

WIN A FREE TRIP TO CUBA: Page 4... THE BEST RECORD BUYS: Pages 7-10

PENTAGON'S 'HUMANE' DEATH

The hard sell is on for germ warfare if Bomb is banned

AS THE WORLD'S PEOPLE push their leaders toward a ban on nuclear weapons, Pentagon brasshats are looking for a new game to play. About a year ago they kicked off a public relations campaign to "sell" the public on chemical and germ warfare. Previously the subject had been taboo; no one would even admit we owned such weapons. But once the wraps were off, the Pentagon began to create an image of CBW (chemical and biological warfare) as the answer to H-bombs.

Interviews with active and retired Chemical Corps generals began to appear in newspapers and magazines. They pictured CBW as "humane": few casualties, no property damage and cheap to produce. They also warned that the Russians had a full arsenal. Each ended with a plea for increased appropriations.

The campaign, now in full swing, broke into respectable scientific circles when the American Chemical Society devoted a full day at its convention in Cleveland April 8 to a symposium on CBW. Government spokesmen added some new angles. We must go full speed on CBW research, they said, so we can learn what weapons the Russians have so we can develop defenses. They also warned that gas-germ weapons are so cheap to produce, small countries "like Cuba" can develop them.

THE COME-ON: Madison Avenue hard-
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THEY STARTED OUT TO FREE ALGERIA—NOW THEY'RE READY TO FREE AFRICA
Members of a group who volunteered recently to fight alongside the Algerian Liberation Army, march in Accra, Ghana, with placards which indicated that the movement has broadened since the massacre in South Africa.

NEW ACT NOT WORTH THE PAPER IT'S WRITTEN ON

How the civil rights battle of 1960 was lost

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON
FRUSTRATED civil rights advocates saw no hope last week for improving the sham Civil Rights Act of 1960 adopted by the Senate on April 8 by a vote of 71 to 18. The House, which passed the bill on March 24, was expected to give quick approval on April 21 to the technical amendments added in the Senate. President Eisenhower has said he is "quite happy" with the product.

The bill's major provision—its so-called "voting rights" section—has been described by the NAACP general counsel Thurgood Marshall as not worth the paper it's written on. Other sections of the bill include (1) broad statements of

Federal power to enforce its court orders and to act against arson and bombing; (2) a requirement that Federal voting records be preserved for 22 months; (3) a vague authorization to arrange for the education of children of military personnel when public schools are closed. Sen. Joseph Clark (D-Pa.) told the Senate that these sections "are so innocuous as to not be worthy of even passing mention."

Advocates of a stronger measure were bitter. Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) told the Senate: "We have a watered down bill that has been so diluted . . . that it will wash right out of this Chamber and hardly be noticed in the mainstream of American life." Sen. Paul

Douglas (D-Ill.) said: "I would not blame any true battler for civil rights who in disgust with this measure refuses to vote for it."

DIXIE VICTORY: Sen. Jacob Javits (N.Y.), the Republican civil rights leader, told the Senate: "This bill is not one of which either the country or the Senate can be proud. The Old South has scored a marked success. . . ." And Sen. Clark on the Senate floor symbolically turned his sword over to the Dixiecrat leader, Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.), and said: "Surely in this battle on the Senate floor the roles of Grant and Lee at Appomattox have been reversed. The 18 implacable defenders of the way of life
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A SPECIAL REPORT
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Next Week:

WHITE SOUTH AFRICA
AND HOW IT LIVES

A white woman's diary
of a separate world

Southern youth leaders map new steps in fight on jimcrow

The present (anti-segregation) movement may wane in some places while it flares anew in others. There may be more setbacks than immediate advances. But one thing is certain: after the winter of 1960, the South will never be quite the same again.
—Southern Patriot, April, publication of the Southern Conference Educational Fund.

Robert E. Light

SOUTHERN NEGRO YOUTH has renounced its second-class citizenship. The youngsters have vowed not to suffer the debasement of segregation endured by their parents and grandparents. To keep their pledge they are willing to sacrifice their careers and educations, to face physical danger and personal abuse, and to go to jail.

They are incensed by Southern hypocrisy which translates the Supreme Court's "deliberate speed" edict into deliberate evasion. They are impatient

with Negro adults who have made their peace with jimcrow, and with leaders and organizations who want to "go slow" or rely too heavily on the courts.

By staging sitdowns, picket lines, marches and boycotts, Negro youth in less than three months has already altered some aspects of the "Southern way of life." The movement started spontaneously when four Greensboro, N. C., college students got fed up with being refused service at a Woolworth lunch counter and sat on the stools and refused to move. In 60 other Southern communities,

other angry students repeated the protest.

The protest is no longer over the right to eat a hamburger; it is against all forms of discrimination. Where it will lead and how long it will take depends mostly on the whites. Negroes are already planning the next phase; they feel strong, sure and right.

LEADERS MEET: More than 140 student leaders from 11 Southern states and the District of Columbia met at Shaw University in Raleigh, N.C., April 15-17, to share experiences and map future actions. The conference was called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Cooperating organizations included the Congress of Racial Equality

(CORE), the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers), the Nat'l. Student Ass'n. and the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In an opening address, King said that since the demonstrations began Feb. 1, "More Negro freedom fighters have revealed to the nation and the world their determination and courage than has occurred in many years. They have embraced a philosophy of mass, direct, non-violent action. They are moving away from tactics which are suitable merely for gradual and long-term change."

He called for (1) a boycott of stores with segregated facilities (he called it "selective buying") and (2) the training of volunteers who will be willing to go to jail rather than post bond on charges
(Continued on Page 4)

REPORT TO READERS

The Burnham Fund

THE LOUIS E. BURNHAM FUND, initiated by the staff of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN in our deep concern for the education and well-being of the four children of our late fellow-editor, has now been officially constituted and is prepared to accept contributions. The trustees are Shirley Graham DuBois, John T. McManus and George B. Murphy Jr. All funds will be deposited in the Amalgamated Bank of New York.

Louis Burnham was only 44 when he died on Feb. 12, following a heart attack which struck him down as he was addressing a New York audience on Negro History Week. As a GUARDIAN editor, he was at the height of his effectiveness as a fighter for human equality in our country.

"We were all thrilled at the increasing power of his writing." Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois has written to many friends in behalf of the Fund for the Burnham children. Dr. DuBois first met Burnham more than 20 years ago, "working hard and tirelessly in the South to build up self knowledge and political effectiveness among Negroes," as his letter recalls.

THE SELFLESS YOUNG Negro leader and spokesman who joined the GUARDIAN in 1958 after seven arduous years seeking to make a go of the monthly publication *Freedom*, had little opportunity in any of the years of his work to provide for the future of his children, who were his great pride—as he was theirs.

Only the day before his death he had spoken to us of undertaking extra work, such as editing manuscripts for book publishers, in order to build up some reserves for his family's education.

Recently we received the good news that his 17-year-old daughter, Claudia, now in the top-flight of her high school senior class, has been accepted for Oberlin College in the fall. Daughter Margaret is 15 and a high school junior. Linda, 12, and Charles 9, still attend public school.

IT IS OUR HOPE THAT THE FUND will enable Claudia to go to the college of her choice—a college, incidentally, founded by men triply involved in the Abolition struggles of the last century—and Margaret, Linda and Charles in their turn, so that the talented and deserving Burnham family may all achieve the hopes their father so fondly held for them.

A brochure announcing the establishment of the Fund will be distributed at the memorial meeting at the New York Center next Thursday, April 28. The portrait of Louis Burnham on the front leaf of the brochure, and reproduced here, is the work of the noted artist Ernest Crichlow, his friend of many years standing.

THE FULL PROGRAM of the memorial meeting is contained in the notice of the meeting on page 13. As the program indicates, the memorial evening has taken on the aspect of one of rededication to the purposes to which Louis Burnham devoted his life. Two of his associates in his work in the South are making special trips from the front line of the integration struggles—Asbury Howard, vice-president of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, based in Bessemer, Ala., and Mrs. Modjeska Simkins of Columbia, S.C., chairman of the NAACP in her state.

Also, we have just received exciting news about another of the scheduled speakers: Dr. W. Alphaeus Hunton, former director of the Council of African Affairs and author of *Decision in Africa* (now in its second printing) has been appointed professor of English in the new university now being organized at Conakry, capital of Guinea. He will leave for the post on May 7.

WE KNOW THAT EVERY GUARDIAN READER would like to be present at the memorial meeting and join these people in tribute to Louis Burnham's life and work. We realize this is not possible. But it is possible for every GUARDIAN reader to join in this tribute by sending a contribution to the Louis E. Burnham Fund, to insure the promise of the future to his family. It will be a most fitting climax to the memorial meeting to be able to announce the beginnings of a mass contribution from Louis E. Burnham's GUARDIAN family, whose appreciation and respect he had so richly earned.

—THE GUARDIAN



Drawing by Crichlow



Best American tradition

PHILADELPHIA, PA. Congratulations for your editorial "Stand Up." This type of journalism flows in the best American tradition.

These and others to come will eventually arouse the American white people to set aside their racism and superiority and join the Negro people in the struggle to rid this country of segregation in all walks of life.

I'm happy that this editorial came at this moment in my life rather than at an age when I could no longer write to congratulate you.

Louis E. Burnham would have been proud of this editorial.

John L. Holton

SAUGUS, CALIF.

Your front page editorial March 21, "Stand Up," would be hard to beat at any time. The colored college students of the South have begun a Reconstruction Period of their own which will prove to be highly contagious reaching the four corners.

John Hoffman

"I am the Resurrection"

PORT McLEOD, ALBERTA The brutal Whites of Tennessee. And other people like them Consider Blacks as dirty dogs And like to kick and strike them!

The saintly Blacks of Tennessee, In a more Christ-like fashion Endure the scorn of evil men With courage and compassion. Like Him, in non-resistant strength,

They bear their cross and pain; In them the resurrection IS; He loves. He lives again!

Suggested to me by your issue of March 21. It was good!

J. P. Griffin

Easter eggs

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

To give eggs on the occasion of Easter is a symbol of Good Will! So allow me, as the token of my gratitude, to present these decorated eggs to the staff of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. They perhaps are not eatable by now, but this is the best that I can do toward the GUARDIAN.

Benjamin Vaganov Enclosed with a half-dozen Easter eggs, beautifully hand-decorated in the old Moravian style.—Ed.

The oath at the Elbe

CHICAGO, ILL.

Fifteen years ago—on April 25, 1945—six American soldiers thrust through the no man's land between the American and Russian lines and crossed the Elbe River in a small boat, uniting on a common, informal friendly meeting ground the armed forces of two great allies of the Second World War: the United States and the Soviet Union. At that first long-awaited meeting of the United States and Soviet armies, the soldiers on both sides, over the bodies of the dead women and children at the meeting site, swore an oath to honor the United Nations organization being born that same day half a world away in San Francisco.

The soldiers on both sides swore never to forget one another, swore never to forget their comrades in arms who had fallen along the way, nor to forget the dead women and children all about them. The soldiers swore to work for a better world, to meet as friends after the war, and to honor the Elbe meeting ground and to keep its meaning alive in their hearts.

As one of the six American In-

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How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

POMONA, April 9 (AP)—What will America's astronauts do to pass the hours while whirling through space to the moon? Play solitaire? Knit? Sing to themselves?

They'll be able to take along only one book to read in their crowded capsule quarters, a leading educator said this week, and the title of that one is classified.

Dr. Lawrence C. Powell, dean of library services at UCLA, said the spacemen were unable to agree on which book, so the government selected a committee of educators to pick one for them.

—San Francisco Chronicle, April 10

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M.D., Lemon Cove, Calif.

fantymen to make the boat crossing over the Elbe River 15 years ago, as one of the American and Russian soldiers to swear the Oath at the Elbe, I believe I voice something of the thoughts and feeling of all of us in this critical hour in the history of the human race, when our planet has become more and more like an arms-heavy, disension-torn aircraft hurtling through the sky.

I therefore call upon the nations of the world for a new birth of conciliation, a new sense of human responsibility, that the Oath sworn on that hallowed, blood-soaked historic ground at the Elbe River shall not have been taken in vain.

I have tried to keep the faith. I have decided to reaffirm at the Elbe River meeting ground the Oath we took 15 years ago. I shall depart from New York April 21, be at the western border of East Germany on April 23, and hope to be in the historic Torgau area on April 25, 1960, to honor the 15th anniversary of the Elbe River link-up. I call upon five American World II veterans, as an act of good faith, good will, trust and confidence on our part, to join me in the trip overseas, and invite six Soviet World War II veterans to meet us as friends at the Elbe River meeting ground on April 25, 1960.

Joseph Polowsky Contributions may be sent to Veterans of the Elbe River Link-Up, 4126 Sheridan Road, Chicago 13—Ed.

Let's not overwurke it HOLLYWOOD, FLA.

I was intrigued by Admiral Arleigh A. Burke's announced determination to hereafter spell Communism with a K.

The Admirals may be initiating a vogue worthy of emulation. I suggest that henceforth all pro-

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gressives start spelling Burke's name with a J.

A. L. Harvey

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In view of Senate filibustering on the civil rights matter, the corralling and drenching with freezing water and the jailing of sit-down students and the totally indifferent attitude of the President, is it at all possible the Admiral might agree to the spelling of democracy with a K, thus —DEMOCKRACY?

I only asked.

C. Leonard Hooper

Hero of our hemisphere

NEW YORK, N.Y.

President Eisenhower should be the last person to accuse Fidel Castro of having "betrayed" the Cuban people. The U.S. supported the tyranny of Batista until the last moment by giving him arms, tanks, ammunition and napalm bombs to kill more than 20,000 innocent people.

The U.S. government has done nothing to stop the bombing of Cuban sugar plants from airplanes based at Miami airports. Talk of betrayal comes with ill grace from the man who has done nothing and is doing nothing to stop the persecution of Negroes at the same place where he goes to enjoy his golf.

To us Latin-Americans, Fidel Castro is today the hero of our hemisphere. He is the champion of real freedom in Cuba, and one of the greatest men of today in any continent.

It is ridiculous for a big country like the U.S., to be scared of a small nation like Cuba, just because its people want to live in peace and decency—by putting into practice what the U.S. says but does not accomplish with deeds. There is today more freedom in a block of houses in Havana than in most of the rest of this continent.

We young people of Latin America will fight to death in the event that the U.S. dares to touch Cuba.

Juan Cintrón

Good work but...

WEAVERVILLE, N.C.

In your issue of March 28 you have an article on Hoffa which is quite a surprise to me, for in my estimation that man is not fit to be the head of anything, and especially not the head of a big union like the Teamsters.

You are doing good work, and that I appreciate, but not the Hoffa article.

Leland F. Fobes

Here we stand

OKANAGAN MISSION, B.C.

I have just finished reading a book written by the great Paul Robeson, *Here I Stand*—a powerful book. I was inspired by the firm and correct stand taken by him, and if it were possible, I would like to take him by the hand and say, "Brother, here we stand, but not alone."

Joseph Ivens

I enclose (or pledge) a contribution of \$..... for the Louis E. Burnham Fund.

Name

Street

City and State

Mail to: Louis E. Burnham Fund, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

THERE IS STILL TIME TO ACT

Caryl Chessman and the frightened politicians

By Lawrence Emery

NONE BUT CARYL CHESSMAN and his lawyers can now remember how many times various courts have denied his appeals for relief from a sentence of death. So when the California Supreme Court on April 13 rejected without comment a new petition for habeas corpus, it seemed another bruising step in his 12-year march to San Quentin's gas chamber where he is scheduled—for the ninth time—to die on May 2.

But next day A. L. Wirin, one of three lawyers for Chessman, was in Washington to file with the U.S. Supreme Court a writ of certiorari calling for a review of the California court's denial of the latest appeal—and there was still some hope for averting an execution in a case that has appalled much of the world.

Time was running out, but many long concerned with the moral issues involved in the death penalty—here magnified almost beyond human endurance by 12 years in the shadow of death—would not give up their fight. Dr. Isidore Ziferstein, prominent Los Angeles psychiatrist closely involved in the Chessman case for many years, on March 22 wrote an appeal concluding: "Chessman's life can be saved by public pressure."

