

Cold economics snarls cold war

By Tabitha Petran

NEARING the end of its first year, the Eisenhower Administration once more avowed "bold, dynamic leadership." On the home front, "Operation Bonfire" was to put over its "forward-looking" legislative program of bigger bounties for biggest business. To the "free world" went the bluntest ultimatums to "fish or cut bait." The accompaniment: a promise of "harder action against subversives," growing identification with McCarthyism.

Washington, clinging to the delusion of omnipotence, was increasingly using threats against allies and the scapegoat of collective "treason" in an effort to reconcile delusion to reality—the limits to its power shown in Korea, the growing political failure in Asia and Europe.

Spotlighting this failure, and merely sharpening W. European resentment, was Secy. Dulles' threat at the recent NATO meeting to withdraw U.S. aid

and possibly troops from Europe unless France's parliament ratifies the European Army (E. D. C.)—"a question involving national sovereignty" (N. Y. Times, 12/19). That parliament's unprecedented difficulties in electing a President, an office of no great power, revealed the paralysis to which subservience to Washington has brought France—and how meaningless ratification, if achieved, would be.

TEETERING GOVERNMENTS: France's ruling group is no longer able to govern. It has stayed in power only by postponing decisions on key issues; yet such issues cannot "wait indefinitely" (NYT, 12/20). The U. S. fear, as Dulles said, is that "different and divisive forces may take command"—forces which would revive France's traditional alliance with Russia and E. Europe. This is urged by Gaullists and other anti-Communists like former Premier

(Continued on Page 6)

MOSCOW AGREES TO ATOM TALKS

Will U.S. agree to ban bomb?

TWO days after the White House formally announced its "more bang for a buck strategy" of gearing the whole military establishment to atomic armament, the U. S. S. R. gave its reply to Eisenhower's proposal for a UN atomic energy pool for peace. In a statement free of any note of hostility, it indicated readiness to enter "confidential or diplomatic talks" on control of atomic materials, asked clarification about the President's failure to mention outlawing atomic weapons.

Without such a ban, it said, an international agreement to use only a small proportion of atomic materials for peace "will directly sanction the production of atomic weapons. . . ." Stressing "the unheard-of possibilities for progress in industry, agriculture and transport" in peaceful use of the atom, it again insisted on the need for an international ban on all mass-destruction weapons.

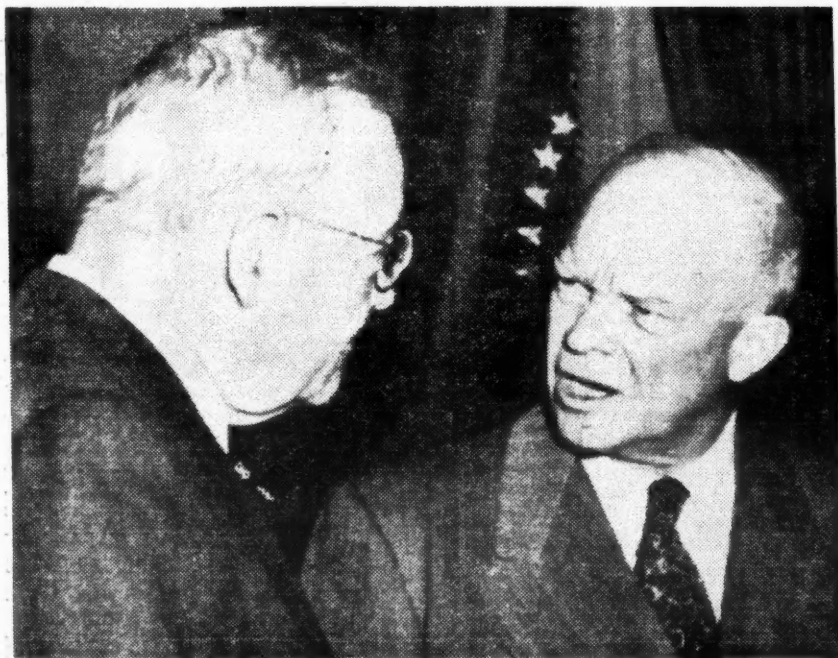
IMPINGING REALITY: In face of the world-wide yearning for an end to the threat of atomic war, shown in the response to the President's speech,

Washington could not afford to reject Moscow's answer—although, as inspired Washington comment was quick to point out, the outlawing of atomic weapons was just what he hoped to by-pass. David Lawrence commented (N. Y. Herald Tribune, 12/22):

"The Soviet Union has grabbed the ball in the international propaganda game and put the U. S. and its allies again on the defensive."

Secy. Dulles, seeking to explain to the Natl. Press Club his blunt ultimatum to France, was unusually defensive. He spoke of "the possible recession of the horror of atomic warfare" in the coming year, while he described the European Army as designed among other things "to reassure France and Soviet Russia."

Washington is now committed to talks with Moscow on both Germany and the atom. While "discussion does not in any way foreshadow agreement" (Reston, NYT, 12/23), the fact that discussions will be held shows that reality is slowly impinging on Washington's delusions. —T. P.



THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY
You mean to say they agreed to talk about it?

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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Portrait of an American statesman, A. D. 1954

In this and the preceding three issues of the GUARDIAN, articles by Lawrence Emery have detailed the critical domestic issues facing the second session of the 83d Congress: public power, farm policy, labor legislation and civil liberties. One of the men who will guide the hand of Congress is House Speaker Joseph P. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts (above). And if ever a fact should spur Americans to try to elect progressives to the 84th Congress, this should be it.

ISSUE BEFORE THE NEW CONGRESS: IV

Fifth Amendment in peril

By Lawrence Emery

ON ALL subjects but one, there was only "tentative" agreement reached in President Eisenhower's three-day legislative conferences. Hard and fast decisions were made solely on the issue of bigger and better spy scares. Up for destruction are the last remaining tatters of constitutional protection of the individual against the heresy hunters. Present for consultation on these matters were Sen. Joe McCarthy and Rep. Harold Velde. McCarthy was happy:

"I was not displeased at anything I heard."

To Velde the talks were "very congenial" and he noted "cooperation of the highest type" at the White House.

CRIMINALS TOO: Eisenhower himself announced that the enlarged heresy hunt includes

"... several proposals to provide more effective investigation and prosecution not only of subversive elements in our society but also of criminals who presently take advantage of certain loopholes in the present law."

The loopholes: (1) the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution that provides that no person shall be compelled to be

a witness against himself; (2) the Federal law that now makes wiretapping—and use of wiretap evidence—illegal in federal courts. Atty. Gen. Brownell has long made it clear that he plans to press for new legislation closing both "loopholes"; he now has the Eisenhower blessing for both projects. Both Brownell bills are likely to be enacted into law in the next session of Congress unless there is a greater stir of protest than exists at the moment. As the Washington Post pointed out on November 24:

"A new law on wiretapping is almost certain to come out of the next session of Congress. Atty. Gen. Brownell made effective use of his testimony on the Harry Dexter White case to press for a loosening of the existing prohibition on the use of wiretap evidence. There are many indications that Congress will be receptive to his plea."

UNCLEAN, UNETHICAL: The tapped telephone wire has always been repugnant to decent men. Supreme Court Justice Holmes once dismissed the notion as "dirty business." Justice Owen J. Roberts in 1937 denounced it as "inconsistent with ethical standards and destructive of personal liberty."

(Continued on Page 3)

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The Mail Bag

Kute Khristmas Kartoon

ORLANDO, FLA.
The cover of the December American Legion Magazine (Florida edition) shows a little boy with an expression like George Raft standing in the door of his home, pointing a gun at the expressman who is delivering a Christmas sled held behind his back. The smile on the expressman's face indicates he thinks the child with a gun is "cute."

Every day the papers highlight the decadence of our youth with accounts of children "holding up" pedestrians, etc. Just how grimly "cute" can the Legion get?
Bertha W. Howe

Not worth \$100,000

LONDON, ENGLAND
According to Budapest Radio, attempts were made while the Hungarian football team was in Britain recently to "persuade" Ferenc Puskas, the team's captain, and right-half Jozsef Bozsik to "choose freedom." Bozsik reported that "a stranger" offered him \$100,000 to "refuse to go home," but Bozsik told him he was quite happy in Hungary as it was "wonderful to live in freedom."

It would seem that the U.S. taxpayer has been saved some, at least, of the money he was "jollied" into voting for "Mutual Security" purposes. In relation to the drain on his pocket by his Administration, he might usefully take note of Bozsik's retort.
Edgar P. Young (Comdr. R.N. ret'd.)

The practical means

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
We got the news of Marc's resignation right in the middle of an IPP workshop during which we were attempting to hammer out a practical, workable program where-with the Progressive Party could operate most effectively on a local community level (and therefore on a national level as well).

C. B. Baldwin was here recently and emphasized that the most important single task before the nation as a whole, and the progressive movement in particular, is the defeat of Joe McCarthy and his supporters via the ballot as their respective seats come up before the voters for decision.

In Los Angeles the IPP was working not so much in the 21st C.D. to help elect George Arnold to Congress as to defeat Lipscomb,

Unifying agent
Let's not be too pessimistic about the chances of a unified world. Already we have the great fraternity of nations which are sore at John Foster Dulles.
Salt Lake City
Tribune, 9/13/53

How crazy can you get dept.

Harvard's famed Dr. Cannon said that 50% of patients . . . had nothing wrong with them physically. Their ills were psychomatic, that is, mental and emotional. If we will add to these the huge numbers who are partially psychomatic but who never visit a doctor, we must conclude that millions are ill because they think they are ill, and millions are poor or discouraged because they think they are.

Article by Roger Babson in Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger, Dec. 6.
One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Jessica Price, Lakeland, Fla.

who was endorsed by McCarthy. Arnold was never an "outsoken critic of McCarthy," as you reported, and occasionally it took much pressure from prospective voters to force him to adopt liberal or progressive attitudes on certain issues; we remembered, though, that even FDR was only as strong as the people's will made him. We continued to work for Arnold even after he officially invited us out, for as one of our workshop leaders said: "The IPP has been repudiated by bigger and better men," and rank-and-file Democratic party workers found many ways to cooperate with us.

At the same time the IPP issued independent statements to the voters and through them attempted to force Arnold to take stronger positions on discrimination, labor, peace and other important national and local issues.

Most of us here, and not a "minority," are now convinced that this is the most practical and necessary means of solidifying the mass protest to the McCarthy-McCarran-Brownell brand of fascism within the present political lineup.
Morton M. Shafer

What joint action?

RED BANK, N. J.
I would like to reply to Lester Cole's advocacy of "coalition" policy for progressives and particularly his statement that "I'll work for that coalition with Truman." The dictionary defines coalition as "alliance for joint action." Does Cole have in mind an "alliance" of the progressives with Truman and the Democrats, or does he really mean talking after them, hat-in-hand?

And what "joint action" is possible with that political party which began and maintained the Cold War and maintained the Korean War and, at home, destroyed American civil liberties, and made it possible for McCarthyism to arise?
The "coalition" advocates were quite gleeful when Robert F. Wagner was elected Mayor of New York recently with their tacit support and connivance. But on Dec. 3, their newspaper in New York was forced to print the following: "Democratic-minded New Yorkers were jolted by Wagner's appointment of Brown* as Commissioner of Investigation." Of course it was the newspaper itself that was jolted; genuine progressives who supported McAvoy expected it. The coalition people and their news-

paper are going to have many such jolts, and it may teach them just what the consequences are of talking after reactionaries.

