

Inaugural speech mixes cold war and peace hopes

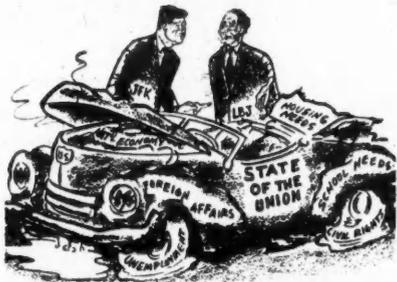
By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON
PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S Inaugural Address pleased everyone. Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives at home, the Communist, the neutral, and the anti-Communist world abroad, all found a basis for hope, confirmation and praise in the new President's first 1,355 words. No group, interest, or nation was aggrieved.

Devoted exclusively to foreign problems, the inaugural speech was cautiously conciliatory, opening the door to a renewed possibility of negotiations between cold war adversaries. Nothing President Kennedy said undercut the inclination of the Soviet Union and Cuba to treat the ending of the Eisenhower Administration as an opportunity to seek a new rapprochement with the United States.

At the same time there was enough cold war toughness in the speech to satisfy the ardent advocate of the worldwide crusade against communism. Speaking in literate and sometimes eloquent generalities, President Kennedy avoided specific problems and managed to achieve a high level "all things to all men" effect. The real policy content of the Kennedy program remains to be revealed as action is taken in Laos, Cuba, the Congo, Berlin, and on the problems of nuclear arms for West Germany, the status of Peoples China, nuclear test ban discussions, and a new summit conference.

HEARST APPROVAL: The Hearst New York Mirror (Jan. 21) enthusiastically greeted Kennedy's speech as having "laid down the gauntlet to Soviet Russia in such language as has not been heard from a President of the United States before." The editorial viewed the President's statement that "the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state but from the hand of God" as a "challenge to totalitarianism which was completely and absolutely uncompromising." The Mirror was pleased that (Continued on Page 4)



Belland, Guild Reporter
"It belonged to an old army man who hardly ever drove it."

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the progressive newsweekly

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NEW YORK, JANUARY 30, 1961



BIG BROTHER IS LISTENING, BUT IS THE NEW FRONTIER MARSHAL TALKING SENSE?

With JFK safely installed in the White House, the world listened for notes of change. Some found sweet sounds in the inaugural address (see left), but others heard clinkers from the Attorney General's office (see p. 7).

STUDENT KILLED, PROFESSOR WOUNDED AT U. OF CAL.

Un-American Committee foe shot by fanatic

By Joanne Grant

A Bible-reading defender of the House Committee on Un-American Activities on Jan. 18 killed a graduate student at the University of California with a shotgun blast intended for a professor who has been critical of the committee. The professor, Thomas F. Parkinson, was critically wounded.

The killer, John Harrison Farmer, 30, after pausing outside to read his Bible, entered Parkinson's office and shot him. He fired the fatal blast when graduate student Stephen Mann Thomas made a move toward him.

Police found this note in Farmer's briefcase when he was arrested the next day: "Death to all Communists. Death to all fellow travelers. Death to every friend of Communism. Death in the

name of God to all the evil hosts of Communism and its followers."

Farmer said that he had another professor who opposed the committee, Richard T. Drinnon, also marked for death. Drinnon said: "The poor man is seemingly a victim of the intense violence of our times."

WILKINSON A TARGET: Violence has become increasingly associated with the Un-American Activities Committee, particularly as the campaign for its abolition gains support. Committee supporters frequently threaten violence and sometimes use it. But when violence has occurred committee chairman Francis Walter (D-Pa.) and others have been quick to blame the peaceful opponents of the committee.

When students were hosed and club-

bed by police during the committee hearings in San Francisco last May, Walter and FBI director J. Edgar Hoover blamed the students, who they said were instigated by communists.

Frank Wilkinson, field representative of the Natl. Committee to Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee, has been the center of a physical and vocal attack. In the committee's movie *Operation Abolition*—a doctored film of the San Francisco riot—and in Hoover's report, *Target—Youth*, Wilkinson is described as an "international communist agent" who duped the students.

Operation Abolition was shown repeatedly on television last September in Los Angeles, where Wilkinson lives. The night he appeared on television to dis-

(Continued on Page 9)

JFK TO GET POST CARD PETITIONS

New York peace groups plan 100-day campaign

TO COUNTER President Kennedy's promise to revitalize the nation's military strength during the first days of his Administration, the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups launched a 100 Days for Peace campaign beginning Jan. 21. The campaign opened with a call for peace prayers in churches and synagogues on Jan. 21 and 22. Several churches were known to have cooperated.

The conference also initiated a petition opposing the spread of nuclear weapons to NATO countries. Petitions are in the form of giant post cards addressed to President Kennedy, with space for 20 signatures. Leaflets were also cir-

culated at major shopping centers calling for controlled disarmament and opposing expansion of the "nuclear destruction club."

The conference was organized last November and solicited formal and informal support for its 100 Days project from all peace groups. The conference also urged peace committees outside New York to initiate similar projects. "Sponsorship for the duration" of the 100 days was announced by the Methodist Fedn. for Social Action and the World Peace Commission of the Newark Conference of the Methodist Church.

MANY ACTIVITIES: Other actions scheduled for the 100 days include: (1)

delegations to Congress, Feb. 20 to 24; (2) an Easter Walk to the United Nations, April 1; and (3) a city-wide peace rally, April 30. Tentatively scheduled are a Baby Carriage Day, Campus Day, Library Week, Film Week, Home Discussions Week and Parties for Peace.

A committee statement said: "With the proposed giveaway of nuclear arms to NATO; with a nuclear striking force suggested for Germany; with France now testing nuclear weapons; and with many other countries scrambling to join the nuclear suicide club—the need for dedicated work is painfully clear.

"What can we do? As we see it, the (Continued on Page 10)

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THE MAIL BAG

The un-won war

ITHACA, N.Y.

While Bruce Catton, Henry R. Luce, the Sons and Daughters of the Confederacy, and the great-grandchildren of the G.A.R. are heralding the five-year celebration of the Civil War Centennial, the newspapers of the world are reporting another situation in the Old South. Six hundred young Georgians have held their own centennial, waving the Confederate flag and reliving the past by storming a "fortress" as did their illustrious forebears. Their goal: Charlayne Alberta Hunter, one of the first two Negroes to be admitted to the Univ. of Georgia.

Today, 100 years after Garrison, Lincoln and Lee, the battle is still being fought. While historical pageants are being given with historical generals wearing their historical uniforms and telling their historical anecdotes, two Negro students in Georgia are still fighting against pre-Civil War conditions.

Donald Bluestone

Mississippi's boast

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The film of the State of Mississippi defending segregation, shown to NYU students, concluded with Gov. Barnett saying: "It is true we are segregated . . . all our schools are segregated, yet no student can get a better education than is offered the colored children in the State of Mississippi."

According to Information Please Almanac, Mississippi is the only state with a higher enrollment of Negro than of white students, per annual average salaries of \$2,261 to white and \$1,302 to Negro teachers. The expenditure per pupil for white students is \$98.15, for Negroes \$45.17.

Other states, spending 3 to 4 times the amount, would like to learn how the best possible education can be given to pupils at such bargain prices.

Apropos education: The World Education Statistics of the UN give the number of schools in the U.S. as 123,896, in the U.S.S.R. as 230,620, and in Red China as 512,761. Cuba has the lowest illiteracy rate in the Caribbean with 25%, Dominican Republic 57%, Guatemala 72%, Haiti 90%, Honduras 65%, Nicaragua 60%. All data from 1959.

John H. Beck

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LESTER G. CARSTAD, 19, of New Ulm, Minn., was ordered to report for active duty with the army last week. He called his 17-year-old sister on the telephone after a farewell dinner with his National Guard company. "I don't want to go to war," he said. "I don't want to kill anybody." Then he killed himself.

In Ohio the Independent Theater Owners called on members not to show the film "Why Korea?" pending a reply to a request to Presidential adviser John R. Steelman as to whether the Administration intended ". . . to show the other side by authorizing the making of a film titled 'Why We Should Get Out of Korea.'"

President Truman's efforts to sell the Korean war by film seemed to be too late. Most Americans had already made up their minds. The Gallup Poll found that 66% of the people wanted to pull out, only 25% to stay in. Typical straw vote was that of the 150,000-circulation Midland Cooperator (Minneapolis) which found 64% for withdrawal and many more favoring various ideas for quitting Korea. Bob Considine of Hearst's New York Journal-American sent key men in Washington the results of a poll of his readers; 95% sent replies whose gist, he said, was: "Let's lose face and save lives." Defense Secy. Marshall thanked him; Army Secy. Pace said any statement he could make would be inappropriate. Considine wrote: "That may be due to the fact that he and every other Senator and Representative in Washington is currently being swamped by mail of this general type F received."

—From the National Guardian, Jan. 31, 1951

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

TAIPEI, Formosa (UPI) — The Chinese Nationalist government issued a list of "don'ts" for the 2,000-odd candidates seeking local office in the January 15 elections:

- Don't seize the poll boxes.
- Don't destroy the voting booths.
- Don't bribe anybody.
- Don't adopt a platform contrary to national policies.

—The San Francisco Chronicle
Jan. 7, 1961

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

Farmer's gripe

VIKING, MINN.

As a long-time reader of the GUARDIAN, I commend you for your fine coverage of world events, especially for recent articles about Cuba. However, I am writing this letter primarily to register a protest against lack of attention to the farm problem and to farm organizations in the GUARDIAN.

The U.S. Farm Organization in Iowa under the leadership of Fred Stover is the only group still existing in the tradition of Midwest radicalism. While the organization is not large, it has been influential far beyond the borders of Iowa through a monthly paper subscribed to by many rank-and-file Farmers Union members.

In the last few years a new group called the National Farm Organization has sprung up. This group advocates collective bargaining between farmers and processors as a technique for achieving higher farm prices instead of the government support programs. Whatever reservations one might have about this approach, the NFO is a vigorous and growing organization. Last fall, 15,000 farmers turned out for an NFO rally in Des Moines, a goodly crowd of disgruntled farmers in any state.

If it is fair to assume that a rebirth of progressivism in the U.S. must be predicated in part on a rebirth of progressivism among farmers and workers, then it is also fair to assume that people need to pay more attention to farm and labor organizations, both the weaknesses and strengths. It is for this fundamental reason I have written this letter and that I urge the GUARDIAN to devote more attention to these matters in the future.

Olaf Johnson

A poet's life

MAYS LANDING, N. J.

"One of the responsibilities of a poet is never to stop exposing

the villain and always to throw flowers at the heroine—or hero." Kenneth Patchen has been doing this all his life, although since 1937 he has endured almost total disability from a painful spinal condition. He has had two operations and now faces a third—without money. His wife, who suffers from multiple sclerosis, is clerking in a Palo Alto store to support the family.