The liberal weekly *The Nation*, in a rare cover-page editorial appeal on March 26, said: "But Chessman can still be saved. Governor [Edmund] Brown [of California]—and the [California Supreme] Court—have heard from Montevideo, Bogota, Tokyo, Paris and Rome, and from every corner of California; it is national opinion that has yet to make itself felt."

CHESSMAN, IN HIS LONG FIGHT, has come to symbolize—in California and in many nations abroad, at least—the movement to abolish capital punishment. Convicted in Los Angeles as a criminal tagged the "Red Light Bandit" who robbed men in a Lover's Lane and sexually assaulted their girl companions, Chessman has consistently maintained his innocence of that charge, although admitting other earlier crimes for which he served prison sentences.

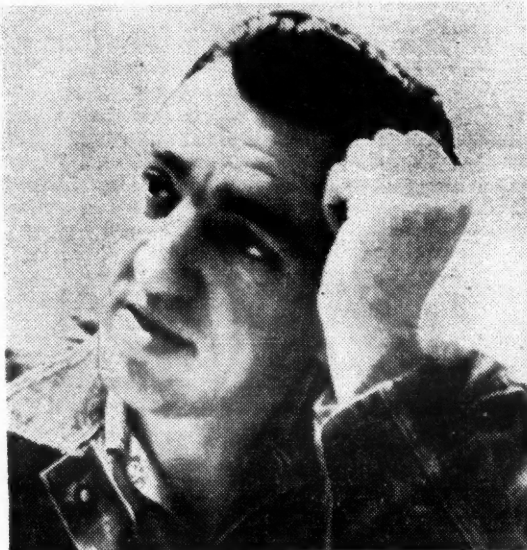
In his cell on San Quentin's Death Row Chessman taught himself law, devised and carried through most of his appeals, defended himself in appearances in court, and wrote two autobiographical books which became best sellers. Besides denying that he is the "Red Light Bandit," Chessman has argued that his legal rights were violated in the original trial; that the State's "Little Lindbergh Law" under which he was sentenced has since been amended to remove the death penalty for the offenses for which he was tried, and that the transcript of the trial record—upon which his original appeal had to be based—was so faulty as to be useless.

But the issues now swirling around the Chessman case have become so emotionally charged in the state of California that they far transcend the legal ones. Chessman the convict has been replaced by Chessman the symbol. And it is part of the drama of the case that the last chapter is being acted out in a tense election year in which frightened politicians must balance

their moral values against the vote.

CALIFORNIA OFFICE-HOLDERS facing re-election this year are desperate to get off the hook of the Chessman case; many who are committed to the abolition of capital punishment dare not take a stand in the present heated atmosphere. State Senator Stanley Arnold, a former district attorney, voted for abolition last year but announced this year that he would not support legislative debate of the issue because of the hysteria of the Chessman case.

A key figure in this saddening situation is Democratic



CARYL CHESSMAN
His life is weighed against the vote

Governor Brown. As a Catholic, he must ponder a strong plea for clemency for Chessman that has appeared in the Vatican's official newspaper; as a politician with Presidential aspirations, he must consider his career.

Time had run out for Chessman in February, and an appeal for clemency seemed the last hope. Because of certain circumstances in the case, the governor could grant clemency only if it was favorably recommended by the State Supreme Court. Normally, a clemency petition is submitted to the governor who then submits it to the court with his own views. Never in the history of California has the court failed to concur with a governor's wishes in such a matter.

BUT THIS TIME the petition was presented directly to the court, which split 4 to 3 against recommending clemency (the Chief Justice sided with the minority). The governor was off the hook; he pleaded that he was powerless in the face of the court's adverse recommendation. But the public clamor increased.

Then a State Department official forwarded to Cal-

ifornia information that popular sentiment in Latin America was so aroused over the Chessman case that the success of the President's trip to South America might be jeopardized if the execution occurred during it. It was a straw for the desperate governor to grasp: he ordered a 60-day reprieve for Chessman ten hours before his scheduled death, and called a special session of the legislature to consider legislation to repeal the death penalty.

Abroad, it seemed a courageous act and many believed the fight had been won. But few Californians had any illusions, and they were right. The repeal legislation was not submitted to the House, which in the past has voted for repeal, but to a Senate committee which could be depended upon to kill it, which it did by a vote of 8 to 7. The legislators, most of whom must stand for re-election, were spared the need to take a public stand.

And Governor Brown was again off the hook; he had made his gesture, and again said he was powerless.

BUT DR. ZIFERSTEIN in an appeal dated March 23 scored "the evasions and hypocrisies of men in power" and wrote:

"The governor is now using the adverse vote on abolition of the death penalty as an excuse for washing his hands of the Chessman case. He states that he is now completely powerless to intervene. This is only a half truth, since the governor does have the power to declare his desire to commute Chessman, if he so wishes, and to ask the Supreme Court of the State of California to give him a positive recommendation.

"All precedents point to the likelihood that the court would make such a recommendation if the governor requested it. Never in the history of California has the Supreme Court refused to concur in a governor's decision to commute. At any rate, only if the governor takes such an action can we believe in his sincerity. Until he does this, I shall maintain my position that the governor's protestations of powerlessness are not true."

In a letter to *The Nation* of April 16, Dr. Ziferstein wrote: "We must recognize that there is one man who can wield the most influence on the California State Supreme Court to reverse its 4-3 recommendation of Feb. 18 against clemency: Governor Brown."

Dr. Ziferstein, and others, also point out that there are several precedents for Presidential intervention in such a case. One of the most notable came in 1918 when a mass demonstration in then Petrograd caused President Woodrow Wilson to intercede with California's Governor Stevens in behalf of Tom Mooney, then under a death sentence on a false charge of bombing a Preparedness Day parade in San Francisco. Mooney's death sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he eventually won a full pardon.

There is still time: Write or wire Governor Edmund Brown, State Capitol, Sacramento, California. And remind President Eisenhower that he, too, has the power to act.

THE ODDS WERE FORMIDABLE

Essin polls 30,000 votes in Milwaukee

Special to the Guardian

MILWAUKEE

IN THE NON-PARTISAN municipal elections here April 5, M. Michael Essin, former state chairman of the Progressive Party of Wisconsin, running for city attorney, received almost 30,000 votes (about 14%) of a total of about 217,000 cast for the two candidates. Essin's vote was far greater than the number cast for him in Milwaukee when he ran for governor of Wisconsin on the Progressive Party ticket in 1950.

Essin's opponent, John J. Fleming, a follower of the late Sen. McCarthy, had been unopposed until Essin entered the race about two hours before the deadline. Essin said the voters should have a choice and not permit his opponent to win by default the office for which he had been rejected four years before.

Essin not only lacked an organization and funds, but was unable to win endorsement by the AFL-CIO's Labor Political League, despite a long record of work in behalf of the labor movement and civil liberties. While Fleming also failed to receive such endorsement, some labor officials violently attacked Essin's alleged sympathy "for Communist party

causes" and "front organizations."

BARRED FROM UNIONS: Lacking LPL endorsement, Essin was denied the right to address local union meetings. Some local union officials privately informed Essin that they would "pass the word down the line" to vote for him, but this was not very effective. It was evident that, while the flood tide of McCarthyism had passed, the damage it had left had driven many unionists, as well as other liberal and progressive people, into the anonymity of silence or conformity.

In the Presidential primary the voters in the largely Catholic wards cast their ballots in decisive numbers for Sen. John Kennedy. This trend also carried over to the City Attorney's race, Essin's opponent, being Catholic, also scoring heavily in those areas.

The Hearst Milwaukee *Sentinel* campaigned vigorously for Fleming. It refused to report Essin's press statements or talks. The *Sentinel* said that Essin had been counsel for "various communists" and had associated with "known party liners." The Milwaukee *Journal*, the "respectable" newspaper, on the whole gave Essin the silent treatment.

It was conceded that, in the face of the odds, Essin did surprisingly well. He expressed his own belief that this race, run by a progressive, had served to hearten many liberals and progressives who have become increasingly frustrated by the conforming strait jackets of the two old parties.

P.S. . . .

She got the job

MISS PATRICIA BANKS, 22, (right), will become Capital Airline's first Negro stewardess next month—by order of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination (SCAD). In a March 9 ruling, Capital was given 30 days to comply, with the option of appealing to the courts or facing a possible contempt citation.

Miss Banks attended a school for airline hostesses in 1956 and filed a complaint with SCAD when Capital rejected her application. The airline is the nation's fifth largest and serves many major Southern cities. It bowed to SCAD's deadline and Miss Banks began training at the Grace Downs Model & Air Career School in New York on April 11. Until then she was a business machines operator for Con Edison and an evening student at Queens College. On May 6 she will go to Washington for an orientation course, after which she will be placed on Capital's payroll.

This was the first such SCAD order to an airline. Trans-World Airlines hired a Negro stewardess after the commission had investigated a complaint, but without a formal ruling. Mohawk Airlines was the nation's first to hire Negro hostesses; it did so voluntarily. The order to Capital directed it to hire flight per-



sonnel in New York State "solely on the basis of merit and without regard to race, creed, color or national origin."

On Your Mark, EVERYBODY! This is the starting signal in the GUARDIAN'S Big Spring Subscription Contest!

GRAND PRIZE

A FREE TWO-WEEK TRIP TO CUBA, ALL EXPENSES PAID, ON THE GUARDIAN'S GRAND TOUR, JULY 23 to AUG. 6

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FIRST PRIZE—A beautiful East German typewriter, the KOLIBRI Travel Portable, weighing just 12 pounds.

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THIRD PRIZE—HITACHI pocket-sized, 6 transistor radio, in your choice of colors.

FOURTH PRIZE—STELLAR 7x35 binoculars, with coated lenses and carrying case.

FIFTH TO TENTH PRIZES—\$25 Worth of Guardian Buying Service merchandise of your choice.

AND TO EVERY CONTESTANT EARNING A MINIMUM OF TEN POINTS, YOUR CHOICE OF ANY ALBUM FROM THE GUARDIAN'S 1960 RECORD CATALOG!

GET SET, EVERYBODY! You're in the running in the GUARDIAN'S big 1960 Subscription Contest the instant you read these words! Your "entry form" is the multiple sub-blank below. Start getting introductory GUARDIAN subs right now, and when the dust clears away next June 30 YOU may be the winner of a wonderful free trip to Cuba or one of the many other fine prizes awaiting the leaders at the finish line!

IMAGINE, ELEVEN FULL DAYS of luxurious, air-conditioned Havana hospitality while you see the sights of the new **Cuba Libre**, PLUS a three-day stay at incomparable Varadero Beach on the sparkling Caribbean. **Fourteen Full Days** for the reader who garners the greatest number of points between now and June 30!

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THE CONTEST SCOREKEEPERS will keep a running box score of your points as they pile up. \$5 renewals count for three points too, **except your own**. Final returns must be postmarked **no later than June 30**, but don't delay sending in your returns till then — start with **today's** postmark!

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- 1—**SIGN UP THE FOLKS** who borrow your Guardian or come to you for facts on nuclear politics, atomic waste, the integration fight, South Africa — or just to handpick bargains from the Guardian Buying Service.
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STREET	STREET
CITY	CITY
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STATE	STATE
NAME	NAME
STREET	STREET
CITY	CITY
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STATE	STATE
NAME	SUBMITTED BY
STREET	STREET
CITY	CITY
Zone	Zone
STATE	STATE

Youth leaders

(Continued from Page 1)
stemming from demonstrations.

"It is a moral necessity," he said, "to select, to buy from these agencies, these stores and businesses where one can buy with dignity and self-respect. It is immoral to spend one's money where one cannot be treated with respect."

A NEW ERA: The students spent a full day in discussion groups and workshops. It was reported (the conference was closed to the press) that many of the students felt that the NAACP's legal approach was too slow. They called for a more militant outlook. The New York Times reported that Rev. James M. Lawson Jr., leader of the Nashville demonstrations, called the NAACP's magazine, *Crisis*, the publication of the "black bourgeois club."

At a mass rally in the Raleigh municipal auditorium, King saw the Southern protests in world terms. He said:

"This is an era of offensive on the part of oppressed people. All peoples deprived of dignity and freedom are on the march on every continent throughout the world."

"The student sit-in movement represents just such an offensive in the history of the Negro people's struggle for freedom. The students have taken the struggle for justice into their own strong hands."

NEW METHODS: Where the strong hands will strike next at jimcrow is not likely to be known in advance. Ella J. Baker, executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, said that because Southern whites are "using every legal gimmick" against the demonstrations, Negroes would have to keep

much of their planning secret. But, she added, "new methods" will be developed.

In the closing session, the students set up a temporary group, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, to guide the movement. King and Lawson were named advisers. The committee will hold its first meeting next month in Atlanta.

As a final action, the students asked

The great demonstration

THE GUARDIAN next week will carry a full report by Cedric Belfrage of the great Aldermaston march and the demonstration in Trafalgar Square which brought out close to 100,000 persons in a rally against the Bomb and for peace.

President Eisenhower to intervene in the South. In light of reports that the President may visit Africa next fall, they urged him to "lend the prestige of his office to the solution of the racial problem in this country, and thus he shall be even better prepared for his visit to Africa."

In the North white and Negro students also met to map strategy for support of the Southern movement. Students from Bennington, Harvard, MIT, Dartmouth, Brandeis, Boston, Tufts, Middlebury and Vermont met at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vt., April 15-16, to plan further sympathy demonstrations.

TENDER POCKETBOOKS: Elsewhere in the South, Negroes had already put into effect a "selective buying" campaign. Around the slogan, "Wearing 1959 clothes with 1960 dignity," they withheld Easter buying from stores which discriminated against them. Boycotts were reported in Little Rock and Pine Bluff, Ark., Houston, Tex.; Tallahassee, Fla.; Savannah and

Atlanta, Ga.; Memphis, Tenn.; and Richmond and Petersburg, Va.

The boycott also reached Jackson, Miss., where no other protest action had taken place. More than 40% of the city's population is Negro. David Carter, a student at Benedict College, told the city's adult Negroes: "If you are in sympathy with the student movement then make no Easter purchases except for necessities." He suggested that the money not spent at stores be used to help jailed demonstrators.

It is too early to tell how effective the boycotts have been. Preliminary reports indicate that business in some stores dropped 20%-75%.

"Selective buying" may replace the sit-down as the prime tactic in the next phase of the anti-segregation movement. Many oppressed people have learned that hard heads often carry sensitive pocketbooks.

'MR' N.Y. meeting May 4 to feature report on Cuba

RAUL ROA KOURI, Cuban Minister Plenipotentiary and alternate delegate to the United Nations, will speak as part of a "Report on Cuba" program to be given at the 11th anniversary meeting of Monthly Review Associates, Wednesday, May 4, at New York Center, 227 W. 46th St., 8:30 p.m.

Leo Huberman and Paul M. Sweezy, editors of *Monthly Review*, will also speak on their recent trip to Cuba. The discussion will be conducted by Dr. J. Raymond Walsh, economist, author, and former radio commentator.

Admission is \$1.50 at the door, \$1 in advance. Tickets may be obtained from Monthly Review Associates, 333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, CH 2-8403.

NEW YORK

- How many Nazis are there in Adenauer's government?
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- Are German schools breeding new little Nazis?
- What about the menace of a new Reichswehr?

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A sensational German film on the rise of General Speidel and the careers of the men who made the W. German "miracle."

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WHAT THE SENATE HEARINGS DISCLOSE

The drug industry: Greed, power, carelessness

WHEN SEN. Estes Kefauver's subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly opened hearings last December on the high prices of prescription drugs, there was a general feeling that it was a simple case of greed on the part of the drug companies. But as the hearings began their fourth session April 12, there was a mountain of evidence from respected medical authorities that (1) not only were drug prices out of line, but (2) much of the industry's research was for unnecessary and — sometimes — harmful drugs and (3) huge promotion and advertising expenditures gave the drug companies a controlling influence over some medical societies and publications. The hearings, however, have yet to produce a program for curbing the industry's unethical practices.

The new sessions opened with a wrangle between Kefauver and Republican Senators Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) and Roman L. Hruska (Neb.). The Republicans called the hearings an "inquisition" and accused the staff of a "strange and visionary political and economic philosophy." Kefauver countered that the others wanted a "whitewash" of the drug industry.

