

JOE SMITH? . . . SORRY, THE NAME IS NOT FAMILIAR Harold Stassen freely and openly rejoins the "party of the future"

19th CENTURY DREAM IS SHATTERED

New approach to the East urged at Suez conference

THE 22-NATION Suez Canal conference ended in London on Aug. 23 without reaching a unanimous decision about future control of the canal. The entire record of the conference was to be forwarded to the Egyptian government, while a five-nation committee representing the majority decision attempted to negotiate a settlement with President Nasser. On Aug. 26 Nasser agreed to meet with the committee but made it clear that his action did not commit him

To the very end Soviet Foreign Min-ister Dmitri Shepilov stuck to his pro-posal for a broader 46-nation conference under the auspices of the Big Four plus Egypt and India. Indian representative Krishna Menon proposed negotiations with Nasser to set up a consultative body of "user interests" to advise Egypt on navigation through the Suez Canal, leaving control and operation in Egyptian hands. Spain suggested operation by an Egyptian corporation with foreign representation in it.

(Continued on Page 4)

NATIONAL 10 cents TEMBER 3, 1956 Vol. 8, No. 46

THE CONVENTIONS AN

Democrats & GOP show little division; key issues stifled

WHEN the raccoon-coated cheer leaders and the baby elephant were led away from W San Francisco, it became possible soberly to range the two major political conventions alongside each other and measure both against the realities which beat at the doors of both convention halls and never fully penetrated either.

There were conflicts in San Francisco as well as in Chicago. The difference was that among the Democrats that conflict reached the floor-and the TV screenwhile among the Republicans the issue was fought and decided before the conwas fought and decided before the convention opened, The N.Y. Times' James Reston called it an "open convention secretly arrived at." The Republicans presented to the nation a monolithic front, the product of Republican centralism, but there were signs of struggle.

In neither case was the conflict one of principle or ideology. It was a battle for control of the party.

AN ALLIANCE FORGED: The Democrats staged a free-for-all among South-erners, the Truman court-house gang and the Stevenson "liberals" or "stationwagon set" who have taken over some of the Northern city machines. The Tru-man gang seemed to have suffered a deman gang seemed to have surrered a de-cisive setback, though the bosses are adaptable enough to survive in most places. Chicago's Jake Arvey joined the Stevenson forces shortly after 1952 and

Tammany's Carmine DeSapio is not likely to retire from the National Committee. Still, for the moment, they are on the fringes and not at the center of party

Their defeat might hold a germ of hope except that it was accomplished by the alliance of the "liberals" with the Southerners. Stevenson had busily built that alliance in travels through Georgia and Alabaina and in study sessions at Sen. Lyndon Johnson's Texas ranch. He went into this year's race assured that his "moderation" was acceptable to the South, that there would be no bolts and a rebel yell only now and again for bar-gaining purposes and home consumption.

KEFAUVER'S POSITION: Kefauver fitted into none of the Democratic camps. His loneliness was appealing and became a rallying point for those who could work up no enthusiasm for any of the con-tending forces. To those who hated con-tinued Southern rule of the party he could exhibit the flat opposition of Dixie-crats; to those outside the machine he

(Continued on Page 6)

Exclusive: Interview with a Soviet spokesman on anti-Semitism

By Tabitha Petran

SOVIET SPOKESMAN told this correspondent that the tragic fate of the Jewish writers in the latter years of the Stalin regime was not the result of an isolated anti-Semitic drive, but rather a part of an anti-intellectual campaign which brought a similar fate to many nationalities — Russian, Ukrainian, Georgian, crimination is criminal, and it is con-

Byelo-Russian and Armenian,

The spokesman was L. F. Ilyichev, press chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. Asked about the article in Folksshtimme, Yiddish-language Communist publica tion in Poland, which last April reported the death and disappearance of many leading Soviet Jewish writers and artists, and the dissolution of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Ilyichev character-ized the article as "slanderous and anti-Soviet." He said it was his personal opin-ion that the authors of the article "had pieced up facts and distorted them according to a certain tendency." It was, he said, "an intermixture of certain real facts and certain fantasies. The authors used the real facts to make the fantasies

CONSTITUTION QUOTED: The "true facts," he said, "concern those Jewish writers who were charged and condemned unjustifiably. But the conclusions this article draws as to the persecution of the Jewish people and their culture is a slanderous one. Any objective-minded person can see that it is impossible to speak of discrimination in the U.S.S.R. According to our Con-crution, any national discrimination is criminal, and it is condemned by public opinion. There are many different nationalities, including Jewish, represented in Soviet art, literature, science, and we are all proud of

Ilvichev said that the "good names" of the Jewish writers unjustly condemned have been restored and that their works are now being widely republished through-out the U.S.S.R. He then noted the fate of writers of many nationalities.

Chief Rabbi Solomon Schliffer of Moscow emphasized the same point in an earlier interview with the GUARDIAN. He said: "Together with Jewish leaders, Russian professional and cultural leaders were also arrested. Therefore, we didn't regard the arrest of Jewish leaders as having an anti-Semitic character." He added: "All the Jewish people are building the Soviet state. There is no Jewish question in any part of Soviet life. During [Security Chief] Beria's regime there were isolated manifestations of anti-Semitism in different places. But even under Beria there was never any state anti-Semitic

"MISTAKES CORRECTED": Ilyichev said that case reviews were still going on



RABBI SOLOMON SCHLIFFER He gave his views too

and that people were still being rehabili-tated. He declared: "We have corrected our mistakes toward the Jewish people as well as our mistakes toward other nationalities. Discrimination is not a problem here. We have many difficult problems to solve but not this one."

He explained that the Soviet government's policy was to issue no statements on any of the Soviet victims of past mis-

carriages of justice. Statements were made only in the case of the leaders of the Polish Communist Party, who were victims of the 1938 purges, and of the early Hungarian CP leader Bela Kun. The reason, he said, was that these cases involved political parties and foreign ones

(The Soviet Government apparently considers the whole question of the secret Khrushchev report—whose existence it will neither affirm or deny—and of the victims of the purges as an internal

On Aug. 11 the N. Y. Times reported that for the first time a public confirmation of the Khrushchev report appeared in Pravda, Ed.

Ilyichev said firmly that there are not now, and never have been in the USSR, any quotas or discrimination directed against the Jews or any nationality. Admission to higher educational institutions is decided by competitive exams (industrial workers and men released from the armed forces get some preference). There are so many more applicants than there are places open, he said, that some who are not admitted might complain of dis-crimination. But he knew of no such complaints, he said, and if there were any, they had no basis. Applicants must state their nationality, he said, but in a multinational state like the U.S.S.R., where all

(Continued on Page 5)

'MUST" MEMO TO GUARDIAN

Here's a quick \$..... for the GUARDIAN's immediate need

I'll try to fulfill a "Buck of the Month" pledge. Send me monthly reminders to send you \$..... a month when posible. I understand this will cover my renewal.

If my sub or pledge is in arrears, apply the above to bringing

Please check address-plate on the other side of this coupon or on your paper's wrapper for errors before enclosing with remittance. Mail to

NATIONAL GUARDIAN, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9,, N. Y.

REPORT TO READERS

WE WRITE THIS REPORT with mingled feelings. Our published financial appeals beginning Aug. 13 have produced only the sketchiest kind of response. The fact that we were able to address perhaps 1,000 individuals personally and have got from them by fast return mail a most generous boost, has kept us from going down under the accumulated late-summer burden.

We are therefore deeply grateful to those who have come through so rapidly and generously, though the numbers are few; and deeply perturbed over the failure of a series of published appeals to cause more than a friendly ripple among a general readership of some 50,000 American progressives.

WE CANNOT UNDERTAKE a mass analysis of people whose responses we have not got. You know the answer best in your own case, if you're one of these. If you'd care to tell us, we'd like to know and perhaps have a Mailbag forum on why it is some people will answer a letter pronto but others require a five-alarm tocsin before responding to the printed word.

But even when the going is grim, there is bound to be some humor in the situation. One of the first responses we got enclosed a wad of play-money (see below) from some-



one signing him or herself "Sen. Joe McCarthy of Wis-And from somewhere in Pa. we got \$1 wrapped up in someone's notion-counter shopping list. So whoever the notion shopper is, here's what you had down to buy:

"1 spool no. 70 white thread 1 12-in pink zipper 21/2 yards of hemming tape. Martha's heel of shoe. . .

FUN'S FUN, but we can't put out a paper with play-money and hemming tape. So we must renew our appeal. Rather than repeat the doleful numbers of yester-weeks, here's an excerpt from a letter which rushes in where we have feared to tread:

"Every once in a while the GUARDIAN staff takes a payless payday to help the paper over an emergency.

"Why only they? The paper is not theirs, or their responsibility, any more than it is ours. Even Buck-a-Monthers, or Two-Buck-a-Monthers, don't do that much. Why

"I gather that the staff goes through a lot of soul-searching before they let out a yell for help from the readers.

"Yell, dammit . . . and those of us still making living wages will do without some nonessential to keep the GUAR-DIAN going. A boss of mine used to concede that the squeaky wheel gets the grease."

Call this our last squeak, dammit, for the summer season. Let's hear from you.

- THE GUARDIAN

Back in touch

SANTAQUIN, UTAH

Lost touch for a few weeks. Have been running through the GUARDIANS which have piled up in my absence with the usual interest and appreciation.

