.") The extreme of such orthodoxy is refusal to recognize the State of Israel, because the Messiah must come on a white donkey to proclaim it.

"A LIVING RELIGION": Jerusalem's modern-minded mayor Agron, founder of its English-language daily Post, told me of his endless "struggle to avoid struggle" with religious extremists on the City Council. Their efforts were barely defeated to ban a mixed swimming pool and the use of the new Hebrew Union College building (an extension project from Cincinnati) for "reformed" Jewish services.

All religious leaders strongly oppose "reformed" Judaism as "a foreign invasion which has no place here"; but Shalom Ben-Chorin, the briskly urbane leader of a 70-family modernized congregation founded last year, insists it is the only possibility of turning back the atheist tide. "Participation of women equally with men corresponds with women's status in every other sphere today," he says. "We are a living people and need a living religion."

Yet as long as ultra-orthodoxy gets so much support from the U.S., the struggle on the "religious" front is a serious and potentially dangerous one. The determination of these forces that Israel shall be a theocratic state, Agron said, is "one big reason why the writing of a constitution is still postponed. If Israel were declared now to be either secular or theocratic, there would be civil war."

THE STRING ATTACHED: Meawhile many ordinary Israelis who once attended "shule" agree with the Polish construction worker who said to me: "Religion has become a business—it's the rich Americans who say if you don't practice it you get no money." This man's cynicism began with his experience when, fleeing from the Warsaw Ghetto, he approached a priest who said: "If you want to live you must be a Catholic"..."I said, 'Why not?' and got baptized."

A rabbi of the Natl. Religious party's "Labor" wing (as theocracy-minded as the right wing) insisted to me that there can be no such thing as a non-religious Jew: "Wo are different from all other peoples, built on one religion." For him, the kibbuts and moshav (cooperative village) pioneers are one expression of that religion, whatever they may call themselves. Twelve kibbutses and 70 moshavs are in fact affiliated with this party, and on one of the former I found 25 young Americans of fervent orthodoxy. Members of left-wing kibbutses tell you that these religious kibbutsniks measure up to the highest pioneering and cooperative standards.

LIVING BROTHERHOOD: In a sense that may differ from the "Labor" rabbi's, I would agree that the "atheist" kibbutzniks are religious people. They have set standards of living brotherhood which could be profitably studied anywhere. In schoolrooms where red flags and peace doves find a natural place with the sixpointed star and nine-branched candlestick on mural decorations, their children are raised on the Bible as a major storehouse of secular Jewish history.

Discarding the superstition, they celebrate their people's historic days in beautiful pageantry. As a result—as a pioneer of a 30-year-old kibbutz said—"not one of our kids ever went religious" in any orthodox sense. But the "Ten Commandments" for individual and social behavior of the Left kibbutz youth movement seem to sink deep roots in these children. As for the Commandments of Moses, a 12-year-old "atheist" kibbutznik thus interpreted that episode to me:

"I think Moses heard the voice of conscience. He knew the people were full of primitive fears, so he waited for an approaching thunderstorm to ascend the mountain. He knew what they needed and how to make them accept it."

"My synagogue is here," said an Iranian pioneer in the hostile Negev, touching his brow and showing his toil-calloused hands. He hoped "the Americans" wouldn't mind.

## Peace vigil

(Continued from Page 1)

loitering near the base in violation of probation. In court Judge Robinson asked him if he had discussed his actions with other members of the group. Meyer said there had been a meeting. "Tell me the names of those in your group," Rob-inson said. Meyer hesitated and the judge repeated the question. Meyer listed a few names-those who had already been benames—those who had already been be-fore the court. The judge asked: "Did they advise you to return to the missile base?" "No." "Did you tell them you were returning?" "Yes, I did."

After the questioning, Robinson said:
"I have made every effort to be lenient."
I serve notice on the members of this organization that there will be no more leniency in this court for any member who breaks the law." Then he revoked Meyer's probation and ordered him to serve his six months sentence and pay a \$500 fine.

Rep. Meyer, who is fighting in Congress against granting nuclear arms to West Germany, has stood by his son. When young Meyer was first arrested, his father said: "It isn't the method I would use, but every person has his own approach and must go along with his conscience." After the second arrest he said: "Knowing my son as I do, I would have expected that he would go back again. He has been deeply concerned with peace since the age of 12." Young Meyer was arrested three times in New York for refusal to comply with civil



YOUNG PACIFIST ARRESTED A U.S. marshal handcuffs Karl Meyer near a missile base in Mead, Neb.

defense drills.