NOT SO FUNNY: During the two-hour hassle Dr. William Bean, professor of medicine at Iowa U., sat patiently in the witness chair. When the Senators apologized for keeping him waiting, he brushed them aside. "This looks like fun," he said.

But there was no humor in Bean's testimony. He said that some drugs now on the market are dangerous. In the race to be first with a new drug, he said, the companies use short cuts in their clinical testing and do not determine harmful side effects caused by the drugs.

Some medical societies, he added, are so beholden to the free-spending drug manufacturers that they "avoid scheduling papers by speakers who might be critical" of some drugs. "Some editors," he added, "have refused to publish articles criticizing particular drugs and methods of therapy lest advertising suffer. The business management has usurped the physician's role as censor."

A STANDARDS COMMITTEE: Dr. Hans Popper, pathologist at Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, testified that some of the new "wonder" drugs have caused jaundice and other liver diseases in some patients. He said that most cases are mild, but there have been fatalities. He urged extensive research for harmful side effects before a drug is placed on the

market. Bean and Popper joined in proposing a committee representing the medical profession and the pharmaceutical industry to help raise standards and to ensure that doctors are properly informed of possible side effects of new drugs. They also urged that the Food and Drug Administration be given more authority to check on the honesty of advertising claims.

Dr. Frederick H. Meyers of the University of California challenged the industry's claim that it led the world in discovering drugs. "Far from leading in progress," he said, "it appears that our industry has usually followed and often a clear lag." He said American research centered on "exploiting and marketing" foreign discoveries. "It is mostly to modify the original drugs based on the real research, just enough to get a patentable derivative, but not enough to lose the original effect."

MEDICAL PAYOLA? When companies compete with similar drugs, he said, "they use any method to establish their trade names at any cost." Many drug ads are "at best incomplete and at worst dishonest," he added. "Some ads become so expensive that they approach 'payola.'"

Dr. A. Dale Console, former medical director of Squibb Laboratories, testified that the industry, with high-pressure sales programs, is foisting on doctors many "relatively worthless" drugs with "a greater potential for harm than good." He said more than half of the companies' research projects are really not worthwhile but "are pursued simply because there's profit in it." The industry's maxim, he said, is: "If you can't convince them, confuse them."

He added: "Too often a drug company has a dozen detail or promotion men each selling a dozen products and backed by a dozen wizards in the home office who hold a dozen conferences trying to determine the best way to make nothing appear like a pot of gold."

COLORED GOLF BALLS: Medical leaders and educators, he said, "face the problem with denial, complacency or a sense of futility" because the drug industry "alone commands the resources to make propaganda effective." They cannot compete with such inducements as "the free cocktail party and the golf outing with free golf balls stamped with the name of the doctor and the company in contrasting colors."

Console concluded: "I suggest without hesitation the consideration of a central

agency empowered to approve or disapprove the sale of drugs on the basis of objective evidence of efficiency, and to ban misleading and ambiguous advertising and promotion."

Dr. Chauncey D. Leake, president of the American Assn. for the Advancement of Medicine, one of the nation's leading medical figures, was critical of the industry's "exaggerated advertisements." "Physicians in general," he said, "should be skeptical of the descriptions of new drugs offered by pharmaceutical manufacturers in flamboyant brochures or advertisements."

GIRLS AND FORMULAE: He added: "It would be much more useful for a physician to be given the chemical formula of a new drug in an ad, than to be offered merely its short, snappy trade name in big type alongside the head of a pretty girl."

"It might be assumed that physicians are well acquainted with pretty girls. On the other hand they are really not as well acquainted as they should be with the chemical makeup of new drugs."

Leake said the new advertising ethics code for AMA publications was "not as strict nor as satisfactory" as that in force before World War II. He opposed additional Federal regulations. He said he hoped the industry would be wise enough to police itself voluntarily.

Dr. James E. Bowes of the University of Utah was even more critical of advertising methods. He said that physicians were bombarded with 24,247 tons of drug advertising material a year. Postage alone cost the companies \$12,000,000 a year, he said, and they also spend \$68,000,000 a year in free samples. He said 53 new hospitals could be built, "if we had the amount of money that the pharmaceutical houses throw in the doctor's waste-



Wall Street Journal
"Brilliant man. He keeps our advertising department working overtime thinking of diseases his discoveries will cure."

baskets."

UNDER THE TONGUE: Dr. Solomon Garb of the Albany Medical College reported a three-year study on drug evaluation conducted with the help of his students. They found that "the majority of mailed ads were unreliable, to the extent that a physician trusting them could be seriously misled."

He cited ads for Nitroglyn, a nitro-glycerine medication, which said "it is generally accepted that nitroglycerine is the most effective medication for patients with coronary insufficiency" and referred to an article in an AMA journal. But the article actually said that it was the best chemical "given sublingually" (under the tongue). But Nitrogen cannot be administered sublingually because it is a long-acting preparation. Among such preparations the article specifically recommended another drug.

Garb recommended "continuous Federal inspection of all drug manufacturing" so that physicians can recommend cheaper-priced drugs with the confidence that they meet standards.

GENERAL

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REPLY TO ATTY. GEN. WYMAN AND NEW HAMPSHIRE**

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\$250,000 FUND**

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME in many years you can fight back positively and aggressively—instead of negatively and defensively.

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WE DO have the vision to see how magnificent it will be to have a lovely new and expanded home for ourselves and our children (and theirs) located on World Fellowship's beautiful grounds.

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WE NEED:

	Annually 3 Years	Will Produce
1,000 Contributors to Pledge	\$ 33.33	\$100,000
400 " " "	\$66 to \$ 165.00	\$100,000
25 " " "	\$ 333.33	\$ 25,000
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OF COURSE, YEARLY PLEDGES NOT IN THESE GROUPINGS
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I can serve on a local committee

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CULTURAL 'OSCAR'

Teachers Union honors Trumbo

DALTON TRUMBO, the Hollywood Ten screenwriter who broke through the movie industry blacklist by winning the Academy Award "Oscar" as "Robert Rich," received the annual award of the Teachers Union of the City of New York April 9 at a conference and luncheon attended by more than 2,000 educators and guests at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. The award went to him as one whose "creative gifts as a writer and stalwart stand against the un-American blacklist have enriched our culture." (He is shown right with TU's legislative representative Rose Russell.)

Accepting the award, Trumbo, flaunting a rebellious white mustache, noted that the Cold War had produced a "generation of oath-takers" and warned that there is probably "a long road to travel before the oathing ends." No government, he declared, offers freedom of expression as a gift; the fight for it must be waged in all periods, in all countries. Therefore it will be a shame, he said, if we don't use the freedom returning as the Cold War diminishes "for the old American custom of fighting City Hall."



HOW IT LOOKS FROM NEW DELHI

India-China border: The background

Chinese Premier Chou En-lai arrived in India April 19 after a four-day visit to Burma. The trip to India was arranged through an exchange of cordial letters (initiated by Chou) between Indian Premier Nehru and the Chinese Premier last March.

Nehru said he was "glad" that Chou would "visit Delhi so that we can have talks about our problems and explore avenues which may lead to a peaceful settlement." Chou voiced his hopes for an "overall settlement" of the India-China boundary problem "so that the peoples of the two countries will no longer be troubled and worried." He referred to the boundary dispute, which became acute last August, as "an issue of limited and temporary nature compared with the need of [India and China] to maintain friendly cooperation for thousands and tens of thousands of years to come."

Before Chou left for India, China had signed border agreements with Burma and Nepal. In the Burma treaty, Peking and Rangoon agreed that (1) neither would enter any military alliance directed against the other; (2) Burma would renounce three villages claimed by China, in return for retaining a section Britain—when ruling Burma—had leased from China in 1897 and through which runs an important highway linking the Burmese states of Shan and Kachin; (3) the rest of the China-Burma border would be delimited by a commission "along the customary line," meaning the MacMahon Line; (4) each country would respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the other.

In the Nepal treaty, China agreed on a commission that would survey and delimit the boundary and pledged further economic aid to Nepal.

At a state dinner in Rangoon April 17, Burmese Premier U Nu called the China-Burma treaty and Chou's visit happy auguries "for further development of good neighborly relations and fruitful cooperation" between the two countries. The Chinese Premier, noting that China and Burma had reached a friendly solution despite misunderstandings and border clashes, hailed the treaty as an example for other Asian nations.

To help Americans understand the issues in the China-India border dispute, the GUARDIAN on these pages presents the views of its correspondents in New Delhi and Peking.

By Narendra Goyal
Guardian staff correspondent

NEW DELHI

THE INDIA-CHINA BORDER ultimately will have to be defined in terms of the realities of the situation. It would, therefore, seem to be worthwhile looking into them objectively.

This would mean discarding (1) the Chinese Premier's claim that the entire border has never been formally delimited—because for him the history of the last 100 years does not exist because China was too weak to shape it—and (2) the Indian Premier's demagoguery that "any person with a knowledge of history . . . of the past hundreds of years or more would appreciate that this traditional and historical frontier of India has been associated with India's culture and tradition for the last 2,000 years or so"—because for him Indian history and culture has had more poetry and romance in it than non-Indians would admit.

General characteristics

INDIA'S NORTHERN frontier with China extends roughly 2,500 miles, from Northwest Kashmir to the tripartite junction of India, Burma and China near Talu pass. This includes the 140 miles of Sikkim, 300 miles of Bhutan and 500 miles of Nepal border whose defense is also India's concern. (Nepal and China recently signed an agreement looking toward demarcation of the joint border and for Chinese economic aid to Nepal.)

Almost the entire border is "traditional and well known," according to one's own interpretation, and undemarcated. It runs on high altitudes partly surveyed by secret British parties toward the end of the 19th century; the Chinese and Tibetans never had the power or resources

to survey it. This is admitted by China in its notes (White Paper issued by India, p. 47, Chinese memo of Nov. 3, 1958). There are indeed strong reasons to doubt that the Chinese ever visited some of these areas before consolidating their hold on Tibet in 1954 or even in 1959.

It is an area of over 17,000-ft. elevation, intensely cold, either barren or thickly wooded, either uninhabited—people from the lower heights going there sometimes in summer for grazing their flock—or else populated by primitive tribes. This contrast applies to the west and the east.

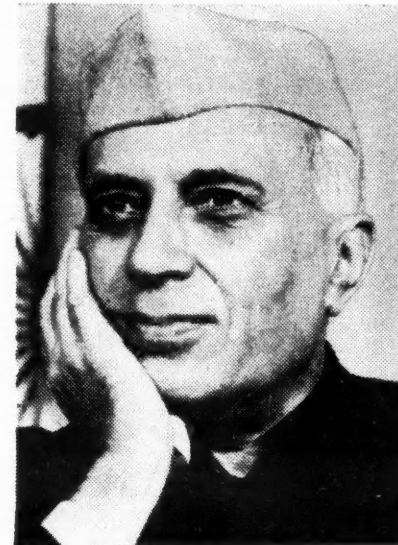
VALUE TO THE EMPIRE: Administration in this region has been lax or non-existent. The British were content with their negative political control, sufficient to exclude any activity endangering their Indian Empire. Its value lay in communications or military-strategic considerations. These apparently continue to both governments in spite of jet and radar and ICBM's: the nationalist and sentimental reasons are grafted on the fear that the Himalayas are not as impregnable as they seemed to be.

Maps are as inconclusive as the surveys and agreements were in the last century. The Chinese maps did not adhere to any definite frontier—obviously because their knowledge of the area was limited—and Indian-British maps followed a pattern of the British gradually extending the line as the area became increasingly known. Cartographers fed the publishers with improved maps showing the alignment where they thought it was at that time on the basis of incomplete reports from innumerable British missions, travelers and surveyors touring

the area. So it is that both sides can quote any number of maps in their favor.

HOW TROUBLE BEGAN: There is no dispute on the Nepal border, nor in Sikkim. The Chinese, equally unsure, have extended their claim gradually and have insisted thus far on very little. The trouble started, for instance, in the Hoti-Wu-Je area in Uttar Pradesh where it took two years to determine that both India and China were referring to the same spot with different names, and the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi thought the place to be north of a certain pass while it was actually south of the pass, and then the problem arose whether the pass (Tunjun-la) was a border pass at all.

Then arose the question of the Chinese road in Aksai Chin plateau in eastern Ladakh and incidents occurred near Khurnak Fort in southeast Kashmir. In the east North-East frontier line, the Chinese advanced at a few spots after the Tibetan revolt. Now the major dispute is over the entire MacMahon Line and the Kashmir border, cutting across about 32,000 square



PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

There'll have to be give and take

miles in the east and 6,000 square miles in the west of what India calls "unquestionably" Indian territory for ages, "firm by treaty, firm by geography, firm by usage."

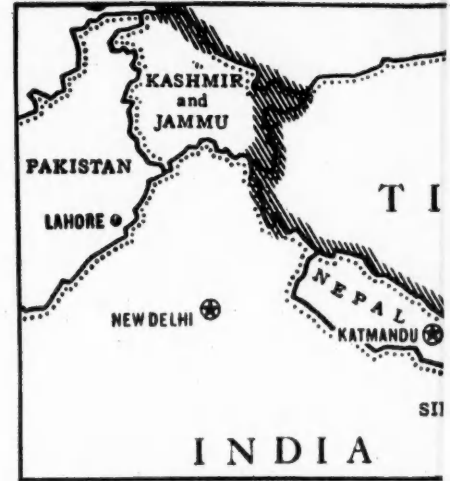
But let us look at each region a little more closely.

Kashmir-Ladakh

LADAKH SEEMS to have been a part of Tibet in the 12th century. In the 15th century it became semi-independent but continued to accept the Dalai Lama as sovereign and signed a treaty to that effect in 1684. Afghans occupied it in the 18th century and the Sikhs tried to bite it off in 1819. (Michel Brecher: *The Struggle for Kashmir*, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1953.)

It was still a tributary of Lhasa in 1834 when Gen. Zorawar Singh of Jammu annexed it in the face of British and Sikh opposition (the Sikh Assembly claimed sovereignty over Jammu). On Aug. 15, 1842, a Lhasa-Jammu treaty—endorsed by Tibet's sovereign, China and the Sikh Assembly—recognized Jammu's annexation of Ladakh but stipulated that Ladakh should continue to send an annual tribute to the Dalai Lama. The tribute did not signify the Dalai Lama's political authority in Ladakh; this shows how confusing it would be to interpret the treaty in terms of the modern concept of statehood (Pannikar: *The Founding of Kashmir State*, London, 1930).

The Sikhs captured Gilgit in 1840, and Gilgit and the Kashmir Valley were incorporated in the new state of Jammu and Kashmir. Thus this state, consisting of five distinct parts—Gilgit, Baltistan, Ladakh, Kashmir Valley and Jammu—extended over the high Himalayas which prior to the 1830's were traditionally part of Tibet-Sinkiang.



THE MacMAHON LINE: BLACK LINE
Heavily shaded areas show land c

PAKISTAN'S POSITION: Kashmir is a heterogeneous state, constituted by the vagaries of history. The population of Baltistan and Ladakh is Mongolian and practices the Lamaist form of Buddhism. Nevertheless, the Indian government cannot allow fission tendencies to grow in Kashmir, especially when a dispute with Pakistan over Kashmir is pending. To admit the Chinese claim on Ladakh on geographical or ethnic grounds would permit Pakistan to advance similar grounds for its claim on at least the Moslem areas of Kashmir.

Brecher says "the plateau of Ladakh does not belong to India. It forms part of the Himalayan tableland." But New Delhi claims that the Indian border constitutes the watershed between the Indus system in India and the Khotan system in China, for the most part running along the major mountain ranges—Muzragh, Karakorum, Changchengmo, Kailas—and the watersheds of the Ganges, Sutlej, Spiti and Parachu.

NEHRU VACILLATES: Nehru's stand on actual delimitation has been rather confusing and unsure. He agreed at times that the frontier has never been physically demarcated, "although our maps are quite clear on the subject." He has also said it "was a matter of argument as to what part of it [Aksai Chin] belongs to us and what to them." But in his letters and notes to the Chinese, he has insisted on absolute certainty on the grounds of many maps and a long list of treaties which refer to "boundaries fixed in the beginning" and to "old established frontiers" needing no "formal delimitation" because they "were well known."