I seem to absorb a certain exritement, as of participation in a mighty current of progressive change. You are certainly making an important contribution to this process. I am happy to put in my saite from time to time. Jessie Greenhalgh



NEW YORK, N.Y.

Without question, Egypt is fully justified in her nationalizafully, Justified in her hationaliza-tion of the Suez Canal for the nation's welfare. The U.S. has flunked out in not accepting People's China's offer to have U.S. newsmen see People's China at work.

Abu Bakr

UPLAND, CALIF.

Reverse the situation: Suppose Reverse the situation: Suppose it was our Panama Canal; or suppose the Suez Canal ran across the U.S., or across England or France: Would we or Britain or France be willing, to-day, to "internationalize" it?

Immediately we reverse these matters (Formosa another), we get a quite different picture, do we not? Yes, we soon will have to do some internationalizing. But it will have to be through a real United Nations, such as its father, Franklin Roosevelt, and others, visualized it.

Franklin M. Baxter

ERWIN, TENN.

It ain't Nasser-sarily so.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

How open was the Suez Canal to ships of all nations during World War I and World War II?

VONKERS N.V.

How about some editorial comment on Egypt's denial of the use of the Suez Canal to all Israeli shipping for the past seven years, in relation to her present protestations that she intends to honor the international obligations of the treaty, permit unrestricted use of the canal by all nations. How come England, France, et al, don't mention this point at all in the current arguments?

Name Withheld How about some editorial com-

Name Withheld

CLEVELAND, O.

Western leaders are in a panic over losing the Suez Canal. Additional properties, such as oil wells and mines are likely to be nationalized in the same manner nationalized in the same manner as Suez. Then prices on raw materials will rise for Western Europe. These added costs will force prices up on finished goods. The economy of Western Europe will be put at a disadvantage by these changes. There is good these changes. There is good cause for panic among the businessmen and politicians. The whole system will soon come under greater question in their countries as well as colonies and former colonies. former colonies.

Running mate

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

Here's a buck so you can raise the slogan: A Vote for Ike is a Vote for

New blood for '58

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.
Listening to Eleanor Roosevelt plead for young blood and new leadership at the Democratic Convention brought home as never before the almost impossibility of the Democratic Party—the Republican Party is beyond words—ever being anything but the plaything of hidebound, brass-brained, mossgrown, small-minded politicians. Those in the hall applauded thunderously. But where is the new blood she spoke about? If it is in the Democratic Party, it is pretty well stifled and will

ver he allowed to break loose never be allowed to break loose.
The big boys pretty will see to
that. Men like Stevenson are not
real peoples' leaders, and will
never do anything to help this
stimulating force to break loose.
I work with many Negroes in
Civil Service and they're all

I work with many Negroes in Civil Service and they're all pretty disgusted with both parties. I believe the time is ripe—it will be over-ripe before long—for a determined band of labor people—who they will be, I don't know—and Negro leaders to organize a Third Party for the 1958 Congressional elections and the 1960 national elections, beginning with now. If a fight is made, I believe more and more Americans will begin to shake off their numbness and apathy and they numbness and apathy and they will respond. Name Withheld



N. Y. Herald Tribune

"We didn't invent that one, sir. We got it for a box top and ten cents."

All the way

PARIS, FRANCE

I'm for the U.S.A.-United Socialists of America.

Homesick (but hopeful)

Non-electioneering BOSTON, MASS.

No need to stay away from the polls nor to vote Republican or Democrat as long as any socialist candidate is on the ballot. Any socialist vote is satisfactory as long as it is certain none will be elected. The only profit is to get a figure for the polls on the strength of the vote from the left.

Norman L. Smith

Norman L. Smith

Recommended reading

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I call to your attention the well-balanced article in a recent Nation by G.D.H. Cole, "Post-Stalin Shock"; also, "A Communication" (inside cover of Nation 7/28/56) by a George Benjamin, articles by Schuman, and a beautifully-written analysis by "Timon" on the "Troubled Mandarins" in the August Masses & Mainstream. Now if the GUARDIAN would come up with some fresh approaches, we could begin to forge a path most

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"I've done fore to implement civil richts than any other President the United

Harry S. Truman,
N. Y. Times, 7/16
One year free sub to sender of
each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Harry Fries,
N.Y.C. Be sure to send original clip
with entry.

progressives and liberals could take together! Also worth reading is Sweezy's review of From Paris to Peking of Starobin's, in the Monthly Review. The reasoning is sound, in my opinion, and if heeded, could help form a third party that would have wide appeal to Americans.

Mrs. Jack Alley

Quick, Henry-the Flit!

ASHLAND, ALA.

Although the steel strike is over, the Walter Committee on Un-American Activities sent one Un-American Activities sent one of their investigators, Jackson Jones, down here to "investigate Communist activities" in Alabama. He called up on the phone and came into our house just as I was shaving. We asked him to leave and he tried to apologize for having made me shave for a visitor. He was very folksy and chatty. Something must be cooking, otherwise why should that gang be going into out-of-the-way rural areas?

Hardy Scott

Book offer SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

As a stimulus to GUARDIAN contributors we are willing to send to 25 readers sending in contributions of \$10 or more a gift copy of Gilbert Green's recently published study of monopoly in the U.S., The Enemy Forgotten (list price \$2.50).

Since there is no point in your limited finances being used for mailing expenses, please send us the list of 25 contributors who express a desire to have the book and we will mail the books to them at our expense.

Ellis Colton, mgr. Intl. Book Store, 1408 Market St.

A handsome offer, for which we are grateful. Specify, with your \$10 or more, that you'd like a copy of THE ENEMY FOR-GOTTEN. — Ed.

Best pals and . . .

BERKELEY, CALIF.
I believe that the friends of the Soviet Union and indeed of socialism everywhere should be its severest critics. The GUAR-DIAN should make every effort to keep its readers informed of every advance to a more demo-cratic society in the socialist countries and at the same time search out their flaws and re-actionary tendencies.

Theodore Odza



Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800 SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U.S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, \$3 a year. First class and air mail on request. By airmail to United Kingdom (other countries, add postage beyond Britain): \$2 a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 16 Talbot Sq., London W%, England. GUARDIAN Faris Bureau, 163, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10e. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE JOHN T. McMANUS IAMES ARONSON General Manager Editor-in-Exile

ELMER BENDINER, Politics and The Americas, TABITHA PETRAN, World Analysis. LAWRENCE EMERY, National Affairs. EUGENE CORDON, Negro Affairs and Civil Liberties. KUMAR COSHAL, World Affairs. ROBERT JOYCE, Art Editor. ROBERT E. LIGHT, Advertising and Buying Service. CEORGE EVANS. Promotion and Circulation. THEODORA PECK, Guardian Events. TIBA G. WILLNER. Los Angeles representative. MALVINA REYNOLDS, 1199 Spruce St., Berkeley, LAndscape 4-4289, San Francisco-Bay Area representative. Bay Area representative.

Vol. 8, No. 46



September 3, 1956

HE TRIED TO TELL IT TO THE MARINES

he ordeal of George Shibley

By Lawrence Emery

GEORGE E. SHIBLEY, a labor and civil Calif., faces three years in prison and disbarment because he successfully defended a Marine Corps enlisted man. Back in July, 1952, Shibley undertook what he thought would be a one-day in-tervention in behalf of Master Sergeant John R. Bennette. It developed into four years of vindictive harassment, As Shib-ley himself once put it:

The only crime of which I am guilty is that of daring to defend an enlisted man against persecution by a vicious and corrupt clique of brass hats."

On the West Coast the case has generated considerable public interest be-cause, as stated by Ray Miller, editor of the Long Beach Tribune, it poses this fundamental issue:

"If the right of military arrest and the right to hale civilians before military courts of inquiry are upheld and the use of military police to arrest civilians is permitted we come to a danger so evident-ly opposed to our concept of democracy that it should enlist the fullest opposi-tion of every citizen, every attorney and every public official."

HOW IT ALL BEGAN: On July 17, 1952, M/Sgt. Bennette, a veteran of 19 years in the Marines, was arrested at the EL Toro Marine Air Base at Santa Ana, Calif., and charged with violation of a regulation prohibiting service personnel from transporting for hire other Marines. Actually the charge was an inconsequen-Actuary the charge was an inconsequential one because the regulation is rarely observed and rarely enforced at any Marine installation; the daily newspaper at the El Toro base regularly carried offers of transportation, by officers as well as enlisted men, for a fee.

But, for whatever their reasons, the base brass was after M/Sgt. Bennette. When his guaranteed right to choose a service defense counsel was denied, his wife and friends prevailed upon Shibley to look into his case (Bennette, before his enlistment, had been a member of the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and Shibley is attorney for some ILWU locals).

Upon looking into the Bennette case, Shibley found many irregularities which eventually led to Bennette's conviction after a court-martial. His sentence, for a trifling offense, shocked even case-hardened Marines: he was reduced to private, sentenced to six months at hard labor, deprived of benefits accrued in almost 20 years of service, fined \$300 and given a bad conduct discharge.

SHIBLEY'S WOES BEGIN: On March 16, 1953, Bennette's conviction was reversed by a Military Board of Review in Washington and he was restored to full rank and benefits. But before then Shibley's troubles had begun.