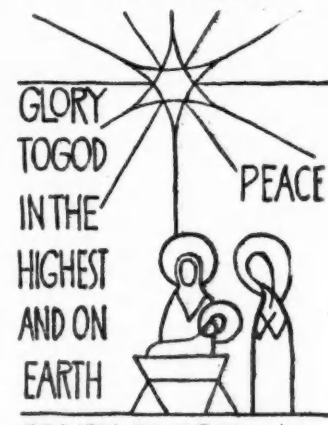
Besse Strasburger
*Peter Campbell Brown was a member of President Truman's Subversive Activities Control Board created under the McCarran (Internal Security) Act. Ed.

McCarthy's sinews

PARIS, FRANCE
In the Nov. 26 edition of the N.Y. Herald Tribune, I see that Herr McCarthy has delivered a tirade against Britain's trading with China. He says that Britain uses American money to send "sinews of war" to China. Aside from the rather obvious fact over here that it is none of his business what Britain does in the way of international trade, you and the Americans at home ought to know that his economics are as inaccurate as his history. According to Herr McCarthy, I gather, it was not Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh who separated China from Herr McCarthy's friends, but a Mr. Currie with an armful of White House stationery given him by "that man," and a Mr. White who inflated Chinese yen in Washington with an old tire pump left over from a Model T. (I know the yen is Japanese, but let's not quibble over details).

As for the "sinews of war," I see in the local papers that China's ally, the USSR, is shipping 100,000 tons of strategic manganese to Britain. I'm afraid Mao Tse-tung is giving a hand to Herr McCarthy. Is this communist infiltration?
American in Paris

A Christmas Card from a reader



Designed by Catholic Artists Guild
Sentiments expressed are not necessarily shared by the sender where they conflict with the Internal Security Code. Note: God is not registered as a foreign agent under Voorhis' 1938 as amended 1942.

We're in the stew

NEW YORK, N. Y.
In the name of thousands of Hungarian Americans (and millions of "old country" Hungarians, I am sure) I have to protest your characterizing the Dec. 11 or, for that matter, any edition of the N.Y. Times as "goulasch." "Goulasch" (or, correctly spelled, gulyas) is fine, nourishing, tasty food. It is an insult to all food lovers to compare the malodorous mess of commercial journalism to the world honored and relished Hungarian culinary masterpiece.
Zoltan Deak
Editor, Magyar Szó
(Hungarian Word), New York
To Mr. Deak and all gulyas lovers (and who is not?), our apologies. Pass the paprika, please. Ed.

They took his deer

CHICAGO, ILL.
I'm sending this note to advise you that taxes have taken away the things I have found most essential—
My workshop, my reindeers, and sleigh.
Now I'm making my rounds on a donkey;
He's old and he's crippled and slow;
So you'll know, if you don't see me Xmas,
I'm out on my ass in the snow.
S. Claus

Use old Guardians to win new friends. Simply send them out in an open end wrapper with a two-cent stamp. They'll pay dividends every time.



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JAMES ARONSON Executive Editor

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties."
—JOHN MILTON

REPORT TO READERS

Of Tiba's Tribe, et al.

THE LOS ANGELES contingent of GUARDIAN readers and friends turned out 500 strong Saturday night, Dec. 12, for one of the merriest evenings imaginable in connection with our fifth anniversary.

Rounded up by the GUARDIAN's tireless Tiba Willner on the basis of \$25 per couple in subscriptions or contributions to our sustaining fund, the crowd packed the Cosmopolitan Hotel ballroom, danced to a 12-piece band, sipped free-flowing champagne punch, roared its approval of a 9-skit musical revue which was tops in topical entertainment.

"It's a new year, good-for-you year," the opening song foretold for '54—provided folks pitch in to make it so. Judging by the enthusiasm, the L. A. people are eager to tackle the problem.

WORDS AND MUSIC for the evening were put together by Fred Reynolds, Vivian Millman, Fred Rinaldo, Wilma Shore, Sol Kaplan and a grand opera composer named Rossini, whose "Figaro" in paraphrase provided the grand finale. The cast included Al Hammer, the solemn-faced comedian of the old Reviewers night club team which used to include Adolph Green, Judy Holliday and Betty Comden; Ernie Lieberman, well-known coast to coast as one of the stars of People's Artists; Ruth Hershey, Irene Bassman, Marty Perlman, Helene Oatts Hughes, Dorothy Morrow, Frank Greenwood and Jack Harrison. The production crew included Mitch Lindeman, Mike Bassman, Dan Lieberman, Charles R. Swanhuizer and Peter Virgo.

SMOG is what concerns Los Angeles as personally as any world problem, and the GUARDIAN Angelenos are no exception. Therefore Al Hammer's "Smog Song" hit closest to home on the evening's program.

Most L. A. people know that smog results from refinery stacks and other industrial sources in the area, but the authorities blame everything else—from backyard incinerators to model-airplane exhausts—to dodge the main issue of industrial smoke control. As Al Hammer summed it up, the officials seem to have concluded that the average L. A. citizen gives off too many fumes.

But there is one tip-off every Angeleno knows about, which makes the officials look a bit silly. Al Hammer's "Smog Song" slyly pointed it out:

**People drive cars on Sunday,
People smoke cigars on Sunday,
People burn logs on Sunday,
Barbecue hogs on Sunday. . . .**

So, "Why Mr. Larsen [the smog control expert], why," the song asked:

WHY AIN'T THERE SMOG ON SUNDAY?
Judging from the way Tiba's tribe went home from Saturday night's Guardian Angels Revue humming the "Smog Song" the L. A. press will be hearing this \$64 inquiry from hundreds of sources as long as smog control is an issue.

THE UNDERSIGNED was among the merrymakers at the party, on a two-week aircouch tour which touched at Chicago, Minneapolis, L. A., San Francisco and environs. In L. A., where the witch-hunt against teachers is starting under California's new repressive Dilworth law, and in San Francisco and the Bay Area, where the Velde Committee had just been to town, the fight-back spirit was something for the rest of the nation to behold with satisfaction.

Many L. A. progressives first learned through an announcement at the GUARDIAN ball of the sneak attack on eight L. A. teachers, which came as a week-end surprise as the American Civil Liberties Union was in process of testing the Dilworth law's constitutionality. Attorney William Esterman of Altadena is directing the defense of the eight teachers.

In San Francisco-Oakland, huge fight-back meetings backed up the victims of the Velde inquisition, which left town after a week of blistering counter-attack by most of those summoned.

THE GUARDIAN, too, got into the Bay Area battle by being banned for the second time in three years from the University of California bookstore at Berkeley. Campus subscribers were fighting the ban when the holidays intervened. More on this when the battle recommences in January.
—JOHN T. McMANUS

• THE WHOLE GUARDIAN STAFF would like nothing better than to get around this country meeting all our readers personally. Since we all can't do this, we have sent you a Holiday Letter, which tells you how things stand. For those who get their GUARDIAN on newsstands (or who mis-lay letters) here's the pitch:

THE BRIDGEPORT STORY

What happens to an American boom city when the cold war gets hold

By the Bridgeport Guardian Club
(We publish with special pleasure this article about life as it looks today to ordinary working people in a fairly typical American industrial community. It was written as a joint effort by members of the Bridgeport Guardian Club. We invite Guardian groups in other communities to follow Bridgeport's lead in short articles dealing with the general community situation or a particular current situation.)

BRIDGEPORT is the industrial capital of Connecticut. Industries range from the production of minute textiles or electrical supplies to metal castings and large tools and automatic machinery. As in many industrial communities throughout the nation, there was a recession before the Korean War. With the war, Bridgeport once more became a "boom town" with many government defense contracts coming this way.

However, the cost of living started to soar; and for many working-class families, overtime or two jobs to meet expenses and pay bills, or to keep up installment payments on automobiles, TV sets, etc., became the order of the day. The 8-hour day became a myth.

FAMILY BREAKDOWNS: Statistics are not available to show what percentage of the workers hold two jobs, or what kinds of jobs, if they hold two. But those to whom we have talked indicate that where they hold factory jobs at night, they very often do odd jobs for neighbors during the day. Some hold a job in one factory at night and in another during the day. Some stretch the day job out until it becomes another job at night.

The toll on family life is all too apparent. During this period, more and more parents saddled with two jobs were appealing to social agencies for help to prevent family breakdowns. Mothers worn out with the care of children during the day could no longer expect husbands to take on their share of responsibility for the home and children as before. Resentments mounted until one or the other threatened to leave home, and many did carry out their threats. Fathers, harassed and fatigued, were finding escape in bars despite the fact that extra money was needed to support their families.

CHILD VICTIMS: As usual, children have become the first casualty of the cold war. Feeling unwanted and uncared for, they, too, have found their escape—as is reflected in the increase of juvenile delinquency. This is a national phenomenon. Since the Ko-

rean War started, statistics show that in Connecticut there was an increase of 10% with Bridgeport the third highest. In 1952, there was an increase of 7% and in the number of neglected children, 15%—again with Bridgeport running third. The 1952 Juvenile Court Report for the state of Connecticut



Canard Enchaîné, Paris
SCHOOLS INSTEAD OF GRAVES

gives the following reasons for this:

"1952 found as many mothers working outside their homes, presumably to balance the family budget, as was true of 1951; it also saw a continuation of the influx of transient families hopefully seeking to benefit themselves from jobs supposedly available through Connecticut's defense economy.

"The unresolved conflict between their economic and social needs has harassed many of these families with, as always, their children as the principal casualties."

VANISHED 8-HR. DAY: It should be noted that very often where there are two jobs in a family, one of them is held by the mother, which increases difficulties in the supervision of children.

These are the parents who do not understand that the economic system is the cause of their problems. These are the parents who write bitter and resentful letters to the local press when the union calls a strike for better pay and better working conditions. Their first concern is loss of overtime or loss of one of their two jobs. Few ask any longer what happened to the 8-hr. day.

Since the end of the Korean War, the situation has become worse. Lay-offs are increasing: 200 have been laid off at Avco, because the company is reducing production of jet planes. Not only is this true in war industry; 600 are about to be laid off at GE, since the company is no longer going to produce the "wringer-washer."

Will the workers now feel it is necessary to have another war so they can continue working, or will they ask the basic question: "Why can't we have peace and jobs?"

Contrary to law and history

Following are excerpts from an editorial in the Denver Post (11/12/53):

SEN. McCARTHY and others have helped create in the public mind the impression that anyone who uses the right to refuse to testify must be guilty per se. Such an impression is contrary to sense, law and history.

Is it reasonable to suppose the framers of the constitution put in it a provision which would protect only the guilty—a protection the innocent would never need? And what value would the right of refusal to testify have if the use of that right were no more than silent confession of guilt?

If a witness declines, on the ground of possible self-incrimination, to say whether he has ever been a Communist, he may then be asked whether he ever was a spy, whether he ever stole secret documents, whether he ever passed secret documents to Communist agents.

When he is through refusing to answer those additional questions on the ground of possible "self-incrimination" his character has been pretty well blackened by inference and the headlines proclaim "Blank Refuses to

Say if He Was Spy." What protection has the 5th amendment been to him?

Those who find fault with the fifth amendment keep asking, "If a man is not a Communist how could he possibly incriminate himself by saying he is not?" There are many possibilities, if we want to get into conjecture.

He might, for example, know that someone had accused him of being a Communist and he may fear that if he answers the question he may find himself facing a perjury trial with his word pitted against that of his accuser. In such a circumstance the prudent course might be to refuse. . . .

But those who take the position that only the guilty need the protection of the fifth amendment must, to be consistent, take the additional position that innocent persons are never falsely accused and suspected. . . .