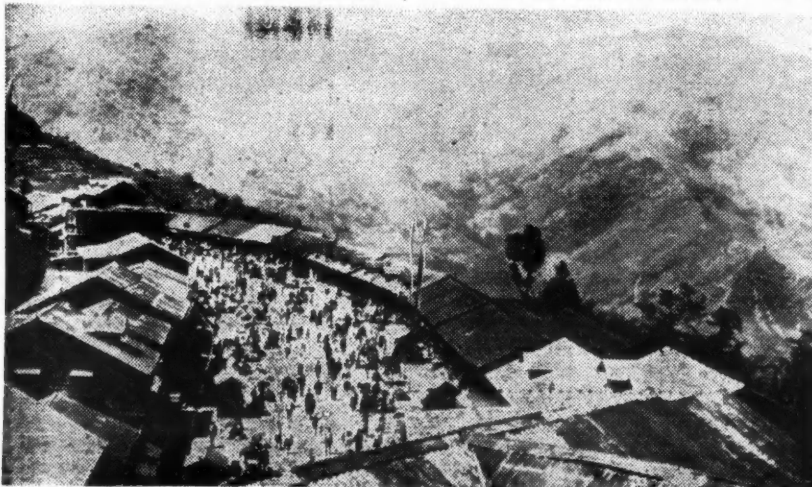
The Indian Foreign Ministry has let Nehru down by not correlating the material it has dug out of the archives. Taken together, they tend to prove that the Chinese in the past were unwilling to negotiate a boundary because they were weak and could be dictated to, and the British went on unilaterally extending the border line and conquering the land by survey parties.

A DISPUTED REGION This is exactly what the Chinese say, though it does not lessen the Indian claim any more than it advances China's claim to these areas. An unknown region belongs to the explorer and the Chinese have as much burden to show they were there at all before the British ever reached the region.

At any rate, it is undeniable that the region is disputed. Nehru has admitted before Parliament that "we are not within 100 miles of Ladakh area (and) there is not much of an administration in the high Himalayas." The Chinese built a road across the Aksai Chin plateau and, as Nehru said, "they attach importance to this area because this route connects part of Chinese Turkestan with Gartok-Yehcheng which is an important connection." It is in effect a no man's land and, since India has little use for it, New Delhi can well forego it in a friendly spirit.

MacMahon Line

THE MacMAHON LINE was drawn at the Simla tripartite conference among Britain, China and Tibet in 1913-14.



THE MOUNTAINS OF TIBET CAN BE SEEN FROM SIKKIM
Here alone was the Tibetan border with India ever defined

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

This first issue of the Guardian Buying Service Record Catalog lists records from six major record companies—Monitor, Vanguard, Folkways, Elektra, Odeon and Pathé—and includes about 200 records. Each of these companies, however, has produced many more records than can be listed in this limited space. If you would like to have complete catalogs from these suppliers, please write Guardian Buying Service, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y.

GBS 1960 Record Catalog

200 Fine Records at Rock Bottom Prices!

HERE, for GBS record-buyers to keep on hand throughout the year, is the first issue of our ANNUAL RECORD CATALOG. Through the years our record business has been growing steadily, but growing even faster has been the number of excellent recordings that demand attention on our weekly Page 12. The only solution has been to list in one place ALL the fine recordings from our suppliers so customers will not be limited to our week-by-week announcements.

Except where noted all the records contained in these pages are high-quality 12" LP's, and are individually priced at \$3.75 or 3 for \$10. Most of

the records list and sell regularly at \$4.95 or \$5.95, saving our customers as much as \$2.20 on a single record, or up to \$6.60 on the 3-for-\$10 combination price.

GUARDIAN readers who have not yet formed the habit of buying records from GBS should know that records are usually shipped within two or three days from receipt of order, and are packed in heavy-duty cardboard cartons insuring safe delivery. Each issue of the GUARDIAN contains an order blank on Page 12. New releases will be offered throughout the year, so keep your eye on Page 12 weekly. And good listening!

SHOSTAKOVICH

- VRS 422—SHOSTAKOVICH, SONG OF THE FORESTS, Oratorio Op. 81; USSR State Orch., Choir and Soloists, Mravinsky, cond.
- VRS 6614 SHOSTAKOVICH, SYMPHONY NO. 1 in F, USSR State Orch., Kondrashin, cond.
- VRS 6014—SHOSTAKOVICH, SYMPHONY NO. 5, Leningrad Orch., Mravinsky, cond.

VRS 6030-6031 (Two-record album) SHOSTAKOVICH, SYMPHONY NO. 7 ("Leningrad") and SYMPHONY NO. 1, Leningrad Symphony Orch. and USSR State Orch., Mravinsky and Kondrashin con. (To be ordered separately, a \$9.96 value for \$7.50)

BACH

BG 508—BACH, J. S.—CANTATA NO. 80 Ein feste Burg; Vienna Chamber Orch. and Akademie Chorus, Prohaska, cond.

BG 527-528—BACH, MASS IN B MINOR, Berlin State Orch. & Chorus, Lehmann, cond. (Two 12" LP's. Reg. \$9.96—ONLY \$5.95 complete!)

BG 540-541-542 (Three records)—BACH BRANDENBERG CONCERTOS 1 & 2, 3 & 4, 5 & 6; Vienna State Orch. and Chorus, Prohaska, cond. (Three-record album, reg. \$14.94—GBS SPECIAL PRICE \$7.50.

PROKOFIEV

VRS 451—ALEXANDER NEVSKY, Cantata, Vienna State Orch. & Chorus, Rossi, cond. (In Russian)

VRS 6003—ON GUARD FOR PEACE, Oratorio; USSR State Orch. & Chorus, with Dolokhanova, Samosud, cond.

VRS 1028—PETER AND THE WOLF, Vienna State Opera Orch., Rossi, cond. with Boris Karloff, narrator. (Also Lieut. Kije)

VRS 6019—SONATA NO 1 in F MINOR for Violin and Piano (with Franck Sonata in A); with D. Oistrakh, violin, and Oobrin, piano.

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OTHER COMPOSERS

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VRS 473—BRAHMS, 21 HUNGARIAN DANCES, Vienna State Opera Orch., Rossi, cond.

BG 564—VIVALDI, THE FOUR SEASONS; Tomaszewski, I solisti di Zagreb, Antonio Janigro, cond.

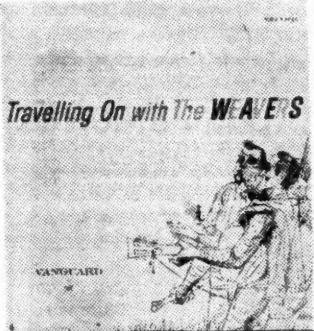
VRS 6002—KHRENNIKOV, MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING Suite (with KABALEVSKY'S VIOLIN CONCERTO) D. Oistrakh, USSR State Orch., Stassevich, cond.

VRS. 6027—GLAZOUNOV, CONCERTO FOR VIOLIN & ORCH. IN A MINOR; with D. Oistrakh and USSR State Orch., Kondrashin, cond. (with DVORAK, VIOLIN CONCERTO or, on VRS 6005, KABALEVSKY'S CELLO CONCERTO).

VRS 6015—LISZT, CONCERTO NO. 1 In E Flat, for piano & orch., with Emil Gilels and the USSR State Orch., Kondrashin, cond. (with SAINT SAENS CONCERTO NO. 2).

VRS 6018—BRAHMS CONCERTO FOR VIOLIN & ORCH. IN D, with D. Oistrakh and USSR State Orch., Kondrashin, cond.

VRS 489—SIBELIUS, TONE POEMS: Phil. Prom. Orch. of London, Adrian Boult, cond. Vol. 1: En Saga, Swan of Tuonela, Lemminkainen's Homecoming, The Bard, Pohjola's Daughter. (Vol. 2) Finlandia, Night Ride and Sunrise, Oceanides, Tapiola, Prelude (The Tempest). Both volumes in Deluxe Album (Regularly \$9.96) Just \$7.50.



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VRS 9010—THE WEAVERS AT CARNEGIE HALL—Kisses Sweeter Than Wine, Darling Corey, Rock Island Line, Lonesome Traveler, When The Saints Go Marching In, Go Where I Send Thee, Sixteen Tons, Goodnight Irene, etc.

VRS 9013—THE WEAVERS ON TOUR—Tzema Tzema, Old Smoky, Filimoorerey, Drill Ye Tsairiers, Clementine, Michael Row The Boat Ashore, So Long, etc.

VRS 9024—THE WEAVERS AT HOME—This Land, Santy Ano, Aunt Rhodie, All Night Long, Midnight Special, You Old Fool, etc.

Martha Schlamme
 Beauty of voice, perfect diction and phrasing and a unique style have made Martha Schlamme "the most beguiling and meaningful of folk singers" (N. Y. Telegraph.)



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VRS 9011—MARTHA SCHLAMME SINGS JEWISH FOLK SONGS—Chanuke, O Chanuke, Geh ich mir Spatzieren, Mai Komashmo Lon, Shein bin ich shein, Tum-balayaka, Die Mesinke, Dire-Gelt, Zhankoye, Freilach, Partizaner Lid, etc.

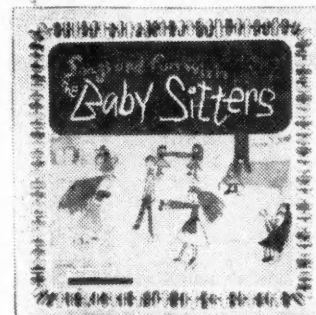
VRS 9040—MARTHA SCHLAMME SINGS JEWISH FOLK SONGS (with orchestra conducted by Robert DeCormier) Lomir alle freylech zeln, Der Rebbe Elimelech, Zog Maran, Der Fetter Nuss'n, Margariklech, Tumba Tumba, Chazkele, Rozhnikes mit Mandlen, Teire Makke, Dos Pastuch, Vos Villstu, S'dremlen Feygl oyf di Tsvaygn, Lomir sich Iberbeten, S'loifn S'yugn Schwartze Wolks, Dana, Dana, Dana, Unser Rebbenu, Bie dem Stetl.



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VRS 9038—TOL' MY CAPTAIN, by LEON BIBB: Chain Gang and Work Songs—Midnight Special, Tol' My Captain, Sylvie, I Seen Little Rosie, Prettiest Train, Bald Headed Woman, This is the Hammer That Killed John Henry, etc.



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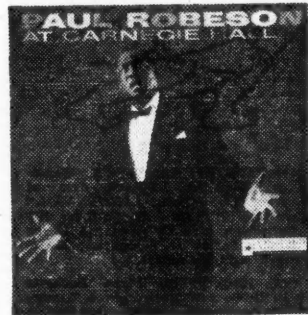


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VRS 9002—KURT WEILL, THE THREE-PENNY OPERA; complete score, sung in German. Liana, Rosensenge, etc., with Vienna State Opera orch. & chorus, Adler, cond.



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Paul Robeson is one of the great artists America has produced. In him all the great talents—a magnificent voice, fine acting ability, and deep musical understanding—fuse into the artistic whole. Through the years GBS has sold more Robeson records than those of any other single performer. The two below are among the best. (For other Robeson albums see the MONITOR listings on the following page.)

VRS 9037—ROBESON—(with chorus and orchestra, Harriet Wingreen, piano)—Water Boy, Shenandoah, Deep River, John Brown's Body, Jerusalem, Londonderry Air, Sometimes I Feel Like a Motherless Child, Get on Board, Little Children, The House I Live In, Loch Lomond, Drink To Me Only With Thine Eyes, Joshua Fought the Battle of Jericho, All Through the Night.

VRS 9051—PAUL ROBESON AT CARNEGIE HALL—The recording of Robeson's last famous concert in America on May 9, 1958. (Includes the short reading from Othello, and a short reading and song from Boris Godounov.) Every Time I Feel the Spirit, Balm in Gilead, Volga Boat Song, O Thou Silent Night, My Curly Headed Baby, Old Man River, Going Home, Joe Hill and others.

Odetta

Of Odetta's Town Hall concert the N.Y. Herald Tribune recently wrote: "Her bearing is that of a princess, her manner that of an intensely devoted executant who has something to say and the wherewithal to say it . . . Odetta is a noble artist."

VRS 9059—ODETTA: MY EYES HAVE SEEN—Poor Little Jesus, Motherless Children, I Know Where I'm Going, The Foggy Dew, Water Boy, Down on Me, Sara Jane, Jumpin' Judy, Battle Hymn of the Republic, and others.

VRS 9066—BALLAD FOR AMERICANS with ODETTA and the DeCormier Chorus: Symphony of the Air—The great Earl Robinson-John LaTouche ballad, plus a selection of songs including This Land, On Top of Old Smoky, Payday at Coal Creek, Going Home, etc.

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- SRV 104—HI-FI JINKS WITH STRAUSS (Paulik).
- SRV 105—BACH, MASTERWORKS OF J. S. BACH (Prohaska).

- SRV 106—BEETHOVEN 5th Sym./SCHUBERT Unfinished (Prohaska).
- SRV 107—BIZET Carmen Suite/L'Arlésienne No. 1 (Rossi).
- SRV 108—LISZT Hungarian Rhapsodies for Orch. (Fistoulari).
- SRV 109—HAYDN Sym. 100 Military and 101 Clock (Woodlike).
- SRV 110—TCHAIKOVSKY Italian Caprice/1812 Overture (Rossi); RIMSKY-KORSAKOV Spanish Caprice/Russian Easter.
- SRV 111—GREAT MASTERS OF THE WALTZ (Paulik).
- SRV 112—TCHAIKOVSKY Sym. No. 6 Pathétique (Golschmann).
- SRV 113—KHACHATURIAN Gayne; KABALEVSKY Comedians.
- SRV 114—DVORAK Sym. No. 8 New World (Golschmann).
- SRV 115—HANDEL Royal Fireworks Music/Water Music.

Monitor Records

MONITOR RECORDINGS, INC., specializes in recordings made from imported tapes, principally from the U.S.S.R. and other European countries. All the records shown here are 12" LP's which list at \$4.98, and are available from GBS at \$3.75 each, two for \$7 or three for \$10.

MC 2002 BACH Piano Concerto No. 1 in D Minor Richter, piano; State Orch. of the U.S.S.R., Sanderling, cond.; PROKOFIEFF Violin Concerto No. 2 in G Minor, Op. 63 Kogan, violin; State Orch. of the USSR, Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2003 DAVID OISTRAKH RECITAL. SZYMANOWSKI The Fountain of Arethusa; DE FALLA Spanish Dance; SCRIBIN Nocturne; PROKOFIEFF Love of Three Oranges; March; ALBENIZ Song of Love; WAGNER Album Leaf; SAINT-SAENS Etude; SUK Song of Love; ZARZYCKI Mazurka; MEDTNER Nocturne; KODALY 3 Hungarian Dances. V. Yampolsky, piano.

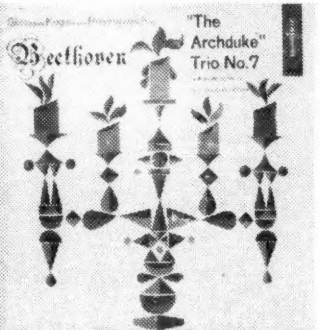
MC 2004 RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 1 in F Sharp Minor, Op. 1 Richter, piano; State Radio Orch., Sanderling, cond.; SAINT-SAENS Piano Concerto No. 5 in F Major, Op. 103, Egyptian, Richter, piano; Moscow Youth Symphony Orch., Kondrashin, cond.

MC 2005 BACH SONATA in C Major for Two Violins and Piano David & Igor Oistrakh, violins; Yampolsky, piano; MOZART Sonata in B Flat Major for Violin and Piano, K. 454 Oistrakh, violin; Yampolsky, piano; BEETHOVEN Trio No. 9 in E Flat Major Gilels, piano; Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2006 MOZART Concerto No. 10 in E Flat Major for Two Pianos and Orchestra, K. 365 Gilels & Zak, pianos; State Orch. of the U.S.S.R., Kondrashin, cond.; SAINT-SAENS Carnival of the Animals Gilels & Zak, pianos; State Orch. of the USSR, Eliasburg, cond.