THE BIG QUESTION: Another pacifist in jail for six months is Ed Lazar, 24, of New York City. On his arrest on July 16 he issued the following statement:

"I feel responsible for all lifemy own, but also the lives of the millions of people throughout the world, all other forms of existence . . . . when I see life threatened with destruc-

## When the balloon goes up...

SOMEWHERE IN GERMANY

FERE IN SOUTHEASTERN Germany, in the shadow of the Iron Curtain, the United States trains the men who will lead the guerrillas of the next war—if it turns out to be that kind of war. We call them "special forces."

These are the super-efficient, the super-dedicated, the super-reliable men who are to go into an enemy land to organize, train, coddle and activate resistance fighters.

Despite the holocaust that's expected to usher in the Third World War—when and if—the Army still feels there's a place for these behind-the-lines operators.

The military planners expect the big atomic push to be followed by years of people picking up the pieces and fighting guerrilla battles. This is the job for the swagger-sticked, beret-topped airborne group we call "special forces."

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The military have a phrase to avoid the ugliness of calling the Third World War by its own name. "When the balloon goes up . . ." they say.

When and if the balloon does go up, it'll be carrying these airborne supertroops

behind the Iron Curtain.

-Robert H. Hoyt in the Philadelphia Inquirer, July 7

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tion and when I see my neighbors giving their energies into the preparation of death, I must with my whole being do everything possible to prevent this extinction of life. That is why I am in Omaha now and why I am committing civil disobedience.

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people here that as free, unique human beings they have the capacity to exercise their choice between force and the way of non-violence which is love. We must use the means of peace in order to achieve the ends of peace, and we must also trust the potential of others to change their means when faced with

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### PROFITS AND PROPAGANDA

# Dollar patriotism: Munitions lobby works for war

By Russ Nixon

Washington Representative, United Electrical Workers Union

WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has publicly stated his concern about the influence of the "munitions concern about the influence of the "munitions y." House Armed Services Committee Chairman lobby. Carl Vinson (D-Ga.) is currently engaged in a bitter and angry crusade against what he calls "unconscionable profits" by munitions producing corporations. Congressman F. Edward Hebert (D-La.) heads a special House subcommittee investigating the munitions lobby, especially lobbying for military contracts by retired Generals and Admirals employed by private companies. Recently the Wall Street Journal reported that the Pentagon has 330 lobbyists working on Congress.

If the alarm is being rung by these ultra-conservative forces against the influence of militaristic muni-tions corporations, can you imagine what the whole true story must be?

Actually, American Big Business has always had a dollar sign on its patriotism. Most corporations had to be forced to give up their regular production and convert to war production at the beginning of World War II; Harry S. Truman won his first national fame ex-posing that scandal. Most corporations resisted cooperating with the war effort in World War II until they were guaranteed their tremendous profits. Many will recall the uproar caused by Franklin D. Roosevelt's effort to limit salaries to \$25,000 a year during World War II.

SO TODAY, YOUTHS ARE DRAFTED for the armed services but corporations keep an excess profits label on all their military production. A bitter battle is being fought here in Washington by munitions manufacturers against limits on or exposures of their profiteering. The basis of Rep. Vinson's anti-profiteering crusade was the question of extending the Defense Contract Renegotiations Act which permits the government to recapture excess profits. The NAM, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and major companies have engaged in an all-out lobby to wipe out this mild profit limit.

But there is a more serious side to this munitions lobby than excess profiteering. That is the question of the extent to which the munitions and Pentagon lobbies kept world tensions hot and prevented moves tending toward disarmament and easing tension to preserve their lush military business. How many scareheadlines have been created, how much have the errors or even wrong actions of other countries been exaggerated to keep the cold war going with its billions of dollars of military orders? These are the real questions.

The powerful chairman of the House Appropriations The powerful chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Clarence Cannon (D-Mo.), recently said: "We wouldn't have to spend near the money we do if it were not for the lobbyists and the munitions makers. They thrive on wars and the threat of wars. If we declared peace, they would go broke."