However, if Congress should try to drive from private employment persons who have invoked the fifth amendment, the right to refuse to testify would become meaningless. And the next easy step could be the establishment of a police state, complete with wire tapping on all telephones.

Fifth Amendment

(Continued from Page 1)

Though wiretapping by Federal law is illegal, the government has long engaged in the unlawful practice. Brownell recently told the Jenner investigating committee that he has several spy cases he can't prosecute because "some of the important evidence was obtained by wiretapping."

THE COPLON CASE: Recently it has been hinted that Judith Coplon might be brought to trial again for espionage if wiretap evidence is made legal. All of the "evidence" in the Coplon case was obtained through wiretaps—at one time 46 FBI agents were occupied full-time monitoring her phones and that of the Russian charged as her co-conspirator. But even if the evidence had been legal, the government could not have made the convictions stick.

The Washington conviction in the case was reversed because the FBI had

"In the Coplon case, wiretapping was unnecessary. Coplon and Gubitchev did not communicate by telephone. The reasoning of the two Circuit Courts would have called for reversal even if wiretapping were legal."

Stone concludes that wiretapping "won't catch spies, but it will police thoughts."

As it is, few people in the U.S. today trust their telephones for a discussion of the private affairs. In New York State, where wiretapping is legal through court permission, at least 58,000 permits to tap wires in New York City alone were issued in 1952.

LAST PROTECTION: As for amending the Fifth Amendment by granting "immunity" to witnesses, thereby forcing them to talk or go to jail, this will strip from the individual the last remaining protection against the inquisitors, and the Star Chamber, outlawed in 1641, will be restored to legality.

There are few freedoms left in the Eisenhower-McCarthy scheme of things; if the Brownell laws are enacted, the remaining shreds will be gone.

As one of Walt Kelly's Pogo-people in the Okefenokee swamp said recently: "My freedoms is as academic as they come."

Bring articles like this into the homes of more people who need facts with which to work for peace and a better America. GET ONE NEW GUARDIAN READER THIS WEEK.



Herb Block in Washington Post
"Anytime you guys are ready for the second half."

listened in to conversations between Miss Coplon and her lawyer—this would still be illegal even if wiretapping wasn't. The New York conviction was reversed because the arrest itself—made without a warrant—was illegal and because the defense was denied evidence held by the government. Judge Sylvester Ryan said:

"Careful study of the information obtained on all these interceptions [wiretaps] reveals that at no time was a conversation between Coplon and Gubitchev intercepted; that at no time was either defendant heard to mention the name of the other; that the existence of the alleged conspiracy was never discussed in the slightest manner."

THOUGHT POLICE: As I. F. Stone points out in his Weekly for Dec. 7:

Most of the world

In order to read newspapers, work on peace committees, raise children, work in schools, live in communities—and just to live—we need to know, for an adequate frame of reference, that most of the world:

- Lives in Asia;
 - Is non-white;
 - Is abysmally, abjectly poor;
 - Is ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed, illiterate, and ill. (On a world-wide program against malaria, TB, VD, yaws, cholera, smallpox and plague, the World Health Org. spends 1/2 as much as New York City spends to clear the streets after a snow-storm);
 - Is underdeveloped, lacks tools and methods of production;
 - Is non-Christian. (We must learn to think in terms of Hindus, Muslims, Communists and others);
 - Is non-English-speaking;
 - Is either in revolution or has recently attained independence;
 - Lives under a different form of government, "left" of where we are (we are regarded as conservative and orthodox);
 - Differs from us. (We must learn to associate differences with friendliness rather than hostility);
 - Is closely interdependent. ("Going it alone" is not possible);
 - Is now working together in the UN. (We must teach, nurture and strengthen internationalism and support of UN).
- Dr. Leonard S. Kenworthy, Brooklyn College Prof. of Education, in address to the Friends (Quakers) Peace Committee 1953 conference.

You too can be a Guardian Angel

"The GUARDIAN has always been able to count on you in the past. So we make this request of you now, for the New Year:

"Please join the GUARDIAN's 'Buck-of-the-Month' sustaining group for '54. You will receive a postage-paid envelope with a reminder each month, and of course your pledge will cover your sub renewal for a full year."

GRATIFYING returns from our 1953 Holiday Letters to all readers

WEEKLY GUARDIAN ASSOCIATES, INC.
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I pledge \$1 \$2 \$5 \$10 \$... monthly to the Guardian Sustaining Fund. I understand this pledge automatically renews my subscription for another year.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY, ZONE, STATE

LOOKING AHEAD FROM NOVEMBER'S ELECTIONS

How are Negro candidates doing?

By Eugene Gordon

NEGROES in five N. Carolina municipalities were elected to city councils last spring. One was elected to the Atlanta, Ga., Board of Education. The victories came largely from Negroes' efforts to reassert their right—lost in the South when the Reconstruction governments were overthrown 80-odd years ago—to hold as well as to vote for elective public office. All the winners were Democrats.

Negro winners in the nationwide elections last Nov. 3 were both Democrats and Republicans, so—according to the influential Negro weekly Pittsburgh Courier (11/14)—“political leaders of both parties” are looking for a “trend” toward 1955-56. The Courier, which helped Eisenhower, showed its desire for a Republican trend but added:

“From New York’s Harlem, where a Negro, Hulan Jack, was elected for the first time in the history of the city as President of the Borough of Manhattan, to Chicago, where GOP swept the judicial contest, contradictions in the voting pattern are becoming more and more apparent.”

WHITES CROSSING LINES: The Courier quoted Washington “analysts” as interpreting New York’s and Pittsburgh’s Negro vote as “safely in the Democratic column” but Philadelphia’s as “swinging back into the Republican column.” The “analysts” did not see the “largely Democratic” Negro vote of Detroit and Dayton “important enough to swing a close election, when white voters cross party lines to defeat Negro candidates.” In Cleveland and Chicago, however, the Negro vote was believed strong enough to elect Republicans.

The election picture seen by the Negro press as a whole is that white voters tended toward crossing party lines to elect, rather than to defeat, qualified Negro candidates. The N. Y. Amsterdam News (11/7) in its “Our People—Pages From History” cartoon carried likenesses of P. B. S. Pinchback and Blanch K. Bruce, Acting Governor of Louisiana and U. S. Senator from Mississippi under Reconstruction, reminding readers that Negroes once were elected to high office. Neither Pinchback and Bruce nor any one of the many other Negroes could have been elected during that period without the white vote.

CINCY’S “PROBLEM”: Albert J. Danmore for the Associated Negro Press (11/21) reported:

“Cincinnati, the nation’s southern-



“Let’s Walk Together”—by Charles White

This is one of six prints in a portfolio by the distinguished Negro artist which has been brought out by the publication Masses & Mainstream, 832 Broadway, N. Y. C. The prints are beautifully done on heavy white stock good for framing; they are 13 x 18 inches. The portfolio is \$3. Rockwell Kent said of White’s work: “Peace, love, hope, faith, beauty, dignity: These are ideas; they are, as words, abstractions from the human entity. Charles White has re-embodied them.”

most Northern city, or northernmost Southern city, according to the way you look at it, is faced with the problem of whether to elect the first Negro mayor of a major municipality. Center of the controversy is Atty. Theodore Berry, militant and progressive young Negro, who, in being elected to his third term to the 9-man Council, led the Charterite Party in the election two weeks ago. The Charterites, a fusion, good-government party composed of New Deal Democrats, independent Republicans, and those who will tell you they are of liberal leanings . . . captured the majority in the Council seating, with five of their candidates winning as against four Republicans.”

Cincinnati operates on the city management plan. It names as mayor that member of the majority party who polled the biggest vote. Berry ran first. Only three times since 1925 has the man who got most votes not been elected mayor when the City Council is reorganized, as it is every two years, on

Dec. 1. The top man on each of these occasions was offered the post; he stepped aside for the man who finally served as council presiding officer. Berry is 47, is married, has two children, and is a successful lawyer. He led the fight which defeated Republican efforts a few years ago to kill proportional representation.

A columnist in the Cincinnati Post purports to think the Charterites party “would be destroyed by prejudice and [that] the light of good government would fail” if Berry were named mayor. An “outstanding community leader” (otherwise unidentified) among many white supporters is quoted as believing “. . . Ted Berry to be entitled to the mayor’s seat in our City Council, not only because he led our ticket in the count, but chiefly because he has proved himself to be thoughtful, constructive, able, and dedicated to the welfare of our whole city. . . .”

The problem was finally solved, according to later reports, by Berry’s

declining to press for the post and accepting, instead, leadership of a committee and \$1,000 salary boost. The mayoralty went to the one who had the longest tenure in office.

5-STATE VICTORS: The Negro vote helped to return Philadelphia to the GOP; in Cleveland 3 of 4 Negro wards voted against the winning Democratic candidate for mayor, Anthony Celebrezze, but helped elect four Negro Republican councilmen. Negro electors in Toledo swept out of office five first-year Republican councilmen who had shown preference for jimcrow public housing. Negro and white votes returned Toledo’s Negro councilman, James B. Simmons.

Pittsburgh sent William P. Young, a Negro Republican, to the city council; New Haven’s 19th ward elected three Negroes—as alderman, selectman, and constable. Here is a national breakdown of Negro victors in city elections:

NEW YORK: Hulan E. Jack, pres., Borough of Manhattan; Francis E. Rivers, Judge, City Court; Lewis Flagg, Judge, Brooklyn Municipal Court; Earl Brown, City Council, N. Y. C. (Walter H. Gladwin was elected as the first Negro Assemblyman from the Bronx.)

NEW JERSEY: Edward T. Bowser, state assembly; James Hunt, Monmouth county, coroner.

CONNECTICUT: James Keyes, alderman, and Howard Moore, selectman, New Haven.

OHIO: James B. Simmons Jr., city council, Toledo; J. Welby Brodus, school board, Dayton; Theodore M. Berry, John W. Kellogg, Charles V. Carr, Mrs. Jean Capers, Cleveland, city council.

PENNSYLVANIA: J. Amos Harris, magistrate, Philadelphia.

THROUGH THE SMOKE: The Baltimore Afro-American (11/21) said editorially that President Eisenhower “wisely interpreted” New York and New Jersey GOP defeats “as meaning that the American people didn’t want to go back to 1892.” The people “only await the bold leadership they thought they were getting when they placed Mr. Eisenhower in the White House last year.” Afro columnist Cliff W. Mackay, too, indicated that if there is a trend toward 1955-56 it is guided by a desire to vote for men, regardless of party, who the Negro believes will help him:

“The smokescreen laid down by [Atty. Gen.] Brownell is not thick enough to hide unfulfilled Republican campaign promises. It will not balance the budget. Farmers, caught up in the price squeeze, know that such an issue offers them no relief. City dwellers are painfully aware that the cost of living is higher than ever, despite solemn GOP pledges. . . . Without Democratic help the forward-looking program Mr. Eisenhower has promised . . . is doomed. . . . Without . . . such a progressive program the Republicans can abandon all hope of winning in 1954 and two years later.”

Trenton Six doctor is still harrassed

DR. J. MINOR SULLIVAN 3d was the young Negro physician of Mercer County, N. J., who testified for prosecutor Mario H. Volpe at the two Trenton Six trials in 1948 and 1951 as to the condition of the six Negroes when they signed “confessions” that they murdered junk-dealer William Horner. The Six repudiated the “confessions” but were sentenced to death; Dr. Sullivan, testifying on the facts at the first trial, said he found no bruises on them after they signed. Asked for “opinions” at the second trial, his testimony that at least one of the Six appeared to have been drugged was largely responsible for four of the Six going free. Two got jail terms.