MC 2007 KABALEVSKY Symphony No. 4 Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Kabalevsky, cond.; PROKOFIEFF The Volga Meets the Don, Op. 150 Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.

MC 2008 BACH Concerto in D Minor for Two Violins and Orchestra, David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Chamber Orch., Barshal, cond. SARASATE Navarra for Two Violins and Piano, David and Igor Oistrakh, violins; Yampolsky, piano; BACH Sonata No. 6 in G Major for Violin and Piano; HINDEMITZ Sonata No. 1 for Violin and Piano, Op. 11. Oistrakh, violin; Yampolsky, piano.



MC 2010 BEETHOVEN Trio No. 7 in B Flat Major, Op. 97, Archduke Gilels, piano; Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2011 BEETHOVEN Sonata No. 7 in C Minor, Op. 30, No. 3 Kogan, violin; Mitnik, piano; MOZART Sonata in F Major, K. 374 Kogan, violin; Ginsburg, piano.

MC 2012 RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 3 in D Minor, Op. 30 Merzhanov, piano; State Orch. of the USSR, Anosov, cond.; LISZT Three Grand Etudes After Paganini (Nos. 3 La Campanella, 4, 5) Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2013 BRAHMS Variations on a Theme of Paganini, Op. 35; SCRIBIN Sonata No. 5, Op. 53; Four Etudes (Op. 8, Nos. 5, 10, 12; Op. 42, No. 5) Merzhanov, piano.

MC 2014 SHOSTAKOVICH Violin Concerto, Op. 99 Oistrakh, violin; Leningrad Orch., Mravinsky, cond.

MC 2015 SHOSTAKOVICH Symphony No. 9, Op. 70; A Festive Overture, Op. 96; Memorable Year 1919, Op. 89, State Radio Orch. of the USSR, Gauk, cond.

MC 2016 MUSSORGSKY Highlights from Boris Godunov; RACHMANINOFF Cavatina of Aleko Mark Reizen, bass; Chorus & Orch. of the Bolshoi Theatre.

MC 2018 VIVALDI Violin Concerto in G Minor; RAMEAU Concerto No. 6 in G Minor; HANDSHKIN Viola Concerto Kogan, violin; Barshal, viola; Moscow Chamber Orch., Barshal, cond.

MC 2019 TCHAIKOVSKY Souvenir of Florence, Op. 70 Kogan, Elizaveta Gilels, violins; Barshal, Talalian, violas; Knushevitsky, Rostropovich, cellos; HANDSHKIN Variations on a Russian Folk Theme Kogan, violin; Rostropovich, cello.

MC 2020 SHOSTAKOVICH From Jewish Folk Poetry, Op. 79 Dolukhanova, mezzo-soprano; Dorlyak, soprano; Maslennikov, tenor; Shostakovich, piano; MUSSORGSKY The Nursery Dorlyak, soprano; Richter, piano; KABALEVSKY Three Shakespeare Sonnets Reizen, bass; Kabalevsky, piano.

MC 2021 PROKOFIEFF Cello Sonata, Op. 119 Rostropovich, cello; Richter, piano; SHOSTAKOVICH Cello Sonata, Op. 40 Rostropovich, cello; Shostakovich, piano.

MC 2022 SCHUMANN Humoresque, Op. 20; FRANCK Prelude, Chorale and Fugue Richter, piano.

MC 2023 SCHUMANN Cello Concerto in A Minor, Op. 129 Rostropovich, cello; Moscow Philharmonic Orch., Samosud, cond.; Concerto for Four Horns in F Major, Op. 86 State Radio Orch.; Gauk cond.

MC 2025 KHACHATURIAN Spartacus Ballet Music State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.

MC 2026 SCHUMANN Piano Concerto in A Minor, Op. 54 Richter, piano; State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.; Fantasiestücke, Op. 12 (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8) Richter, piano.

MC 2027 SCHUBERT Sonata in A Minor for Piano, Op. 42; Impromptu Op. 90, No. 2 and Op. 142, No. 2 Richter, piano.

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MC 2029 ZARA DOLUKHANOVA (Mezzo-Soprano) RECITAL. VERDI Aria of Eboli from Don Carlo; ARUTYANIAN Lullaby; BEETHOVEN 3 Songs from The New Collection of Folk Songs; 2 Greek Folk Songs; Songs by Khudoyan, Medtner, Peiko, and Makarova.

MC 2032 BEETHOVEN Piano Concerto No. 4 in G, Op. 58 Gilels, piano; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.; SCARLATTI Sonata in A Major (L. 395); Sonata in D Minor (L. 421) Gilels, piano.

MC 2033 BEETHOVEN Piano Concerto No. 5 in E Flat Major, Op. 73, "Empereur" Gilels, piano; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.

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MC 2035 THE VIRTUOSO STRINGS OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE ORCHESTRA KHACHATURIAN Sabre Dance; GLAZOUNOV Entracte from Raymond; PROKOFIEFF Waltz from War and Peace; March from Peter and the Wolf; VLADIGEROV Song; PAGANINI Perpetual Motion; RIMSKY-KORSAKOV Flight of the Bumble Bee; DVORAK Songs My Mother Taught Me; HRISTIC Two Dances from Legend of Ohrid; RAVEL Pavane Pour Une Infante Defunte; Egyptian Dance, Yuli Reentovich, cond.

MC 2036 FRANCK Piano Quintet in F Minor, Quartet of the Bolshoi Theatre Orchestra; Richter, piano.

MC 2037 BACH Brandenburg Concerto No. 3 in G Major; Brandenburg Concerto No. 4 in G Major; Suite No. 2 in B Minor for Flute and Strings, D. Oistrakh, violin; A. Korneyev and N. Zaidel, flutes; Moscow Chamber Orch., Barshal, cond.

MC 2038 MIASKOVSKY Symphony No. 19 for Band Moscow Military Band, Petrov, cond.; BALAKIREV Islamey (Oriental Fantasy) State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.; MUSSORGSKY Introduction and Gopak from "The Fair of Sorochinsk" Bolshoi Theatre Orch., Nebolsin, cond.; PAKHMUTOVA Youth Overture State Radio Orch., Belousov, cond.; KNIPPER Youth Overture State Radio Orch., Gauk, cond.

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MC 2040 PROKOFIEFF Sinfonia Concertante, Op. 125 for Cello & Orch. Rostropovich, cello; Leningrad Philharmonic Orch., Sanderling, cond.; SHOSTAKOVICH Concertino for Two Pianos Maxim & Dmitri Shostakovich, pianists.

MC 2042 PROKOFIEFF Visions Fugitives H. Neuhaus, piano; 10 Pieces from Romeo and Juliet Serebriakov, piano. MC 2043 SCHUBERT Sonata in D Major for Piano, Op. 53 Richter, piano.

MC 2044—CLAUDETTE SOREL Piano Recital. Chopin: Sonata in B Minor; Liszt: Sonetto del Petrarca No. 123; Raff: La Fileuse; Moszkowski: Etincelles; Rachmaninoff: 4 Preludes.

MC 2045—MENDELSSOHN: Sonatas for Cello and Piano. David Soyer, Cello; Harriet Wingreen, Piano.

MC 2046 FAMOUS SOLOISTS OF THE BOLSHOI THEATRE IN RUSSIAN OPERATIC ARIAS—Litsitsian (from Nero), Vishnevskaya (Snow Maiden), Firsova (Francesca, Da Rimini), Petrov (The Decembrists), Kozlovsky and Kleshecheva (Duets from Eugene Onegin), Masnikova (Khovanshchina), Reizen (Ivan Susanin).

Folk and Popular

MF 301—SONGS AND DANCES OF THE UKRAINE, VOL. I, featuring soloists, choruses and bandura ensembles.

MF 304—RUMANIAN FOLK SONGS AND DANCES, featuring the "Clocarila" song and dance ensemble.

MF 305—LITHUANIAN SONGS AND DANCES, performed by national vocal and instrumental soloists and ensembles.

MF 306—LATVIAN FOLK SONGS AND DANCES, with the Latvian State Chorus, Riga Orch. of Folk Instruments, and Riga Male Quartet.

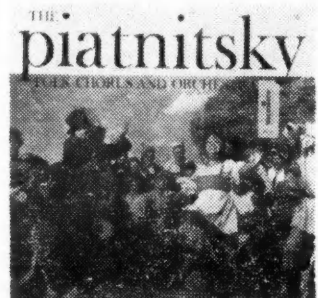
MF 307—FOLK SONGS FROM THE CAUCASUS, performed by national soloists, choruses and orchestras.

MF 310—RUSSIAN FOLK DANCES OF THE MOISEVY DANCE COMPANY, performed by folk instrument orchestras.

MF 312—FOLK SONGS AND DANCES OF YUGOSLAVIA, with national choruses and orchestras.

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MF 315—UKRAINE: THE UKRAINIAN DUMKA CHORUS conducted by Alexander Soroka, and the Ukrainian Bandura Ensemble conducted by Alexander Minkovsky, featuring Boris Hmirya, Bass-Baritone.



MF 318—RUSSIAN SONGS AND DANCES BY THE PIATNITSKY CHORUS AND ORCHESTRA OF FOLK INSTRUMENTS, conducted by Vassily Khlavov.

MF 320—BYELORUSSIAN FOLK SONGS AND DANCES performed by soloists and the Byelorussian Folk Chorus.

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MF 323—CHRISTMAS SONGS FROM THE OLD WORLD—25 unusual Christmas songs from 14 European countries sung in the native languages. Orch. cond. by Robert Cornman.

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MF 326—SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND BAND in a Program of Favorites.

MF 327—SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND ORCHESTRA IN A NEW PROGRAM OF FAVORITES.

MF 341—THE SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND BAND: Songs of the Steppes.

MF 380—PAUL ROBESON: Favorite Songs, accompanied by Alan Booth and Lawrence Brown, pianists. Songs include: Hammer Song, Water Me From the Lime Rock, Scandalize My Name, Jacob's Ladder, Swing Low Sweet Chariot, Vi Azol Lebt der Keyser, Zog Nit Keynmol, Joe Hill, etc.

MF 381—"ENCORE, ROBESON!" Paul Robeson sings Favorite Songs, Vol. 2. With Alan Booth, Piano.

MF 390—MOSCOW NIGHTS: Popular Russian hits, with vocal soloists and instrumental ensembles.

MF 324—YVES MONTAND SINGS FRENCH POPULAR AND FOLK SONGS, including Le Rot Renaud De Guerre Revent, Le Chant De La Liberation, etc.

MF 365—BROTHER JOHN SELLERS SINGS "BIG BOAT UP THE RIVER" and other Blues and Folk Songs; with Ernest Hayes, piano, Mickey Baker, guitar, Panama Francis, drums, Hayward Henry, flute and Tenor, and Lloyd Trotman, Bass.

MF 326—POLISH STATE FOLK BALLETT "Slask," Vol. 2. The world-famous ensemble in exciting song-dances.

MF 327—YUGOSLAV FOLK SONGS—Performed by the "Joz Vlahovic" Chorus & Orch. of Zagreb, conducted by Emil Cossetto.

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All of the records listed below are 12" LP's, which list at \$5.95, and are sold by GBS for \$4.25 each. When ordering other records in this catalog at 3 for \$10 you may include ONLY ONE Folkways record.

Pete Seeger

Pete Seeger has long had rightful claim to the title of America's Folk Singer No. 1. His concert performances fill halls in every major city, and his records are played in every corner of the land. His talent is more than craftsmanship on the guitar or banjo and musical knowledge: His voice is "of the people, its sorrowful joy and contemporary nostalgia expressing a kind of humaneness." However you explain him, Pete is a magic figure on the stage, and the quality of his presence comes through on records. Here are some of his best . . .

FA 2319—AMERICAN BALLADS (with album booklet containing the text of all songs) by Pete Seeger. Includes: Pretty Polly, The Three Butchers, John Henry, Jay Gould's Daughter, Gypsy Davy, St. James Hospital, Jesse James, Barbara Allen, etc.

FA 2320—AMERICAN FAVORITE BALLADS (Vol. 1): Down in the Valley, Mary Don't You Weep, The Blue Tail Fly, Yankee Doodle, Buffalo Gals, So Long, It's Been Good To Know You, Skip To My Lou, The Wreck of the Old '97, Old Dan Tucker, Frankie and Johnny, On Top of Old Smoky, etc.

FA 2321—AMERICAN FAVORITE BALLADS (Vol. 2): Oh, Susanna, The Riddle Song, Sally Ann, Shenandoah, Midnight Special, Careless Love, Poor Boy, Black Is the Color, The Water Is Wide, The Fox, The Keeper, etc.

FA 2322—AMERICAN FAVORITE BALLADS (Vol. 3): John Brown's Body, Girl I Left Behind Me, Mary Don't You Weep, St. Louis Blues, Swanee River, Camp-town Races, Swing Low, Good Night Irene, Dink's Song, etc.

FH 2521—AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL BALLADS—Songs include: Peg and Awl, The Blind Fiddler, Eight-Hour Day, Hard Times in the Mill, Casey Jones, Fare Ye Well, The Death of Harry Sims, etc.

FA 2412—PETE SEEGER and SONNY TERRY AT CARNEGIE HALL (recorded "live" at Carnegie Hall in 1957, with audience participation). Songs include: Kum Ba Yah, Twelve Gates to the City, Pay Day at Coal Creek, Arkansas Traveler, Reuben James, Study War No More, etc. (With album booklet containing texts and guitar and banjo chords by Pete Seeger.)

FN 2501—GAZETTE—Topical songs and ballads sung by Pete Seeger, with 3-string banjo and 12-string guitar accompaniment. Songs include: Pretty Boy Floyd, Banks of Marble, TVA Song, Teacher's Blues, Ballad of Peace, Talking Atom, Battle of Maxton Field, Doctor Freud, There Is Mean Things Happenin' in This Land, etc. With complete illustrated text and notes.

FA 2452—WITH VOICES TOGETHER WE SING—Pete Seeger leading an audience in: Deep Blue Sea, Chanukah, Qui Bonita Bandera, Didn't Old John, Michael Row The Boat, Senzenina, Wimoweh, Wasn't That a Time, etc.

Pete Seeger and Kids

(See CHILDREN'S CORNER on opposite page)

Guy Carawan

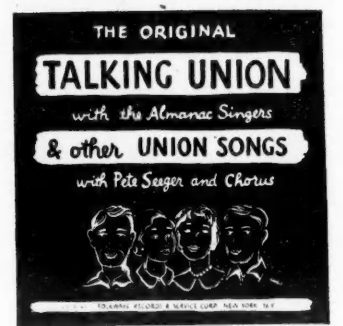
An exciting young singer with a rich full voice who goes effortlessly to the heart of a song.

FG 3544—GUY CARAWAN SINGS, with guitar, banjo accompaniment: Old Blue, Cripple Creek, Whoa Buck, Three Little Pigs, Boll Weevil, Buffalo Gals, Sinner Man, Sourwood Mountain, Weary Blues, Chinese Flute Solo, etc., with texts included.

FG 3548 GUY CARAWAN SINGS (Vol. II): Blue Eyed Gal, Kicking Mule, Yugoslav Love Song, Mexican Lullaby, All Night Long, Freight Train, Red Rosy Bush, Black-Eyed Susie, Pretty Saro, Cindy, etc. Notes by Alan Lomax.

FG 3532—GUY CARAWAN Vol. III, with guitar, banjo and bass accompaniment. Songs: Skip To My Lou, Jubilee, White Oak Tree, Been All Over This Country, Hobo's Lullaby, Down By The Riverside, etc.

FN 2324—ANOTHER COUNTY HEARD FROM: Songs composed and sung by Malvina Reynolds, accompanied by Erik Darling. Songs: The Day the Freeway Froze, Oh Doctor, The Pied Piper, Somewhere Between, There'll Come a Time, I Live In a City, Mommy's Girl, Singalong, Little Land, Money Blues, etc.