The powers that hand out prizes and jobs to poets have overlooked Patchen—which, perhaps, is not remarkable. The amazing thing is that Patchen can still say, "my interests are in the community of which I am a creative member"; and that he can write (in the December Liberation) a beautiful poem about "being created equal."

Please write direct to him at 2340 Sierra Court, Palo Alto, California; and if you can, enclose a contribution—it will not be returned. Walter Lowenfels

Long Beach Forum

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Some readers may be interested in our next Long Beach Forum, which meets the first Friday of each month at Machinist Hall, 728 Elm Ave., at 8 p.m.

Our Feb. 3 forum will hear William Taylor, lecturer and writer, speak on "Brotherhood and Negro Liberation."

E. N. Diebler



Signalman's Journal
"Wait, boss! You haven't got that knot tied right!"

Calling college students

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I am a 17-year-old Brooklyn College student who was unfortunately not introduced to your excellent paper until last year. I would like your help in finding other college students in the New York area who are sincerely interested in progressive ideas and actions.

There are far too many college people who are interested only in themselves and I'm so very afraid that these people growing into adulthood will provide this country with exactly that type of government. If any of your GUARDIAN student readers feel as I do, I would be extremely happy to hear from them.

Jofannie Solomon
150 Kensington St.

Princely rights

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

It will comfort many Americans that the U.S. has found Prince Boun Oum of Laos, another man of royal descent through whom to defend princely rights and privileges against those all too many people who do not seem to know their place anymore.

Later scribes gratefully may eulogize this miracle of history: only one generation after the fall of the Czars (which right-thinking folks never will forget), this Republic boldly has risen to understudy in Czardom's traditional role as Protector Universal of all those, anywhere, who would rule by the grace of God, if not simply as autocrats.

Bode Ohly

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January 30, 1961

REPORT TO READERS

Permanent peace . . .

AN INAUGURAL ADDRESS such as President Kennedy's must stand or fall on performance: can the good and hopeful outline the hundred; can its yawning contradictions be resolved in favor of permanent peace and human betterment?

During the last "100 Days" of a change of power from Republican to Democratic forces in our country—at the start of the New Deal in 1933—a determined electorate wrung a vast program for change from a reluctant and even hostile Congress. This time, however, the needs of the society are not matters of such settled determination. Then a post-war boom and bust had shrouded the nation with impoverishment. Now economic impoverishment is centered in a cluster of depressed areas; unemployment compensation, social security and statutory relief programs (all New Deal measures for public welfare) have dulled the political cutting edge of economic recession. On another front, the struggle today is not to succor the sharecropper; it is rather to achieve equality of citizenship for all levels of the society, to eradicate Jim Crow in American life.

Fifteen years of cold war have banished the clear concept of peace; its advocates must now demand the dismantling of the most forbidding war establishment any nation has ever created, and must show where the jobs will come from to replace those now provided by war production. The civil liberty to oppose war, to advocate racial equality, to propose radical change or even simple reform, has been ground down by the years of Dies, Rankin, McCarthy and now Walter and Eastland; and has lost the protection of the Supreme Court.

Indeed today's is a far more complex struggle than that waged in '33; yet the life of the world may hang on how the struggle is conducted for permanent peace and human betterment.

WE RETURN to that phrase because, though you may have read it countless times before in the GUARDIAN, this time it is not our phrase; it comes from the farewell address of President Eisenhower delivered three days before President Kennedy's inaugural address. Although the Eisenhower address was nationally televised, its import was certainly dulled by the national anticipation of the incoming President's inaugural.

Urging constant pursuit of permanent peace and human betterment, the retiring President warned of two threats "new in kind or degree."

• The first threat President Eisenhower spoke of was the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry." One may argue with his statement that we have been "compelled" to construct this huge edifice but nevertheless his facts stand and indeed may be an understatement of the situation: "Our military organization today bears little relation to that known to any of my predecessors in peacetime." New in the American experience, its "total influence—economic, political, even spiritual—is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the Federal government." Three and a half million people are "directly engaged" in it. "Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. . . . In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist. We must never let the weight of this combination endanger our liberties or democratic processes."

• Threat No. 2: "The prospect of domination of the nation's scholars by Federal employment, project allocations and the power of money." In today's technological revolution, in which "the solitary inventor, tinkering in his shop, has been overshadowed by task forces of scientists," the free university, "historically the fountainhead of free ideas and scientific discovery," has reached the point where "a Government contract becomes virtually the substitute for intellectual curiosity. For every old blackboard, there are now hundreds of new electronic computers." We must be alert to the danger, President Eisenhower said, that public policy could itself become "the captive of a scientific-technological elite."

He spoke of helping our world avoid becoming "a community of dreadful fear and hate," called disarmament "a continuing imperative," and closed with a prayer far excelling in humility and world concern any offered at the Inaugural.

THE OLD PRESIDENT's parting words may indeed have been those of a heavily-weighted conscience, yet better than any others spoken in the week of the transfer of power, they illuminate the dark and tangled way forward for all true seekers after permanent peace and human betterment.

—THE GUARDIAN

AFRICAN LEADERS ASK UN ACTION

Congo will be test of JFK's position on Africa freedom

By Kumar Goshal

IMPRISONED Premier Lumumba of the Congo constitutional government was transferred Jan. 17 from Leopoldville to the secessionist Katanga province by U.S.-backed President Kasavubu and Col. Mobutu. Lumumba was brutally beaten on his arrival in Katanga in the presence of UN troops from Sweden, who passively looked on.

Three days later President Keita of Mali cabled an urgent request to UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold for Security Council consideration of the critical situation in the Congo. He indicated that he spoke for all the African countries participating in the recent Casablanca conference: Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the Provisional Algerian National Government and the United Arab Republic.

Keita's message asserted that the transfer and ill-treatment of Lumumba, UN failure to restore parliamentary government in the Congo and the continued chaos prevailing there constituted a threat to world peace and security.

THE BACKGROUND: The Security Council was scheduled to meet the latter part of last week, when the Kennedy Administration would have an opportunity to air its views on the Congo. Adlai Stevenson, chief U.S. delegate to the UN and an adviser to the Kennedy Cabinet, would also have a chance to demonstrate if he has been able to persuade Washington to adopt a more constructive policy not only toward the Congo but toward the basic African demand for political and economic freedom from



Lancaster, London Daily Express
 "I do feel that we must be terribly, terribly careful not to make the mistake of assuming automatically that Mobutu is really in a position to speak for the whole of Laos."

colonialism. The new Administration took office against the following background in the Congo and Africa.

Belgium declared independence for the Congo last June 30. During the year prior to independence, the Belgian government systematically transferred all the Congo's tangible assets to Brussels and, in cooperation with Belgian and other Western investors in Katanga's mineral resources, intrigued with the industrialists' puppet Moise Tshombe for Katanga's secession from independent Congo.

On July 1 last year, the Congo's elected government headed by President Kasavubu and Premier Lumumba found an empty treasury, a dissatisfied army ready to take vengeance on Belgian officers who had bullied them and their families, and no power to tap Katanga's resources for the benefit of the whole country.

BELGIUM'S MANEUVERS: In the chaos which ensued, Belgium—with the assistance of the U.S.—began maneuvering for a return to power in the Congo. When sporadic violence broke out against Belgian citizens, Brussels used this as an excuse for airlifting troops from Belgium, who occupied key areas. UN forces, sent to the Congo at the Lumumba govern-

ment's request to assist it in restoring order, were ineffective because at every crucial moment Hammarskjold took time out for obtaining what he called "more precise directives" by the Security Council.

Eventually the UN forces, by failing to consult and assist the Lumumba government, contributed to its downfall. Belgian troops continued to pour into the Congo, took complete charge of mineral-rich Katanga with Tshombe fronting for them and declaring Katanga's complete independence, with its own flag and currency.

The Congolese parliament went underground. The U.S. openly supported Kasavubu, who believed in a loosely federated—therefore weak—Congo, against Lumumba, who stood for a unified Congo under a central administration with power to plan for the whole country and use all its resources to fulfill the plan.

U.S. PRESSURE: Under unprecedented U.S. pressure the UN gave the Congo's seat to the Kasavubu faction, against the wishes of most Afro-Asian and socialist members. Washington meanwhile had discovered in Congolese Col. Mobutu a "strongman" worth its support. Mobutu eventually arrested Lumumba, and the Premier's followers set up a new government in Stanleyville in Oriental province.

Two weeks before Jan. 25—when Kasavubu was to hold a conference of Congolese leaders—there were indisputable evidences of open Belgian military involvement in the Congo, the widespread popularity of Lumumba and the equally widespread unpopularity of Kasavubu and Mobutu.

On Jan. 12, for instance, UPI reported planes manned by Belgians—including former Belgian officers in the Congolese armed forces—had attacked pro-Lumumba troops in northern Katanga. Newsweek correspondent Robert Pierson reported (Jan. 23): "The startling truth is that Lumumba, the prisoner, is rapidly triumphing over Col. Mobutu, his captor."

NATIONAL FOLLOWING: The New York Times said (Jan. 15): "Patrice Lumumba [was] described by some foreign observers as the only Congolese leader with a truly national following. Even while languishing in jail [he] remains the dominant figure on the Congolese political scene. Kasavubu has had great difficulty in asserting his authority and control over [most] areas of the Congo. Unless Lumumba participates in the Jan. 25 conference it is hard to see how



CONGOLESE DEMONSTRATORS DEMAND LUMUMBA'S RELEASE FROM JAIL. Supporters of the Premier marched on UN headquarters in Leopoldville Jan. 5.

it could accomplish a realistic Congo settlement. On the other hand, if Lumumba does attend, he is likely to dominate the conference—a development that would be viewed with considerable alarm by the Western powers . . ."

Newsweek (Jan. 23) quoted the Guardian of Manchester as demanding that the UN tell Mobutu "his time is up. If he does not retire gracefully, force may be needed to dislodge him." Its own correspondent reported that "Mobutu's star [is] apparently setting," and added that observers believed it "a good bet" he would be replaced by none other than Lumumba.

SPREADING SUPPORT: Simultaneous with Mobutu's decline, support for Lumumba was spreading among African leaders throughout the continent. Besides those at the Casablanca conference, others leading the national freedom movements in many remaining colonies offered Lumumba their support; Nyasaland's Dr. Hastings Banda, Southern Rhodesia's Joshua Nkomo and Northern Rhodesia's Kenneth Kaunda. Basutoland leaders Ntsu Mokhehle and Makalo Khaketla, although they are political rivals, nevertheless told Times correspondent Leonard Ingalls (Jan. 15) that the U.S. should have supported Lumumba instead of the "military dictator" Mobutu.