Collis English, the defendant to whose serious heart condition Sullivan had testified, died in jail; Ralph Cooper became eligible for parole. The famous

case was closed—save for what Trenton’s Rev. A. S. Grayson this month called a continuing “official harassment” of Dr. Sullivan. Volpe’s office issued a perjury warrant against Sullivan “on the day before Christmas Eve of last year, when lawyers and judges were taking holidays”; a second warrant for false swearing was issued “last Thanksgiving Day eve, when court processes were suspended for the holiday” (Baltimore Afro-American, 12/19).

NO REGRETS: The minister, urging dismissal of the indictments, said he was

“. . . speaking not only for myself but for the deacons of [Union Baptist] church and the entire congregation of 1,500 persons. . . . We know that Dr. Sullivan is a Christian gentleman . . . and believe he is being unjustly persecuted. I have known [him] seven years, since he first came to Trenton. . . . He has been a trustee of my church for three years. He is a man who tells the truth and who is faithful to the high ideals of his profession.”

Dr. Sullivan in a phone conversation with the GUARDIAN acknowledged that he stuck his neck out, said: “I do not regret having been brought into the case.” He wants all to understand that an indictment is no proof of guilt and that, “as my civil rights are being interfered with, this fight ceases to be

just Sullivan’s.”

Last week a committee, including the Trenton NAACP and other community organizations, was formed to support

the physician. Pastor Grayson appealed for help to all churches in the Inter-denominational Ministerial Alliance. “so that justice may prevail.”

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray Street, New York 7, N. Y.

The little pilgrim's guide to capitalism

WASHINGTON—Republicans can also point with pride to the national unemployment figure—1,162,000 in October. That was the lowest since the end of World War II.

—Toronto Daily Star, Nov. 2

FINGERS IN THE GRAVY BOWL

Impy-Wagner deal is floated to care for retiring Mayor; Gerosa settles his city claim

IN THE MIDST of the electoral campaign Mayor Impellitteri was reported concerned about security in his declining years. In October, when the decline seemed certain, he was said to be bargaining for two more years of municipal employment to be eligible for a pension.

The Mayor is 53. If still on the job at 55, he can retire on a pension of \$20,000 a year. His place at the gravy bowl can be assured only by his allegedly bitter and victorious rival, Mayor-elect Wagner. This is the deal now being offered:

• Impellitteri to be named Commissioner of the Board of Water Supply (\$15,000 a year). This would not only assure him his pension but put him in a bargaining position for a Supreme Court seat. (At the patronage trough it is proper to bid for higher jobs only when leaving a spot open for some deserving machine man.)

• In return for this favor to Impellitteri, Special Sessions Justice Hyman Barshay, elected to the Supreme Court last November, would hold off his resignation from the lower

court until Jan. 1, leaving Wagner a juicy plum (\$19,500 a year) to hand out.

Trial balloons on the deal were floated as columnists' items throughout last week, presumably testing what some Wagner advisers feared might be "violent public reaction."

GEROSA SETTLES: The campaign had other echoes last week. In October Vito Marcantonio, then chairman of the American Labor Party, disclosed that Lawrence Gerosa, then running for the controllership, was suing the city for \$490,000 in connection with the Queens subway extension where the Gerosa Construction Co. claimed it had found unexpected underground water conditions, upping the cost. In an out-of-court settlement, Marcantonio pointed out, Gerosa would have to dicker with the controller, probably himself. It is a misdemeanor for any public official to be personally interested in a lawsuit against the city.

Last week Gerosa quietly settled his claim for \$60,000 in a

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

WAR ON THE WATERFRONT

Lewis entry on eve of election heightens drama on the docks

THE waterfront last week was a stage carefully set and dramatically spotlighted for the entrance into New York of labor's most gifted actor, John L. Lewis.

Up to then the stage had been filled with talent, mediocre even in supporting roles: Joseph P. Ryan, played out; his successor in the Intl. Longshoremen's Assn., tugboat Capt. Wm. Bradley, bit player when Ryan held the stage; the strong-arm men Dave Beck of the AFL Teamsters and Paul Hall of the AFL Seafarers' Intl. Union miscast as heroes.

The real drama had been kept off-stage: the battle of the longshoremen for a decent union and against the unprecedented registration and regimentation of dock workers under the bi-state commission. The old ILA had taken a firm stand against the commission, challenged it in the courts. The AFL-ILA opened its campaign by conferring with Gov. Dewey, pledged co-operation with the commission, slightly modified that pledge when longshoremen's anger became obvious.

The AFL-ILA appealed to longshoremen not to clean their union but to desert it.

BAILED OUT: Where were the longshoremen to go? The rank and file, though angry, were disorganized. Natl. Labor Relations Board election was set for last Tuesday. The script plainly called for a hero.

A week earlier there were rumors. John L. Lewis had been seen conferring with Ryan in a Manhattan Hotel (GUARDIAN, 12/21); then rumors were confirmed that Lewis' resourceful United Mine Workers had bailed out the bankrupt (more accurately, well-milked) ILA with a \$50,000 campaign fund. Organizers were quickly hired and sped to the waterfront where AFL sound trucks were already patrolling, broadcasting messages like these: "We don't want the ILA; we just want to work like decent men." To many longshoremen the AFL-ILA sounded outright anti-union.

"VERY WELL FIXED": A day before the balloting Lewis held

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)



Young China vs. Chiang on Mott St.

The plush On Leong Tong House (r.), Canal and Mott Sts., flies Chiang Kai-shek's flag symbolizing the machine of the transplanted war lords. Their weapon: terror. Their ally: the U. S. Department of Immigration. Few New Yorkers sense the shadow hanging over their hand laundries, where parents work and children play (l.).

THE LONG ARM OF CH'EN LI-FU

40,000 Chinese in N. Y. live in fear of Chiang's U.S.-backed hatchet man

By Elmer Bendiner

THIS is a picture of the man who bosses the 40,000 Chinese in New York: "His sleep was untroubled by the screams of those who suffered in Kuomintang concentration camps or by the terrors his police imposed on liberals."

The easy sleeper: Ch'en Li-fu. Two reporters, Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, thus described him (in *Thunder Over China*, Wm. Sloane Associates, 1946), when he was Minister of Organization in Chiang Kai-shek's regime. He and his older brother Ch'en Kuo-fu headed the faction in the Kuomintang known as the CC. The initials stood originally for Central Clique, came later to stand more ominously for the two Ch'ens. They led a faction as far to the right as the Kuomintang would go, a scourge for "liberal" wings of the KMT.

Ch'en Li-fu was graduated from the University of Pittsburgh and returned to China fanatically devoted to medievalism in Chinese politics. His job was to apply the bludgeon and the gag. He ran the Kuomintang's secret police force, the schools and the press.

HIGH ON THE HOG: When Chiang Kai-shek took refuge in Formosa some of his politicians followed him there but many of the top brass with a taste for high living, an eye for a good investment or a diplomatic mission settled down close to where Chiang's money comes from: New York.

Ex-cabinet ministers like T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung and Mrs. Chiang Kai-shek herself settled down in plush circumstances in Riverdale. (Mrs. Chiang, doing nicely, announced last week she would shortly put up for sale an office building she owned in the city.)

Ch'en Li-fu moved into a country house near Lakewood, N. J., far from Chinatown's

tenements and twisting streets. When he and the transplanted Kuomintang machine undertook to control New York's Chinese he used the tools he knew in China. He has the party headquarters, a shabby building at 167 Canal Street, shared with a dentist. On the third and fourth floors faded blue and white signs in Chinese and English proclaim Chiang's party.

THE TONGS: Across the street and down a block, at Canal and Mott Sts., stands a glittering new building looking somewhat like a Howard John-

son's restaurant topped by a garish pagoda, over which fly the U. S. flag and the red flag with the sun in the center, the KMT banner. The building is partly a restaurant for tourists, partly the headquarters of the On Leong Tong.

The On Leong along with the Hip Sing Tong control the businessmen of the Chinese community. Once the Tongs did it by blackmail, terror and murder. Now they are slicker businessmen's associations but their officials, mostly high KMT figures, reportedly take a handsome profit from gambling in the community and transmit to the city's Chinese the directives of the Riverdale and Lakewood set.

THEIR BIG BUDDY: The strongest ally that Ch'en has in New York (as it was in the old days in China) is the U. S. government. His bludgeon is jail or deportation—not to China, but to Formosa, which most of the Chinese here have never seen. What gives the Kuomintang power is the vague status in which Chinese in this country are kept. Exclusion acts of varying intensity past and present have forced many Chinese to enter this country under uncertain terms, subject to legal harassment of many kinds.

The government currently has thousands of Chinese awaiting deportation hearings. (One lawyer admitted to the GUARDIAN he had made \$40,000 in two years defending Chinese deportation cases at \$350 each.) Chinese who have been in the country seven years now can apply to the government for full legal status.

IF SO, WHY? When they apply they must fill out a form which has its own \$64 questions. These concern the two rallying points of resistance to the Kuomintang in New York: the *China Daily News* and the



MRS. CHIANG Formosa was so dull

(Continued on Page N. Y. 3)

WILL YOU TANGO

with us, Angel,
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WINTER BALL

Thursday, Feb. 11
at Manhattan Center

"Prof" Allan Trosser
and his Orchestra



TRANSIT STRIKE UNLIKELY

Quill quickly cools when Wagner whistles

GOP mayoralty candidate Harold Riegelman predicted throughout the campaign that if Wagner won, Michael Quill, pres. of the CIO Transport Workers Union, would be the power behind the throne. Last week it seemed he had the thrones and powers mixed; Wagner looked more like the power behind Quill's throne in the union.

Two weeks ago Quill stalked out of a bargaining session with the Transit Authority, announcing that unless the TA came to terms the subways would not run on New Year's Day. Sept. 17 at St. Nicholas Arena Quill told a membership meeting of 4,000 that no law could force workers to work without a contract. (The TWU's expires Dec. 31.)

Behind Quill was a banner which read: "No contract; no work 12:01 AM, Jan. 1." With characteristic vigor he was urging a resolution in support of that slogan when a long telegram arrived from Wagner calling the projected strike "intolerable," and asking that the dispute be left up to a fact-finding commission if no agreement came by New Year's.

LOOKING FOR FACTS: Quill instantly announced support of Wagner's demand; the union administration thereupon won a standing vote for fact-finding instead of strike. Earlier Quill had allowed himself an out



Drawing by Fred Wright
"How long are we going to permit this union to represent the workers who vote for it?"

from strike talk by saying that the major point at issue with the TA was: Would any gains recommended by the fact-finders be made retroactive to Jan. 1? The oratory, like the banner on the dais, apparently was for decoration only.

The TWU is demanding a 25c-an-hour raise, longer vacations and improved working conditions. Other unions in

transport, though smaller, are asking considerably more. The AFL Amalgamated Assn. of Street, Electric, Railway & Motor Coach Employees, representing 2,146 bus drivers in Queens and Staten Island, is demanding a 39c raise. The independent Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, representing 2,000 subway motormen, is asking 46c.

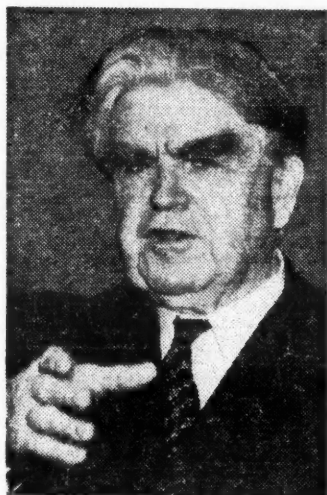
Waterfront

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

an hour-and-a-quarter session with Capt. Bradley (with advance notice to reporters and photographers). Bradley did most of the talking, announced: "Our financial worries are over, and we're very well fixed to face the future." He said he favored ILA affiliation with the UMW, probably through the handy catch-all District 50.