FA 5285—THE ORIGINAL TALKING UNION with the Almanac Singers, and Other Union Songs with Pete Seeger and Chorus (Notes by Philip Foner). One of the great albums of the Thirties featuring such classics as: Get Thee Behind Me Satan, Union Maid, Talking Union, Union Train, Which Side Are You On?, We Shall Not Be Moved, Solidarity Forever, Hold The Fort, etc.

FW 8758—SONGS OF ROBERT BURNS, sung by Ewan MacColl; Twenty-three songs written or collected by Robert Burns interpreted with utmost faithfulness by a talented Scottish folk singer.

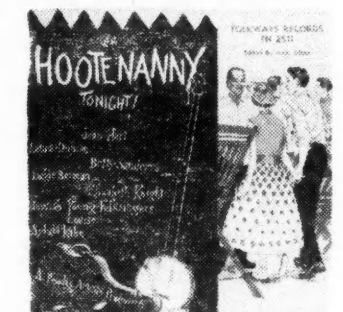
FH 2564—SONGS FROM THE DEPRESSION WITH THE NEW LOST CITY RAMBLERS: Mike Seeger, John Cohen, Tom Paley, Songs: No Depression In Heaven, Breadline Blues, Keep Moving, NRA Blues, Join The CIO, Boys, My Money's All Gone, etc.

FA 2396—THE NEW LOST CITY RAMBLERS—An original group of folk musicians who sing the songs as they were written. Songs: Don't Let Your Deal Go Down, Truly Understand You Love Another Man, Tom, Cat Blues, Sailor on The Deep Blue Sea, Davy, Roving Gambler, Take a Drink on Me, etc. With complete notes.

FL 9907—STOLEN ALEICHEM—Readings in Yiddish by Gustav Berger. Stories: The German, A Story About a Greenhorn, Mr. Greu Has a Job. (With complete English and Yiddish texts)

A New Release!

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FN 2511—HOOTENANNY TONIGHT, with Pete Seeger, Les Pine, Al Moss, Jean Hart, Earl Robinson, Laura Duncan, Betty Sanders, Jackie Berman, Jerry Silverman, Leon Bibb, Elizabeth Knight, Bob and Louise DeCormier, Sonny Terry, Sylvia Kahn and the Jewish Young Folksingers in a "live" Hootenanny program: Songs: Mule Skinner Blues, Great Getting Up Morning, Rich Man and the Poor Man, Talking Union, Dance Me a Jig, Wimoweh, Dark as a Dungeon, Told My Cousin, etc.

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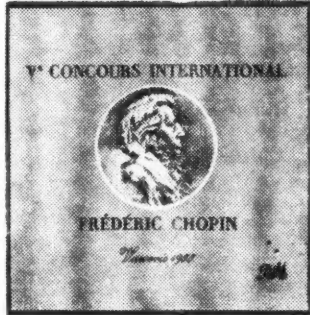
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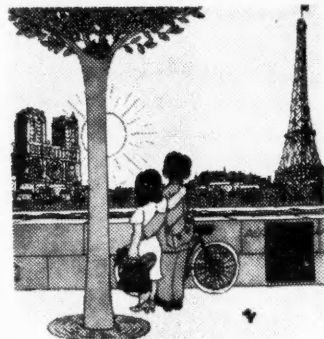
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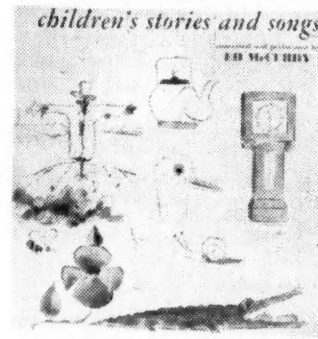
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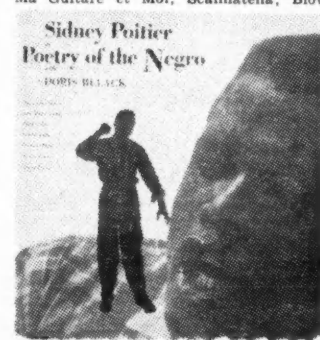
EKL-150—**SONGS OF A RUSSIAN GYPSY**—with guitar and orchestral accompaniment under the direction of Fred Hellerman. Violin, accordion, guitar and percussion accompaniment—Beryuzoviy Kalyehke; Yekhal Tsigane; Dve Gitari; Kagda Ya Pyann; Syvetit Myesats, Kak Stranno; Nichevo; Chto Mnye Gorye; Dyen I Noch; Metyelitsa; Snilsya Mnye Sad; Karobushka; Karabil; Sudarina.



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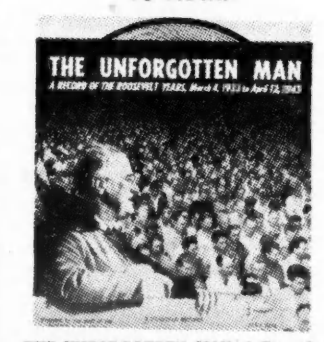
EKL-105—**AN ACTOR'S HOLIDAY**—Theodore Bikel sings twenty-two songs from France, Italy, Russia, Spain, Ireland, Zulu-Land and England as he cultivates the six-stringed key to international folklore—Khang Larote; Rue; Ay Te Tsi Te; Vi Zeneu Mayne Vinge Yoren; Mang-wani Mpulele; Wheel of Fortune; Le Mineur; Be'er Bassadeh; Los Cuatro Muleros; Vira; Na Kouye Voronom; A La-Claire Fontaine; Welcum To Scotland; Ma Guitare et Moi; Scalinatella; Blow



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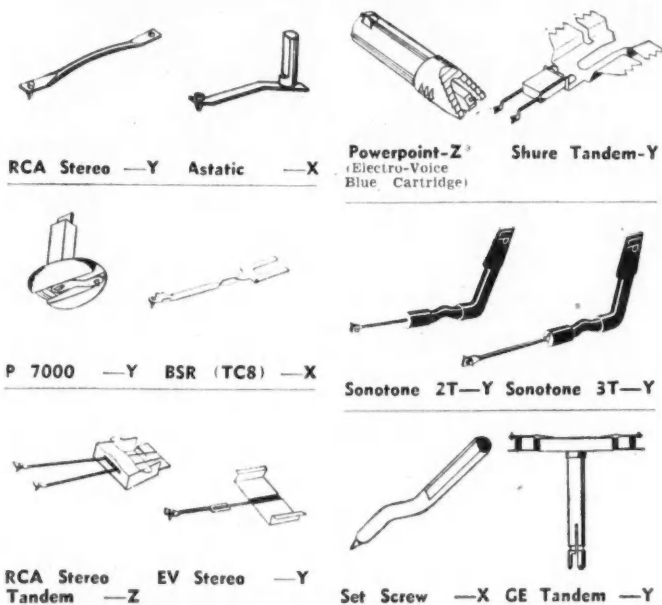
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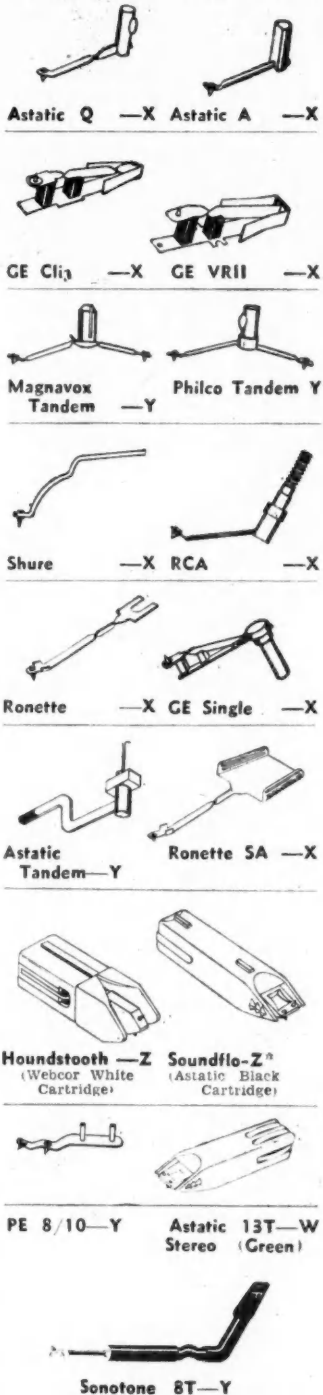


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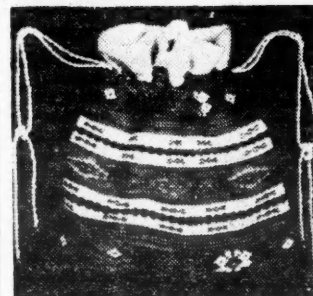
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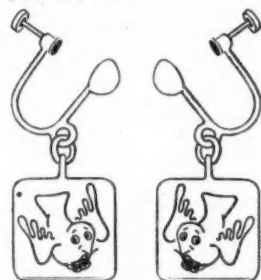
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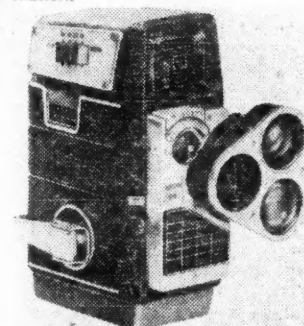
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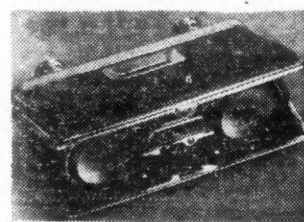
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HOW IT LOOKS FROM PEKING

Tibet and the West: Do they figure?

By Anna Louise Strong
Guardian staff correspondent

PEKING
WITH CHOU EN-LAI and Nehru meeting in New Delhi, certain facts should be placed on record:

(1) The India-China border conflict in its acute form was started by Nehru in his speeches of Aug. 6-7, 1959, and promoted until it caught fire and went perhaps even beyond his control. It was not started by armed clashes; these came three weeks later.

(2) It was prompted by an allegation of Chinese invasion of Indian territory; but this invasion was alleged to have taken place in 1951 and has not advanced since. Even Nehru has acknowledged this.

The second round of anti-Chinese attacks in India grew in intensity later in August when Indian leaders in parliament accused China of drawing maps to "show great chunks" of Indian territory as part of China; of invading Indian areas; expanding into Indian land, and mistreating Indian prisoners.

Some went so far as to urge the bombing of the Sinkiang-Tibet highway which China had built and which, they said, was on Indian territory. Right-wing politicians criticized Nehru's attack on China as too weak.

In January Nehru was "hoping to avoid war," but he called on India to prepare: "For the first time in 2,000 years, the two nations face each other not in a friendly spirit." "The troubles with China are not a short-term affair," the government defense office said.

PEKING IS NOT HOSTILE: A careful check of facts and maps showed that (1) China had changed no map in a century; (2) Peking's troops had not penetrated even a mile of Indian territory from the border positions occupied in 1951; (3) In the last decade India alone had changed maps and launched vehement criticism of China for holding a border position on which New Delhi had been silent since 1951.

In Peking the government showed no hostility to India. The worst changes provoked no bitterness. There were no demonstrations before the Indian embassy—in contrast to Indian demonstrations before the Chinese embassy in New Delhi—and no demands for war or an increase in the military budget. The "border question" was not even front-page news.

Chinese diplomatic notes were conciliatory, Peking presented its claims when India demanded them. It said: "We do not want to answer attack by attack. . . . [It is] impossible that our two great friendly neighbors should start war over such temporary and local disputes." Nevertheless, the Indian press reported New Delhi issuing "clarion calls" for defense.

Peking went on proposing negotiations on the border which it said had never been "delimited." India refused unless China first accepted the MacMahon Line as the legal boundary. Later India asked China to withdraw from its only traffic route to northwestern Tibet.

CLUE TO DISPUTE? While China had not violated the border, it had done something else which might offer a clue to the dispute: China had freed the serfs in Tibet, organized peasant associations and local governments, sounded a note of liberation throughout Tibet—all this just as India began the border accusations. There would seem to be a connection here, in the light of Washington's crusade to "contain China," and the up-

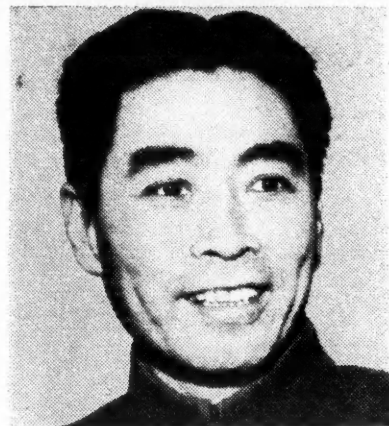
of Bhutanese territory (demarcated by the MacMahon Line)—and has not intruded at any point.

Conclusion

THE HISTORICAL and administrative realities of the entire Indo-Chinese border are not above dispute and the situation is even more confusing to the layman because numerous references given by the disputants are in archives not open to the public. It is difficult to sep-

arate fact from oratorical flourishes and intent from diplomacy.

Arguments of ethnic, demographic, cultural and religious factors cut both ways. While they support India's claim in the east along the MacMahon Line, they throw open the whole western area, even including Sikkim and Bhutan, to Chinese sphere of influence, if not actual occupation. The administrative test would similarly seem to strengthen Chinese claims in the west and Indian



PRIME MINISTER CHOU

There was no bitterness in Peking

southeastern. The northwest section—which India calls "Eastern Ladakh" and China calls "Hotien county in Sinkiang and Rudok county in Tibet"—is an icy wasteland 17,000 feet high, with some summer pastures used by Tibetans for hundreds of years. The 30,000 sq. km. of disputed area has never been used or administered by India, and Indians cannot even reach it across the great ranges. In November, 1959, Nehru said: "Nobody has mapped it."

SINKIANG-TIBET ROUTE: Two hundred years ago the Ching Dynasty established armed checkposts to guard an ancient caravan route in the area through which the present Sinkiang-Tibet route passes. These posts were maintained continuously up to the time of Chiang Kai-shek, from whom the People's Liberation Army took over in 1949. They entered Tibet through this route in 1951, brought 3,000 workers in 1956 to help the army improve it into a motor highway.

India made no acknowledgment of it until 1957, when Peking announced completion of the highway. The Chinese call it "unconvincing" when India claims to have administered this area continuously.

Tibet's great pastoral area, Ari, comprises the "middle border," lying northwest of Nepal and adjoining India's Punjab. The disputed area is not great; but there are populated places, including the market town of Puling-sumdo, which was agreed upon as a Chinese trading place in the 1954 India-China treaty on Tibet. But Indian troops a year or two later occupied nine places in this area, including Puling-sumdo. India still holds them although China made diplomatic protests.

THE MAIN AREA: The southeastern end of the border, between Bhutan and Burma, is the major area of dispute. A British officer named MacMahon in 1914 drew a line on a map there, with the idea of incorporating into India 90,000 sq. km. of Tibet. In the face of Chinese and Tibetan protests, Britain did not place the MacMahon Line on any official map of India till about 1950, and even then marked it "undelimited." Britain never officially claimed that line. In the London Times (Sept. 2, 1959), the former acting

governor-general of Assam, Henry Twynan, wrote: "The MacMahon Line doesn't exist and never has existed." MacMahon himself never marked it on the ground.

India took by force what Britain never possessed. Before the Chinese army entered Tibet, India in 1951 launched a surprise attack on Tawang, county seat of the disputed area, after Lhasa refused an Indian demand to hand it over. Indian troops expelled from Tawang the Tibetan magistrates and "Living Buddhas" who had ruled there and collected taxes since 1650. Facing an accomplished fact, Peking notified India it regarded the seizure as illegal, but said it was no cause for war; rather, it preferred to have the boundary properly negotiated. India has avoided negotiations and still holds the area; the Chinese have not crossed the "MacMahon Line."

INDIA AND TIBET: While using China as a bulwark against the West's diplomatic and economic offensive, the Indian government has always sought to keep China at a distance to prevent Indian peasants from being inspired by the cries of "land to the tiller" and "free bread." New Delhi has sought also to use Tibet—with its large area, regional autonomy and serfdom—as a buffer against the Chinese revolution. Failing to keep the Liberation Army out of Tibet in 1950-51, India seized the 90,000 sq. km. of territory adjacent to the "MacMahon Line" to put the Himalayan peaks between India and China's Tibet.