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT Marquis Childs recently wrote about "the intensive propaganda campaign being conducted by the Pentagon to prevent an agreement on the ending of nuclear tests." Sen. Hu-bert Humphrey (D-Minn.) has stated on the Senate floor that the American people have been "brainwash-ed" and referred to "a concerted effort somewhere in Washington—I imagine in the defense establishment itself—to get the American people to believe that it is not possible to reach an agreement to control these nuclear weapons.'

This is serious business. General Thomas S. Power, chief of the Strategic Air Command, recently told a Congressional Committee that 20 SAC bombers of to-day loaded with H-bombs are the equal in destruct-tive power of 200,000,000 Flying Fortresses of World

Today's munitions lobby has a special significance. Our current "merchants of death" have a Madison Avenue public relations lobby and are as relentless and greedy as before the era of nuclear weapons. Referring to the inquiry into the munitions lobby, the Scripps-Howard papers said editorially: "The sums involved are big and fat. When big, fat sums are involved there is likely to be some big, fat pressures to keep inquiries

is likely to be some big, lat pressures to keep inquiries like this from smelling out much."

The sums involved in today's munition lobby are not just dollars, but the total of the earth's population. This investigation should be relentless and it should probe as deeply into war propaganda as into war profits.

NAACP goal

(Continued from Page 1) Among their findings were the following disturbing facts:

• The Negro vote in the South under the impact of lawless intimidation and official purging, since the NAACP two years ago out to double it by 1960.

• Three highly respected rganizations have listed 530 instances of racial violence ocourring since the 1954 Supreme

Court decision.

School integration in Northern communities is seriously handicapped by the persistence of residential segregation.

• In the Southern and border states a bare 5% of the Negro children contemplated as bene-ficiaries of the Supreme Court decision are actually in schools with white pupils and 300 state laws have been enacted to stay the entrance of others.

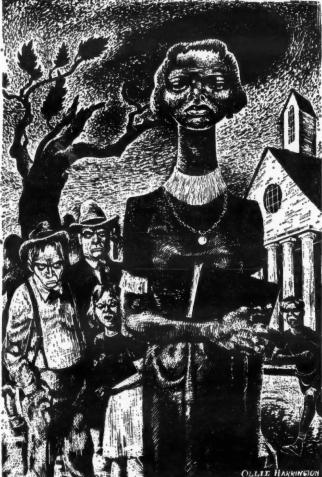
Negro family income is still little more than half that of white families and the percent-age of Negro unemployed workers is double that for whites.

PRIORITY FOR VOTING: In face of these conditions, the delegates went about approving resolutions which varied only in details from those adopted at the previous convention. In many instances, in fact, there was no change in the wording at all, for the evils with which the resolutions dealt had obviously not altered in the least.

The convention voted to make

registration and voting a "top priority project" by increasing financial aid to citizenship drives in the South. It called upon branches to double Negro registration in areas where there are no racial barriers to voting, and urged the Civil Rights Commisslon to "intensify investigations of the police brutality, wanton murder and callous trickery that are being used to keep colored citizens from voting in many parts of the South." It called upon the Dept. of Justice to "accelerate" its program of law enforcement "so that all quali-fied citizens may vote without fear of reprisals."

Wilkins, at the closing rally of the convention, hinted at political reprisals against Demoeratic Senators for their sabo-tage of civil rights legislation.



LITTLE ROCK Drawing by Ollie Harrington from Dora Teitelhoim's "Ballade de Little-Rock"

"Unless the Democratic leadership talks sense to its Southern members," he said, "we may have to try to get some new commit-tee chairmen of a different political party."

WHICH IS WHICH? But in an earlier session Clarence Mit-chell, Washington bureau chief of the organization, had decried the notion that the other major party was really any different. Noting that the Republicans had "finally" elected a few Southerners to Congress, he emphasized that on the strength of their civil rights voting records "you can't tell the player from the scoreboard.

Among the more significant resolutions was one dealing with

the Negro worker and organized labor. While calling upon Negro workers to support the unions in their industries and to refuse to be used as strike-breakers, the convention was sharply critical of the record of the AFL CIO.

The delegates noted that two Railway Brotherhood unions and the Airline Pilots Assn. still maintain constitutional clauses against Negro membership, that many unions maintain segregated locals and endorse separate s of job-progression, and that "in some instances union shop stewards and business agents openly solicit funds and support for the White Citizens Councils and in other ways participate in

activity devoted to the main-tenance of white supremacy."