During the course of the pre-trial investigation and the court-martial, he had written to the Commandant of the Marine Corps in Washington citing 11 specific acts against Bennette which he declared to be illegal abuses, naming the officers involved. Some of his charges were rough; he declared that a major, called as a prosecution witness, "was caused . . . to commit perjury and to sign a statement which can be proved to be completely

Other charges included these:

• That the pre-trial investigation was conducted by "a dishonest, untruthful and dishonorable agent" of one of the prosecuting officers "with the sole purpose of creating, building and manufacturing a case against Bennette." g a case against Bennette."
"Witnesses have been openly coerced,

"Witnesses have been openly coerced, intimidated and threatened by the of-ficers above referred to, they have been forced in several instances to give up their rights against self-incrimination and to perjure themselves."

"The official records of the pre-trial

investigation have been falsified and in some instances destroyed through the

dishonest and dishonorable acts" of other

TOUGH RECOMMENDATIONS: Shibley's recommendations were as harsh as his charges; he suggested that "the non-service income and activities of the named officers" be investigated and that named officers" be investigated and that charges, "including perjury and the sub-ornation of perjury" be filed, and "that you forthwith cause the said officers, and each of them, to be arrested and confined." confined.

This did not endear Shibley to the officers involved. Immediately after Bennette's conviction, the commanding general of the base appointed a military "court of inquiry", consisting of three of him to 30 days (the sentence is now on appeal).

ENTER MR. THOMPSON: Shortly after his acquittal on the contempt charges, Shibley was brought to trial on a felony charge of receiving and conspiring to steal the transcript of the proceedings before the Marine court of inquiry. It transpired that Charles Thompson, an employe of a detective agency, had in-deed acquired a copy of the transcript, but there was no evidence that Shibley had anything to do with it. In any case, he was legally entitled to the transcript if he had need of it.

Thompson admitted on the stand that



OUTSIDE THE COURTROOM AT THE MILITARY CONTEMPT TRIAL George Shibley (c.) with John Bennette (r.) and a sound expert

his subordinate officers, and Shibley was called in for questioning. After three days he was dismissed as a witness. Some days later he was ordered by phone to reappear within 30 minutes—his office is 30 miles from the base. On advice of counsel he ignored this summons on the ground that the court of inquiry no longer had any jurisdiction over him. Thereafter four armed MP's turned up at his office and forced him to accompany them to

All told, Shibley was grilled for five days and was denied counsel. He declined to answer most questions, refusing to violate the privileged relationship of at-

BROWNELL TAKES OVER: next was charged in a federal civil court with contempt of the military court of inquiry-a step so rare that there is only one known precedent and that case was dismissed. Shibley, in a letter to a friend, had his own explanation for this legal

"There would have been no prosecu-tion had it not been for [Atty. Gen.] Brownell serving under a general as President. The Democratic U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles refused to prosecute me until ordered to do so from Washington the day after Brownell took office."

Shibley has declared that before the contempt trial he rejected a prosecution offer to let him off with a token \$50 fine if he offered no defense. He offered such a vigorous defense, with the aid of Los Angeles attorney Daniel Marshall, that the jury acquitted him This median that the jury acquitted him. This made trial Judge James Carter so irate that castigated the jury, then charged bley with "summary contempt" for

he had three times been an inmate of a mental institution and among other things he had a record of arrests for sex

After the jury had deliberated for two days, the trial judge called it in and instructed it to reach a verdict within an hour or be locked up over a weekend just before the Christmas holidays (the trial began on Dec. 8, 1953). It returned in a half-hour with a guilty verdict and Shibley was sentenced to three years. (Thompson, who admitted taking the transcript, was let off with a suspended (Thompson,

BENNETTE RESIGNS: After the trial 15-year-old girl, a ward of the state, signed an affidavit admitting she had been with Thompson the night he acquired the transcript and swearing that Shibley had no knowledge of it and was not involved in any way. The prosecution had obviously known of the girl's story—and had kept her in detention during the trial. But a motion for a new trial on the basis of this new evidence was denied.

Just before Shibley's conviction, Sgt. Bennette, who was needed as a witness in the summary contempt proceedings, was ordered to Korea by plane on 30 minutes notice but Shibley succeeded in having the orders canceled. Bennette thereafter found life in the Marines so difficult for him that he resigned, though he would in a short time have been entitled to full retirement and pension rights.

In the same month of his felony trial. In the same month of his felony trial, Shibley filed a \$2,000,000 suit against the top brass at the El Toro base, charging that he had been illegally placed under military detention by force.

CASE NOW ON APPEAL: When he an pealed his conviction to the U.S. Ninth Circuit Court, eight leading lawyers vol-Circuit Court, eight leading lawyers vol-untered to represent him without fee. The appeal was turned down on March 19 this year and in a petition for a re-hearing, also rejected, the eight con-tended that "the purpose [of the prose-cution] was solely to punish a civilian lawyer for his vigorous representation of an enlisted man."

The Shibley case is now on appeal to the Supreme Court. A "friend of the court" brief supporting the appeal was prepared by attorneys James Snedeker, a retired Marine Corps brigadier general, and Myron G. Ehrlich, a Navy captain of Washington, D.C. The brief was signed by 300 atorneys.

Last week an enlarged Shibley Defense Committee (P.O. Box 784, Long Beach 2, Calif.)—with civilian John R. Bennette as its national chairman-was appealing for nationwide support, Said Shibley in the committee's first national appeal:

"I advocate immediate legislation by the Congress of the U.S. to abolish 'command control' [the influence exercised over a court-martial by the officer in command], to prevent military interference of civil rights, to permit freedom of the civilian government from control. coercion and domination by the military and to protect the independence of lawyers to vigorously and courageously renresent any client without intimidation, interference or fear of prosecution."

WHAT YOU CAN DO: The committee urges letters to Aty, Gen. Herberg Brownell (Justice Dept., Washington, D. C.)—with copies to President Eisenshower—requesting that he consent to a reversal of the Shibley conviction or that he consent to a hearing of the case by the U.S. Supreme Court. The committee Also suggests letters to Sens. Thomas O. Hennings, Wayne Morse, William Langer, Estes Kefauver and Thomas Kuchel, (Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.) asking that the Bennette and Shibley

How the Negroes feel about Suez

HOW DOES the Negro press see the Suez situation? The Los Angeles Herald-Dis-

patch said in an editorial (8/9):

"Nasser's challenge could very well usher in another turn in the affairs of the Negro and colonial peoples [to] equal in effect the loss of Tsarist Russia to the imperialists in 1919". It said that not only have the people of Asia deflated the "carefully cultivated myth of white invincibility [but] have the support of the socialist countries." It went on:

"The treatment of the Negroes in this country is a very live issue in Africa, Asia and Europe. Jimcrow oppression, the Achilles heel of U.S. imperialism . . , is the decisive factor in [Middle East] rejection of American leadership. That our State Dept. recognizes this is demonstrated in (1) the eager broadcasting by Voice of America of the Supreme Court [anti-jimcrow school] decision; (2) the financing by the State Dept. respectively. Supplement of the Supreme court is a population of the suppose of the Middle East pay any attention to our exported Uncle Toms.

minute that the colored people of the Middle East pay any attention to our exported Uncle Toms.

"It is doubly important for the Negro people . . . to recognize and be able to understand who our enemies are . . . We must understand that the man who calls Nasser a Hitler, a dictator, calls you a dirty nigger behind your back. The man who advocates war against Nasser advocates lynching you."

The Chicago Defender (8/11) said Nasser "in the chess game of diplomacy managed to outmaneuver and out-think the Striped Pants Dept." The paper cautioned that nothing worse could happen than U. S. sanction of "a call to arms" against Egypt in an election year. Why not, asked the Defender, "invite Nasser to Washington for some talks?"

Birmingham Negroes organizing to outdo Montgomery protest

By Eugene Gordon

THE NATIONAL SPOTLIGHT on the civil rights fight in Alabama shifted back and forth last week from Montgomry to Birmingham. NAACP attorneys in Montgomery filed two petitions with the Alabama Supreme Court for a writ to dismiss the \$100,000 contempt fine levied against it by Circuit Court Judge Walter

One petition contended that Judge Jones had exceeded his jurisdiction; the other asked rehearing and reconsideration of a petition rejected by the State

Supreme Court Aug. 13.

Judge Jones imposed the fine July 30 because the NAACP had refused to turn over its membership list to Alabama's attorney general, as ordered by the court, He demanded the list during trial of a suit to determine the NAACP's right to "do business in Alabama.

In Birmingham Mrs. Autherine Lucy Foster last week petitioned the U.S. District Court for readmission to Alabama University in September. As Authorine Lucy she was expelled by the board of trustees last Feb. 29 allegedly for making "outrageous, false and baseless accusations" against college authorities. She said they had conspired with a mob to pre-vent her studying there. She later withdrew the charge, Miss Lucy married the Rev. Hugh Foster of Texas, where they now live. Aug. 29 was set for the arguA third bombing

HE HOME of Rev. Robert Graetz, 27-year-old white minister of Mont-gomery's all-Negro Trinity Lutheran Church, was bombed at 3 a.m. Aug. 25. He and his wife and their children were away. Rev. Graetz, the only Montgomery white minister openly support-ing the anti-jimcrow bus protest, is the third such bombing victim. The home of Rev. Martin Luther King, official head of the movement was bomb-ed last Jan. 30, and that of E. D. Nixon, a co-worker, a few nights later. Nobody was injured in the earlier acts of terror.