Aware of all this, when Kasavubu and Mobutu also learned that the UN Conciliation Commission headed by Nigeria's Jaja Wachuku planned to consult Lumumba at his prison near Leopoldville, they apparently panicked. They hastily transferred Lumumba to Katanga, virtually handing him over to the Belgians.

GERRYMANDERING: Afro-Asians were skeptical of the value of the Jan. 25 conference, if Lumumba were prevented

from attending it. They were also concerned over maps published in Leopoldville, illustrating a Congo reorganized along tribal lines.

These maps were intended to be submitted to the Jan. 25 conference. They divided the Congo into 80 tribal regions, each with a substantial measure of autonomy. The regions were grouped in at least 12—instead of the present six—provinces or states forming a rather loose federation. Significantly, the maps left Katanga almost intact but split pro-Lumumba Oriental province into 18 regions.

Afro-Asians point to the Congo as proof of their assertion that colonialism is still their main enemy. They note that, while they are trying to promote nationhood by merging tribes, the maps circulated in Leopoldville planned to weaken the Congo by reversing the process. This would certainly leave Katanga an easy prey to continued Western exploitation, might even facilitate reconquest of the country by the Belgian troops massed in Ruanda-Uruandi, adjacent to the Congo.

As the UN Security Council debates the Congo issue again, Afro-Asians would want to know if the Kennedy Administration would shift its weight toward Congolese freedom and cooperate with Africans and Asians in ushering their peoples into the 20th Century.

The emerging military elite

ALTHOUGH THESE MEN [missile and weapons technologists] are not generally openly political, they are in every sense the paramilitary—civilian soldiers. They have spent most of their adult lives in the direct or secondary employment of one of the [armed] services and their sympathy for and concurrence with their uniformed colleagues are often marked and open. Should a showdown between the military and civilian sectors occur, this group could be relied upon to staunchly back the handlers of the weapons they have so devotedly evolved.

The military themselves are quite naturally not enthusiastic for disarmament or for any steps that might curtail the freedom of action of the armed services. There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power.

A small but not negligible fraction of the \$40 billion defense budget is invested judiciously each year in a well conceived program of public and Congressional relations. As a result the military lobby is now the strongest in Washington. Were the State Department to negotiate successfully an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union and were the armed services united in their opposition to the agreement, the agreement would almost certainly be defeated by the Senate. There is little doubt that the armed services exert more influence over Congress than that body exerts over the Defense Department. Indeed, the military is clearly in a position to assume actual political command over the U.S. striking forces if there are serious signs of "weakness" in U.S. foreign relations.

—From *The Community of Fear*, by Harrison Brown and James Real

NEW YORK

Inside Red China

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by Robert Cohen

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Inaugural speech

(Continued from Page 1)

Mr. Kennedy "completely reinforced" the Monroe Doctrine, and said that "indirectly, Cuba has been notified that the day of the soft approach is over."

The President's only clear expression of truculence was in this passage: "This hemisphere intends to remain the master of its own house . . . Let all our neighbors know that we shall join with them to oppose aggression or subversion anywhere in the Americas."

Other cold war champions were pleased with Kennedy's pledge that "we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and the success of liberty," and "we pledge our word [to new states] that one form of colonial control shall not have passed away merely to be replaced by a far more iron tyranny." These were taken as grim warnings reaffirming U.S. devotion to the cold war.

MIXED INGREDIENTS: Kennedy rather mildly restated the Churchillian "arm to parley" theme: "Only when our arms are sufficient beyond doubt can we be certain beyond doubt that they will never be employed." The President repeated his campaign call for the people's willingness to sacrifice in the national effort "to defend freedom in its hour of maximum danger . . . My fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." James Reston of the New York Times wondered what these implied sacrifices will be and concluded that at least they do not mean "less national service, or lower taxes, or higher wages, or greater profits, or more protection against imports."

The New York Daily News (Jan. 21) reflected the mixed nature of the address. It praised the tough pronouncements and then expressed this worry: "We wonder whether President Kennedy wasn't a bit too cordial in his invitation to those nations who would make themselves our adversary . . . that both sides begin anew the quest for peace . . ." To the Daily News this was a dangerous "hint of willingness to stage a summit conference with Khrushchev" and the President here was held "a little too generous and warm-hearted toward the Red Hitler . . ."

Many expressions in the speech gave hope to those interested in a more flexible approach by the United States to the cold war and in the possibility of a rapprochement with the Socialist world. The President opened doors to negotiation—"Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." He stated propositions which, if acted upon, would contribute much towards co-existence: "Let both sides explore what problems unite us instead of belaboring those problems which divide us . . . Let both sides seek to invoke the wonders of science instead of its terrors. Together let us explore the stars, conquer the deserts, eradicate disease, tap the ocean



FIRST WORDS AS PRESIDENT
Almost everybody was pleased

depths, and encourage the arts and commerce." The President suggested that "a beach-head of cooperation may push back the jungles of suspicion . . ." Renewed support was pledged to the United Nations, "our last best hope."

THE ARMS RACE: On the danger of nuclear war, President Kennedy was sharp and clear. His emphatic concern over the arms race was well balanced: "But neither can two great and powerful groups of nations take comfort from our present course—both sides overburdened by the cost of modern weapons, both rightly alarmed by the steady spread of the deadly atom, yet both racing to alter that uncertain balance of terror that stays the hand of mankind's final war." The President's call was for arms control rather than disarmament, but at least it was an even-handed appeal: "Let both sides, for the first time, formulate serious and precise proposals for the inspection and control of arms . . ."

Republicans and Democrats alike praised the speech. Former President Eisenhower said it was "fine, very fine." Senate GOP leader Everett McKinley Dirksen (Ill.) said it was "an inspiring, compact message of hope," and the House Republican leader Charles A. Halleck (Ind.) said "I was much impressed."

New national youth organization planned

FORMATION of a new national youth organization within the year is the goal of a Progressive Youth Organizing Committee set up by 90 young people from ten states at a New Year's weekend conference in Chicago.

A Declaration of Intentions said the new organization will concern itself with "all the interrelated issues facing American youth" including peace, civil rights and liberties, job training and enlarged educational opportunities.

A widely-reported charge by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover that the organizing conference was communist-sponsored was denied by its initiating committee and by the Illinois Communist Party, but the gathering was picketed by hostile refugee and right-wing youth groups.

COUNCIL NAMED: The committee called

A TAFT-HARTLEY OATH VICTORY

High court throws out Travis case

THE GOVERNMENT'S six-year attempt to jail Maurice Travis, former secy.-treas. of the Independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, for allegedly signing false Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits in 1951 and 1952 ended Jan. 16 when the Supreme Court threw out the case.

The court held that since Travis had filed the affidavits in Washington, he could be tried only in the District of Columbia. His case was tried in Denver. He cannot be tried again because of a three-year statute of limitations.

Travis was convicted in 1955 but the decision was reversed by the Court of Appeals. He was re-tried and convicted in 1958. The decision was upheld by the appeals court. Travis' attorneys presented two appeals to the Supreme Court. One asked for reversal of conviction and the other requested a new trial because of alleged perjured testimony by government witnesses. The court chose to throw the case out on technical grounds.

Travis, who left the union in 1955, is a defendant with eight other former and present Mine-Mill leaders in another case of alleged conspiracy to file false Taft-Hartley oaths. The unionists were convicted in December, 1959, and the case is on appeal.

CONSPIRACY CASE: The group was indicted in 1954 but the trial was held three years later, when the union was on strike against the Big Five in the copper industry. A defense pamphlet pointed out other "bizarre angles." Three of the defendants never signed oaths during the time of the alleged conspiracy. Also, the non-communist oath was repealed in September, 1959, by the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act.

The defendants have gained growing support from union leaders. AFL-CIO leaders who have protested the convictions include A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Michael J. Quill, Transport Workers; O. A. Knight, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers; John P. Burke, Pulp, Sulphite & Paper Mill Workers; Thomas J. Lloyd and Patrick E. Gorman, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; and Frank Rosenblum, Amalgamated Clothing Workers. James R. Hoffa, president of the independent Teamsters, has also protested the case.

The defense committee has just published a pamphlet on the case by Sidney Lens, with an introduction by Norman Thomas. Copies of the pamphlet may be obtained from and contributions sent to: Mine-Mill Defense Committee, 941 E. 17th Ave., Denver 18, Colo.

The Democrats were ecstatic—former President Truman said it was "marvelous, wonderful," the greatest inaugural speech in history; the Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield (Mont.) said "magnificent, great"; Adlai Stevenson called it "eloquent, inspiring—a great speech."

Press comment was generally full of praise. Republican newspapers had few reservations. In the South, many newspapers expressed relief that the President had made no comments on civil rights, while Negro leaders were disappointed.

In general, U.S. allies in the cold war expressed approval of the speech. They appeared relieved that greater U.S. flexibility now seemed possible and negotiations to ease the cold war were more likely. Latin American reaction was favorable, with a strong "show me" undertone. In Chile, the Communist press liked the pro-peace theme but questioned the reassertion of the Monroe Doctrine. In Brazil, the New York Times reported a reaction of "wait to see how the President's outline of his intentions is translated into an action program." In Venezuela, the daily El Nacional said that President Kennedy would be judged "by his conduct towards Francisco Franco, the ruler of Spain."

KHRUSHCHEV HOPEFUL: The reaction of the Soviet Union following the Inauguration was indicated in a two-hour discussion on "cold war problems" between Premier Khrushchev and U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr. The Soviet Premier cabled Kennedy his



Herbeck, Washington Post
Ta-Daaaaa

hope that "by joint efforts we shall be able to attain a radical improvement of relations between our countries, to make healthier the entire international climate." Moscow radio commented: "The subjects of international negotiations, disarmament and the cooperation for peace, as presented by Mr. Kennedy, caused not only profound interest but lively sympathy too." The New York Times correspondent in Moscow reported (Jan. 21) that "the Kremlin's approach appears to be based more on the opportunity presented by the departure of President Eisenhower from the White House than on any particular enthusiasm for or confidence in his successor. Mr. Kennedy remains pretty much of an enigma to Soviet officials . . ."

Surprise and some concern was felt that President Kennedy made no mention of any domestic issues. Particularly noted was the failure to say anything about the grave problem of unemployment or to comment on the burning civil rights struggle in the South.

The New York Daily News consoled itself about what it considered the "extreme statements" in the inaugural speech with the observation that "these were at least put in such general terms that the Kennedy Administration can hardly be pinned down on any of them." Cuban Premier Fidel Castro was pleased with "some positive aspects" of President Kennedy's address, but said "our attitude will be one of waiting for deeds because deeds are more eloquent than words." This test could wisely be applied to the entire inaugural speech.