RANDOLPH'S CALL: The AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee was charged with failure to enforce labor's policy resolutions against discrimination and NAACP members were urged to "raise these questions sharply within organiz-

In one of the most significant speeches of the convention, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and vice-president of both the NAACP and the AFL-CIO, went a big step further. He called for the formation of national Negro Labor Committee, comparable to the Jewish Labor Committee."

Randolph envisioned the mem-

bership of such an organization as all being members of the NAACP. Their tasks would be "to secure membership of Negro workers in the unions and employment and promotion on the job as well as participation in the executive, administrative and staff areas of the unions." They would seek to elect Negro trade unionists to national and international union conventions, "ex ecutive boards of city central bodies and state federations, as well as the biennial conventions of the AFL-CIO."

INCLUDING THEM OUT: But. before the organization could be set up. Randolph barred admisset up, Randolph barred admission to some Negro workers. Only Negro members of the AFL-CIO could belong, he said. This ruled out scores of thousands of Negro coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers, and additional thousands of Negro longshoremen, teamsters, ore miners and electrical workers whose unions have fallen out of favor with the same AFL-CIO brass whom Randolph and the con-vention accused of backsliding on civil rights.

In an effort to explain the contradiction of adding new strength to the Negro's struggle excluding potential members from the proposed organization Randolph contended that "it must set its head, hands and heart against communism within without the unions and against corruption and racketeering in any form."

The liveliest legislative session of the convention was devoted to a discussion of the case of

Robert F. Williams, suspended president of the Union County, N.C., branch. The national board the organization had sustained the suspension of the North Carolina leader imposed by Roy Wilkins after Williams made a public statement that Negroes should answer "violence with violence" and "lynching with lynching."

SINGLE ISSUE: Williams came to the convention with the charge that his freedom of speech had been abridged and the demand that he be reinstated as branch president. It was clear at the outset that the national leaders were prepared for the Williams challenge. A piece of literature in the delegates' kits pointed out what they considered "the single issue in the Williams case." It was not the right of self-defense, they said, for the NAACP had defended that right since its inception and had reasserted it in the statement issued when Williams was suspended. It was not free speech, for no officer of any organization had the right to advocate a course contrary to nationally accepted policy and remain in of-fice. The leaders charged that Williams' real aim was to change national policy to one of open advocacy of violence as a means

to achieve equality.
Williams' task was to meet
these contentions. Many delegates, recognizing the great burden of provocation under which he labored in North Carolina, hoped that he would. But he disappointed them. Throughout the convention—in caucuses, private discussions and plenary debate -he never made it clear where

he stood on the key question. The convention finally voted, 746-11, to sustain the national officers. Having provided an object lesson on how not to win friends and influence people in the NAACP, Williams hinted that he would either sue or get out of the organization.

Nonsense rime

A JOLLA, CALIF.
So all is serene in this fairy land
Where the lambs have long green fleece,
Where God is in bed with the bankers

bankers. And wars are made for peace. Jack A. Pepper

## Work on Du Bois misfires

THE AUTHOR of this volume\*, Francis L. Broderick, a young white teacher at Phillips Exeter academy in New Hampshire, prefaces his work with this sentence: "My intention has been neither to exalt nor to demean Dr. Du Bois; it has been to understand him in the context of his time."

The purpose is commendable; but it is no mean undertaking to try to comprehend a man whose unparalleled career has spanned several generations of swift change and who has been in the center of many of these changes as catalyst and analyst, inspirer and organizer. Broderick, in his first book, has not succeeded in what he tried to do; but for an initial effort it shows boldness in conception, perseverence in execution, and a striving after objectivity.

Broderick's views, generally, are anti-racist and his sympathies are liberal. His presentation of areas of Dr. Du Bois' life, in terms of narrative, is generally quite accurate; much of the basic data related to the early Atlanta days, the Niagara movement, the founding of the NAACP, the struggles during the First World War, and features of the 1930's are clearly presented and well documented. The book does not pretend to be a biography—no one could write

the "life" of Du Bois in 230 pages of text. The work seeks, as its full title—W. E. B. Du Bois, Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis—suggests, to examine the development of Du Bois' ideas as these reflected and affected the world about him.

B RODERICK FINDS that the essence of Du Bois' contribution to date has been two-fold: "propagandizing for equality and inspiring younger Negroes." He remarks that this represents "enough significance for one lifetime," and urges that "it is not necessary to gild the lily with myths." (This reviewer is found to be among the most assiduous myth-makers).