FOR HUMAN RIGHTS: Rev. F. W. Shuttleworth, pastor of Birmingham's Bethel Baptist Church and president of the Ala-bama Christian Movement for Human Rights, said his movement would go berights, said his movement would go be-yond Montgomery's anti-jimcrow bus protest. He said it would "hit segregation in the head," not "fool around with its tail." A CMHR delegation presented to the Birmingham Transit Co. the same demand made by the Montgomery Improvement Assn. on the bus line there: (1) courtesy to Negro riders; (2) all passengers seated on a first-come, first-served basis; (3) Negro drivers for pre-

dominantly Negro routes.

Rev. Shuttleworth quoted a Transit Co, spokesman: "We're willing to grant your requests, but we dare not at this time. We need a court decree before we can act. Get that for us and we'll take bars as well as hire colored drivers im-mediately."

Organized last June to replace the Alabama-outlawed NAACP, the CMHR terms ttself "Christian" because the leadership of its anti-jimcrow fight also leads many church congregations. It bars nobody on religious grounds. Shuttleworth said it would go "much farther than the NAACP" toward its overall objective: "to destroy" racial segregation throughout Alabama.

"TESTIMONY" GIVEN: The CMHR sponsors weekly meetings where its campaigns are discussed. Average attendance is 1,250; membership is set at 3,000. Meetings are opened with prayer. "Testimony" on experiences with jimcrow adds drama, Then comes a practical talk to help pre-pare a program. "Testimonials" by the persons rejected for clerical jobs in a Birmingham chain grocery store sparked a discussion about picketing the company.

The CMHR's request that the City Commission appoint Negro policemen was ignored until the story turned up in the press. The Negro organization regularly es news on its efforts. Rev. Shuttle worth last week accompanied two Negro applicants to take civil service examina-tions for the police force. The city-county personnel board director rejected their applications because the forms stipulated

DR. KING'S CASE: In Montgomery meanwhile, a 360-page transcript of court records in the trial last March of MIA president and bus-protest leader Rev. Martin Luther King was completed. It

Full citizenship or bus(t)!

cost \$1.500. Dr. King's case will serve as a test for nearly 100 others indicted in the anti-jimcrow protest. Separate trials would have cost thousands of dollars. The transcript, with all MIA business records, will be used in the minister's appeal.

All the defendants were accused under an old anti-labor law of sponsoring an illegal boycott of Montgomery's transit

Selective Service Director Hershey on Aug. 14 asked Alabama draft officials to grant MIA attorney Fred D. Gray a 30day induction delay at the urging of the NAACP and the Baltimore Afro-American. His scheduled induction Aug. 15 had been called vindictive.

Suez conference

(Continued from Page 1)

MONKS AT WORK: U.S. Secy, of State Dulles proposed a convention giving control of the canal to a Suez Canal Board responsible "for operating, maintaining and developing the canal." Board members, in addition to Egypt, "would be other states chosen in a manner to be agreed upon from among the states party to the convention."

Dulles persuaded Pakistan, Iran and Ethiopia to join 14 Western nations in supporting his proposal. Since Nasser has consistently refused to hand over control of the canal to an international agency, India, Indonesia, Ceylon and the U.S.S.R. maintained the Dulles proposal would be unacceptable to Egypt.

Nevertheless, the 18 nations supporting the Dulles plan set up a five-member committee (U.S., Australia, Iran, Sweden, Ethiopia) with Australian Prime Minister Robert Menzies as chairman to



Dulles: "Oh, oh!"

undertake negotiations with Cairo. Menzies said that committee members, realizing the tremendous significance undertaking, should maintain silence "like Trappist monks."

FORCE IS FOLLY: The previously bellicose London Times (8/24) foresaw a continued "uneasy war of attrition and nerves." The N.Y. Times said (8/26) that many in Britain were left "with a feeling of bewilderment as to what ex-actly [the conference] was all about, and what expectations led to calling it... Conservative papers are begin-ning to beat the war drums again," while Liberal and Labour papers assert that "the conference proved the folly of bel-

Government officials and the press in Paris deplored the conference's failure to prepare action to "impose" a solution on Nasser. Though few, if any, of the 16 nations joining Britain and France in support of the Dulles plan would approve a solution by force, the French Defense Ministry nevertheless stepped up mili-tary preparations. Egyptian ambassador to France Abdel Nabi warned: "The day when Arabs would tremble at threats from Europe is past. France and Britain are due for an unpleasant awakening from their 19th century dream."

"HANDS OFF": Asians generally sup-ported Indonesian President Soekarno's warning: "Hands off Egypt." Ceylon's Premier Bandaranaike, believing the London conference has removed the immediate danger of war, said that Western insistence on international control of the canal against Asian opposition would make a negotiated settlement difficult, if not impossible. Cairo newspapers called the Dulles proposal "arrogant," predicted that Nasser would reject it.

Cairo seemed genuinely worried by continued Anglo-French warlike moves and attempts to disrupt canal traffic by preventing the return to Suez of Western pilots now on vacation abroad. The French were reported feeling that breakdown of canal traffic by refusal of West-ern pilots to work for the nationalized company would give Britain and France a hope of winning world opinion for re-establishing canal operation by force if necessary.

BACK TO BANDUNG? Egyptian officials were reported considering a protest to the UN Security Council that the Anglo-French military moves in the Mediterranean posed a threat to Middle Eastern peace. Indonesian representative to the London conference Abdulgani said in Cairo that he had discussed with President Nasser the possibility of con-vening the Bandung powers to consider the Suez crisis. Un Secy.-Gen. Hammar-skjold indicated the possibility of UN General Assembly discussion of the Suez issue in November. Some Western cor-respondents were reported booking reservations at Geneva in anticipation of another Suez conference there.

In any case, the very unrepresentative character of the London conference would seem to preclude success in solving the Suez problem. Of the 48 nations using the canal—including Israel—24 were not invited to attend. Even the broader conference proposed by India



A LONDON HEADLINE

and the U.S.S.R. did not include Israel.

Israeli Minister of State Mordecai Ben Tov declared on Aug. 21 that Israel must give up reliance on the West and identify itself "more and more with the Asian community of nations." Feeling that there was a "justified impression" that some Western powers were ready to sacrifice Israel as a price for a settlement with Egypt to protect their Middle Eastern oil interests, Ben Tov said: "I hope these powers will not consider it ungrateful on our part if we . . . sacrifice their oil interests for the sake of a peaceful settlement with Egypt.'

LIVING WITH ASIANS: Despite obvious shortcomings, however, the London conference disclosed—as representatives of many smaller European countries pointed out—the need for "a whole new approach by Europe to the nations of the East." The GUARDIAN'S London

There's time, Hans-wait until you grow up

VICTORIA (CP)—Conductor Hans Gruber "apologized" to an audience of 6,500 at the Butchart Gardens sym-phony Thursday night for playing contemporary Russian music.

"It is not too fashionable in our western world to play music by Rus-sian composers living today," he told

sian composers living today," he told the audience, many of them visitors 'rom south of the border. "I hasten to assure you we have no subversive tendencies. As a matter of fact, we would like to be capitalists— but we are not!"

-Vancouver (B. C.) Sun, July 14

correspondent Gordon Schaffer reported that many countries gave only qualified support to the Dulles proposal: "Norway's delegate Lange stressed 3 times in a 10-minute speech that any London plan must be negotiated with Egypt; Turkey, Denmark and Spain put special emphasis on respecting Egypt's sovereignty; the word 'mutual' was underlined in the text handed out by the Danish Embassy."

According to the N.Y. Times (8/23) one top European official said: "We'll simply have to work out a new way of living with the East—a way without special Western spheres of influence. It will not be nearly as good for us as the old way, but we haven't any choice."

DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY IN IDAHO

Taylor trails by hair in Senate race

N THE CLOSEST RACE in the state's history, former Sen. Glen Taylor of Idaho last week was still trailing Boise attorney Frank Church for the Democratic nomina-

Taylor, who served in the Senate as a Democrat from 1944 to 1950 and ran for Vice President with Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948, was 170 votes behind as the GUARDIAN went to press. His total vote was 27,772 to Church's

27,942.

Since the primaries on Aug. 14, the tally see-sawed back and forth until the final vote seemed to give the edge to Taylor's rival. But the official report of the State Board of Canvassers wasn't scheduled to be filed until Aug. 27 and it was likely that, no matter what that result, a recount would be asked. On Aug. 22 Taylor announced that he was not conceding a thing until the official canvass was in.

Under an oddity of Idaho law, the candidates themselves must finance a recount in a primary vote.

in a primary vote.

Taylor won the Democratic nomination in 1954 but lost in the general election.

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

Anti-Semitism and the Soviet Union

HUMANELY-CONCERNED AMERICANS will not agree with Soviet Foreign Ministry press chief I. F. Ilyichev that the question of anti-Semitism in the U.S.S.R. is an internal matter; as they would not contend that anti-Negro practices in the United States are an internal concern only of this country. Or that the Rosenberg Case was a private American matter.

Nor can these same Americans-among whom are hose of the highest good will toward the Soviet Union
be fully reassured by the lack of candor evidenced by Soviet officials seeking to maintain the position that anti-Semitic occurrences in their country are matters of internal concern only. All injustice is a matter of

Humanely-concerned Americans—with whom the people of the GUARDIAN associate themselves—stand together in abhorrence of anti-Semitism and all other forms of discrimination, of registration of peoples by race, color, nationality or other group differentiation; of quota systems however rationalized and wherever

We learn with relief and all possible satisfaction that amends are being made where possible and that restora-tion of suppressed culture is taking place; yet we cannot regard executions of Jewish leadership and resulting terrorization as in any way different from legal lynch-

ings with which Americans are all too familiar.