Frank Williams, Detroit Free Press
Progress

FULL-TIME MILITIA DEMOBILIZED BUT ALERT CONTINUES

Latin American visitors to Cuba get lesson in solidarity

By Cedric Belfrage

SANTIAGO DE CUBA

CUBA HAS COME through the war-of-nerves of Ike's final month, and is praying that the good Lord endowed Kennedy with some common sense. It is now known that a small invasion (arms drops to which were intercepted) was tried in Escambray.

Six Yanqui yachtsmen from the Dulles-Masferrer stable in Florida, who were supposed to find 5,000 counter-revolutionaries awaiting them and their weapons cargo in Pinar del Rio, have ended up as woebegone figures in a Havana police line-up photo. The island-wide alert continues, but militias called for full-time duty have been demobilized and one feels a certain relaxation.

Cubans are aware—and tend to sympathize with Kennedy—that the new President has inherited a time bomb: Unless Washington's entire Latin American policy is changed, Cuba's example will soon blow it to hell. Hundreds of Latin Americans have been swarming over the island seeing everything for themselves ("looking in vain for those 17 Soviet rocket bases," as one remarked) and are going home to spread the good word.

THE EXAMPLE: To indicate what Cuba does to Latin American visitors: here is what the group I accompanied has seen in this capital of Oriente, traditionally the most backward province from whose Sierra Maestra mountains Castro called the people to rise. The Cuban guide dramatizes it by showing you first the memorial to Marti, flanked by stones with the great liberator's sayings engraved on them.

In terms of the pre-revolutionary years when it was erected (now it is adjoined by a "martyrs' wall" with the ashes of Santiago youths murdered by Batista), the memorial was a classic example of the cynicism of bloody dictatorships masquerading as democracies. For at its very



CUBAN MILITIAS ARRIVE AT PRESIDENTIAL PALACE FOR DEMOBILIZATION
A relaxation in the 20-day invasion alert came with Ike's departure.

foot is an incredible slum through which the tourists are led: "homes" of collapsing boards and bits of tin over dirt "floors"—a putrefying jest on Marti's words, in which swarms of human beings rotted physically and mentally . . . until Castro. This is what every Latin American visitor will return to in his homeland. "We have cleaned it up as much as possible," says the guide, "but it just needs to be destroyed."

Then to the new project nearby, where hundreds of the slum people are already housed. Paved sidewalks, trees and flowers, a fabulous school and playground; bright roomy houses varied in color and style, with up-to-the-minute bathrooms and kitchens and new furniture. The radiant faces of those already occupying these homes seem to lend a new meaning to the word "happiness."

PASSIONATE WORDS: "If it comes to dying, for this we'll die"; unmeasurable the pride and passion in these words from one housewife to the Latin Americans. "If you're friends of Fidel's, good—but if you don't like that man . . ." Her mock-threatening gesture brings yells from everyone of "Viva Fidel!" Over the rooftops rises the stack of a Soviet tanker which is discharging oil in the harbor, and the people speak of recent visits by Soviet tourists. "We like them very much," all agree, "they help us . . ."

In the Santiago slum nearly every family is dark brown to black, reminding that race-discrimination still existed here until two years ago and that it's never quite as bad to be poor and light-colored as to be poor and dark. In the new Cuba every trace of racism and chauvinism has gone: All walk, eat, work, live together and color is not only never mentioned,

it is not even noticed. Cubans noted with pleasure the report of a Jewish Day correspondent, reprinted here, that "in Cuba there is not the smallest symptom of anti-Semitism."

In Oriente factories, the visiting Latin Americans were greeted with "Vencemos!" yells and the crash of tools on benches in "Cuba, Si!" rhythm, which quickly developed into mass solidarity demonstrations. The visitors were delighted by the workers' evident happiness, morale and political awareness. Plainly they felt themselves to be the owners, and virtually every worker did daily militia duty to defend what he owned. Any profits went to the government—plus a percentage of all wages for the national reconstruction—and this was merely natural and not worth discussing. Wall slogans around them said: "This industry has no masters, to defend it is your duty"; "To receive a salary for doing nothing, or to do less than one can, is to conspire against the nation and oneself"; "Men are divided into two groups, those who love and build and those who hate and destroy."

UNIVERSAL SPIRIT: And so it was on the big farms on land formerly withheld from use. Their new crops and livestock are breaking Cuba's bondage to the sugar market. It was the same in a clothing factory where hundreds of women had achieved the longed-for dignity of decent jobs; in the Manzanillo fishermen's co-op, with its new boat-building and refrigerator plants and other construction.

And everywhere, with the new work facilities, magnificent schools and acres of fine new homes in construction by the workers for the workers. The Latin Americans fire endless questions about the economic aspects of it all. There are many different answers, but they boil down to this: "We Cubans have the land; we have the tools and machinery—or if not, we can get them for our sugar, and while waiting we'll use what we have; so if we

need something, we build it. Revolution is to build. Many problems remain—skills to develop, incomes to adjust—but we tackle and solve them as we can get to them."

So the whole tour becomes a series of political meetings and demonstrations of Cuban solidarity with "our still oppressed brothers." A two-hour noontime bus breakdown produces the most spontaneous demonstrations of all, in a Sierra village cafe which soon bursts with local people.

VIVA, VIVA: The jukebox churns rumbas, everyone wants to dance with the visitors; spectators beat time with knuckles and bottles; a rugged militiaman lends his Soviet machinegun to visitors to pose for snapshots. Outside his shop next door, with Fidel slogans in the windows, the local barber holds forth to a tourist circle: "In a year there won't be a single illiterate around here . . . The government education program? It's ours—they suggest and send help, we run it. Yanqui raiders? They haven't a hope—nothing but enemies here—my two young sons are up there in the mountains learning to use artillery."

A gaunt peasant breaks in: "You see, we never lived before." Two gun-toting teenage militias, with long hair & la guerrillero and heroic attempts at beards, walk up with exaggerated slouch and report on their progress in marksmanship and arithmetic. A militia girl stands on a table, makes a speech against imperialism, wishes the visitors success in their revolutions . . . Ferret embraces all around, an uproar of Vivas, and the tourists zoom on their way chanting the Cuban version of Jingle Bells, "Todos Con [all with] Fidel . . ."

TRUE DEMOCRACY: The secret of this extraordinary spirit? Above all Castro, yet here is no "personality cult" as we have known it. Rather it is Castro's power to evoke the latent genius of the people. This he can do because he is wise enough to be humble. "Democracy Is This" is the eloquent caption beneath a magazine double-spread, showing Castro squatted in a field with peasants, chatting as one of them. One sees that he will not only hash out their problems with them, but join in the work if he can snatch time from the 6½ million other Cubans who want his counsel. Somewhere else Che Guevara, the banker, is helping workers tote cement blocks on the one-day-a-week when government officials join in physical toll.

Cuba's revolution is dedicated to the liquidation of the stuffed shirt. An alarming trend for "Western civilization"—and if Washington stuffed-shirts long to destroy it before it sweeps through the continent, no one should be surprised.

News of the Free World

MADRID (Reuters)—Eighteen persons have been sentenced to prison terms here for attending a congress of the banned Spanish Communist Party in Czechoslovakia last winter. Two of the accused were given terms of 20 years. The sentences for the others, including a woman, ranged from 14 to 4 years.
—Los Angeles Times



Blanco, El Mundo, Havana
Solidarity

The protector of tyrants

AS SOON AS ANYONE makes a gesture indicating dictatorial authoritarianism, Uncle Sam is there with unqualified—but not always discreet encouragement. Trujillo is a common criminal. He hatched the assassination of the President of Venezuela with a vileness against which every honest man must protest. In spite of the condemnations of the Organization of American States, the U.S. has mocked economic sanctions (by indicating that sugar formerly bought from Cuba will be supplied by Trujillo).

In the European sector, the Eisenhower Administration is responsible for the perpetuation of the tyrant of El Pardo (Franco). In 1953 his regime would have fallen, but for the deal . . . for 22 U.S. bases in Spain . . .

In a back number of the Falangist daily *Arriba* which has come into my hands . . . appears on every page a photo of the reception in the Royal Palace of Madrid commemorating the 18th of July, the date of Spain's betrayal. In the throne room and on the royal dais is seen the little tyrant, his dwarf's body standing stiffly, packed like a sausage into his uniform with gilt trimmings, shoulder-plates and cuffs, with a ridiculous expression that tries to be majestic . . .

One of the lions on the throne whose face is visible seems, with its almost human face, to be making ironic comment. Before the miserable imitation of a king are parading some wretched characters constellated with medals and sashes, but of such melancholy aspect as to seem ashamed of participating in such a ludicrous "court." . . . And to think that for this so many lives were sacrificed!

—Eduardo Ortega y Gasset in *El Mundo* (Havana), Jan. 10

Meet your new Attorney General

The beginning in this issue (page 7) of a two-part series on Bobby Kennedy is another reason why more Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just \$1 for 13 weeks, \$5 for a year.



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HUNGER STALKS THE REFUGEE CAMPS

The kids suffer most in the war in Algeria

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

IN THE Algero-Tunisian border region there are 60,000 Algerian refugee children and some 100,000 adults trying to survive. They are just east of the border, but their eyes and hearts are turned west. To the west they hear the daily sounds of war. To the west lies their homeland, the villages they have fled.

Some of the children crossed the border as long ago as 1957; some crossed it yesterday. Some fled with their mothers or fathers, some held another child by the hand, some were alone. They fled because their houses were burned, because their parents were shot or imprisoned, because they had no place to go or no one to look after them.

Most who crossed the border were too exhausted to go on. Those who got all the way to Tunis were the luckiest. There 1,000 of them are presently cared for in five orphanages set up with the help of the Algerian and Tunisian trade unions and maintained by gifts from the UN, the Socialist and some Western countries. In the orphanages each child has a bed and clean clothes. They probably won't have heat this winter, but they do have milk and bread and two vegetable meals a day. The 60,000 children who stopped just beyond the border, next door to no man's land, found things more difficult.

LUXURY IS RELATIVE. In the orphanages in the Tunis suburbs, the children have a roof over their heads. In the border region, some of them sleep in tents, others in holes dug in the earth. Some have a wool blanket to themselves;



A 12-YEAR-OLD REFUGEE
He was too little to be shot

others share one with a whole family. Some are far from distribution centers where milk (twice a week) and hot meals are handed out.

You may say: There are hungry, abandoned children in many countries in the world. But these children are not just suffering from lack of food and care and comfort. They are suffering from their past: A past filled with fire, torture and death. They cry with terror at night; they run and hide when they see a plane in the sky; they don't know how to play; and when they draw houses and trains and people, their houses are bombed out, their trains are being blown up, and their people are chained together, or beaten by soldiers.

The stories of these children are hard to believe, because they are so unjust, so absurd, because it is almost unbearable to think these things can happen to children in our mid-20th century.