In his eagerness to deflate an alleged myth Broderick at times is guilty of bad taste and error. He refers repeatedly to the alleged "arrogance" and "conceit" of Du Bois and charges him with being "pretentious" and "supercilious."

Such language is not only a matter of taste, and verbalization: it reflects a failure to understand the personality of Dr. Du Bois. That personality actually is given very much more to shyness than to conceit, though most certainly, and most properly, Du Bois has never suffered from a false modesty. In addition to a natural shyness—reinforced by the affronts normal

for dark-skinned people in this bastion of the "Free World"—there is in Du Bois and always has been a fierce dedication to integrity; an absolute refusal to compromise honesty.

I think there has been in Du Bois a tendency to shy away from affiliations, committees, organizations, high positions—a feeling that all these require some compromise of individual principle. Du Bois has tended to shun the temptation of power, fearing that to get it and to have it and to use it brings about an inevitable corruption, to a greater or lesser degree. There is no hint of any of this in Broderick.

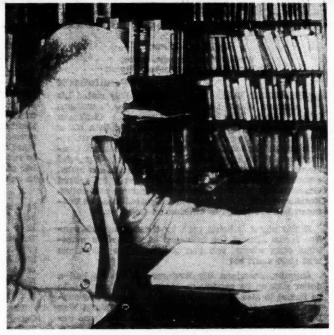
BRODERICK'S WORK does not give enough attention to the impact upon a Negro of the indecencies and violence and constant pressures of a Jim Crow society. It is of the greatest importance in any Negro's life; it has been of tremendous significance in the life and work and personality of Du Bois. Particularly important was the violence that Du Bois saw—and which, in 1906, his family experienced.

As just one example, an incident that had the strongest impact upon his life occurred in the early days when, after a particularly barbarous lynching, Du Bois wrote a letter to the editor of the local newspaper and decided to deliver it to him personally. As Du Bois walked down the street, he noticed, displayed in a butcher shop window, human knuckles, with a card informing passersby that they belonged to the latest mob victim.

Du Bois never delivered that letter; at that moment he had seared into the deepest recesses of his heart a pain and an anger and a driving passion to rid the world of such monstrosities. This kind of thing is not in Broderick; without it, one has missed Dr. Du Bois.

But above all this—and above the occasional errors—such as referring to the eminent painter of Biblical themes, Henry O. Tanner, as a physicist—and above the acceptance of a view which makes of Communists the guileful deceivers concocted by J. Edgar Hoover and other "experts"—above these things is the failure to acknowledge the central feature of Du Bois' time: imperialism and Du Bois' historic half-century struggle against it in the United States and in the world. This is at the heart of the meaning of Booker T. Washington on the one hand and Du Bois on the other; it is at the heart of Du Bois' whole career, from the Niagara Movement to the Lenin Peace Prize in 1959.

BECAUSE BRODERICK does not comprehend this, he deals with the past ten years of Du Bois' life as a period marked by his "abandoning the struggle for Negro rights" or "cutting himself loose from the struggle for Negro equality." In fact, Du Bois saw, more than 50 years ago, the integral relationship between the struggle of the industrial working people of the world and the struggle of the darker peoples of the world.



DR. DU BOIS AS EDITOR OF 'THE CRISIS' IN 1915 He founded and edited the NAACP organ from 1910 to 1934

He was among the first of the Negro leaders who saw the importance of Negro-white unity in the American labor movement. It was this vision, also, which made him pioneer the Pan-African Movement over 50 years ago. And it was this "secret" which made Du Bois a friend of the Bolshevik Revolution and a staunch partisan of the U.S.S.R.—He saw that in the U.S.S.R.—and he saw this 30 years ago—there was a dedication to education on a level and for a purpose never before attempted, and he knew that there lay the root of full human emancipation.

D U BOIS' GRASP, in the past decade, of the relationship between the world-wide socialist revolution and the world-wide colonial and national-liberation revolution has matured. This reflects not an abandonment of the struggle for Negro liberation but rather a new content to the present-day Negro liberation movement—now in this time of decline of imperialism, and the rise of socialism.

In this Du Bois is ahead of his American contemporaries; but that is not unusual for him. All his life he has been a trailblazer. He is today too; and the trail has brought him to the beautiful vista of equality, security, peace and real friend-

ship. How fitting that, in this ninth decade that he has been gracing our earth, he was properly honored in those lands where socialism is triumphant.