That they have occurred in a socialist society, even despite a tradition of law making such acts criminal and punishable, compels the conclusion that even such a society cannot in 38 years wipe out centuries-old prejudice, nor make a whole people proof against the corruption of power or the power of corrupt forces to regenerate and exploit it.

All humanely-concerned Americans await full re-assurance; and many look to the Soviet Union to set a needed world example in the complete elimination of even the semblance of barriers between peoples making up a nation.

—THE EDITOR



Revival

The publishing house Soviet Writer has announced that a six-volume edition of the work of Peretz Markish (1.). one of the executed Jewish writers, will be published in Russian and Yiddish in 1957. Next year there will appear also the selected works of Itzik Feffer, the celebrated Yiddish writer (6) who towed dish writer (c.), who toured the U.S. during the war with Solomon Mikhoels, the Soviet Yiddish actor (r.). They too have been reported to be victims of the purge. From Moscow comes word that Jewish: songs are once again being heard on the radio, records are on sale in the shops, and Jewish ballets performed.





Soviet spokesman

(Continued from Page 1)

nationalities are equal, this is not discrimination.

WHAT KHRUSHCHEV SAID: Asked about a N. Y. Times report of June 10 that Soviet CP First Secy. Nikita Khrushchev had told a French Socialist delegation that the U.S.S.R. restricts the number of Jews in professional positions, Ilyichev said: "This dispatch for the most part does not correspond with reality." What Khrushchev said, he explained, was that after the Revolution some of the U.S.R.'s national republics did not have their own national trained core of key people, that these cadres at the time were largely Russian. But now the Revolution was almost 40 years old, new national cadres had been created and the people of these Republics were demanding a place for

"It is quite understandable," Ilyichev said, "that any people should want to create their own cadres and prefer their leading ones to be of their own nationality. But this doesn't mean that able Jew-ish people are not and will not be promoted. There are hundreds of thousands of them holding positions in our public life. In the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan, created by the Soviet government in response to the requests of representatives of the Jewish people, all lead-ing positions could have been occupied by Jews, but they did not want to hold all such positions, and some are held by Russians since there are also Russians living there, Many Jewish people did not want to go to Birobidjan and remained in Russia, the Ukraine, etc., where they are represented in the leading cadres.'

POLICY VIOLATIONS: Ilyichev conceded that there had been violations of official policy against discrimination in the past. He said that "perhaps at certain offices and enterprises certain directors had followed a policy contrary to our government policy." He said the govern-ment had been making a great effort to move people into productive enterprise and from the cities into agriculture. In this process "certain cases may have occurred when people were moved accord-ing to nationality, that is, heads of of-fices may have violated government policy. Later some directors were removed because of mistakes. It would be difficult to say they were removed for anti-Semitbut these things are interconnected. Cases of discrimination would be a matter for the trade unions. Such cases would be

investigated and condemned by them."

He was asked to explain how his statement could be reconciled with that of CP Central Committee Secy. Ekaterina Furtseva's to the GUARDIAN. She had said that in the past in departments where there was a heavy concentration of Jews, steps were taken to transfer them to equally good positions in other enterprises. Ilyichev secured from Mme. Furtseva this explanation:

In her interview with the GUARDIAN.

she meant that "if at some time there had taken place changes in office personnel, these changes were dictated by the economic needs of the country and under no circumstances were aimed at any discrimination of persons of any nationality. If a chief of an office or department found that in his office there existed over-saturation of a certain group of spe-cialists, then proceeding from the econ-omic needs of the country and with no reference to nationality, some of the sp

cialists were given other posts in industry ciaists were given other posts in industry, agriculture and other branches. Never at any time during the Soviet power were there any quotas for Jews or persons of some other nationality, and there are not

DISPLACED PERSONS: Ilyichev also revealed that the Soviet government is discussing the resettling in their old homelands of the national groups uprooted or dispersed during and after the war. These include the Crimean Tartars who were held guilty as a national group of the treachery committed by some of them during the war.

"As you can judge from certain material," he said in an apparent reference to the secret Khrushchev report (see GUARDIAN, Aug. 6), "some wrong steps were taken towards these people. These nationalities were not denied the right to work; they have been working in both industry and agriculture. Therefore the question is not such a pressing one. It is a difficult question because other peoples are now living in their old places and the question arises as to what to do with them. Some nationalities held a wrong position during the war. We can't look abstractly at the situation that existed then: it was a question of the life or death of the Soviet Union, That's why it's not possible immediately to take certain actions on this question."

A PICTURE OF WHAT HAPPENED

draws some conclusions A reporter

N A TWO-MONTH VISIT in the U.S.S.R. this reporter has spoken with many people on "the Jewish ques-"—both Jews and non-Jews. On basis of these talks certain conclusions can be drawn: As Jewish cultural leaders were among the victims of the purges, so were the cultural leaders of many nationalities. As Jewish cultural institutions were closed down, so too, in the drive against "cosmopolitanism" [a catch-all phrase of the later Stalin era to describe persons in-fluenced by "bourgeois, decadent, rootless" culture—Ed.], were many others, including Moscow's Institute of Oriental Studies, one of the oldest institutes in the country.

In my talks I got this picture of what transpired:

Before the war anti-Semitism was virtually non-existent; countenancing it was unthinkable. During the war Hitler's propaganda had its effect: it made Jews feel themselves as Jews and others conscious of the fact that they were Jews. In this country, where pogroms are centuries old, it evoked a response among some, especially in rural areas Many countryfolk moved into the cities after the war, in some cases bringing the poison with them. But the govern-ment took measures to eradicate it. People were arrested and punished for anti-Semitic acts and utterances. The government campaign apparently was

SPY HYSTERIA: A few years later, however, there developed in the U.S.S.R., with the intensified resistance to the Cold War, a spy hysteria. Unprincipled persons connected with some government offices (Beria's group is often mentioned) took advantage of the tense situation. They worked up a "spy scare,"

using the term "Zionist" to put the spy label on many prominent Jews and even non-Jews. The treason trials in several Eastern European countries (now conceded to be frame-ups) added fuel to the flame. The "doctors' case early in 1953 was the culmination.

The underhanded nature of this de-liberately-provoked "anti-Zionist" spy scare is evident in the fact that its promoters never dared to come out openly with anti-Semitic slogans. But the spy scare, coupled with the dis-mantling of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, produced widespread fear among the Jewish community, During this period, there were grave injustices.

RABBI COMMENTS: After the elimination of Beria and, perhaps equally important, the thorough-going reorgan-ization of the Security Administration, all of this died down. The hysteria came to an end. Some Jews still feel uneasy about the future, though I found the Jews in general divided on this question. A story circulated in Moscow's foreign colony is that Jews are afraid to apply for admission to the new school being opened for the training of rabbis. Moscow's chief Rabbi Solomon Schliffer said such stories "are just made up," and that he had received letters from all over the country proposing candi-dates. He said Jewish Bibles, prayer books and religious calendars are being published; that his congregation is in-creasing; that special Jewish food can be bought easily, as well as Jewish religious objects; that the state bread factory sells matzoth very cheaply; that state shops will soon sell kosher meat at state prices; and that the state organ-ization will soon open a Jewish cafeteria in Moscow.

Had there been a drive against Jewish culture? The poet Alexei Surkov, who

is secretary of the Soviet Writers Union, said that there had been no such drive although "the false case drawn up by Beria against the Anti-Fascist Jewish Committee had an especially painful effect because such wonderful people were lost." He attributed the disappearance of Jewish publications largeto two factors:

1. The strong tendency toward assimilation after the Revolution, especially among the younger generation. This, he said, reached the point where it was "a rare case" when the youth spoke the language of their fathers.

The devastation during the war of western Russia and the Ukraine, where large centers of Jewish population were located. Minsk, for example, where 35% of the population had been Jewish, and where there had been Jewish schools, press and cultural activities, was totally destroyed. When it was restored after the war, its population had almost completely changed. The same was true of other centers of Jewish life.

NO EXCITEMENT: Millions of Jews were killed by Hitler's legions despite efforts to evacuate them. Many were saved and sent with other evacuees beyond the Urals. Some decided to stay on there after the war. (You can meet them in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, and presumably other Asian Republics, living and working as do citizens of all other nationalities, without a trace of discrimination.) Of course others came back, but the war had destroyed most of the old Jewish centers.

Surely national hostilities have not been entirely eliminated; this includes not only anti-Semitism but hostility between Armenians and Georgians and other peoples in the Caucasus and Caspian regions.

- Tabitha Petran

The conventions

(Continued from Page 1)

offered the enmity of Truman. To farm states mistrustful of Stevenson he had already appeared as a champion in the primaries. With the Democratic Party so seething with malcontents such a maverick was dangerous. The Stevenson forces could not be sure of victory until he was won over. He was. It was vigorously de-nied that the Vice-Presidency was the pay-off. But the debt Stevenson owed was unquestioned and his creditor had made it clear he would settle for second place on the ticket.

At the last moment that necessitycertainly painful to the South and re-portedly unpleasant to Stevenson—was almost averted in the "open" balloting for the Vice Presidency. The elements that forced Kefauver on the ticket were mainly the farm states and the random, disaffected delegates who in 1956, as in 1952, pushed Kefauver principally because the kingmakers had shown their disapproval of him.