"AND MY SISTER, we looked after the cows," says one little boy. "When we got home one evening, there

was no more village. Everything was burned. My parents, I don't know where they are. Don't put my name down, because of my parents, maybe they are in a camp. We walked two days and two nights. We found the FLN (National Liberation Army). They gave us food. They gave us a guide to take us to the border."

"They chased their dog after me," says another. "But I ran faster than the dog. My father, they took him to one of their camps. My mother went to get the body. When I saw it, all full of holes, I fell to the ground. I stayed two days with fever. My mother, she said: 'Run away, because if they come back . . . !'"

Ben Said, 11, is learning to write and draw with his left hand. Ben Said is what the other kids call him; he has forgotten his real name. His father was shot before his eyes for having given aid to the FLN. Ben Said and his brother tried to run away, but the soldiers caught up with him. They questioned him: "Where are the fellagha?" "I was little then," says Ben Said. "I did not know." The soldiers insisted. There was a gasoline stove burning nearby . . . When Ben Said speaks of it, there is terror in his eyes. Beneath the heavy bandages on his right arm, the flesh is burned to the bone, his hand is crippled forever . . .

When you have seen the closed, depondent face of one 12-year-old, you will not forget it. He seems to follow his own thoughts, and nothing can take him away from them. He was hauled along with all the other men of his village to be put against a wall and shot. A French soldier saw him, gave him a kick in the back and said: "You are too little—go away." His house was burning, and he could not find his mother. So he made his way to the FLN. But there he was told he was too little to fight, and was sent across the Tunisian border. That was two years ago. That he should not be big enough to be shot, or even to join the FLN, has profoundly humiliated him. When you ask him the question—so natural for any child, so absurd in this setting: "What are you going to do when you grow up?"—he says, his eyes looking past you: "I want to join the FLN, and I want to die . . ."

THIS IS THE PAST. At present, there is nothing more urgent than material help: medicine, clothes, and above all food.



ALGERIAN REFUGEE CHILDREN LIVE IN CAVES LIKE THIS ONE
Some know the luxury of a tent, but none have enough to eat

Because the poor are always the most generous, and because solidarity is great among the Algerians, the children in the orphanages and in the border region have found families and affection again. Doctors from different European countries and American Quakers have come to help and, before so much misery, cannot get themselves to leave again. Algerian and Tunisian "flying" nurses go back and forth between Tunis and the border region untiringly, with rare selflessness. But neither love nor science alone can defeat the malady called hunger. For they are hungry, and time is pressing. In a matter of weeks or months, if nothing is done to improve the food situation, the children in the border region will die of hunger or one of the many deficiency diseases.

The present milk ration for children from one to eight," reports L'Humanite correspondent Madeleine Riffaud, who has been in the border region twice this fall and winter, and to whom I owe all of the children's stories, "the present milk ration is two cans of evaporated milk per child per month. A newborn baby whose mother cannot feed him is automatically condemned to death.

"Things are getting worse almost by the week. In September, I saw a set of twins full of life. They were children of

a fellagha who was tortured during a whole month, then released to serve as a spy. He fled across the border with his pregnant wife; the children were born on Tunisian soil. When I returned in November, one of the twins was dead, the other dying. The mother has become a woman without age, without interest in anything. The father looks like an old man. In November, I found that the people had run out of wood; they will spend the winter outdoors without any heat if they get no help."

TIME IS RUNNING OUT. Help, if it is to be of any use, must come in a matter of weeks. A few dollars can save a child from death.

It costs about \$16 a month—50c a day—to keep a child in one of the new refugee homes. GUARDIAN readers can help a homeless child enjoy a day, a week, a month of healthful food, a clean bed, and peace—perhaps for the first time in his life. Contributions should go to: **Secours Populaire Français**, 16 rue des Jeuneurs, Paris 2ème, France.

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To A Friend**

NEW YORK PROTEST RALLY JAN. 31

Naming of Nazi general to NATO post protested

THE COMMITTEE to Stop Revival of Nazism and Anti-Semitism will hold a protest rally on Tuesday, Jan. 31, 7 p.m. at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 W. 43rd St., New York City, to oppose the appointment of Adolf Heusinger, Inspector General of the West German Armed Forces, as chairman of the Permanent Military Committee of NATO with headquarters in Washington. Heusinger's selection was announced on Dec. 13, 1960, at a top meeting of NATO officials in Paris. He is scheduled to take his post on April 1.

As Hitler's Chief of Operations in World War II, Heusinger planned the Nazi invasions of Belgium, Luxemburg, the Netherlands and Yugoslavia. The committee charges that he also bears responsibility for the murder of two million Jews by the "Einsatzgruppen" under his command.

In a communication addressed to a number of national Jewish organizations, the Committee announced that it had appealed to former President Eisenhower and to President Kennedy to annul the appointment of Heusinger, citing the "deep concern" of the Jewish commun-

ity "at the prospect of a notorious war criminal and Hitlerite occupying a position of great power and influence."

JOINT ACTION URGED: It quoted a letter to the New York Times of Nov. 11, 1960, by Jerome H. Skolnik, assistant professor of law and sociology at Yale, calling on the U.S. Government to veto

Heusinger's proposed appointment which was reported on Oct. 28. Professor Skolnik had written: "I feel embarrassed even at the possibility of this appointment . . . Furthermore, if we ever wish to reach any kind of agreement with Russia to settle the German situation, we will have raised tension to a virtually unbearable height by this move."

Organizations affiliated to the Committee are the American Fedn. of Polish Jews, the Council of Warsaw Jews, the Emma Lazarus Fedn. of Women's Clubs, Jewish Cultural Clubs and Societies, Jewish Music Alliance, Jewish Children's Educational Council and Yiddisher Kultur Farband. The Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago have sent their own letter of protest to Eisenhower and Kennedy.

Among the national Jewish organizations to whom an appeal for joint action was addressed are the American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, American Zionist Council, Americans for Progressive Israel, B'nai B'rith, Jewish War Veterans of U.S.A., National Council of Jewish Women, Pioneer Women and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.



WHY THE NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL IS UNFIT FOR THE OFFICE—I

Bobby Kennedy: JFK's political hatchet man

The Attorney General of the United States is the nation's chief law officer. . . . More than any other executive officer, he is required to regard means above ends, process above result. The Attorney General exercises the only civilian control over the FBI, whose vast files contain much unprocessed "knowledge." He presides as a judge—very often as a court of last resort—over myriad deportation cases. He decides in uncontrolled discretion whom to prosecute and when, and that is a quasi-judicial function. On the record, Robert F. Kennedy is not fit for the office.

—Alexander M. Bickel, professor of law at Yale University, in the *New Republic*, Jan. 9, 1961.

By Robert E. Light
(First of two articles)

IN JOSEPH P. KENNEDY'S project of clearing a path to the White House for his eldest living son, John Fitzgerald, his next son, Robert Francis—or Bobby, as he is called by family, friends and foes—was cast as the bulldozer.

Bobby took to his assignment with a single-minded ferocity that validates the legend of Kennedy clan loyalty. He subverted his own ambition and career to his brother's destiny. For the last eight years, every major step he took was measured against furthering Jack's political fortunes.

Papa Joe once said of his sons: "Bobby feels more strongly for and against people than Jack—just as I do . . . He's a great kid. He hates the same way I do." As Jack was the reserved, affable and almost shy candidate, Bobby was the cold, tough and sometimes ruthless campaign manager.

DANGER SIGNALS: In the family touch-football games, Bobby plays hard; there are often casualties. Bobby also blocked hard in running political interference for Jack. Some may have gotten bruised. But Jack crossed the goal line and that's what counts on the Kennedy scoreboard.

It is understandable that Jack should reward his campaign manager with a place in the Cabinet. But aside from the thin cries of nepotism, there are serious dangers in Bobby's appointment as At-

political hot seat. Mild-mannered William P. Rogers, the outgoing Attorney General, antagonized so many politicians and businessmen that he became a political liability to Vice President Nixon in the campaign. When Nixon went to South Carolina, Rogers, because of his actions for civil rights, had to remain hidden in the plane.

President Kennedy offered the post first to Connecticut's Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff. But he turned it down to become Secy. of Health, Education and Welfare because, it is reported, he believed he would make enough enemies to hurt his later chances to be appointed to the Supreme Court.

WHAT HE DOES: The Attorney General runs the Department of Justice, which has an annual budget of about \$270,000,000 with 30,392 employees.

The department initiates and prosecutes all Federal criminal cases and manages Federal prisons. It regulates the entry and exit of foreign visitors and immigrants. It supervises the FBI.

The Attorney General is the chief Federal law enforcement officer. He is also legal adviser to the President. He construes the laws under which executive departments act.

He has three major functions which open the door to politics:

- He enforces the civil rights, anti-trust and internal revenue laws.
- He makes recommendations to the President for Federal judgeships.
- He enforces the labor-reform and internal security laws.

COUNTS THE CHANGE: The Attorney General has wide latitude in deciding which cases to press and which to forget. Consequently, he is the focus of political pressure. A tax case can be suppressed, a civil rights suit pressed, a judge appointed or a spy case initiated, depending on the pressures.

Bobby Kennedy brings no distinction in the law and no clear-cut political philosophy to the job. Characterizations by friends and foes agree only on his devotion to his brother's cause. Politically, some place him to the right of his brother, close to Papa Joe's ultra-conservatism. Some who know him well say that he fits no political slot because he measures each issue on its political dividends.

In the Justice Dept. sphere, he has made no strong statements on antitrust or immigration matters. He is no civil rights crusader. Robert E. Clark said of Bobby in the *Washington Evening Star*, Jan. 13: "He leaves the impression that the political hazard of alienating the South by pushing too hard on other integration issues outweighs any other ardor he might otherwise feel for advancing Negro rights."

AGAINST CRIME: Bobby's only announced plan for the Justice Dept. is to establish a National Crime Commission, which would act as a Central Intelligence Agency of the criminal world. The Commission would use FBI files to check criminal records of labor leaders and work with the department's tax specialists to jail racketeers on tax evasion charges. When it found information on violations of state laws, it would turn it over to local police.

FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover is on record against the plan. He said it would tend to create a national police force which is "dangerous to our democratic ideals." Hoover is also against turning his agents from communist-hunting to



BOBBY SITS BEHIND A FRIEND OF THE FAMILY
Sen. McCarthy and his committee counsel at a press conference, 1953

gang-busting.

NO CLASSROOM WHIZ: Bobby was a sophomore at Harvard in 1944 when his oldest brother, Joseph Jr., a Navy pilot, was killed on a mission. When the Navy named a destroyer after Joe Jr., Bobby got Navy Secy. James Forrestal's permission to transfer from Naval ROTC to duty as a seaman on the ship.