Broderick is wrong, also, in saying that the Negro radicals of the early 20th century had no economic content in their radicalism; they did, including a strong socialist current, as was true of Fortune, Waldron and of Du Bois himself. He is wrong in tending to dismiss the permanent value of Du Bois' scholarship, and he is quite wrong in his estimate of Du Bois' perceptive biography of John Brown. He exaggerates Du Bois' racialism, and he accepts uncritically the altogether one-sided psychological studies of Kardiner and Ovesey. He is excessively critical of Du Bois in the last break with the NAACP leadership, and has no inkling of the fierce bureaucratism that plagued that leadership.

We have, then, overall, an effort of quite limited usefulness—despite decent intentions and hard work. Broderick has done justice neither to Du Bois nor to his times.

-Herbert Aptheker
\*W. E. B. DU BOIS: Negro
Leader in a Time of Crisis,
by Francis L. Broderick.
Stanford University Press,
Stanford, Calif. 259 pp. \$8.

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8:15 p.m.— "1959 Wage Struggles"
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
Second class in "Labor Issues Today"
8:15 p.m.— "Political Realignments"
ESTHER CANTOR
Second class in "Political Action"

Wednesday, July 29

10:15 a.m. — "Imperialism and War"

BETTY GANNETT

Third class in "Elements of Marxism"

8:30 p.m. — "Capitalist Exploitation"

HAROLD COLLINS

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\*\*Second class in "Elements of Marxism"

\*\*Sils p.m. — "Negro and World Polities"

\*\*WILLIAM L. PATTERSON

\*\*Second class in "Negro Question Today"

\*\*Thursday, July 30

6:30 p.m. — "Art and Ideology"

\*\*SIDNEY FINKELSTEIN

\*\*Second class in "Dialectics and Arts"

\*\*Sils p.m. — "Ivan Paviev"

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### BAY AREA, CALIF.

VINCENT HALLINAN
reports on tour of U.S.S.R.
GUARDIAN benefit at Hallinan residence,
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## VINCENT HALLINAN

report on his recent

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at the

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## GALLERY E

DR. CHARLES P. TAFT OF CINCINNATI, vice president of the Natl. Council of Churches, believes that "Communist China" must prove it actually controls the Chinese mainland before it must prove it actually controls the Chinese mainland before it can gain admission to the United Nations. . . The Archbishop of Toledo, largest archbishopric in Spain, says that it is a mortal sin for engaged couples to walk arm-in-arm in the streets or be alone together. He adds: "Among diversions, probably none constitutes a graver and more frequent danger than dancing." . . . The Duke of Windsor has a problem: He thinks London tailors make the best accepts in the world, but he always here his travers made the New York—very low on the hips and tight-fitting. He would like to find a firm with branches in both cities.... Charles Abboud, 58, a mailman, stumbled into a Los Angeles police station and told this story: He was driving from his home in Omaha to visit his daughter-in-law's parents in Los Angeles. His son, daughter-in-law and grand-phild were in over our correct of the followed in each term of that parents in Los Angeles. His son, daughter-in-law and grand-child were in one car and he followed in another. But in the heavy traffic on the Los Angeles freeway, he lost track of the lead car. He kept driving, hoping to leave the super-highway at the next exit. But, he said, "these people drive like maniacs. They wouldn't let me But, he said, "these people drive like maniacs. They wouldn't let me off the freeway. I couldn't get to the right-hand lane to get off." Finally Abboud did get off—near San Bernardino, 50 miles east of Los Angeles. He arrived at the police station seven hours after he lost track of his son's car. But he was so upset he could not remember the name or address of the people he was to visit. Police wired Abboud's wife in Omaha for information and later called his son to pick up the distraught mailmen. to pick up the distraught mailman.

ABOUT 20 YEARS AGO a man in Hokkaido, Japan, began suffering from a strange malady. After finishing a meal, his breath began to

mell of alcohol and his face became red, although he never touched a drink. In time he learned to live with the problem and it did not seem to affect his work as a farm as-sociation executive. But last year it got so bad he could not walk straight after eating. Then he went to Dr. Shuichi Sasaki for treatment. The bacteriologist found that the patient's stomach contained a rare, quick-acting yeast which ferment-



WHY SALESMEN HAVE ULCERS Sign over filling station in Anderson, Ind.

ed the food he ate. Sign over filling station in Anaerson, inc.