TITLE—AND CONTROL: The Republican conflict was simpler. The Old Guard that had fought for Robert A. Taft in 1952 had never fully surrendered, and Sen. Knowland (Calif.) invoked his spirit at the Cow Palace. Their opponents, all outside the machine, such as Gov. Langlie of Washington, Gov. Herter of Massachusetts, UN Ambassador Henry



Herblock in Wash "Harold has been rehabilitated."

C. Lodge Jr. and Presidential Ass Sherman Adams had snatched titular control in 1952 by giving the party its only hope of victory: a completely un-political front-man, General Eisenhower.

The Old Guard retained control of the party machinery in 1952 and, under the chairmanship of Leonard Hall, held it again this year. In the long shadowy battle that had raged since the President's heart attack there has been one

central objective of the Old Guard: to make sure that after Eisenhower their own man will pick up the mortgage on the White House and the party's leaderown man will pick up the mortgage on the White House and the party's leader-ship. The man chosen by the Old Guard to wait with discreet but unyielding tenacity was Richard Nixon.

HALL AND STASSEN: The San Francisco convention's first stage-managed ovation was accorded the wife of the Vice President. His picture hung alongside the President's in the Cow Palace and the "team" was toasted by every speaker. Leonard Hall is not a subtle. man. For months he "predicted" that Nixon would be nominated. After a conference with the President he would express emphatic conviction that Nixon was the President's choice, admitting only when pressed that the subject had never

The curious, dogged, lonely performance of Harold Stassen measured the pathetic weakness of the President's own camp in the party councils. Stassen, somewhat like Kefauver, could have rallied all the anti-machine elements in the party. If his mission lacked the blessing of the White House it never had any condemnation from that source. Even when Stassen's surrender was announced in a press conference the President refrained from saying that Nixon was his exclusive choice. He passed it off lightly, saying that all other possibilities had declined to run.

"ONLY A VOICE": Stassen humbly sec-

onded Nixon's nomination. It was not so much a personal defeat: he seemed to have been chosen to lead a scouting party out on a limb. He must have been aware that should his mission fail, the limb would be sawed off behind him. He must have foreseen the end when Thomas Dewey, once counted in the Eisenhower wing, and a Nixon rival, switched to Nixon. He carried the lost cause to the end and made it seem a joke. What had been demonstrated was that though the Eisenhower wing was popular in the nation it could not rule the Republican

Columnist Walter Lippmann wrote on Aug. 23 that hereafter the Eisenhower Republicans would have "only a voice and nothing like leadership and control. and nothing like leadership and control, From the point of view of the professional politician, looking ahead to the next four years, the key position is the Vice Presidency and they [the drivers of the party machine] have used the steamroller to flatten out the opposition to their man."

DANGER OF FRANKNESS: The battles for control in both Chicago and San Francisco had to be kept, at least to some extent, from public view. It would have been unthinkable, for example, to have a genuinely open debate on the Vice Presidency without calling attention to the Republican taboo: the uncertain state of the President's health. Similarly a full discussion of civil rights would

(Continued on Page 7)

LOS ANGELES

You are cordially invited to attend the 6th of the GUARDIAN'S famous



Gourmet Garden Dinners

SAT., SEPT. 8 at 7:30 P. M.

at the home of Mr. & Mrs. George Willner 949 Schumacher Drive (La Cienega and Olympic)

ENTERTAINMENT, DANCING • \$5 per person

Limited to 100 persons, Reservations must be made in advance, Phone We. 1-9478 or We. 6-5866.

PROGRESSIVE OPTICIANS Rapid Service • Eyegiasses

Repairs • Oculists' Prescriptions

Carefully Fitted

WM. L. GOLTZ 6132 Wilshire Blvd. Los Angeles WEbster 5-1107

HOMELINE FURNITURE &

APPLIANCE CO.

All leading brands of

Furniture, TV & Appliances

Rest Quality — Lowest Prices

1959 Brooklyn Ave. An 2-8184

Open evenings except Tues.

ATLAS OPTICAL CO.

M. Franklin (Maury) Mitchell OPTICIAN

610 S. Broadway, Los Angeles Suite 405 Vandike 3530 QUICE SERVICE—LOW PRICES

CHICAGOANS INSURE THAT MORTGAGE!
FULLY PAID IN CASE OF DEATH.
Installments paid when disabled

LOU BLUMBERG 166 W. Jackson Blvd. HA 7-5497 Fire, Auto & All Other Insurance INSURANCE BY

THE BOROUGHS

59221/4 N. Figueroa St., L. Clinton 6-3129

PUBLICATIONS

Portrait of a People's De

SPRINGTIME ON THE DANUBE

by Louis Villefosse ormer Asst. Chief, Free French (avy, author, lecturer, traveler

and Janine Bouissounouse

\$1.50 per copy oksellers or order directly from the publisher:

HUNGARIAN WORD, 130 E. 16th Street, N. Y. S

CRYSTAL LAKE

SEPTEMBER 16

Full staff till Sept. 9

Reduced rates from Sept. 9 to Sept. 16.

concerts, folk & social dancing Orch. concerts, folk & social dancing nightly by the shore of mounit Crystal Lake. Fishing, canceing & boating, 9 championship clay tennis courts. All sports. 1500 woodland acres. Free weekend to tennis winzers. — RESERVE NOW!

CHESTERTOWN 3, N. Y.

Chestertown 3830 N.Y. OL 3-1884

OPEN ALL YEAR!

"An intimate resort with 'Big'
hotel facilities"

Beautiful new pool 100'x200'

Ocomplete Day Camp • All Sports
Arts & Crafts • Cocktail Hour
Folk & Square Dancing • Children's Wading Pool • Golf nearby

Feat.: Sylvia Kahn, concert soprano Adults \$38.50 up; Reserve now for Labor Day and Rosh Hashonah Phone: Kerhonkson 8316

The kind of news you get in Guardian is priceless. Help our sub drive!

ocialist TV-Radio Talk FARRELL DOBBS

Workers Party candidate President speaks on ependent Party for Labor CBS-TV Sat., Sept. 8, 6:45-7 edt.

CBS RADIO
Tues, Sept. 11, 10:45-11 edt.
Send for free copy of
SWP 1965 Election Clafform
116 University Pl., New York

RESORTS

SPEND INDIAN SUMMER AT THE



GUARDIAN WEEKEND at CHAIT'S

ACCORD, N. Y. SEPTEMBER 21, 22, 23

JAMES ARONSON **KUMAR GOSHAL**

PLUS

Swimming, tennis, dancing, cocktail hour and more!

For reservations CALL OR 3-3800

including transportation Send \$5 deposit

GUARDIAN WEEKEND, 197 E. 4th ST., N. Y. 9

I	wish	to	make	 reservations.	Enclosed	\$
20						

Cooperative, interracial

CAMP MIDVALE

Midvale, N. J. Terhune 5-2160

Enjoy our famous pool. Activities. Entertain-ment. Holiday Meals (table service,

Take Advantage of this **Special Holiday Weekend**

(Wednesday supper, September 5 through Sunday dinner, September 10)

\$21 for adults \$14 for children

RESERVE YOUR BEST ACCOMODATIONS NOW!

WINGDALE on-the-Lake (formerly Camp Unity)

Open every day of the year; come any time.

Labor Day 3 days, \$25
Rosh Hashonah .. 4 days, \$27
Yom Kippur 2 days, \$15

Call CH · 4-0723 or Wingdale 3261, or write Wingdale, N.Y.

rrowhead Lodge

RESERVE NOW FOR ABOR DAY and the JEWISH HOLIDAYS

Entertainment, Folk, Square and Social Dancing, Painting, Arts & Crafts, Clay Tennis Courts, Golf, Fishing, All Sports.

3 hours from N.Y.C. via Thruway

CH 2-2453

Ellenville 502

The conventions

(Continued from Page 6) have revealed and strained the embar-rassing alliance of liberals and racists which, in the name of unity, now runs the Democratic Party.

The hidden battles offered to the

viewer the strange spectacle of Cassandras crying doom at each convention. In Chicago Harry Truman, before his final surrender, had warned that Stevenson could not win. And Stassen in San Francisco, before he collapsed, said that Nixon might cost 8% or more of the Eisenhower

Where in these political rivalries were the issues of this election? The accept-ance speeches of all candidates spoke high-mindedly of visions. The platforms were not identical but, in the scales, they seemed to weigh the same. The Republicans produced a civil rights plank only "a shade" better than the Democrats'



Milwaukee Journal "Coattails we win (we hope)!"

watery solution to the problem, according to Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the NAACP.

The Democratic foreign policy plank, full of talk about "liberating" people from socialism and of high arms budgets, con-trasted with the GOP's claim of credit for the Geneva Spirit.

THERE'S NO DIVISION: The Democrats offered labor a \$1.25 minimum and a promise to repeal Taft-Hartley, while the Republicans said they would amend the act. The Democrats promised the farmer 90% parity and eventual 100% parity, while the Republicans stuck to the present sliding scales. On the whole, how-ever, a look at the platforms would lead to the conclusion reached by the Times' James Reston: "This is no longer a country divided politically along ideo-logical lines, if it ever was. The Democrats . . . have moved to the right and the Republicans have been cheering . . . New Deal measures that they would have booed four years ago."