New Delhi's relation to the March, 1959, Tibetan feudal rulers' rebellion is unclear; but elements in India clearly helped it. Nehru himself called the failure of the rebellion a "tragedy." When India sought and failed to assume the role of mediator between the Dalai Lama and Peking—after the Dalai had fled to India—New Delhi had no other course but to shut the border by raising a physical and emotional storm to drown out the jubilant sounds of the liberated Tibetan serfs.

BOW TO WASHINGTON? This, evidently, was the reason for India's sudden "swing to the right." No Chinese territorial aggression provoked it, since Chinese troops had not advanced in any spot in eight years. India's action was meant to divert Indian peasant demands for land and a Communist victory at the polls in Kerala. In part, it was also used to pressure Washington for more financial aid; for New Delhi's demand last December that Peking renounce its only traffic route to western Tibet was a shift toward Washington's "contain China" crusade. This demand would injure China without benefitting India.

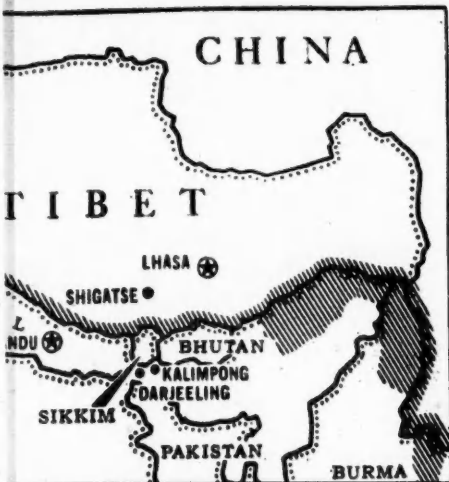
Perhaps these moves would bring U.S. aid to India. But, with a sharper analysis of imperialism, China believes the time will come when India will again need China's friendship. This is the reason for Peking's firm but conciliatory statements, Chou's cordial response to Nehru's acceptance at long last of the Chinese Premier's offer to go to India to negotiate.

The recent China-Burma and China-Nepal treaties show that border disputes can be settled in a friendly manner. In India, Chou may try for agreement on a border commission, as in the case of Nepal. If this fails, he may reaffirm China's friendship for India while rejecting any boundary concessions without a commission to balance the facts.

claims in the east.

Usage, custom and tradition would prove meaningless rhetoric when the two sides sat down squarely to solve the problem. The geographical argument would weigh most heavily in the minds of the negotiators because of strategic considerations—which is the heart of the matter.

The differences among the surveyors and geographers will have to be settled by mutual give and take.



LINE ON THIS MAP OF THE BORDER and claimed by the Peking regime

Britain and Tibet signed the Convention in July, 1914. China refused. Britain published the Convention only in the 1929 edition of Aitchison's Treaties (Vol. XIV). The line was adopted in official maps from 1931 onwards.

Full details of the negotiations are not available. Nehru contends that the Chinese Foreign Office had been aware of the map and had objected only to the boundaries of Outer and Inner Tibet but not to the boundary between Tibet and India. The Chinese categorically refute this.

In his letter to Nehru on Jan. 23, 1959, Chou En-lai wrote: "The MacMahon Line was a product of the British policy of aggression against the Tibetan region of China . . . It has never been recognized by the Chinese central government . . . On the other hand, one cannot, of course, fail to take cognizance of the great and encouraging changes: India and Burma, which are concerned with this line, have attained independence and become friendly states with China. The Chinese government, on the one hand, finds it necessary to take a more or less realistic attitude toward the MacMahon Line and, on the other hand, cannot but act with prudence and needs time to deal with the matter." Unfortunately, this sweet reasonableness vanished after the Tibetan revolt.

BEFORE MACMAHON: What specifically the Indian border was before the MacMahon Line nobody seems to know. It is likely that the entire area was some kind of no man's land from the point of view of statehood and the Chinese government here too never carried out any survey, so that the fact of occupation would be an argument greater than any other.

As noted in the beginning, the border trouble started in the Uttar Pradesh area, and the initial notes displayed quite an ignorance on the part of both the governments regarding the locations and, even more, the alignment. And both agreed to demilitarize the disputed points and talk the matter over.

Sikkim

SIKKIM BECAME a British protectorate when Britain imposed a Convention upon China in 1890, recognizing "exclusive" British control over the state; the Sikkim-Tibet boundary was fixed at the "crest of the mountainous ranges separating the waters flowing into the Tibetan Mochum northward into the other rivers of Tibet." This Convention is important because this is the first and only occasion when the Tibetan boundary with India was defined with the Emperor of China.

The 1950 Indo-Sikkim treaty restated Sikkim's status as an Indian protectorate.

Bhutan

BHUTAN HAS KEPT aloof from India and maintained good relations with its northern neighbor, one reason being that the traditional route to Bhutan is via Sikkim and a Tibetan enclave juts in between these two countries. It gave passage to Tibetan refugees going to India but did not afford them asylum. China has good relations with Bhutan—in spite of its claim over about 200 miles

Germ warfare

(Continued from Page 1)

sell tactics preceded the meeting. Press releases promised "new information on exotic chemical and germ weapons and the defense being created against them." The press was also alerted that "important information is expected to be declassified" at the symposium.

Actually very little new was revealed except the zeal with which the Pentagon is pushing CBW. Army scientists reported that there are six major groups of war gases and from 20 to 25 pathogenic organisms which could be used in biological warfare. But we have only scratched the surface thus far, they said, and further research will undoubtedly uncover many other organisms suitable as weapons.

A chart showed the "advantages" of chemical and biological weapons over H-bombs. A B-52 long-range bomber carrying a 20-megaton H-bomb could destroy an area of about 36 square miles. The same bomber carrying chemical agents could devastate an area of 100 square miles. If the bomber carried biological agents, it could kill the people and cripple the economy of an area of at least 34,000 square miles. Biological weapons also cost less and, since they defy detection, they therefore avert retaliation. Troops can immediately invade an area hit by chemical or germ weapons, instead of waiting three to six months for an H-bomb's radiation to subside.

Dr. LeRoy D. Fothergill, Army scientific adviser on chemical and biological warfare, reported that tests showed that submarines far at sea could launch a plague-laden fog over coastal cities.

ETHICS: Some panelists raised moral questions. Dr. Paul Weiss, former chairman of President Eisenhower's Advisory Group and now a Rockefeller Institute scientist, answered: "Is it more humane to kill with a flame-thrower than with poison gas or a bacteriological agent?"

Dr. Clifford P. Rassweiler, vice president of Johns Mansville Corp., said: "It may be immoral to kill with poison gas, but it's not immoral to defend our homes with poison gas."

Rassweiler also said that the ability to retaliate with chemical or germ weapons makes an attack less likely. By having these weapons, he added, we can know what to expect of the enemy and develop defenses.

He concluded: "A small group of scientists, with stolen formulas and stolen bacteria and virus cultures, can produce in a country with as little financial and industrial capacity as Cuba major quan-



SAN FRANCISCO PEACE WALK
Neither radiation nor germs wanted

ties of chemical and biological warfare agents and weapons for their delivery."

Dr. William H. Summerson, deputy commander of the Chemical Corps' research and development command, summed up: "It is to our national interest to uncover as yet unrevealed toxicological secrets at least as rapidly as a potential enemy nation can do so, and preferably before he does."

GET YOUR MASK: Civil Defense officials revealed that they had developed a protective mask against germ and chemical weapons. They said it will be on the market next year for about \$3. But Dr. Allen W. Donaldson of the Public Health Service said: "From the standpoint of civil defense we have at the present time neither all the individual components required, nor the operational plans necessary to establish and put into action coordinated and comprehensive programs for the detection, early warn-

ing, and identification of BW and CW agents."

Ten Congressmen, including James Roosevelt (D-Calif.), sent a telegram to the meeting warning that "much of the world will be uneasy about our intentions" unless we separate weapons work from defense research. The Congressmen urged a "reaffirmation of American policy against the first use of these weapons."

But the Pentagon's emphasis is on weapons work. Lt. Gen. Arthur G. Trudescu, chief of Army research and development, told an Army scientific advisory panel in Dugway, Utah, April 13, that the public is "seething with apathy" toward gas-germ defense. He said that if a nuclear weapons ban were effected now, the U.S. would be at a military disadvantage. "Russia would be well in advance of us in chemical and biological warfare."

THE OPPOSITION: There are those who want all countries to stop preparation for chemical and biological warfare. The pacifist Fellowship of Reconciliation has maintained a vigil outside the bacteriological base at Fort Detrick, Md., since July 1, 1959. About 1,000 persons have participated thus far.

Another pacifist group, the Committee for Nonviolent Action, began a vigil outside the Army chemical center at Edgewood, Md., April 8. Some of the group, six adults and three youngsters, began a 60-mile march to Washington April 11. The marchers carried signs reading, "America-Russia—Stop Chemical Warfare Preparation," "Destroy Nerve Gas Stockpiles," "Brotherhood or the Black Plague."

On Good Friday, the marchers reached Washington and joined others in a picket line around the White House. At the same time, about 150 students were picketing the White House for civil rights and another pacifist group, the Peacemakers, was protesting the use of tax money for munitions. Police kept the lines apart to clarify the issues for onlookers. But those in sympathy with all three lines were hard put to choose which to join.

Elsewhere others concentrated on pushing for a nuclear weapons test ban. In Washington, the Court of Appeals upheld a lower court ruling which threw out a suit by 39 persons, including Nobel laureate Dr. Linus Pauling, to force the government to halt nuclear weapons tests. The court held that the tests "are plainly authorized by law and are not prohibited by the Constitution." Pauling said the group would appeal to the Supreme Court.

In New York, the Civil Defense Protest Committee, organized to "combat the futility of civilian defense preparations in

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an era when there is no defense against massive nuclear war," announced that it would hold a demonstration at City Hall May 3 during a civil defense alert.

SANE RALLY: Previous demonstrations have been limited to pacifists, but this year, the committee said, others are also involved. The committee said: "The demonstrators will gather at City Hall Park shortly before the alert. They will sit quietly until the sirens blow and the lunch hour crowds seek shelter. They will continue to sit quietly until arrested or, in some cases, are asked to leave by the police." They invited public support.

A mass demonstration for "controlled disarmament, cessation of bomb tests and a successful summit meeting" will be held Thursday, May 19, at New York's Madison Square Garden, sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. The meeting's co-chairmen will be Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Dr. Harold S. Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College. Speakers will include Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, Walter P. Reuther, Rabbi Israel Goldstein and A. Philip Randolph.

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BOOKS

Of India and Nehru

MANY AMERICANS look upon India and China as rivals competing to set an example that may be followed by other underdeveloped countries in their struggle for rapid economic progress.

It is conceded that China is advancing faster than India; but, it is alleged, the pace is maintained by "coercion" of labor. India's slower progress is attributed to its insistence on "persuasion" of labor. This, it is contended, results in India's perennial shortage of capital.

In the last few years an increasing number of American political leaders and journalists have advocated greater U.S. economic aid to India so that it can successfully compete with China. This has been urged by Senators John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.) and John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Averell Harriman, among



VINCENT SHEEHAN
More than is in print

others. Columnist Walter Lippmann has asked for "all-out support" to make India a "show window" of democracy in Asia.

Two books have just been published, aimed at opening U.S. purse strings wider by promoting a better understanding of India. One is *India Today*, by the Indian newspaperman, Frank Moraes; the other is *Nehru: The Years of Power*, by an American old Asia hand, Vincent Sheehan.

Besides their primary aim, both books have other things in common: undocumented denunciation of China and of the Indian Communist Party; discussion of today's India solely in terms of the personality of Nehru; and, most important of all, praise of democracy without a thorough analysis of the condition of the ordinary Indians.

MORAES' BOOK is the more ambitious of the two: it seeks to depict India from the earliest times to the present day. But compression into 242 pages leaves significant gaps and makes the book as a whole unsatisfactory and unilluminating.

The 3,000-year history of pre-British India is told in 22 pages, and that of British India in 43. The result is a mere cataloguing of invasions, battles and changes in the ruling dynasties in the pre-British period and political conflicts under British rule.

No attempt is made to go deeply into the economic life of pre-British and British India to throw any light on the economic problems India faced after independence. Analysis is made solely on Moraes' theory that "the history of India is predominantly and inevitably the history of Hinduism." This leads him to write:

"This blend of extreme conservatism and extreme resilience, of intolerance on the one hand and passivity on the other,

of meekness and truculence, of a certain confusion and distortion between vice and virtue combined with the habit of censuring inhumanity while acquiescing in untouchability is identified with the Indian character and is intrinsically a Hindu heritage."

IF HE HAD explored the history of feudal societies in other lands and glanced at pockets of feudalism still remaining in the West today, Moraes would have found that the "blend" he refers to is largely a feudal rather than "intrinsically a Hindu heritage."

Preoccupied with form rather than content, Moraes devotes most of the section on British India to the administrative structure Britain erected to maintain its rule and finds it praiseworthy. He even considers it a blessing that "the British raj bequeathed to the country, when it withdrew, a qualified core of administrators and others capable of carrying on efficiently the day-to-day process of government and of helping forward the life of the people." He cannot see that this very "core" bequeathed by Britain has been a handicap to India's progress because it had been trained to serve the special purposes of—and rebound for the economic benefit of—an alien government and not the people.

Moraes is frankly against socialism and for "private enterprise." He bemoans the departure of the Indian princes and looks upon China, the Soviet Union and the Indian CP as the "threats" to India from abroad and at home. He berates Nehru for supporting socialism, for being "hostile" to the princes and for not attacking China and the Soviet Union vigorously enough. He still feels that "a Marshall Plan of funds and food" for India would save the country for capitalism.

SHEEHAN'S BOOK is a disappointment, both in form and content, for he is a far better writer than Moraes and knows better than what he puts down. His is a strangely rambling book, touching in its deep reverence for the late Indian leader Gandhi, full of praise for Nehru's leadership, but strangely oblivious to the problems and the aspirations of the Indian people.

By temperament Sheehan is not opposed to socialism and, since he prefers Nehru's brand, it leads him to some peculiar contradictions. He has no special love

for the princes and feels unhappy "over the state of affairs which obliges the [Indian] government to pay a million dollars a year to the Nizam of Hyderabad for his privy purse, in addition to \$500,000 a year for the upkeep of his palaces and \$500,000 a year in compensation for loss of revenue from his former crown lands." Nevertheless, he writes that it was better to have "pensioned off" the princes without using "confiscatory methods."

Both Moraes and Sheehan accuse China of endangering the security and independence of such border lands as Nepal. Both write that recent events in Tibet have mortally wounded the Indian CP in the state of Kerala as well as throughout the country. Subsequent history, however, has dealt unkindly with these theories.

RELATIONS between China and Nepal (and Burma) are cordial, and the borders have been stabilized by treaty (see p. 6). In the last elections in Kerala—after the books went to press—the CP made a better showing than in the previous election in terms of popular vote. In fact, proper analysis of the period of CP rule in Kerala would have destroyed the myth of "coercion" and revealed the role of "persuasion"; for in Kerala the CP increased its popularity by persuading the people—by example and patient explanation—to become active and enthusiastic participants in the struggle for economic betterment.

Both books indicate that being born and raised in a country, or harboring sympathy for a country, does not necessarily result in genuine understanding of a country's problems. And an anecdote Sheehan tells about himself shows how undependable much American reporting from abroad can be.

In 1948, Sheehan writes, he sent a story from Pakistan to the New York *Herald Tribune* about the then Premier of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah. He had received the story from the usual "unimpeachable source." His informant had told him of some "mysterious absences" in the past of the Sheikh, during which he was supposed to have visited Moscow. "The mere mention of a visit to Moscow in that period," Sheehan writes, "was slightly sinister for any controversial figure." Sheehan learned later that the Sheikh's "mysterious absences" had been spent in a British jail.

—Kumar Goshal

**INDIA TODAY*, by Frank Moraes. The Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York 11. 242 pp., plus index. \$4.

***NEHRU: THE YEARS OF POWER*, By Vincent Sheehan. Random House, 475 Madison Ave., New York 22. 298 pp., plus index. \$5.