He enrolled at the U. of Virginia law school after the war. A classmate recalled to the *Wall Street Journal*, Dec. 19, that Bobby was "something less than a whiz in the classroom." He graduated 56th in a class of 125.

But his grades may have been sacrificed to extra-curricular activities. He was chairman of the Student Legal Forum and, another classmate recalled, "he loved controversy." During the Korean War, he scheduled separate appearances of his father and brother. Papa Joe advocated pulling U.S. troops out of Korea as well as the rest of Asia and Europe. Jack, then a Congressman, supported the war and the Truman foreign policy.

Other speakers Bobby brought to the forum reflect a broad political taste. He invited Ralph Bunche, Sen. Joseph McCarthy and Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. A list of the people he said he admires recently indicates that the taste persists. Bobby listed Herbert Hoover, Justice Douglas and Sen. John L. McClellan.

RICH KID'S OBLIGATION: After law school he turned to government work—"I feel deeply that it is the obligation of people with advantages to lead those who lack them." He worked for seven months as a junior lawyer in the Justice Dept.'s criminal division. He left to manage Jack's 1952 campaign for the Senate against Henry Cabot Lodge.

His mission accomplished, Bobby got a job with his father's friend Sen. McCarthy as a counsel for the investigating committee. He said he took the job because he felt "there was a good deal to be done" in exposing "communist activities." He got along well with McCarthy but he clashed often with chief counsel Roy Cohn. He resigned in 1953 when the Democratic committee members walked out.

Bobby returned six months later with the Democratic Senators as minority counsel. At one point he almost came to blows with Cohn. Allen Drury, then with the *Washington Star*, reported:

"Newsmen overheard Mr. Cohn ask Mr. Kennedy: 'Do you want to fight now?'"

"Mr. Kennedy, both arms laden with books, snapped back, 'Don't warn me. Don't try it again, Cohn.'"

REPUTATION MADE: After the Democrats won control of Congress in 1954 and McClellan replaced McCarthy as committee chairman, Bobby was made

chief counsel and staff director. He held the job for the remaining two years of the committee's life.

In 1957, when the Senate set up a select committee to investigate "improper activities in the labor or management field" under McClellan, Bobby was hired as chief counsel. Jack was a member of the committee.

With a staff of nearly 100 investigators and accountants and a healthy budget, Bobby came into his own. For two years the committee dragged in alleged racketeers to expose "corruption" in unions. The hearings resulted in the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act, which some union leaders consider more punitive than the Taft-Hartley Act, and they made Jack and Bobby Kennedy into national figures.

GRAND DESIGN: Many concerned with civil liberties were shocked at the way Bobby badgered and harassed witnesses and drew evil implications from the use of the Fifth Amendment. Robert D. Novak in the *Wall Street Journal* said: "He showed an impatience with the cumbersome apparatus of Anglo-Saxon justice in his zeal to put Mr. Hoffa and associates behind bars."

Others saw a grand political design in the committee. They point out that Bobby only went after unions whose leaders were not committed to brother Jack's candidacy. He played down management corruption. And in cases where wrongdoings among Democratic machine politicians were uncovered, they were ignored when the politicians joined Jack's bandwagon.

Television cameras at the hearings made Jack's face known to millions. The "labor reform" law is credited to his work. Whatever else, the hearings pushed Jack to the doorstep of the White House.

SPOILED: When he is not building up his brother, Bobby spends most of his time with his wife and seven children on their Virginia farm. As a man who inherited a million dollars at the age of 21 and who has an income from a trust fund of \$100,000 a year after taxes, Bobby relaxes in rich man's sports. Most mornings he and his wife go horseback riding before breakfast. He also skis, sails and golfs. He seems to have a year-round sun tan.

Last year he was named "Father of the Year," a fitting title for a man who gave his children a sea lion as a pet.

Bobby's nemesis Teamster president James R. Hoffa called him "a damn spoiled jerk." Others have said the same thing less succinctly, if in better grammar. But, perhaps, the most damning report came from a liberal Senator, who, during the campaign, tried to convince him of the moral, economic and social necessity of reducing oil depletion allowances. Bobby interrupted him to ask: "But what does it mean in votes?"

NEXT WEEK: Bobby and Hoffa.



Mauldin, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

torney General. Bobby's passionate desire to serve his brother's political interests could find ample outlet in his new office. It is already being said that Bobby has begun to work on Jack's 1964 reelection campaign.

His disregard for civil liberties in questioning witnesses as chief counsel of the Senate racketeers committee forebodes another danger. His failure to take on big business and his use of the civil rights issue for partisan political purposes are further ill omens.

POLITICAL HOT SEAT: The attorney generalship was conceived of as a non-political post; a place for judicial wisdom and integrity. It has often been a stepping stone to the Supreme Court. But in recent Administrations it has become more openly a political assignment; a post to exert influence, a place to reward friends and deny enemies.

As a result the post has become a

BOOKS

Mexico's mural painters

ALMA REED, the first American sponsor, friend and author of a life of José Clemente Orozco, has written what she describes with her habitual modesty as "a series of biographical sketches" of almost all the leading and lesser figures of the Mexican mural movement.

Her book, while it is not a guide, will stimulate visitors to Mexico to look for many important works in the capital, in other cities, and even in small country towns, of whose existence there would have been little chance for them to be aware.

In some instances, as in the case of Juan O'Gorman's huge (40,000 square feet) mosaic mural on the exterior of the University City library, her description will help the spectator to at least a general understanding of what would otherwise be a colorful confusion of portraits, objects and symbols.

MRS. REED'S early and ardent support of the aims of the Mexican Revolution makes her particularly fitted to

reactionary trends in the national bourgeoisie and government and the corruption of the top labor leadership which have put many artists on the defensive or in retreat and driven others to open defiance. One wishes that more distinction had been drawn between those painters who have continued the revolutionary tradition by giving it contemporary pertinence and those who have converted the symbols of nationality and past struggles into platitudes.

This is not to imply that Mrs. Reed has avoided mention of incidents in which Mexican ruling circles have played a shameful role vis a vis the artist. She has even managed to include the prolonged imprisonment without trial of Siqueiros and the protests of the painters, sculptors and other intellectuals on his behalf.

And without making any explicit point of it, she helps to remind us that any major work of the Mexican mural movement has more intellectual content



OROZCO'S VIEW OF LENIN

Fresco in N.Y.'s School for Social Research

relate the histories of the men whose personal and artistic lives were so sharply determined by that social transformation. Her account of recent developments in Mexican mural painting is informative in its details, but it lacks a needed perspective on the

and emotional drive, and establishes more contact with the masses of workers, farmers and progressive intellectuals whom it was intended to reach than 10,000 abstract expressionist or "action" paintings in the galleries and museums of New



DIEGO RIVERA
Tall-story teller

York, Paris, Madrid and, alas, Mexico City.

IN THE FOREWORD to her so-called "autobiography by Diego Rivera," Gladys March explains that she compiled it from notes taken in the course of interviews with the painter over a period of 13 years, between 1944 and 1957, the year of his death. "Essentially, this is Rivera's own story, told in his words," she maintains. And adds piquantly, "As such it may not always coincide with the facts."

Since Rivera was not only a superb mural artist, particularly in his early years, but one of the great tall-story tellers of all time, her warning seems to lack humor. For on page 45 the artist tells us, via Mrs. March, that he, along with other students of an anatomy class, used to go to the morgue to buy for eating the bodies of persons who had died of violence—who had been freshly killed, that is—and that everyone's health improved on this luxurious diet. It is obvious that Mrs. March's judgment did not improve in the course of recording Diego's nonsense as well as his wisdom, otherwise her 2,000 pages of notes would not have been boiled down to such an undigested *ropa vieja* (a Mexican meat dish bearing the expressive title, "old clothes.")

—Charles Humboldt

* **THE MEXICAN MURALISTS**, by Alma M. Reed. Crown Publishers, Inc. 191 pp. 175 illustrations, 16 color plates. \$5.95.

****MY ART, MY LIFE**, an autobiography by Diego Rivera with Gladys March. Citadel Press. 388 pp. \$6.

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PUBLICATIONS

The Independent

Dear Reader:

Do you want to know the truth about Cuba? You are not getting it in your daily newspaper or your weekly news magazine.

Herbert Matthews, an editor of The New York Times, declared recently:

"In my thirty years on the New York Times, I have never seen a big story so misunderstood, so badly handled and so misinterpreted as the Cuban revolution."

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Committee foe shot

(Continued from Page 1)

cuss his opposition to HUAC and the distortions in the film, his wife received a telephoned death threat. Later that month an incendiary bomb was exploded at the office of the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedom, where Wilkinson is employed.

LEWIS AND LOTTO: Hearst columnists Jack Lotto and Fulton Lewis Jr. have trumpeted the attack on Wilkinson. Lewis referred on the air and in his column to Wilkinson as the man who started the San Francisco riot. In December, the night before Wilkinson left Los Angeles to address a New York abolition rally, Lewis announced that Wilkinson was going to organize a march on Washington. While Wilkinson was speaking in New York, a time bomb exploded at his home, barely missing his daughter.

PATRIOTIC PILLS: The Southern California American Civil Liberties Union asked Los Angeles Mayor Poulson to condemn the campaign of violence directed against Wilkinson. Dr. Eason Monroe, executive director, said the explosion was "an obvious effort to intimidate Wilkinson for his outspoken, but notably non-violent, opposition to the House committee." *Frontier* magazine offered \$1,000 for information leading to the conviction of the bombers.

But the Hearst counter-attack continued. Lotto wrote: "An identified Communist who helped organize the student demonstrations in San Francisco last May is masterminding the current campaign to destroy the House Un-American Activities Committee. His chief 'Kill the Committee' aide is Harvey O'Connor..."

The Lotto column was circulated by the Chicago Pharmacal Company with a memo to all employes and salesmen urging them to send the article (three copies were enclosed) to Senators and Congressmen asking them "as American patriots to use all their influence to expose and punish known parties to the Communist conspiracy such as Frank Wilkinson and Harvey O'Connor."

HEIL WALTER: Other companies also distribute HUAC materials. *Nation's Business*, Nov., 1960, said: "Several companies are sponsoring showings of a movie made from newsreel films of the California riots. The movie, vividly revealing the communist agitation, is titled *Operation Abolition*, the reds own tag for their campaign to destroy the Un-

American Activities Committee."

On Dec. 28 Walter announced that a "red-planned" demonstration scheduled for Jan. 2 would be met by counter-demonstrators. While 350 students peacefully picketed in opposition to the HUAC, counter-demonstrators arrived. They were members of the American Nazi Party, anti-Castro Cubans, East European refugees and segregationists (GUARDIAN, Jan. 16). On the day after Walter's announcement swastikas were painted on the Wilkinson home.