After five months of treatment with antibiotics, last month the patient was pronounced cured. Dr. Sasaki said: "It isn't a sickness that just anyone would be subject to." But there are many who wouldn't mind a touch of it.... Labor MP Frank Allaun complained in the House of Commons that Big Ben is a booming nuisance that should be silenced when Londoners sleep. He said the clock's chimes disturb patients in St. Thomas' Hospital near Westminster. But Tory Harmar Nicholls replied for Her Majesty's government: "I slept for two years in St. Stephen's Club quite close to Big Ben and I can assure you I slept very well indeed."

CARY GRANT AND KIM NOVAK canceled plans to attend the Intl. Film Festival in Moscow Aug. 3-17 at the request of the State Dept. Grant is said to be distressed because he enjoys visiting Moscow, where he can walk the streets without being recognized.... A French Parliamentary committee last month threw out without debate a bill to give police broader powers to lock up clochards (vagrants). The bill was submitted by conservative deputy Edouard Frederic-Dupont who said the clochards (many of whom are seasonal farm workers) were giving Paris a bad reputation. In a recent campaign Paris police herded clochards into vans, drove them far into the country and left them stranded. But the practice stopped after one group rode back to Paris in a taxi and told the driver to collect his fare from the gendarmes.... Under initiative of the independent Intl. Longshore-men's & Warehousemen's Urion, a new liberal weekly newspaper was founded last month in Honolulu. Called Hawaiian Reporter, the paper will fulfill subscriptions of the defunct Honolulu Record. In a prospectus the editors state: "The Reporter believes that the role of a newspaper is to be the eyes and ears of the people. An informed people make sound judgments. They are more inclined to make politics and government their business, and their community affairs their problems . . . [The paper's] objective will be public service—not profit. It will be forthright. In short, it will be a newspaper of general circulation—to inform, interpret, persuade and entertain." Subscriptions are \$6 a year from P.O. Box 2655, Honoiulu 3, Hawaii. -Robert E. Light

### **New Soviet film opens** in New York July 21

THE SECOND Soviet film in Kinopanorama, "The En-chanted Mirror," made for presentation in conjunction with sentation in conjunction with the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology and Culture, was shown in its American premiere at New York's Mayfair Theater Tuesday, July 21.

In animated cartoons, the new

film uses the themes of familiar fairy tales and relates them to present-day life in the Soviet Union. It is the first time animation has been adapted to a process involving three cameras and three projectors on a wide, curved scre

irved screen. Also featured in the film are performances by Galina Ulanova, the Bolshoi ballet, the Peking Classical Opera and the Piatnitsky Chorus.

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## Paul Robeson

There are some record albums you know will become classics the first time you hear them. One has just been issued by Vanguard of Paul Robeson's Concert at Carnegie Hall, May 9, 1958—just before he left for Europe. It contains many old favorites

and a few songs you may not have heard before.

What makes this album a "classic" are two selections: a short reading from "Othello" ("I have given the state some service . . .") in Robeson's full, rich baritone which will send chills up your spine; and a short reading and song from "Boris Godounov" never before recorded by Robeson.

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### **NEWSPAPER**



SIDE ONE: Every Time I Feel The Spirit, Balm in Gilead, Volga Boat Song, Monologue from Othello, O Thou Silent Night, Chinese Children's Song, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River, Going Home.—SIDE TWO: Monologue from Boris Godoutov, The Orphan, Christ lag in Todesbanden, Didn't My Lord Deliver Daniel, Lullaby (Schubert), O No John, Joe Hill, Jacob's Ladder. Piano accompaniment by Alan Booth. SIDE ONE: Every Time I Feel The

### Martha Schlamme



If you are familiar with Mar-tha Schlamme's earlier albums the mere announcement of the one above was all you needed to buy it. To those who haven't, let us say this: If there is a better combination than Miss Schlamme's singing and Robert De Cormier's arrangements we have never heard it. This is a charming album, superbly rec-orded. And you don't have to know Yiddish to appreciate songs. Yours for just \$3.75.

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# SPECTATOR & Golden Jubilee

T WAS A JUBILEE CONVENTION that the NAACP held in New York during the week of July 13-19, and the delegates were in a mood for reminiscing. Looking back 50 years to the time of their founding, they realized that they had come—in the words of their anthem, Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing—"over a way that with tears has been watered.'