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HIRAM REVELS
Harper's Weekly sketch, 1870

Hiram Revels, U. S. Senator

FEW OF TODAY'S school children know that their country has had two Negro U.S. Senators. Both served in the Reconstruction period, and both represented Mississippi. The first was Hiram Revels, a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal Church who was first elected alderman in Natchez in 1868, then elected to the State Senate in 1869. He was elected by that body in 1870 to serve two years in the U.S. Senate, thus becoming the first Senator to represent Mississippi since 1861, when Jefferson Davis had vacated his seat to join the Confederacy. (The second Negro Senator, Blanche K. Bruce, represented Mississippi from 1875 to 1881.)

Pamphleteer Elizabeth Lawson has done a timely and painstaking job of putting together the first full-length portrait of Hiram Revels in a 63-page pamphlet, *The Gentleman From Mississippi*.

Revel's maiden speech, made to packed galleries on March 16, 1870, three weeks after his admission, opposed an amendment to the bill readmitting Georgia to the Union. The amendment, the spirit of which prevailed in the final bill despite the opposition of Revels and the Radical Republicans, was aimed at ending Reconstruction in the state.

As a Senator Revels fought against white supremacy at West Point, sought to abolish segregation in District of Columbia schools and to end jimcrow on railroads, pressed for an end to discrimination against Negro mechanics in the Navy Yards, urged amnesty for Mississippi residents who had supported secession, and voted for the readmission of Texas.

Later, after Revels left the Senate and became president of Alcorn University, he became disenchanted with the Republican Party in his state, and wrote to President Grant in 1875 that the party had become corrupt and was using the Negro people as tools. Earlier Douglass had written, "If as a class we are slighted by the Republican Party, we are as a class being murdered by the Democratic Party." This was found to be literally true in the Mississippi elections of 1875, and Revels' switch to the support of the Democrats in his state is found by Miss Lawson to "detract much from his stature."

Nevertheless in her final judgment, "today, in 1960, there is no man in the Senate . . . who can match his Congressional record."

—John T. McManus

**THE GENTLEMAN FROM MISSISSIPPI, Our First Negro Senator*. By Elizabeth Lawson, Box 316, Times Square Station, New York 36. Introduction by William L. Patterson. Cover design by Hugo Gellert. 63 pp. Single copy, 35 cents; lower bulk prices available.

Civil rights bill

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Old South are entitled to congratulations from those of us they have so disastrously defeated. . . . This bill is a pale ghost of our high hopes of last fall. Those of us who supported a meaningful civil rights bill have suffered a crushing defeat. . . ."

The Negro press was particularly dismayed at President Eisenhower's "quite happy" statement. A Pittsburgh Courier (April 16) editorial, "Is Everybody Happy?", noted that numerous politicians were "happy with the bill being kicked around in the Senate by the unreconstructed Senatorial mouthmatics of Dixie who, of course, are not 'happy' about anything but Negro chattel slavery," and concluded: "We more and more get the feeling that the bill is just another election year gimmick, so we can't be 'happy' about this legislative zombie." The Afro-American wrote (April 12): "We are not the least bit surprised that Mr. Eisenhower is 'quite happy' with the hatchet job the Dixiecrats, aided by their conservative Republican allies, have done on the civil rights bill. We long ago were convinced that a President, who in six years has been unable to applaud the moral righteousness of the school decision, would require very little by way of civil rights legislation to be quite happy and content. And that is exactly what he is getting."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said that "either party is welcome to try to claim credit for enactment of the wretched remnant of what was not very much at the outset."

COURT REFEREES: The voting rights section is supposed to implement the numerous provisions in the U.S. Constitution protecting the right to vote, especially the 15th Amendment enacted 92 years ago. The Civil Rights Act of 1957 empowered the U.S. Attorney General to bring a civil injunction against any threat or actual infringement of a person's right to vote. The new law extends this provision to include authorization for the Justice Department to ask a Federal judge to find that Negroes have been prevented from voting because of a "pattern or practice" of discrimination. Under such a finding, the judge could appoint referees empowered to register other Negroes in the area. To be enrolled by

the referee, a Negro will have to establish that he is qualified to vote under state law, and that he tried and failed to register since the judge's finding.

The Civil Rights Commission appointed by President Eisenhower under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 concluded in its 1959 report that "the U.S. government appears under present law to be helpless to make good the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution." The Commission pointed out that in two years "no one has yet



How inconsistent can we get?

been registered through the civil remedies of the 1957 act." It recommended Presidential appointment of Federal registrars to register all qualified applicants in areas from which affidavits of nine persons have alleged discrimination by local election officials.

OBSTACLE COURSE: The Administration never accepted this recommendation. After five months, Atty. Gen. William Rogers offered a much more complicated proposal which shifted the vote protection function from the executive branch to the Federal courts. The Rogers referee plan was revised and amended in the House and the Senate to raise more obstacles for the would-be Negro voter.

Sen. Thomas Hennings (D-Mo.), chairman of the Senate Rules Committee, advocated a plan for Federal voting enrollment officers to be administered by the executive branch of government. Both

the Senate and the House rejected this direct and effective method of voting protection.

Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) sponsored an amendment to the referee plan which would have required Negroes to establish their claim to registration in public rather than in private hearings, and to face cross-examination by opposing lawyers. Sen. Kenneth Keating (R-N.Y.) said the Kefauver plan was "a devastating blow at the referee proposal and would scuttle the program." The Kefauver amendment was killed on the Senate floor on April 1 by a vote of 69 to 22. Kefauver pushed his proposal although he was not a part of the Dixiecrat filibuster team. He is facing a tough fight for re-election in the August 2 Tennessee primaries against a segregationist who is attacking the Senator for not having joined the filibuster.

As finally written, the voting rights section, according to Sen. Douglas, "sets up an elaborate obstacle course which the disenfranchised Negro in the South must successfully run before he will be permitted to vote at all."

DIXIECRATS PLEASED: The Senate joined the House in refusing to act in civil rights areas other than voting rights. Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen led the move to eliminate a provision to end racial discrimination in hiring on government contract work. On April 4 the Senate confirmed, 56 to 34, the House refusal to support school desegregation or to authorize the Attorney General to intervene against all types of civil rights violations ("Title III").

Although the 18 filibuster Senators voted against final passage of the act, they showed their satisfaction by abandoning the filibuster and making no effort to prevent a final vote.

Just as Speaker Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.) and Republican leader Charles A. Halleck combined in the House, so Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.) and Republican leader Dirksen worked together for the emasculated bill. Sen. Douglas said: "We have been defeated by a coalition—operating with the threat of filibuster—of the Southern opponents of any legislation, of the overwhelming majority of the administration Republicans, and of the Democratic leadership with its 12 to 15 hard core supporters."

SPECIAL BLAME: In the Congressional Record of April 8, Sen. Joseph Clark (D-

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—Walter Kerr, N.Y. Herald Tribune
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Pa.) made a detailed analysis of the bipartisan responsibility for the defeat of all efforts to strengthen the measure. He put special blame on the leader of the Democrats in the Senate, Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas.

Sen. Dirksen laid political claim to the bill as a Republican product, which he said was "worthwhile, progressive, constructive, purposeful—I believe it to be meaningful." The Republican leader praised Johnson for "his skill, his talent, his conviction and his courage." He called the leader of the Dixiecrats, Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.), "a man of deep conviction, whom I have learned to admire and revere. My respect and my admiration for him are greater today than they ever were before."

Sen. McNamara (D-Mich.) saw "one bright spot... this is that we will have established a precedent of adopting civil rights legislation in each Congress." Sen. Clark summed up: "I fear our membership merely reflects the indifference of the country at large to the plight of our Negro citizens. Perhaps it reflects more than that; a national failure to measure up to moral challenges; an unwillingness to distinguish right from wrong; a preoccupation with material things."

I for one, believe... the day will come again, and come soon, when the Senate and Congress and another President will reverse the action they took on civil rights this long hard winter."

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8:00, "Parliamentary Procedure" (Albertson)
8:30, "Struggle for Negro Freedom" (Jackson)

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6:45, "Present-Day Capitalism" (Lumer)
8:00, "Current Questions in Theory" (Aptheker)
8:30, "U.S. Labor Movement Today" (Rosen)

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—Carl, Sylvia, Harry, Beadie and Fred

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MAY DAY 1960—Sat., April 30, 8:15 p.m. Embassy Auditorium, 9th & Grand. Hear: Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., National Secy. Communist Party, U.S.A., former Councilman, New York City. Auspices: May Day Committee. Adm: 50 cents.

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HEAR RUSS NIXON—News from Capitol Hill. Legislative Lunch 1-4 p.m. SAT. APRIL 23, Club 65 Cafeteria, 13 Astor Place. No admission. Discussion: Revision of Walter-McCarran Law. Ausp: Am. Comm. Prot. For'n. Born. OR 4-5058

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GUS HALL, general secretary CPUSA, speaks on "Outlook for 1960 Elections," Tues. April 26, 8:30 p.m., Allerton Community Center, 683 Allerton Av. (Bronx). Questions and Discussion. Adm. free. Ausp: Freedom of Press Committee.

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THE GALLERY

BRITISH WRITER-PRODUCER Wolf Mankowitz turned down a fat offer to work in Hollywood because he would rather stay in England—"There's nothing better in the world than being a British Jew." Mankowitz was hot copy when he returned to London last month after a visit here; interviewers wanted to know how and why he resisted the lure of the dollar. In an interview in the London Evening Standard he made these comments:

American women: "They're so dull. It goes along with the passivity of the American male, you know. An Englishman in America should always carry an English woman wherever he goes."

American mood: "I used to despise them. This time I found to my surprise, I had an intense compassion for them. Rather as I would for a widow who had just inherited a large fortune. They have a strong compulsion to let you lighten their golden hump . . . They have for us rather the attitude the ancient Romans must have had towards Athens . . . They would like to have our talent, our intelligence and the ability to speak as we think—and to hell with you, Jack."

American power: "They're rather like my own children playing charades. They put on the great imperial cloak, but as the game progresses they get a bit embarrassed and wonder if perhaps anyone is taking them seriously . . . They need the detachment of our clowns and satirists to earth them. They're way up there out of touch with reality in the Cold War."

Beatniks: "Even they are a symptom of the American social disease of conformity. You can be a non-conformist by wearing a bowler hat and City suit; or by joining a tight little group with a vocabulary of 28 words and chatter about Zen Buddhism and half-cock philosophy."

During his American visit Mankowitz appeared on television where he said: "I hate the Germans. I have six million reasons for hating them." Mankowitz told the Evening Standard there were cheers from the control room. Not necessarily because of the opinion, he said, but because "Americans do not say what they think in public as we do habitually."

FROM MANKOWITZ' "ATHENS" comes an ad for a Rolls-Royce car, offering "a dictating machine, an Espresso coffee maker, an electric razor, a bed, a telephone, and water for washing." . . . Premier Khrushchev told a group of French reporters during an informal chat: "On many points we are in agreement with Christ. A lot of his teaching resembles Communism. If I were Christ I would chase the money-changers out of the temple." . . . Signs of an affluent society: Southern Pacific railroad detectives followed a long extension cord into an idle boxcar and found a hobo sleeping under an electric blanket . . . When six Negroes last month took seats in the front of the orchestra in Atlanta at a performance of "My Fair Lady," the usher told them to move to the balcony. Negroes are not permitted in the orchestra. A white friend had purchased the tickets for them. The Negroes refused to move and the theater manager broke into a sweat. He held the curtain while he called the mayor and the police chief for advice. Mayor Hartsfield told the theater manager: "Dim the lights immediately. Maybe nobody will notice them." . . . West German Transport Minister Hans Christoph Seebohm said in Munich: "The Sudetenland is German." He called for a plebiscite among Sudeten Germans who were kicked out by Czechoslovakia after World War II and are now living in West Germany. . . . Sign in the window of a Daitch supermarket in New York:

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—Robert E. Light

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Coffee and desert will be served at 8 p.m., and the program will include outstanding entertainment.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR



Socialist psychology

THERE WAS STANDING ROOM ONLY one evening recently in the auditorium of the Carnegie Peace Center. An audience of psychiatrists, psychologists, teachers and social workers filled the anteroom and halls until the Fire Department turned them away. They had come to hear a gentle, white-haired Soviet scientist with a pleasant smile. Prof. Alexander R. Luria, eminent neurologist and psychologist, was lecturing on "Meaning Systems in Normal and Abnormal Behavior."

This was the third lecture of a series being given by Dr. Luria and his colleague, Prof. Eugene N. Sokolov, in New York City under the auspices of the Postgraduate Center for Psychotherapy and the Josiah Macy Jr. Foundation. The two earlier lectures, at the Academy of Medicine, had aroused equal enthusiasm. The main reason for the interest, of course, was the world-wide reputation of the lecturer; Dr. Luria's works have been published here and in England.

Dr. Luria aroused interest also as a symbol of the growing cultural and scientific exchange between the U.S. and the Soviet Union which many welcome as a step toward peace. An additional stimulus to public interest was Dr. Luria's description of Soviet emphasis on the educational, therapeutic function of psychology.

Soviet scientists "do not consider psychometrics very useful," he said. IQ tests are not used; they are considered unscientific as measuring only performance, telling nothing about the reasons for the performance. The reasons may be physical, emotional or environmental. Among American teachers and psychologists a widespread discussion is going on now about the use of IQ tests for determining potential delinquency at an early age and for "channeling" youngsters, directing their educational path on the basis of test results. A number of American educators now point to the effects of emotional conditions, early environment, etc., as invalidating the tests.



Wall Street Journal

"But if we get rid of your inferiority complex it will loosen your grip on reality."

DR. LURIA HOLDS A DOCTORATE in pedagogy as well as a medical degree. The Institute of Defectology, of which he is chief, is a part of the Academy of Pedagogic Sciences and is concerned with the diagnosis and re-education of children suffering from defects in hearing, speech, sight, or who are intellectually backward. The Institute makes psychoneurological studies as well as educational studies of these children before determining the methods of rehabilitation to be applied. Intellectually backward children are never considered "less gifted" but as invalid children to be educated to compensate for defects, as far as possible.

The findings of the Institute of Defectology are directly applied in the schools; half the members of the research staff are teachers and an experimental school is associated with the Institute. Psychology in the Soviet Union acts as an arm of the teaching profession.

On his trip Dr. Luria and his associate gave 20 lectures, coast to coast. A panel of American psychiatrists, psychologists, psychoanalysts and neurologists participated in the second New York session. It was on methods for reconstructing the functions of a damaged brain by reorganizing and retaining, combined with the use of a "disinhibiting" drug—notably anticholesterase. Some remarkable successes in this method at the Institute of Defectology were reported.

THE PEACE CENTER, Dr. Luria gave an illustrated lecture on his use of word association—semantic systems—in diagnosis. Since young children and brain-injured persons cannot readily respond verbally, a system of measuring response to word association, by charting physiological responses, has been worked out. Dr. Luria showed how attention, perception and fatigue may be objectively registered by conditioned response to words. Oversimplifying, here is one illustration: The patient was told to press with the right hand when he heard the word koschka (cat). Some patients recorded only words acoustically similar, regardless of their meaning; others generalized and responded to words similar in meaning.

Illustrating with charts, Dr. Luria described variations on this method, registering response by blood pressure, skin resistance, using slight pain association with certain words, etc. He suggested this method might be particularly useful in working with schizophrenic children.

Dr. Luria paid tribute to U.S. scientists—both those with whom he agrees and those with whom he differs. Sharply criticized for his estimate of psychoanalysis, Dr. Luria replied that everyone must do what he understands best. "I give what I can," he said. "They say that even the most beautiful French girl can give no more than she has."

He pleaded for more scientific exchange and cooperation among scientists as necessary for progress and for peace. "No one nation," he said, "can protect its own children. We can only protect each other's children, and this we can do only if we work together."

—Elizabeth Moos

Hell of a struggle

RUNDLE LODGE, ALBERTA
 I am past 85 years, and still interested in the rights of humanity regardless of the color of their skin, hair or eyes. The Negro people of Africa and the U.S. are having a hell of a struggle for their rights on the human level. They will eventually win. Civilized intelligence is showing the way. Hope it's soon.

John Ames