As balloting began on the piers Tuesday morning few doubted that the independent ILA would win. Even without Lewis' entrance the AFL-ILA was unlikely to get far. If the ILA won and then joined Lewis' camp it could open up for the rank and file its most hopeful prospect. Lewis has been tough (with his rank and file and with the bosses alike); but he has led the miners up from serfdom. He is tied to no political machine; is the nation's sole hold-out against the Taft-Hartley Act, having refused to sign a non-communist oath though his non-communism is undisputed. He is likely to lead a head-on fight against the waterfront commission. Affiliation with the miners brings the longshoremen out of isolation (up to now the prime reason advanced for deserting the disinherited ILA.)

A NEW FORCE: To Lewis the longshoremen would offer access to New York. (Dist 50, UMW, had tried to organize taxi drivers here before but had failed.) It might lay the groundwork for a powerful federation that could bargain successfully with AFL and CIO leaders for labor unity, a long-standing Lewis plank. Rumors have circulated of possible Lewis overtures to the CIO Steelworkers and the AFL Teamsters. Longshore, steel, coal and truck transport, joined



JOHN L. LEWIS
The orphans' friend

into one federation, could be labor's strongest striking force.

These factors were far more important than the personal satisfaction Lewis would get from the disappointments of AFL pres. George Meany. In the crisis Meany assailed not only the ILA but the NLRB for holding an election at all. AFL had urged that the ILA be struck from the ballot as a tool of the Shipping Assn. The shippers had pressed for a quick election before Lewis entered the picture, confident they could deal either with the old ILA as they had always done, or with the AFL-ILA.

"FOR YOUR OWN SAKES": The shippers had no comment on Lewis, but the Daily News gave this "Tip to the longshoremen: For your own sakes, better vote AFL-ILA."

The News advised shippers, the Waterfront Commission and Wagner to halt "John L. Lewis' invasion," adding: "The time to start planning the counter-attack is now."

SCHOOLS' MR. X

The brainwash sponsor named

WHEN Chairman of the Board of Higher Education Cavallaro said he favored accepting an offer of a "Mr. X," to pay for distribution to college teachers of a pamphlet on "communist conspirators," three college presidents said they would take no gifts from strange men. The GUARDIAN (12/14) pointed out possible legal pitfalls unless the anonymous donor were shown to be somebody having no personal interest in public contracts.

Hamilton A. Long, author of the pamphlet, "Permit Communist-conspirators to Be Teachers?" last week pulled back the curtain on "Mr. X." He is Robertson Coe, wealthy insurance executive, with interests in railways and coal but apparently none in city contracts. Long said he hoped the college presidents would now accept. Elementary and H.S. are to receive the pamphlets at taxpayers' expense.

Evil, period

NEW YORK, N. Y.

It would be political madness if the American Labor Party were to endorse a "progressive" for governor next year instead of nominating its own candidate.

We tried time and again to choose the "Lesser Evil," and all we got was evil. Marcantonio resigned from the ALP. That was a grievous loss but not necessarily fatal. We still have the principles for which we fought—noble and worthwhile principles. Let us keep on fighting and working for Peace, Plenty, for the dignity of man, regardless of color, race, religion and national origin, and as a party in all respects.

The present greed and madness of our governing forces will surely give way before the courageous onward march of a well-organized ALP, bringing the truth to a somewhat frightened and bewildered people.

Joseph S. Klein

NEW YORK CALENDAR

BETTY SANDERS leads the Double Holiday Fun at Film's Division weekly SURPRISE PARTY. Free food. Social refreshments, and a surprise package. Sat., Dec. 26, 9 p.m., at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Contribution: \$1.

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RESTAURANT

ATTENTION FOOD LOVERS! Come to All Nations Rendezvous, 171 Sullivan St., featuring foreign menus, international holidays. Call for menu guide and reservations: GR 7-4431. Dinners \$2.25-\$3.50. Closed Mon., Tues. Open 5 p.m. till midnight. Special holiday dinners.

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Help Wanted

GUARDIAN ANGELS WANTED. Volunteers to help with office work. With or without typing. Half days, whole days, hours, regularly each week. Angels please call **GUARDIAN, Worth 4-3960.**

40,000 Chinese

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)
Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance.

Questions asked are: "Do you read the *China Daily News* and if so, why? Do you know the *China Daily News* supports the new government in China? Are you a member of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance? Why aren't you a member of the Chinese Hand Laundry Assn? [controlled by the KMT.] Where do you have your income tax forms and license renewal forms made out?"

The last two questions are aimed at the Alliance, which keeps clerical help and an accountant in busy seasons, working at its headquarters, 191 Canal St., to assist members in filling out necessary legal papers. Alliance fees are nominal; commercial fees for the same service exorbitant. The KMT's Hand Laundry Assn. offers no help whatever. The Alliance also assists members when they tangle with their landlords, arranging their legal defense if necessary. At one time half of the city's 4,000 hand laundrymen were in the Alliance.

THE PRESS WAR: Intimidation by KMT, the tongs, the press and the Immigration Dept. have cut deeply into the ranks, though it is still larger than the KMT's group. The KMT's war against the *China Daily News* is sharper, more violent, follows the pattern laid down by Ch'en Li-fu in dealing with the press in China.

The *News* was founded in 1940 by a staff willing to work at little or no wages for a paper committed to only one policy: drive the Japanese out of China. By the war's end the *News* had the largest circulation of any Chinese daily in the City (there are four).

On Dec. 2, 1950, KMT and Tong officials who head the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Assn. met in Chinatown and launched a boycott of the *China Daily News*.

The other Chinese papers, all supporting one faction or another within the KMT, with one eye to profits as well as politics, took up the crusade and refused to deal with stands carrying the *News*. Jan. 25, 1951, was a night of terror in Chinatown with newsstands overturned by what the *China Tribune* called "patriotic youngsters." The *Tribune* reported: "Then the youngsters who had broken up the newsstand of Chan, 'the dog' [a news-



CORLISS LAMONT GETS CITATION
On Dec. 15 the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee honored Dr. Corliss Lamont as a "courageous and uncompromising supporter of the Bill of Rights for all." The citation is being presented (above) to Dr. Lamont (l.) by Prof. Fowler Harper of Yale Law School.

dealer who sold the *China Daily News* went to the newsstand at Canal St. and warned the newsdealer who in turn said something carelessly, whereupon he was beaten by one of the youngsters and, as a result, his nose was bleeding. All those who have heard the news are very, very happy."

THE INDICTMENT: Then followed a campaign by telephone and personal visit to *China Daily News* advertisers, threats to picket or worse if they did not cancel their ads. Subscribers reported visits by "strangers flashing badges."

In April, 1952, a grand jury indicted the paper, its editor Eugene Moy (a U.S. citizen), several other staff members and two Hong Kong banks. The charge: violation of the Trading With the Enemy Act. The facts: the *China Daily News* had printed advertisements for Hong Kong banks offering to transmit money from overseas Chinese to their families at home.

The English language press, which had ignored the KMT's terror in Chinatown, featured the age-old custom of sending money home as a "diabolically clever scheme."

THE QUESTION: A Chinese laundryman, Ching Wong, allegedly went mad in Dec., 1951, and according to police, threw cleavers at them. They shot him, then announced he had been driven insane by "extortion demands." The *N. Y. Times* (12/9/51) headlined the story: "CHINESE EXTORTION BRINGS DEATH HERE—Worried Laundryman Turns on Police and is Slain—Gouge Put at Million a Month." The more

MOBILE THEATER PRESENTS

Karen Morley and Tony Kraber in 'The Madwoman of Chaillot'



TONY KRABER

sensational press took up where the *Times* left off, kept up a running fire until the indictment. Then the heat was off; it had served a purpose devised by Ch'en Li-fu of Lakewood.

The *China Daily News* keeps coming out, supported by 2,000 unshakable readers, sold on street corners by newshawkers boycotted by all other Chinese papers. In January the case is to come before the U.S. Federal Court. The issues: how long is the reach of the KMT? Is the Chiang Kai-shek approach to press censorship by way of the stormtrooper to be a precedent for U.S.? How liberate Chinatown from Formosa?

Politics

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)
bargain with the outgoing controller.

THE XMAS TREE: At City Hall the lame-duck Board of Estimate busily ground out \$100,000 in pay raises for a handful of incoming politicians and their appointees. Economy expert Luther Gulick, the new city administrator, will receive \$30,000 a year; his first deputy, \$22,500; two other deputies, \$20,000 each. Louis Cohen, who filled the trough as patronage dispenser for Mayor O'Dwyer and Impellitteri, will take over as dep. controller at \$17,500—a \$5,000 raise for the job.

The Board was also reported wrapping a Christmas gift for private bus companies in the form of a fare rise to 12 or 13c (Fifth Av. Coach Co. to 15c) and some reduction in franchise tax rates. When an arbitration board, set up after last January's bus strike, awarded the workers a raise, the companies were granted a \$619,000

tax remission and plainly promised a fare boost. In deference to campaigners the boost was put off until after election day.

The boost would go into effect as soon as Wagner approved; the outgoing administration wanted him plainly tagged with it. The *N. Y. Times* reported the alibi to be offered by Wagner supporters: "While Mr. Wagner stood, during the election campaign, for reduction of the 15c fare set on city-owned lines by the Transit Authority, it is explained that he would not be inconsistent in advocating a 2 to 3c increase in the private lines' fare as compared with the 5c raise imposed by the TA."

Wagner would also have to shoulder full responsibility for the sweeping civil service witch-hunt, launched by the outgoing administration but reportedly with the blessings of the new commissioner of investigations Peter Campbell Brown. State Supreme Court Justice Matthew M. Levy, acting on a plea by the AFL State, County & Municipal Employees, enjoined the probe till Jan. 13.

NEGROES IN THE COLD: Wagner's choices so far have stirred anxiety among Democratic Negro leaders who fear that Negroes may lose rather than gain in representation by appointment. The *Amsterdam News* reported that of 38 City Hall appointments made directly by Wagner not one has been a Negro, and that Wagner plans to drop Second Dep. Controller Col. Chauncey M. Hooper who lost the borough presidency primary to Hulan Jack.

Wagner's most sweeping reform to date seemed to be his retirement of Grover A. Whalen, the city's greeter for 35 years. He will be replaced by diplomat Richard C. Patterson Jr., who in recent years so antagonized the Guatemalan government that it asked for his recall. Whalen, miffed, sought to clear the record before he left. He told reporters it was untrue that on Oct. 3, 1919, Mrs. John F. Hylan, wife of the Mayor, had told the Queen of the Belgians: "You said a mouthful, Queen."

Bring articles like this into the homes of more people who need facts with which to work for peace and a better America.

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Movie Suggestions

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. Magie Horse (Czech full-length cartoon) & Son of All Baba, Dec. 31-Jan. 1.

ART, 26 E. 8th St. Folly To Be Wise (Er. Alistair Sim), from Dec. 26.

BRACON, B'way & 74th. The Robe, Dec. 23-Jan. 5.

BREKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66. Folly To Be Wise (Br.), from Dec. 26.