There was reason to believe, however,

that the mirror provided by the political

parties was faulty. The issues in the nation could be more readily seen in Mont-gomery, Ala., in city slums, in homes of auto workers worried about automation, auto workers worried about automation, in churches praying for peace, in law courts where the most fundamental principles of the Constitution are being fought for all over again, on farms and in factories where Americans await the new era of competition with socialism.

ONE MISSING FACTOR: The conventions reflected little of these stirrings and therefore won a lower TV rating than most spectaculars. The flight from reality was tedious to viewers accustomed to more artful escapes. Editor Carey McWil-liams of the Nation, commenting on the Democratic retreat on civil rights, gave a clue to what was missing: "Yet the issue which, in a desperate

moment, the Democrats met with courage in 1948, they fled in terror in 1956. But then there was a 'left' opposition in 1948; there is none today."

CALENDAR

Altadena, Calif.

SWIM PARTY for the GUARDIAN Bat., Sept. 22 noon-6 p.m. 2189 N. Alta-dena Dr. (formerly Foothill Blvd.) Sug-gested donation: cedults, 75 cents; chil-dren, 40 cents. All welcome.

Chicago

ANNA LOUISE STRONG
"Stalin & After"—Sat., Sept. 22nd,
8:15 p.m. Hall B-3, 32 West Randolph.
Tickets \$1. Call AN 3-1877

PETE SEEGER "Songs of Friendship" Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted, Sat., Nov., 10., 8:15 p.m. Tickets 90c and \$1:50. Call AN 3-1877.

Sebastopol, Calif.

COME AND JOIN US
At an Outdoor Luncheon at the Ireland
Ranch, 1526 Gravenstein Hwy., N. Entertainment and Food for Thought. Sun.,
Sept. 9 at Noon, Proceeds to National
Guardian.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Ave.) "THE THIRTY-NINE STEPS." Sept. 1. Alfred Hitchcock's ace thriller, starring Robert Donat and Madeline Carroll. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, \$1.00; non-members, \$1.25; Next week: "YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU."

Pacific Northwest

GUARDIAN FISH BARBECUE-PICNIC Sun., Sept. 9 at 2 p.m. Featuring Carlos Montoya Flamenco Record. Morford Place, 2 miles horth of Narrows Bridge, first turn to right after leaving bridge, then one mile north and follows signs. Excel-lent food, congenial company, quiet spot, new music to enjoy. Donation \$1 incl. dinner.

CLASSIFIED

General

FOR THE BEST PHOTO WORK order o exposure film, 40c; 12 exposure film, 65c. PAL FILM SERVICE, Blvd. P.O. Box 123 G, New York 59, N. Y.

FIVE-ROOM HOUSE, with bath, 3 bedrooms, 3 lots, fruit trees. Just off pavement, church next door, school close by,
located in beautiful Bitter Root Valley
of Montana. Small town of Grantsdale,
4 miles south of Hamilton, 50 miles south
of Missoula. Price 86,500. Write: R. H.
Cook, Grantsdale, Montana..

BY WAY OF CONTRAST!

BY WAY OF CONTRAST!

"Visit Greece, the tourists' paradise, the travel agencies tell you . . . (Their) pamphlets are bright with Greece's "flaming colors," but these are not the colors of Greece today. It is the drab grey of the prisoners' rags, of their final shrouds . . . The tourists' paradise is the Greek prisoners' Heil!" (From opening and closing statements of: "Greece: A Nightmare Persists"—N.G. 5/28/56).

This is the third ad Twe placed in N.G.

A Nightmare Persists"—N.G. 5/28/56).

This is the third ad I've placed in N.G. since that "Prisoners' Hell" article of May 28. The first two were on the classified column; this is in the "Resorts' column—the better to catch the eye—and conscience! For I figure those who can afford to spend even but a weekend at some "beautiful lake resort" can likewise spare a thought and a buck or two, or ten—for their fellow progressives—from Greece—"resorting" on those "arid, volcanic islands"—not just for a weekend, or a week, or a summer—but for a whole decade!

The repeated calls for help by these

whole decade!

The repeated calls for help by these prisoners over the years have virtually failen on deaf ears. Re-quoting from N.G. article: "The colors of Greece today (are) drab gray of the prisoners'....FINAL SHROUDS"!

Recall the last lines of "In Flanders' Fields"? "If ye break faith with us who die, we shall not sleep, tho poppies grow in Flanders fields."

grow in Flanders fields."

The strongest link in the unity of mankind is the one connecting the "quick and the dead." If this master link is severed, the whole of mankind will suffer the consequences! If these Greek political prisoners suffer another winter of living (and dying) death in their Hell camps, because of the supine failure of thousands of well-heeled U.S. progressives to lift a finger on their behalf, then—this master link will have been severed! And there WILL be hell to pay!

pay!

The N.G., like these prisoners, is in a desperate struggle for life. It is imperative that these ads be on a weekly basis. Only thus can those thousands of readers who WOULD look the other way be induced to face stark naked truth and necessity. Money must FLOW in! Support of these ads is also vital support to N.G. Please make out checks to N.G. but send to: R. GRANT, 311 10th ST., LORAIN, OHIO.

CAMEO COUNTRY CLUB (formerly Eager-Rosegarden). Enjoy a wonderful vacation at inexpensive rates, eating your fill of wonderful food, awimming in our mt. pool and engaging in all the sports, stomping it out with our Square Dance. caller, dancing to Harry Lee's Orchestra-and listening to the lovely voice of MARTHA SCHLAMME, who is on our staff. Full program continues through Labor Day and Rosh Hashonah—so rush reservations for your whole family. Weingart-Pasternak mgt. Phone Monticello 571 or write The Cameo, Bushville Rd., Harris, N. Y.

WHITE MOUNTAINS—Swimming, hiking, fishing, country dances, mountain-climbing, touring. Good food, modern conveniences, reasonable rates. Children welcome. OPEN ENTIRE MONTH OF SEPT. For details write: Mrs. J. Timms, Box 135, Wentworth, N. H. Tel: Rockweil

PINE LAKE LODGE, Kenoza Lake, N. Y. An informal resort, ideal for young families. Private lake, swimming, boating, fishing, sports, children's program & counsellors, Hi-fi. Scrumptious food. Open until Sept. 9th. Make early reservation for Jewish Holidays. Adults \$42. Children \$20-25. Send for booklet, Jeffersonville 212R.

SPRING MT. HOUSE, Jeffersonville, N. Y. Restful, beautiful surroundings on farm Chickens, Gats, cows, etc. City improvements. Swimming of premises. Fing pong, hand ball, TV. Ideal for children. Rates \$37 adults, children \$19 up. Y. Schwartz. Phones: Jeffersonville 290, OL 5-6971 (NYC).

HILLBERG FARM, Kerhonkson, N. Y. Tel.: Kerhonkson 8008 W. Open all year. \$40 and \$38 per week, \$7.50 and \$7 per day.

VEGETARIANS! Vacation at the DAVID STRY GUEST RANCH
MELBOURNE, FLORIDA
nest fruits & vegetables, \$35 per week,
exp No dead animals, no smoking,
alcohol.

NEW YORK CLASSIFIED

MERCHANDISE

ENGLISH BICYCLE with 3 speed gears, hand brakes, pump & tourist bag. SPEC. 839.95. Standard Brand Dist., 143 4th Ave. (13-14th Sts.) GR 3-7319. 1 hour free parking or 2 tokens

LARRABEE SHOE CORP.
SAVE! 25% to 60% off FAMOUS
FACTORY SHOES (men, women, children's,) Buy with confidence—money
back in 7 days. 321 Church St., CA 6822. All subways to Canal St. statio

HI-FIDELITY
RADIO-PHONOGRAPHS
Sales, Installation, Service
ECTOR LABORATORIES, 217 3rd
Av., New York 3. GR 3-7686.

LARGE SAVINGS—Good, modern furni-ture at low markup. Come in and see. Special consideration to GUARDIAN ceaders. Open Sat. till 6. SMILOW-THIELLE New York: 856 Lex. Ave., MU 6-7308 White Plains: 41 Mamaroneck Ave. WH 8-4788

e! FINE FURS
fur coats o jackets
capes minks o stoles
Expert Remodeling and Repairing
Convert your old fur coat to a
fur-lined cloth coat.
MAX KUPERMAN
755 756 Ave., OR 5-7773

SERVICES

SOFA REWEBBED. Relined, Springs Re-tied in your home. Reasonable. Furniture Repaired, Reupholstered, Cushioning, Call mornings 9-1, HY 8-7887. Fraternal At-tention. On vacation Aug. 15-Sept. 6th.

MAILING, PHOTO-OFFSET
MULTIGRAPHING,
MIMEOGRAPHING
Custom Letter Service
39 Union Square AL AL 5-8160

MOVING, STORAGE, EXPERIENCED PIANO MOVERS. Profit by my 20 yrs. experience. Call Ed Wendel, JE 6-8000 on any moving problem.

JIM'S EXPRESS
Young vet. Move inexpensively. \$3.50
per hour per man or flat rate. New
station wagon. 24 hr. service. Phone:
SU 7-7378.

FREE LIFE INSURANCE ANALYSIS
Personal and business. Fire, health,
accident, theft, etc., insurance placed.
RENE M. SCHENKER
420 Lex Av., N. Y. 17
MU 3-2837

CARL BRODSKY
INSURANCE
Automobile, Fire, Life, etc.
GR 5-3225
Broadway (Cor. 11th St.)