The contrast between the 1909 and 1959 conventions was remarkable. The first meeting had been inspired by William English Walling's account of a bloody race riot in August, 1908, in Springfield, Ill., home city of Abraham Lincoln. Published in the Independent magazine, the article suggested the need for a "large and powerful body of citizens" to defend the rights of Negroes.

NEW YORK SOCIAL WORKER and Socialist, Mary White NEW YORK SOCIAL WORKER and Socialist, sand Ovington, discussed the matter with Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison and publisher of the N.Y. Evening Post and The Nation, and Henry Moskowitz, a social worker who signed the call which among immigrants. Among the 60 leaders who signed the call which Villard drafted were W. E. B. Du Bois, founder and leader of the Niagara Movement and then a professor at Atlanta Univ.; Ida Wells-Barnett, crusading publisher and battler against lynch terror; Mary Church Terrell, founder of the Natl. Assn. of Colored Women's Clubs; Rev. John Haynes Holmes, liberal churchman; Charles Edward Russell, author and lecturer, and Rev. Francis J. Grimke, leading Presbyterian clergyman. Only two of the founders, Du Bois and Holmes, are alive today.

Three hundred Negro and white Americans answered the call to form the organization. Morefield Storey, a white Boston lawyer who had been secretary to Charles Sumner, became the first president: and Du Bois, as director of publicity and research and founder and editor of The Crisis, became the first Negro executive of the NAACP.

In 1917 the organization met in New York City again. year the U.S. entered World War I "to make the world safe for democracy." At home, 222 Negroes were killed by lynch mobs and in race riots. Negro soldiers of the 24th Infantry Regiment, goaded beyond endurance by white citizens and police in Texas, opened fire on their tormentors and killed several white persons.

THE 150,000-STRONG Negro community of New York City was then but 2% of the population and had negligible political power. Negro delegates faced difficulties getting accomodations in downtown hotels, restaurants and theaters. Membership in the NAACP had reached something under 10,000, organized into 96 branches concentrated in New England, the Eastern Seaboard and the Mid-

Today the organization is 350,000 strong. Its branches, youth councils and college chapters function in 44 states and the District of Columbia. Nearly \$1,000,000 was raised in 1958 for legal work, lobbying and educational activities. The convention, held in the imposing Coliseum building, cheek by jowl with the Soviet Exhibition of Science, Technology and Culture, was addressed by the Governor of New York and his predecessor, the Mayor of the City, the Negro Borough President of Manhattan, the Negro Congress man from Harlem and a host of other dignitaries and hopefuls.

But the heavy weight of official sanction—which the officers of the organization invite and obviously cherish—did more than anything else to keep the convention from becoming a jubilee in fact. The politicians gave political speeches which were received with the grain of salt they deserved. Speaking for the AFL-CIO, Walter Reuther encased labor's greetings in a plethora of platitudes and racial beatitudes.

T OP NAACP OFFICIALS in their speeches saw the battle as all but won. Board chairman Channing Tobias, exec. seey. Roy Wilkins, and Legal Fund director Thurgood Marshall emphasized that legal equality has been affirmed as national policy; all that remains, in Marshall's phrase, is a "mopping up" exercise.

Of course they want more members and more money to do the job. But they are rather sophisticated, urbane folk who seem to feel they've "got it made" on the anti-segregation front and that they needn't encourage too much excitement in the fight that lies ahead.

The big question is whether they have correctly estimated the

course of national affairs and the temper of their people. Significantly, nothing stirred the audience more than Mahalia Jackson, at the closing rally at the Polo Grounds, rearing back and singing, "I been 'buked and I been scorned."

The NAACP leaders proved themselves skillful and rather unimaginative administrators of a movement that's on the winning side of history. At the same time they seemed prone to the occupa-tional hazard of all leaders—an inability to bridge the gap in experience and perception between themselves and the masses they undertake to lead.

-Louis E. Burnham

### **Guardian night at the Hallinans**

F RIENDS OF THE National GUARDIAN are sponsoring Vincent Hallinan, recently returned from a tour of the Soviet Union, at a meeting to be held Friday evening, July 31. The affair will be held at the Hallinan

residence, Lagunitas and Glenwood, in Ross, California, at 8 p.m. All friends of the GUARD-IAN in the Bay Area are cordially invited to attend. Refreshments will be served. Donation is \$1.50.