CINEMA VERDI, 6th Av. & 30th St. La Traviata & Cavalleria Rusticana (It. cast, color premiere), from Dec. 26.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, 85th & Madison. The Cruel Sea (Br.), thru Dec. 26; Little World of Don Camillo (It.), Dec. 27-30.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. Sea Around Us (docum.) & Night Without Stars (Br.), Dec. 25-31; Beggar's Opera (Br.), Jan. 1-7.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. Limelight & Kind Hearts and Coronets: Spice of Life (Fr., Noel Noel), opens Dec. 23.

52D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d St., cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. Conquest of Everest (Br. docum.), cont.

GRAMERCY, Lexington & 23d St. Sea Around Us (docum.) & Night Without Stars (Br.), thru Dec. 29; Promoter (Br., Guinness) & Importance of Being Earnest (Br.), Dec. 30-31; Cruel Sea, Jan. 1-7.

GRAND, 86th nr. Lexington. Red River (west. restored) & Night with Charlie Chaplin, Dec. 29-31; American in Paris & Branded, Jan. 1-4.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. Streetcar Named Desire & Band Wagon (musical), Dec. 27-9.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th. Martin Luther (docum. Br.), cont.; Times Gone By (It.), opens Dec. 29.

HIGHFIVE, 150 Wadsworth Av. Sea Around Us & Night Without Stars, Dec. 25-31.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. Heidi (Swiss, Eng. dubbed) & White Manna, cont.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. Little World of Don Camillo, Dec. 25-31.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. The Little Fugitive (Morris Engel-Ray Ashley Venice winner), cont.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. Captain's Paradise (Br., Guinness), cont.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. Julius Caesar, cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. Top Hat (1935 Rogers-Astaire reissue), cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. Annapurna (mtn.-climbing docum.), cont.

68TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 1164 3d Av. Hans Christian Andersen, Dec. 25-29.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. Chuk and Gek (2 Russ. boys in the Arctic, Venice '53 prize-winner), & Baring Circus Youth, (Moscow circus, color), cont.

STODDARD, B'way & 90th. The Star (B. Davis) & O. Henry's Full House, Dec. 30-Jan. 1.

SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. Disney's Living Desert (full-length docum.), cont.

SYMPHONY, B'way & 95th. Murder on Monday (Br.), & Nothing to Lose, Dec. 26-29.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. Fanfan the Tulip & Justice Is Done (both Fr., an outstanding bill), from Dec. 25.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. Suspicion & 5 Fingers (reissues), Dec. 26; Peter Pan & Golden Blade, Dec. 27-28; Sailor of the King & City of Bad Men, Dec. 31-Jan. 1.

YORKTOWN, B'way & 89th. 3 Girls from Home (It.) & White Hell of Fitz Patu, Dec. 25-31.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse. Little

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A CHRISTMAS GARLAND OF OLD TIME FAVORITES
Including MARY PICKFORD, LIONEL BARRYMORE, JOHN BUNNY, GLORIA SWANSON & FATTY ARBUCKLE, etc., in early one-reelers of slapstick and sentiment.

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DOVER, 1723 Boston Rd. Sea Around Us, Dec. 25-29; Stalag 17, Dec. 30-Jan. 2.

Special

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. 8:30 & 10 p.m., Fri., Sat., Sun. "The Movies & How They Grew" Christmas garland of old-time favorites; M. Pickford, L. Barrymore, Flora Finch, G. Swanson, Fatty Arbuckle, others, in early one-reelers, Dec. 26-27.

Charlie Chaplin film's one immortal: "His New Job," lampoon of Hollywood & 3 other shorts, Jan. 1-3.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily. The Mikado, Kenny Baker & D'Oyly Carte Co. in 1939 G & S production. Dec. 28-Jan. 3.

Citizen Kane (Orson Welles, 1941), Jan. 4-17. One show only, 3 p.m.

Events for Children

Films

AMER. MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. Films at 2 p.m. Dark Rapture, Tues., Dec. 29; The Amazon Awakens, Wed., Dec. 30; Williamsburg Restored, Thurs., Dec. 31; Indians of Our Country, Sat., Jan. 2. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Tues., Dec. 29: Insect Zoo & Snow White and Seven Dwarfs, 11 a.m.; Chinese Firecrackers & Littlest Angel, 2 p.m.; Copper Mining and Smelting & Coronation of Queen Elizabeth (15 min. film), 4 p.m.; Wed., Dec. 30: Poultry on the Farm & Queen Elizabeth, 11 a.m.; Monarch Butterfly Story & Who's Who at the Bronx Zoo, 2 p.m.; The Dutch Way & Littlest Angel, 4 p.m.; Thursday, Dec. 31: Queen Elizabeth & Robin Redbreast, 11 a.m.; 18th Century Life in Williamsburg, Va., 2 p.m.; Littlest Angel & Winter on Farm, 4 p.m.

Plays

THE BLUE BIRD, Children's Drama Guild at N. Y. Turn Hall, 85th St. & Lexington Av. Mon. & Tues., Dec. 28 & 29 at 2:30 p.m. 75c & \$1.

ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, Young People's Theater. Drama Lab Theater, 115 W. 52d St. Shows at 12 noon & 2:30 p.m. Dec. 26 & 27 and Jan. 2 & 3. Reservations: CO 5-8593. \$1 or 75c for groups of 10 or more.

WAGON TRAILS, comedy by Characters Unlimited at the Henry St. Playhouse, 488 Grand St. Sat., Jan. 9, at 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.

Playhouse, 488 Grand St. Sat., Jan. 9, at 3 p.m. Children 10c, adults 60c.

RIP VAN WINKLE, Playmart Children's Theater at Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Jan. all month. Sats. at 1 & 2:45 p.m., Suns. 2:45 p.m. 75c to \$1.20. CI 7-7640.

NOBODY'S RABBIT, Peggy Bridge Marionettes. LeRoy the Magician, variety acts, community sing. Academy of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. B'klyn. Sat., Jan. 9 at 3 p.m. 75c. ST 3-6700.

Miscellaneous

STORY HOUR: B'klyn Children's Museum, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Free. Christmas at the Hollow Tree Inn, Tues., Dec. 29; Mr. Sklip, Wed., Dec. 30; Bakers Dozen, Thurs., Dec. 31. All at 11 a.m.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART, 82d St. & 5th Av. Special exhibits in Junior Museum for children and lectures every Sat. & Sun at 3 p.m. Free.

ICE SKATING at Wollman Memorial Rink, Central Park, nr. 63d St. entrance.

AMER. YOUTH HOSTEL, Metropolitan Council, 344 W. 36th St. LO 3-4289.

HIKE: Beginners hike along Connecticut trails. Meet 8 a.m. at main info booth at Grand Central Station. Sat., Jan. 2. \$2.25.

HIKE: Fourteen miles along the Palisades. For less hardy—eight miles. Meet 9 a.m. at Geo. Wash. Bridge. Bring lunch. Sun., Jan. 3. Open House and folk sing and welcome to new members. Thurs., Jan. 4 at 8:30 p.m. at headquarters.

Skating: First one-day trip. Destination? Cost \$5. Deposit in advance. \$2. Sun., Jan. 10. Make reservations.

Where to Go

Drama

ALL MY SONS, Arthur Miller's 1947 play about a war profiteer. Hudson Guild Community Players. "New York's only non-commercial repertory." 8:40 p.m., Fri., Dec. 18, Tues. & Wed., Dec. 29 & 30. Hudson Guild, 436 W. 27th St. \$1, members 50c.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews interracial theater. 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40 p.m. Reserv. TR 3-4810.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves, mat. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.

OTHELLO, Shakespeare Guild Festival professional repertory. Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St. Thurs.-Sun. eves. 8:40. \$1.20-\$1.80. Sat. mat. 2:40. 78c-\$1.20. TR 9-5480.

N. Y. CITY CENTER, 131 W. 55th St. Tues.-Sun. eves, \$1.20-\$3.60.

EVENING IN THE THEATER

'Madam, Will You Walk'—gay poke at the stodgy habits of mortals

By James Aronson

"MADAM, Will You Walk" is a charming theater piece. In his last play, polished by his friends after his death in 1939, Sidney Howard fashioned a fantasy which pits the Devil (acting for the Chairman of the Board) against a status quo society. The gentleman with horns is dedicated to the "inspiration of the individual man." This takes the form of a plan to bring vaudeville back and help everyone "cut loose." The earthly antagonists hold to the maxim that "happiness comes and goes, but property is property"—and that's life.

The Devil sets out to prove that "man is a law unto himself" and New York, especially up around Central Park, becomes a much pleasanter place. Even a Catholic priest is im-

pressed by the deeds but finds an out. "We saw them," he says, "but we don't believe them—and that's the important thing." The world press is agog; Pravda comments: "He'd only be possible in a decadent society."

TAMMANY—AND AFTER: Mixed into this battle of ethical ideas on the stage of the new Phoenix Theater, 12th St. & 2d Av., are the unworldly daughter of a dead Tammany boss (Jessica Tandy—and lovely indeed), a Tammany judge (Edwin Jerome can be found any day in the flesh in Foley Sq.), a New York cop (John Randolph at his frustrated best), an Irish aunt (Susan Steell never lets her ample person squash the saltiest lines), an orchestra leader (Norman Lloyd being expertly obnoxious), a taxi-driver who tap-dances his way through his dreams, and of course the Devil himself, suavely played by Hume Cronyn.

Robert Emmett keeps the solemn-faced pixy cab-driver nicely in hand—and foot—in a part which Saroyan could never have written. And a loud bravo for Leon Janney as a Night Court magistrate: right out of the best of burlesque in the Bobbie Clark tradition.

The play lacks a bit in subtlety and the ending may be too pat; but it's wonderful fun and a good-hearted kick-off for a new enterprise which is seeking to bring out good new plays and old—at prices within reach (\$3 top). If you want to throw \$7.20 at "Kismet," go ahead, but you'll have a better time on Second Avenue.

MADAM, WILL YOU WALK, by Sidney Howard, presented by T. Edward Hambleton and Norris Houghton, staged by Hume Cronyn and Norman Lloyd. Sets and lighting by Donald Oenslager. Dances by Anna Sokolow. Presented in repertory. John Houseman's production of Shakespeare's "Coriolanus" starring Robt. Ryan will open Jan. 16.

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Trial of Sen. Joseph McCarthy



THE PEOPLE
of the
UNITED STATES
vs.
SEN. MCCARTHY

The indictment of Senator Joseph McCarthy for violation of U.S. Criminal Code Title 18—Section 608; Section 202; Section 205; Section 241 and Section 953; Will Be Heard in the Court of Public Opinion Before the Honorable People of New York.

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REV. WM. H. MELISH HOWARD FAST LOU SPINDELL
ROCKWELL KENT ABRAM FLAXER DR. MELBA PHILLIPS
JAMES ARONSON CHARLES ALLEN, JR.

Chief Prosecution Counsel—FRANK SERRI

Former President Kings County Criminal Court Bar Association

Associate Prosecution Counsel—RUSS NIXON

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BEHIND THE PRESS BLACKOUT ON ITALY

Why 7,000,000 Italian workers struck

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian special correspondent

BERGAMO, ITALY
FOR the second time in three months, more than seven million Italian workers have come out on strike in a demonstration of working-class unity almost unequalled in the Western world.

The strike, which involved industry, government, and public works, took place in two parts. On Dec. 11 state and municipal employes quit their offices, schools and railway depots. Milan's main station, busiest railway centre for all northern Italy, had the ghost-like appearance of a Dali painting in which the artist had got tired of the picture after painting the background. The government-controlled broadcasting service—which for days had threatened strikers with the direst consequences, hoping the majority would be intimidated and a militant minority might thus fall easy prey to discriminatory action—proudly announced that night that "one train had run between Genoa and the French border and two between Genoa and Milan."