A few days later Lewis' column was devoted to red-baiting Wilkinson; Jake Rosen, one of the students on the Jan. 2 picket line, and this reporter, presumably to discredit the demonstration which had received wide newspaper coverage and praise from Capitol police.

NON-VIOLENCE: Walter reacts quickly to criticism. On Dec. 15 the Student Council of Swarthmore College in Philadelphia passed an abolition resolution. On Jan. 3 Walter wrote the students that he was "not surprised" at the resolution since Wilkinson had been traveling across the country organizing opposition to HUAC. Playing the "dupe" theme, Walter urged the students to find out who was behind the resolution. Wilkinson met Swarthmore students for the first time when he was invited to speak at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia Jan. 12.

The emphasis of Wilkinson's speeches at colleges and other meetings has been the advocacy of peaceful, non-violent opposition to HUAC. In a recent speech he said: "It is not enough to say that the HUAC provoked the violence in San Francisco and that the police were at first inept and then brutally violent. In the future we who wish to abolish the HUAC must take steps to insist that the police not be inept—that they maintain law and order. In brief, violence is the enemy of the abolition campaign. We must do everything possible to guarantee that our acts are peaceful—even when the committee and its supporters are guilty of incitement to violence."

Active defenders of the committee are self-styled "conservative" organizations. One, the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, sponsored a series of schools in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Chicago and other cities. At these week-long schools, members of HUAC and its former staff director, Richard Arens, spoke and *Operation Abolition* was shown to teach "how to identify communism and fight it." At



WHO'S UN-AMERICAN?
Cops batter S. F. students.

the University of Texas one floor discussion was a fear-ridden exchange concerning the possibility that Wilkinson was then in Austin fomenting trouble.

CAMPUS GROUPS: Young Americans for Freedom and the Student Committee for Congressional Autonomy have been organized on some campuses recently. On Jan. 18 when Wilkinson appeared at Sarah Lawrence College to speak at a public meeting, he was handed a leaflet entitled: "May we introduce the speaker?" with the inscription: "Prepared by request of students on your campus who are members of our organization. Greater N.Y. Council Young Americans for

Freedom." The leaflet said: "The person who is speaking tonight, Frank Wilkinson, is what FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has called a 'Master of Deceit'." In answer to its own question: "Why is he here?" the leaflet said: "The Communist Party has intensified its attack upon college campuses and youth, as J. Edgar Hoover pointed out in his report."

Wilkinson was described as an "identified and convicted . . . agent of the Communist Party." The reference was apparently to Wilkinson's refusal to answer committee questions as a challenge to its legality, which is now before the Supreme Court.

COMMUNITY GROUPS: The Washington Post, described the showing of *Operation Abolition* in a Virginia town as "a kick-off for a Fairfax county anti-Communist group." In Bridgeport, Conn. a controversy arose when a community group, the Connecticut Anti-Communist Committee, said that the editor of the student newspaper at the University of Bridgeport had been "duped" because he printed an anti-HUAC editorial. The university president said: "The university is, of course, opposed to Communism, but at the same time we are opposed to witch-hunts and violations of individual rights and freedoms."

ABOLITION GROWS: Meanwhile the abolition campaign continued to gain momentum. On Jan. 14, 87 professors at Brown University petitioned Rhode Island Congressmen for abolition of HUAC. The conservative Los Angeles *Mirror*, on Jan. 19 reporting Rep. Walter's attacks on the film industry under the headline, "Film Industry Red Baiter Told It Is Time to Put Up or Shut Up" said: "Not since the late Sen. McCarthy made his never-proved charges that there were X number of card-carrying Communists in the State Department has a member of the Congress made so many charges without supporting facts." The *Mirror* said: "It's time to dismiss these charges, and their originator, as unworthy of notice, until proof is forthcoming."

In a letter to fellow Congressmen, Dec. 31, Rep. James Roosevelt said: "... the Committee has made a tremendous effort to obscure the real issues posed by its activities. It has done this through a massive propaganda effort designed to prove that all its opponents are Communists." Roosevelt said that an "educating task" must be done to inform the public of the Committee's methods. He cited newspapers, under HUAC attack, as having "already shown the way."

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BERTRAND RUSSELL TO LEAD 2,000 IN SIT-DOWN PROTEST

Scotland is united against U. S. Polaris submarine base

By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian staff correspondent

THE PROPOSED POLARIS submarine base at Holy Loch has by now set off the most united movement in Scotland's history. Every section of the Labor and trade union movement is in action.

Scottish Labor MP's who backed Hugh Gaitskell in supporting the Polaris are being told to change their position if they want to run again. Support is growing for a special meeting of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland to oppose the base. The Scots plan to invade the House of Commons before the arrival of the submarine's supply ship on Feb. 18.

On Jan 30 a number of youth groups were to present to Commons a petition against the base, and on Feb. 18 Bertrand Russell is planning to lead 2,000 non-violent resisters in a sit-down outside the Ministry of Defense in Whitehall. Scores of men and women—artists, scientists, writers, theater and film stars—have declared their readiness to go to jail in support of their protest. Russell has said that he is preparing to write a book during his stay in jail.

The secretary of the committee organizing the protest told the GUARDIAN: "The demonstration will serve notice on the government that we can no longer stand aside while preparations are being made for the destruction of mankind."

One group is planning to post look-outs. When the supply ship is sighted, they will light bonfires on hilltops and ring church bells, traditional warnings of invasion. Some are expected to go out in kayaks to block the ship's path.

THE REASONS: Following is Earl Russell's declaration of the reasons for the demonstration:

"The main purpose of the intended Polaris base in Holy Loch is to overcome the inferiority of the U.S. in the matter of intercontinental ballistic missiles. Mr. Macmillan maintained that the order to fire would only be given after consultation with the United Kingdom. The U.S. State Dept. denied this . . .

"The New Scientist of Nov. 10 reported a number of accidents in Polaris missile tests hitherto made: 'Of the submarine launchings, the first three from the George Washington were all successful and the missiles achieved their objective. At the beginning of August, the fourth one behaved erratically and had to be destroyed, and at the end of September, two of the Patrick Henry's launchings failed. One fell back and the second went out of control. The Patrick Henry made four successful shots in operational conditions out in the Atlantic.'

"It follows from this that if a missile is fired anywhere near Holy Loch there is a considerable chance that it will fall back on Scotland and if many such missiles are

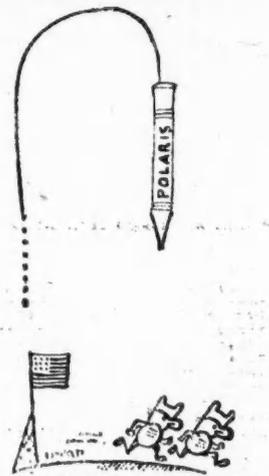
fired, it becomes nearly certain that at least one will kill some millions of Scots and, whenever the submarine fires its missile it may kill friends instead of foes.

THE DANGERS: "What effect is this project likely to have on the Soviet government? Much depends on whether the submarines will in fact be undetectable. If they are not undetectable we may expect the Russians to destroy any that approach their coasts . . . If on the other hand, the Polaris submarines are in fact undetectable, the Soviet authorities will live in a state of apprehension, which is not likely to increase their desire for peaceful coexistence.

"What meanwhile of the base in Holy Loch? The Soviet government has announced a readiness to destroy this base . . . One H-bomb from Russia could exterminate all the inhabitants of the Clyde area and completely destroy the submarine base . . .

"A retaliatory attack by the U.S. leading to all-out reprisals by Russia would serve no purpose that the U.S. or anybody else could desire. One bomb dropped by Russia on the Clyde might kill a few millions. Retaliation by America would probably end the human race. Would you, if you were the American President, consider this justifiable? I doubt it.

"The fact remains, therefore, that the establishment of the Polaris base puts the inhabitants of Clydeside in a quite spe-



"Get crackin'. It's gone the wrong way."

cial danger of extermination, over and above the danger which faces all mankind. It must also be said that, by its provocative character, it greatly increases the likelihood of general war. It also puts an end to such vestiges of national independence as have survived Tory rule and Labor front-bench weakness and destroys the power of Britain to take an effective line in international negotiations."

Peace campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

road to survival lies through concerted action of all peoples in all communities."

Copies of petition postcards and other literature as well as additional information can be obtained from: 100 Days for Peace Committee, 550 Fifth Ave., New York 36, N.Y. Phone: PL 7-6454.

SANE URGES LETTERS: Elsewhere on the peace front: The Natl. Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy called for letters to President Kennedy. The Greater Boston SANE committee spelled out the message. It suggested that letters include an appeal for total world disarmament, a nuclear test ban and opposition to the spread of nuclear weapons to NATO and other countries.

The Transcontinental Walk for Peace completed 1,000 miles of its 6,500-mile journey from San Francisco to Moscow. The walk, sponsored by the pacifist Committee for Nonviolent Action, began on Dec. 1 and has covered California and Arizona.

There are about a dozen walkers who average 25 miles a day. They stop to distribute leaflets, hold public meetings and picket outside military installations. Local citizens join the walk for short periods as it passes through. The group advocates unilateral disarmament and hopes to convince people in all nations to "stop cooperating with morally bankrupt military policies."

NEW WALKER: In Tucson, Jerry Wheeler, 29, left the walk Jan. 19 to stage a "civil disobedience demonstration" at the Davis-Monthan Air Force base. The walk gained a member the same day



Wall Street Journal

when Dr. John Beecher resigned from the faculty of Arizona State U. to join the group. Beecher said: "I deeply regret the necessity of leaving my students in the middle of the academic year. I believe, however, that my example in joining the peace walk will be more effective teaching than anything I might now accomplish in the classroom."

Mass participation will be encouraged in the second phase of the walk, beginning April 1, from Chicago to New York. The group will leave for London in June and hopes to reach Moscow by August. Walkers plan to enter countries even if they are denied visas. Further information may be obtained from CNVA, 158 Grand St., New York 13, N.Y.

The New England CNVA is sponsoring Polaris Action, which has engaged in a series of protests to Polaris nuclear submarines since last summer. On Feb. 1, the group will begin actions in Charleston, S.C., against the Polaris supply ship Proteus, which is scheduled to sail for

Scotland about two weeks later.

APPEAL TO INTELLECTUALS: A group called the Committee of Correspondence organized recently to promote "the inevitability of peace" to the intellectual community. The committee includes Dr. Erich Fromm, Dr. Harold Taylor, David Reisman, A. J. Muste and Robert Gilmore.

In a "Bear Mountain Statement"—named for a conference last year in Bear Mountain, N.Y.—the group pointed out the perils and futility of military solutions to world problems. It added: "We call for unilateral steps toward disarmament both on principle and as a prac-

tical strategy, which represents neither surrender to Communism nor wishful fantasy, since no country courageous and rational enough to thus disarm would be an easy victory for any form of dictatorship. We risk a great deal in reliance on nuclear arms; we must be willing to take risks in pursuit of peace."

Signers included: W. H. Ferry, Gen. Hugh Hester, Robert M. Hutchins, Alfred Kazin, Alexander Meiklejohn, Walter Millis, Lewis Mumford and I. A. Richards.

Copies of the statement may be obtained free of charge from P.O. Box 536, Cooper Sta., New York 3, N.Y.

A little fun with figures

THE UNITED STATES now has a stockpile of atomic weapons equal in destructive power to 50,000 A-bombs of the size that smashed Hiroshima, killing 200,000 persons, said Dr. Ralph E. Lapp, physicist, at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The Hiroshima bomb had an explosive power of 20 million tons of TNT. So, our present stockpile can do the job of one billion tons of TNT. And in the next three years, said Dr. Lapp, we will add to what we already have the equivalent of 30,000 more Hiroshima bombs. We will then have the equivalent of 1,600,000,000 tons of TNT for the purpose of saving Christian civilization under God.

Such a pleasant subject, calling forth such pleasurable anticipations, invites one to give a moment of leisurely calculation to the possibilities of the total global incineration of mundane life. So we did a little figuring and were joyfully amazed at the results. Computing on the basis of our killings with the Hiroshima bomb (which, by the way, Gen. MacArthur now says was unnecessary), we found that our stockpiles are doing far better than we ever dared to dream. How so? Well, if we carry our present program to completion, we will have in three years, by theoretical computation, enough atomic weapons to annihilate one million times as many human beings as now encumber the earth.

The Russians are probably not far behind us in the glorious achievement. And other nations are coming along nicely, too. Surely man must be nearing the grand apex of his evolutionary progress. Hallelujah!

—Hugh Robert Orr in the Progressive World

RESORTS

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DETROIT

Guardian 12th Anniversary CELEBRATION with James Aronson, Editor, speaking on The American Press, and World Crisis Chairman: Carl Haessler 8 p.m. Tues. Feb. 7. Jewish Music Center 14864 Schaefer Hwy. (2 blocks south of Fenkell) Folk Music by Barbara Robb Admission 50 cents.

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THE GALLERY

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE for Protection of Foreign Born at a conference in New York opened a drive for a five-year statute of limitations on deportation and denaturalization provisions of the Walter-McCarran Act.

The campaign should get impetus from the wide protest to the deportations last November of Hamish Scott MacKay to Canada and William Mackie to Finland. Each was accused of membership in progressive organizations in the distant past. MacKay, 55, lived in the U. S. for 32 years. Mackie, 52, was brought here from Finland at the age of eight months.

On Jan. 13, Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) introduced bills calling for the immediate return of both deportees. The Brotherhood of Carpenters local in Vancouver endorsed Morse's action and set up a committee to help MacKay, a carpenter, return to the U.S.

Mackie, who speaks English only, applied for a visa in Helsinki to go to Canada, where he could be near his family and where he could speak English. The Vancouver Labor Council urged the Canadian Immigration Minister to grant his request.

Tens of thousands have been deported under the Walter-McCarran Act since its passage in 1952. In 1959, 7,988 were deported; of these 803 allegedly committed crimes and seven were termed "subversive." Other grounds for deportation under the law include: unintentional violations of law; inability to prove legal entry; technical flaws in documents; commitment to public institutions; failure to register annually; failure to carry a registration card; and failure to notify the government of change of address in five days.

EZRA T. HAZELTINE, editor of the South Bend Journal in Pacific County, Wash., scanned the memo pad provided by a Seattle store to customers for personal messages. Most were customary notes like: Joe, meet me at the notions counter at 2:30. Signed, Sally. But Hazeltine did a double-take on one note. It read: "Fidel, I'm in the gun department." Signed, "Che." . . . The Natl. Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) found a new danger to the national security. It saw the appeal for increased appropriations for the State Dept.'s representation fund as a move to flood U. S. embassies with liquor. . . . In Rochester, N. Y., the Democrat-Chronicle and the Times Union refuse to accept death notices which read "send no flowers." The papers said the thought was negative. Apparently they have been sold by florists on the power of positive thinking. . . . More than 4,000 policemen in armored cars, jeeps and trucks took part in anti-riot exercise in Taipei, Taiwan (Formosa), which they named Yung An



Chapman, Washington Daily News "We'd like to hire you, but by the time we complete our security investigation you'll be too old for the job."

(external peace) . . . According to National Geographic, maintenance men in New York's Central Park found that children were breaking up playground swings within a few months. A new type of swing made of heavy gauge aluminum reinforced with steel was developed. To test the swings, park officials brought in two 350-pound gorillas, Carolyn and Jo-Ann. Zoo superintendent John Galm said the gorillas first inspected the swings carefully. Then, he said, "they banged the swings against the walls. They tried to chew them to pieces. They twisted them on their chains so tight that the eye-bolts pulled out of the seats. We installed stronger fittings. Finally the girls [Carolyn and Jo-Ann] gave up. They couldn't do more damage." As a reward the gorillas were allowed to keep a swing.

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Science last month, WBAI-FM in New York recorded talks and panel discussions from 16 sessions as well as a series of interviews. The programs are being broadcast currently by the New York station and will be picked up by the Pacific outlets in Los Angeles and Berkeley. Sir Charles Percy Snow's speech (GUARDIAN, Jan. 9) will be heard on Feb. 2 at 9 p.m. on WBAI. . . . Abigail Van Buren's advice-to-the-lovelorn column, Dear Abby, had another poser. A letter signed "Not Stupid" began: "I've been married to a good-looking truck driver for ten years. I am not the suspicious type, but listen to this: The other night he came off the road with two long scratches on his left hip. They were fairly deep scratches, yet neither his shorts nor trousers were ripped. When I asked him how it happened, he said it was probably from a feather in the bed. Now, Abby, I love my husband and I am not looking for any trouble, but do they still have feather beds in modern motels? And could anyone get scratched like this from a feather?" Never at a loss, Abby answered: "It's unlikely that the scratches came from a feather. It was probably the whole chick."

—Robert E. Light

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the SPECTATOR

JFK socko in new hit

The **GUARDIAN**, unable to cover all the inaugural activities, acknowledges with thanks this report from a reviewer on a theatrical weekly.

WASHINGTON

IF BARNUM, BILLY GRAHAM and Billy Rose had pooled recipes for an international feast they could not have concocted tastier world fare than **New Frontiers**. The new attraction at the White House emerged a trouper's triumph over raw weather, religious prejudice and Republicanism.

Despite snow and snarled traffic, presentation started boldly with a star-studded prologue aimed to get the show off the ground. (And off the hook; deficit rumored running into seven figures.) Ethel Merman belted out a 21-gun vocal salute, her bounce balancing the dignified emoting of the **Becket** boys. Laurence Olivier and Anthony Quinn. This introductory segment of the show neatly interwove the warp of Washington with the woof of Hollywood. Frank Sinatra appeared as **The Cloak**; Allen Dulles played **The Dagger**.

Opening performance, **New Frontiers** made its pitch global, shunning controversial domestic gags about pork chops in Pontiac and schools in Segregalia. It soberly sounded a double theme—peace and sacrifice. However, after a display of top hats and Cadillacs, mink and music, customers relaxed, and each spectator felt peace was for him and sacrifice for the other guy.

YOUTH, LOOKS AND TALENT were mixed with real knowhow to pump the production full of excitement. In spite of limited experience, John F. Kennedy swept through the leading part like a clean wind. Leaning heavily on the FDR style of delivery, his earnest Harvard accent and high note endings brought a tear to the eye of many a seasoned playgoer. He is a sure-fire sensation in an unbelievable plot better suited to British musical comedy.

Story concerns a wealthy Ambassador, frustrated in his push to become President, who swears that one day his son will rule the land of the free. The lad, handicapped by his millions, a war record, a pretty wife about to have a baby, and a well-oiled electronic political machine licks his rival in a photo finish. He takes over the Presidency, swearing the oath on his grandmother's Bible.

Oohs and ahs ran through the audience constantly, evoked by the bewitching Jacqueline Kennedy in the role of the adorable spouse. High point of her performance was a magnificent show of loyalty, when, like her husband, she too bravely sported an avant garde hairdo and a photogenic smile. This gesture made her the wife, mother and sweetheart of the nation. In fact **New Frontiers** family appeal dwarfs the Four Cohans, and Eddie Foy and the Seven Foy's, with its ensemble effects of hundreds of Kennedys, including in-laws, closing ranks behind their Jack. Dynamic role of a crusading brother who tirelessly organized the election campaign was played by an actor too young to be credible as U.S. Attorney General. Nevertheless, his performance clearly indicated he's going places. Father's role is a silent one, his one song having been eliminated ("Happiness Is a Thing Called Joe.")

APPARENTLY the office of Vice President still tickles musical show book writers. A fanciful touch was contributed to the character of the running mate, a man who insists that all the members of his family adopt his initials, LBJ. (Probably to save on monogramming towels.) In the supporting role of UN Ambassador, Adlai Stevenson was given an ovation by the faithful fans who would like to have seen him in the leading role. Here he was typecast as the man most admired and least likely to succeed.

The seriousness was dispelled by sudden switch in tempo into a parade scene, with hoopla, bands, crowds, balloons and an army of people in service—public and secret. Featured was a float of the PT boat the young prexy commanded during the war, on which stood several of his old buddies, ready to rally behind their Commander-in-Chief.

THE SNOW WAS BLAMED for some goofs in the costuming department, but in general the production was lavish. Some one should have suggested calling in Fred Astaire to teach the men, including JFK, how to wear their top hats. However, by the time the final scenes were reached nothing could have downed the show. In an unforgettable finale five fancy dress balls were shown going at once. President JFK appeared with his lady, and VP LBJ with his Ladybird. Shrewdly producers realized that at this hour the politics had gone to bed, fellows, and they served up only broad entertainment. Climactic spectacle was the presentation-at-the-court scene, in which members of the Cabinet and wives were trumpeted into the President's presence by army heralds. This topped **My Fair Lady** and Queen Elizabeth's coronation.

Songs plugged at the grand finale ball were **New Frontiers** (folksy material), and two numbers aimed at the first and second ladies. **Jacqueline** sings praises of multi-faceted Jackie, pointing out:

"She loves to read and study books,
 She has a mind as well as looks,
 She knows how to dress, and still she can paint,
 She speaks a dozen languages with no complaint."

Possibly **Ladybird** too will be sung in Texas by people who are sent albums. This one goes:

"It's so hard to describe her,
 Maybe Angel is the word
 Heaven conferred
 All its wonders on Ladybird."

New Frontiers is a cinch to play the White House four, maybe even eight, years. Sure sign was the long line of customers the next morning—hundreds waiting patiently after opening night for a job with the new administration.

—Spec.