This was the entire traffic of which northern Italy could boast during the



Vie Nuove, Rome
"What... firemen at this hour? These common people are becoming more insolent every day. Tell them to come back tomorrow."

from the government, are such that only the most militant there can resist intimidation.

HUNGER IN FIGURES: Bergamo, where I watched the big strike, is a medium-sized industrial centre in Lombardy (pop. 150,000) and one of the region's wealthier towns. Even here, where everybody knows everybody else, the strike was 95% successful. One incident was peculiarly impressive: Bus-drivers—as well as others in essential industries, such as utility workers—had been ordered to resume work after 12 instead of 24 hours, so as to provide evening transport. But when the bus-drivers saw that the private transport company was running scab buses (which had to be brought 45 miles from Cremona), they decided to stay out for the full 24 hours. The scab buses were broken-down and a grave danger to life and limb, the drivers untrained; and—as in France during the great strike in the summer—the bus company lost more goodwill than it made profits.

I asked Pietro Naldini, secy. of the CGIL for Bergamo province, for the main reason which made this protest so united. He gave me a mass of statistics which graphically underline the plight of Italy's working population. Taking merely Bergamo province—which belongs to Italy's wealthier communities, and where chronic unemployment is never below 10% (with never more than one person per family employed)—the average wage for an industrial worker, supporting a wife and two children, was in April and May of this year 25,650 lira—slightly over \$40. Adding family allowances, the worker's total income reached about 35,000 lira (less than \$60) per month, while official cost-of-living index figures in the same period, for

How some stories start

... A broadcast over WPOR two weeks ago under the name of Lt. Robert Darrell [gave] what he said were his experiences as a Navy jet pilot imprisoned by the Reds. ... "Darrell" claimed to have shot down four MiGs in Korea before he was downed himself. He told of being questioned daily in a prison camp by White Russians, of attempts to escape and loss of weight.

... Vernon E. O'Brien Jr., 28, will appear in Federal Court next month on a charge of impersonating a navy lieutenant ... to obtain \$125 from M/Sgt. Mathew Spear. ... [O'Brien] told investigators he had issued three worthless checks. ... He said he would get friendly with persons at a bar and talk them into cashing checks because he was in immediate need of money.

—Portland (Me.) Press Herald, Nov. 20.

a family of four, stood at 64,464 lira. The highest item is food, which came to 39,000 lira or just 4,000 lira more than the worker's total income.

THEY WILL NOT STOP: As for rent, electricity, clothes and shoes, when I asked Naldini how these could possibly be covered, he threw up his hands. "They can't be," he said, "and so the people must cut down on food." Meat consumption in Italy during 1952 was 28 lbs. per capita as compared with 128 lbs. in the U.S., nearly 100 lbs. in the U.S.S.R., and 220 lbs. in Argentina. The high TB and deficiency-disease rate offers proof of the malnutrition among the mass of Italians.

The strikes last September, and the even more successful ones this month, suggest that Italy's workers will not forever see their children ill-fed and ill-clad. Their protest was against hunger and misery; it is time for Italy's government and its supporters abroad to take note of it.

Christ may have stopped at Eboli, but Italy's workers will not stop for long in the contemplation of their wretched condition.



Nobody was ashamed to sob

THERE was no trace of fear of "guilt by association" in New York's Manhattan Plaza Dec. 17, when 1,000 rallied at the call of the Natl. Comm. to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims. Dr. Edward Barsky, committee chairman, welcomed "this chance to gather strength from one another."

A federal court had on that day sentenced Communist Party natl. committeeman Robert Thompson—until Aug. 27 a refugee from a three-year Smith Act sentence—to four extra years for "contempt." The CP official, who was decorated for bravery in the war, was nearly killed Oct. 23 in the N. Y. federal detention house, by a blow on the head with a lead pipe from an anti-communist about to be deported.

A CHILD DANCES: Thompson's wife Leona paid tribute at the rally to "the valiant men and women who are speaking here, [whose contributions] to American culture and American life ... will never be erased." They included Dorothy Parker, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, attorney Royal W. France, Carl Marzani and Earl Robinson.

Mrs. Thompson two months ago "touched my husband for the first time in 2½ years." He lay unconscious "on the emergency operating table at St. Vincent's Hospital with his skull

crushed." That blow was a warning "to all Americans that what happened to my husband is on the agenda for them" if they do not fight McCarthyism. "Contempt" Judge Gregory F. Noonan did not know what McCarthyism was, he told Mrs. Thompson, but "Noonanism" let him allow her "a small favor":

"... He allowed my daughter and myself to lunch with my husband in the bull pen where prisoners on trial are interned in the basement ... a large cell in a series [with] a circular bench, a toilet, a sink, and a rubbish can in the center of the room. And, oh, yes, the grated locked door. Here sat my daughter with her father, seeing him for the first time since his accident. 'Mommy, I'm touching daddy! I'm touching him!' When speech had sung itself into quietness, something happened in that pen that I believe never happened before in a bull pen. She danced for him. Her choreography was a pattern of loneliness, of hope, of the joy of youth, of the promises of tomorrow. For half an hour the bleakness faded. The bull pen became our living room. We were home together—two parents sharing the joy of their child."

Nobody seemed ashamed to sob—nor, leaving the hall, to be seen among the thousands pledged to fight for amnesty release of all Smith Act victims.

GE TOOK ITS CUE

Sen. Joe admits his Monmouth 'spy' probe was a phony

EARLY in October Sen. Joe McCarthy, as his hearings began on the Army's Signal Corps installation at Fort Monmouth, N.J., said testimony already taken "has all the earmarks that extremely dangerous espionage" had occurred recently and that "if it develops as it has been, it will envelop the whole Signal Corps." For weeks McCarthy captured daily "spy" headlines, hinted about an active "Rosenberg spy ring." Last week, with the sensations fizzled out and lacking evidence of his earlier charges, he told newsmen: "It isn't our job to develop any espionage case." It was "sufficient," he said, for his committee to alert security officials to "potential espionage." On Dec. 18, at a luncheon of the Executives Club of Chicago—the same group before which Aity. Gen. Brownell launched his Harry Dexter White "spy" charge—McCarthy said:

"I cannot guarantee that Communist spies will be convicted under the specific charge of espionage, but I will make you one promise today—and you can hold me to it! Some of them will go to jail for either perjury or contempt."

One thing was certain: an unspecified number of skilled government scientific workers had lost their jobs under conditions that will blackmail most of them in their professions. Dr. Harold C. Urey, Nobel prize winner, was prompted to complain to newsmen in Madison, Wis., that Congressional "witch-hunts" were driving scientists out of government work; many of his colleagues were showing "an enormous desire to get out of critical defense work because of the investigations."

WARNING TO WORKERS: The worker at the factory bench was feeling the McCarthy lash too. The General Electric Co., with 230,000 employees in 131 plants around the country, announced after a McCarthy excursion among them that it would suspend and dismiss any worker who declines to answer Congressional committee questions. The Independent United Electrical Workers commented that if that policy stood, it meant suspension and firing "if he persists" for

"... any GE worker who invokes the Constitutional protections guaranteed to all Americans—either to protect himself from a frame-up or to avoid being used as a spy, stool-pigeon or finger-man against fellow GE workers."

The union promised a fight; meanwhile Defense Dept. industrial security director Robert L. Applegate urged for the Pentagon screening power over all workers in installations which "would become indispensable in time of war." He said:

"I'm personally very much in favor of a program which would exclude all subversives and other poor security risks from all plants which some time might go war work."

How to beat the reds

Seven months out of an allied war makes prison, former Field Marshal Albert Kesselring, [said]: "Freedom is still threatened. ... To ward off this danger the western world must become united." Kesselring, now 67, added that to assure German cooperation the west should release the remaining war criminals. ... —AP, 5/10/53.

Cpl. William C. Hansen, 21, on whom Chinese Communist propagandists had 33 months to work, arrived [home] ... quite free from any Red taint. ... "It was easy to beat their propaganda," he said. "All I did was play dumb, act dumb and ignore their lectures. ... I just didn't think about the stuff they'd been hollering about because, if you thought about it, you never know what might happen." —N. Y. Herald Tribune.

24 hours in which the workers came out with an effectiveness of 95-100%. Postal and Telegraph workers showed almost as much unity, the percentages varying, from region to region, between 90 and 95. It was a strange and deeply moving day when public life came to a halt all over Italy.

SOLIDARITY: More was to come. Four days later, six million workers in private industry followed the example of their government-employed comrades. Under combined leadership of the CGIL, which unites Communist and Socialist workers, and the Catholic federation CISL, they voiced a mighty protest against continually rising living costs and the Italian employers' Bourbon-like refusal to recognize the basic facts of human existence in an industrial society. Only the small Social Democrat UIL refused to join in. Yet while its leadership, corrupt and intimidated, tried to break the common front, the vast majority of workers organized in the social-democratic unions did not hesitate to declare their solidarity; despite orders to the contrary, they abstained from work and refused to scab.

The results all over Italy were from 95-100%. In Northern industrial centres—Milan, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Venice, Modena, Livorno, La Spezia, etc.—the strike was complete; many industries came out, in effect, 100%, such as the metal-workers, catering employes and textile and chemical workers. If Rome lagged behind the North—as well as the less industrialized South—union officials said it was because individual bribery and corruption, and the more imminent threat

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War & Peace

(Continued from Page 1)

Daladier, who recently headed a delegation of deputies to discuss the German-Polish frontier with Poland.

In Italy, which won't even begin the process of ratifying E. D. C. until France acts and it gets satisfaction on Trieste, weakening of Premier Pella's government stirred Washington fear that Pietro Nenni's left-wing Socialists might have to be brought in.

Churchill's government, which supported the Dulles threat to France, was itself under similar threat from Sen. McCarthy, who demanded that every 1954 political candidate oppose further U. S. aid to any ally trading with China.

THE GREAT DIVIDE: Dulles' threat against nations that have not ratified E. D. C. (only W. Germany has)—like McCarthy's—part bluff, part angry frustration. Washington will not voluntarily loosen its lucrative stronghold on its allies. But on what may be the eve of talks with Moscow, the semblance of Western unity had been shattered probably beyond restoring. The capitalist world has reached a kind of continental divide in the post-war era.

The first post-war period was marked by a tremendous shortage of all types of goods, with the U. S. the sole major industrial power to supply them. Through loans, Marshall Plan, NATO, etc., the U. S. captured markets, established tight controls on its allies' economies and trade. How tight is illustrated by the operation of COCOM (Co-ordinating Committee for Strategic Materials Export), which NATO set up in Paris in 1948—with Japan and W. Germany also represented—to rule on trade deals with socialist countries.

COCOM comes out of cocoon —but can't do miracles

COCOM's very existence was secret until this fall, when British businessmen complained that goods they were barred from selling to the East were sold there by W. Germany, Japan, even the U. S. Britain's *Birmingham Post* (10/23) charged COCOM was "a passer of trade secrets . . . a cockpit of commercial maneuver," described how it rejected one country's proposed trade deals only to change its mind when another country, say W. Germany, went after the same business. Said the *Post*:

"The feeling is that Cocom, a body accountable to no one in particular, is deciding what Britain shall export and to whom."

COCOM saw to it that Britain banned some 2,000 categories of goods to the socialist world. As a result Britain's trade with China in 1952, for example, was only .17 of 1% of its world trade. In 1953's first half British-China trade totaled \$20.7 million; but W. Germany, which exported sheet steel, precision instruments, electro-technical equipment (on the British banned list), upped its China trade to \$28.4 million, a 16-fold increase since 1952. For London's "City"



How the Japanese feel about peace

Dr. Ikuo Oyama (center, above) being hailed by a throng at Tokio's Waseda University on his return from a six-month trip through Eastern Europe and the U. S. S. R., where he accepted a \$25,000 1952 Stalin Peace Prize. Last week it was announced that Howard Fast (r.), American novelist and peace crusader, the world publication of whose books is estimated at 20,000,000, has been awarded a 1953 Stalin Prize. Others honored were: J. D. Bernal, British physicist; Fr. Andrea Gaggiero, an Italian priest unfrocked for his work with the World Peace Council; Isabelle Blume, Belgian M. P.; Leon Kruczkowski, Polish writer; Dr. Andrea Andreen, Swedish health official; Nina Vasilevna Popova, Soviet trade union official; Maj. Gen. Sir Sahib Singh Sokhey, WHO plague expert; Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet; Pierre Cot, French M. P. In contrast to Dr. Oyama's reception, the N. Y. *Daily News* published an ugly cartoon of Fast with an editorial suggesting that he depart for Russia.

(Wall St.), COCOM stands "to jeopardize the traditional role of sterling as a medium of international exchange" (*Birmingham Post*). But the partial ending of the secrecy about it is one sign that the continental divide has been reached.

CAN'T HIDE SURPLUS: Today tremendous shortages have given way to tremendous surpluses, especially of farm products and raw materials. Talk of "locking up" cotton, grain, food and other surpluses in strategic stockpiles and reserves is heard on all sides. This talk, said the *Journal of Commerce* (12/2), is

"... a hardy perennial . . . [but]

even though such stocks might not be counted in the supply there would be no hiding the fact that they existed. The possibility always would remain that a peaceful solution might be found to international problems, with resultant liquidation of stockpiles. . . . [In any case] overproduction would continue to result in even greater surpluses. . . . Even bona fide strategic reserves cannot prevent sharp declines [as rubber prices have shown]."

Today the U. S. is no longer the sole major supplier. Britain, Japan, W. Europe, particularly W. Germany, are crowding into the capitalist world market. In the trade war, barely started, the weak are already falling behind.



TRADE FRANKENSTEIN: W. Germany's interest in E. D. C., with the unified W. European market it envisages, can be understood by the fact that some 65% of its exports are directed to that area—from which it is already ousting British and French exports. French exports to W. Europe in 1952 were 43% below W. Germany's and are still falling; W. Germany's are still rising, and it has outstripped Britain in this, Britain's second major market.

W. Germany's sales to Latin America for the past year have exceeded Britain's, are going up at British, U. S. and French expense. It has captured the leading trade position in Argentina. Its sales soar in traditional British Middle East markets while Britain's fall; it is penetrating sterling area markets, particularly India and Pakistan, and Dutch, Belgian and Italian markets in Africa.

PROTECTION, PLEASE: Yet even W. German officials lack confidence in the future, viewing their trade surpluses and credit balances as a "serious danger to stability," and urging steps to raise imports and German purchasing power to remedy a situation that "could result in a sharp decline in W. German exports" (*NYT*, 12/17).

The U. S., too, is feeling the pinch. Resistance to dollar goods hit first at farm exports, which dropped 31% last year. Dumping schemes being elaborated by the Randall Trade Commission have already provoked loud protests from many countries. Overall U. S. commercial exports are down 10% this year. And U. S. businessmen are demanding protection from foreign competition at home, although this is still negligible:

"Industry after industry has come before the Randall Commission to ask for additional control of imports. 'Protection against cheap foreign labor' appears to be a popular catchphrase again" (*J of C*, 12/14).

THE "EMPTY SPACES": In this situation, as W. Germany's *Der Volkswirt* said recently, "the West cannot permit itself the luxury of considering areas so economically important as China to be 'empty spaces' on the map of the world." On this side of the continental divide the U. S. will have difficulty restraining not only its allies, but its own businessmen, from the China market.

C. B. Thomas, president of Chrysler Corp., which recently lost government tank orders to General Motors, said last month that "the one positive outlook" for the auto export market was "Communist China." The N. Y. *World Telegram* reported (11/21) that the State and Commerce Depts.

"... have quietly started an inquiry to find out whether businessmen are interested in the early resumption of trade with China. . . . Preliminary findings indicate general agreement with Mr. Thomas. . . . Checking this latest reaction . . . with some leading diplomatic representatives in Washington, we found astonishment that the government failed to poll the business community earlier."

The cold war seems destined, in the end, to be splintered by cold economics.

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

MILTON MAVER of Great Books, Amer. Friends Service Comm., contributor to Harper's, Progressive, Fellowship, Commonwealth; recent visiting prof., Germany, and director 100-station radio "Voices of Europe," speaks Fri., Jan. 8, 8 p.m., "LOYALTY AND LIBERTY." Adm: 75c. 2936 W. 8th St. (1/2 blk. e. of Vermont). Unitarian Public Forum.

Chicago

CINEMA ANNEX, 3210 W. Madison St. (nr. Kedzie Av.) Doors open 1 p.m. Free Parking. **INDERELLA** (La Cenerentola). Rossini's rare comic opera masterpiece. Dazzlingly filmed in sumptuous and glittering spectacle.

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Detroit

HELEN SOBELL (wife of Morton Sobell, young scientist sentenced to 30 years in Alcatraz) will speak on FRIDAY, JAN. 8, 8:30 p.m., at Parkside Hall, 3119 Fenkell. Donation: 50c.

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Can U.S. destroy Russia in 2 hrs.?

By "Colonel X"

(Excerpted from an article by the distinguished military analyst of Tribune des Nations, Paris.)

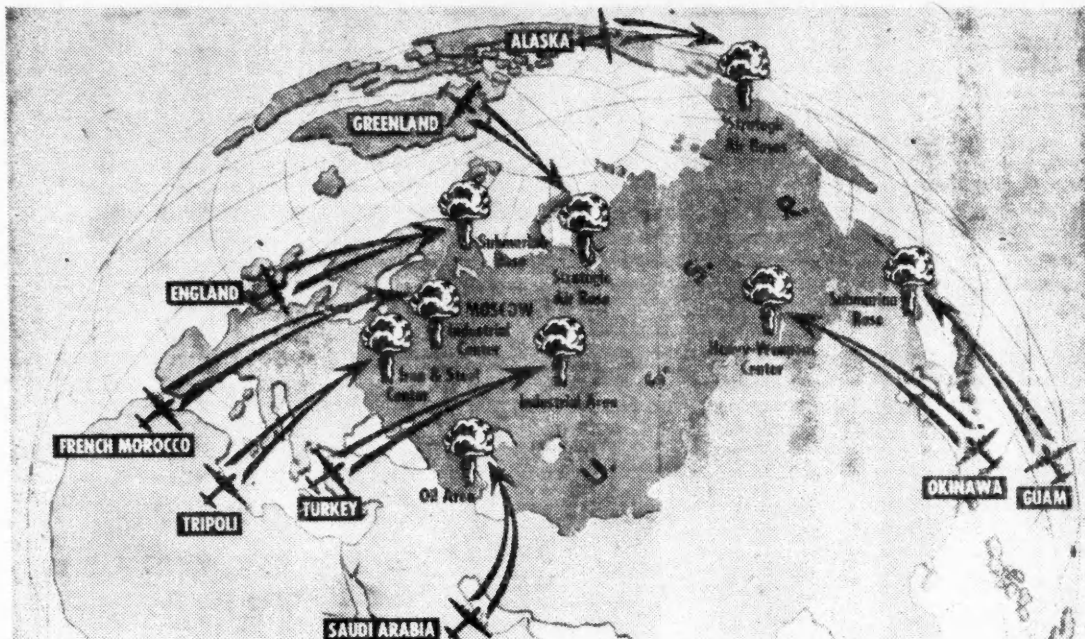
A PRESS campaign is developing in the U.S. to make known to the world how U.S. bombers could, it is believed, destroy the USSR in two hours.

150,000 elite Americans of the Strategic Air Command and the naval air force are maintained for one purpose: to be able to carry the atomic bomb, eventually the H-bomb, over Soviet territory. They have 40 wings at their disposal, stationed in the U.S. or its bases abroad. Their training goes on constantly. Each day and each night there are rehearsals at between 26,000 and 32,500 feet. The planes are allotted precise objectives which, we are told, are as familiar to them as their own bases. The S.A.C. has a collection of over 2,000,000 documents about the Soviet centers whose bombing is envisaged. 1,000 planes are in a constant state of alert and can take the air immediately. Numbered plans are prepared at the Pentagon. According to the number chosen, at the last moment, a more or less large number of Soviet cities will be attacked.

"ALTOGETHER ABSURD": If we can believe their public declarations, the U.S. general staff is convinced that such an enterprise against the U.S.S.R. would accomplish its mission. They say that the attacking bombers would fly too high and too fast to be detected by the Soviet defenses. But they add that they will be escorted by supersonic fighter planes fueled in flight, and that the holes in the Soviet air defenses are known. These statements contradict one another.

A serious analysis of the American plans would show that the pretension of destroying the U.S.S.R.'s military potential in a few hours is altogether absurd. An S.A.C. spokesman has recently stated that 25 atomic bombers in one raid could cause more damage to Russia than all the U.S. air force in Germany during World War II. One can see how this calculation is made: in terms of explosive power. But once more we must return to the study made by [British Prof. P. M. S.] Blackett, who demonstrated perfectly the unscientific character of such a comparison. Indeed, it seems that the Pentagon publicity agents may be the dupes of their own explanations. The press campaign and agitation of the "lobbies" around the atomic war and its effects has also an aspect which concerns U.S. internal policy. This justifies certain extravagances.

PENTAGON BATTLE: It is known that one section



How the Pentagon space-cadets picture it (from U.S. News, Oct. 23)

of U.S. leaders advocates the setting up in the U.S. of a system of air defense which would be as effective as present scientific and technical progress permits. A project outlined by a group of eminent scientists envisages the construction of a very dense network of radar, and guided missiles which could automatically seek out an aggressor flying in American skies and destroy him.

It would cost the U.S. several dozens of billions of dollars. From this fact come certain financial consequences favorable to some and unfavorable to others. The latter violently oppose what they call the "Magenot Line." They assert that the best defense of the U.S. lies in offensive force, that is, in the S.A.C. atomic bombing wings whose number they would like to raise to 57 in the very near future. One sees the point of the controversy: it raises passions in which strictly military considerations have little place. And that can be reassuring in some measure.

ON WHOSE HEADS? But the battle of economic interests which has broken out on this questions ex-

presses itself, in the last analysis, through the U.S. military leaders. This is what makes it so dangerous to the peace of the world. By dint of pretending that they possess an irresistible force, the atomic generals may finish by becoming convinced of it. And then how will they not succumb to the temptation to avail themselves of it?

For the U.S.'s European allies, the two propositions of the "perispheric strategy or Maginot Line" alternative are equally disagreeable. They both mean the abandonment of Europe to a rearmed Germany and growing risks of Europe's atomic destruction.

Let us just suppose that the Russians, too, should build an aerial "Magenot Line," as some good military men believe is the case. (The British Gen. Robertson said a long time ago that in his opinion no foreign aircraft could cross the U.S.S.R. frontiers; several accidents which have occurred in recent years to planes "lost" in the neighborhood of the U.S.S.R. tend to confirm this point of view.) Where then would the S.A.C. bombers be able to deposit their loads except on our heads?

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