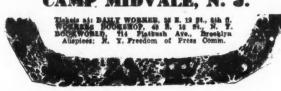
MARCEL PAINTING
Private homes, apartments, business
premises. Reasonable. Anywhere in 5
boros. For estimates phone: Nunez, GR 7-

Sunday, Sept. 28 LABOR PRESS

NEW YORK

PICNIC

CAMP MIDVALE, N. J.



Handwrought

Jewelry

SEVEN STEPS UP

Grandwrought

Andwrought

Jewelry

Andwrought

Andwr

WASHING MACHINE REPAIRS
Sales—New and used machines
Service for all types
Brooklyn GE 4-4228

CUSTOM BUILT
Cabinet-storage units, alterations for home, office, most reasonable.
STEIN INTERIORS
259 W. 19th St. CH 8-8325

NORMA CATERERS: Now booking that special occasion in temple, home, or office. Unusual plan for exceptionally large receptions. Hor D'Ocuvres, turkeys, meat trays, etc., delivered anywhere in metropolitan area. Tel.: ES 3-9490.

BILL'S RADIO & TV SERVICE

Written Guarantees a Itemized Bills Prompt & Reliable & Reasonable 252½ Bleecker St. WA 9-0813

BIG GEORGE'S MOVERS Moving and light hauling MOST REASONABLE 24 hour service Phone: MO 3-4367

PIANO TUNING

Repairs
All work guaranteed
SULLY CHILDS
73 West \$2d Et. TR 3-0698

PHOTOGRAPHY

LAWRENCE PHOTO photograph it Walker 5-4156 12 p.m.-12 a.m

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITY

Men, women, opportunity, no investment, Part-time, fulltime, commission plus bo-nus plus retirable income. Start and earn \$200 to \$600 per month. Test sales and/or organisational ability. Call NA 8-3812, NI S.8353 NI 8-6359.

HELP WANTED

YOUNG MAN, bright, fill clerical posi-tion. Opportunity learn advertising. Sal-ary advancement based on ability. Sum-lar Co., 1625. Nostrand Ave., Brooklyn 26, N.Y.

FURNISHED ROOM FOR RENT

FOR LADY, cosy, well furnished private room, light kitchen privileges. Rent rea-sonable. Call mornings 9 to 1 p.m. and evenings 8 to 8 p.m. UN 4-2892.



APARTMENT TO SHARE

WORKING GIRL IN LUCK. Pound attractive modern 4½ room lower east-side. All transportation. You pay 450 a month. Call after 10 p.m. or weekends OR 4-3493.

PATRONIZE GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

We moved recently so please change our address in your file. We used Ed Wendel (movers) for our moving and can re-

IT PAYS to advertise in the GUARDIAN! to patronize GUARDIAN advertisers!

port nothing was broken and the job was done smoothly. We used M. Nunez on the painting and he and his helpers did an excellent job at a fair price,

Also called Washco to look at the washing machine.

All in all, we are delighted with the people we called from your advertising columns. They were reliable and efficient.

All our thanks.

SOPHIE MARKS

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

1 TEN-INCH (33 1/3) LP FOLK ALBUM

Buy any 5 albums listed on this page and you receive one FREE! \$18 VALUE for ONLY \$12.50 ppd.

(List price \$3.00 per album) Individual albums are \$2.50 ppd. Please order by number

This offer expires September 30, 1956. All orders must be postmarked no later than this date. Only records listed below are included in this offer.

Regional Songs

#36. SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN FOLK SONGS sung by Harry & Beanle West with guitar, banjo and

Ten wonderful backwoods mountain folk songs sung by people from the Southern mountains.

Red Rockin' Chair
Jimmy Randail
Little Birdle
Old Reuben
Down in a Willow Garden
The Old Arm Chair
George Collins
Little Maggie
Mellie Cropsey
Priffing Too Bar From the



#54. SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN HOE-DOWNS with Woody Guthrie, Cis-eo Houston, Sonny Terry, Ales Stewart and others.

Some real, old-time mountain in-strumentals and dance songs with lots of hoopin' and hollerin'.

Buffalo Gals
Joe Clark
Old Dan Tucker
Ida Red
Salty Dog Breakdown
Hoe Cakes Baking
Bally Gooden
Fiddle Breakdown

#71. I SING OF CANADA with Milt

Sixteen delightful English and French songs.

rench songs.

Donkey Riding
Trinity Cake
She's Like the Swallow
J'ai Perdu Le Do
The Shantyman's Life
La Poulette Grise
Smoky Mountain Bill
A-Rishima, Tishima, Tee
Un Canadien Errant
A Gay Spanish Maid
Catch A Hold This One
Vive La Canadienne

#72. CATSKILL MOUNTAIN FOLK SONGS sung by Bob and Louise De-Cormier with guitar accompaniment.

delightful collection of songs produced in cooperation with the Camp Woodland Collection of Music from the Catskills and Norman Cazden, author of "A Catskill Songster."

I Walked the Road Again
My Love Is Like A Dewdrop
The Knickerbocker Line
The Bonny Laboring Boy
Will You Go Out West
The Rock Island Line
The Foggy Dew
The Cordwood Cutter
Last Winter Was A Hard One
Friends and Neighbors

#73. TEXAS FOLK SONGS sung by Hally Wood with guitar and banjo

Some of the best Negro and white folk songs from Texas sung by

folk songs from Texas sung to an exciting female folk singer. Sugar Babe
O' Freedom
Worried Blues
When I Was Single
Believe I'll Call the Captain
Farther Along
St. James Hospital
Courting Case
Come and Go With Me
Love Henry
Amaging Grace
Santa Claus Blues
Red Apple Juice
Glory Hallelujah

Folksay Series

Some wonderful American folk songs sung by some of the great contemporary American folk-singers recorded by Stinson. Words to all the songs are printed on the back of the albums.

#5. FOLKSAY: VOL. 1 with Peta Seeger, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston, Bess Lomax, Woody Guthrie, Bald-win Hawes, Josh White, Sonny Ter-ry and Alec Stewart.

Glory
Poor Lazarus
It Was Sad When That Great Ship
Went Down
Nine Hundred Miles
Cindy
Don't Lie, Buddy
Mule Skinner Blues
Who's Gonna Shoe Your Pretty Little
Feet

#6. FOLKSAY: VOL. II with Lead-belly, Woody Guthrie, Cisco Hous-ton, Sonny Terry, Bob Carey, Roger Sprung and Eric Darling.

Alabama Bound
Round the Bay of Mexico
Tom Dooley
Devillah Mary
Midnight Special
Sportin' Life Blues
Crawdad Song
Raise a Ruckus

D. FOLKSAY: VOL. III with cody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Pete eger, Leadbelly, Sonny Terry and

Yellow Gal Hard Travelling The Roving Gambler Lost John Casey Jones Railroad Whistle I've A Pretty Flower Bile Dem Cabbage Down

#11. FOLKSAY: VOL. IV with Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston and Ernie Lieberman,

Pretty Women
Potato
Wid Indian
Jam Session
Duke of the Calypso
Mickey Cipriani
Rookoobay
Don't Stop That Carnival



#12. FOLKSAY: VOL. V with Cisco Houston, Pete Seeger, Woody Guth-rie, Hally Wood, Leadbelly, Frank Warner and Sonny Terry.

Come All You Fair and Tender
Ladies
Take This Hammer
Hobe Bill
Go Tell Aunt Rhody
Teroo
Johnson Boys
The Rover
House of the Rising Sun
Old Smokey

#13. FOLKSAY: VOL. VI with Tom Glazer, Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, Cisco Houston, Ernie Lieberman, Gary Davis and Sonny Terry.

Down in the Valley
Froggy Went A-Courtin'
Young Man Who Wouldn't Hoe Corn
Gron Bread Rough
Jolly Roving Tar
Streets of Laredo
Soldier, Soldier
The Foggy Dew
Erie Canai
When the Train Comes Along

JAZZ

#23. JAZZ AT THE PHILHAR-MONIC, VOL. 1 presented by Norman Granz.

Here is an album of true im-provisation. It was recorded at a jam session at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. The Auditorium in Los Angeles. The musicians were unaware that a record was being made. The artists include: Illinois Jacquet, Willie Smith, Charlie Ventura, saxophones; Joe Guy, Howard McGhee, trumpets; Garland Finney, piano; Red Callendar, bass; Ulysses Livingston, guitar. The Chicago Flesh drams The Chicago Flash, drums.

the **SPECTATOR Toward unwashed brains**

N The Public Arts, Gilbert Seldes offers us a a fact-filled survey of the three major art derivatives of modern technology—the movies, radio and television. Seldes does not pretend to be a theorist. He is committed to undefined standards of "good" art and to vague notions of democracy which include getting along with the system

Nevertheless, he calls needed attention to these three fields even though he may overstate his case with the flat generalization that they are "institutions as powerful in shaping our lives as our schools our politics and our system of government." In the 25-year intervasince he wrote The Seven Lively Arts, Seldes has worked in, watched and commented on the movies, radio and TV. His new survey goes from comedy to crusading with chapters on such figures as Jimmy Durante and an account of the historic Murrow-McCarthy telecasts. He gives us (without any deep comment) a beautiful example of the incompatibility of art production with its merchandising control:

"When a program was especially good, when a drama brought up a psychological problem of intense interest to the audience, people at home began to talk about the show the moment the commercial began, to discuss the message of the play while the sponsor's message went unheard. It was better to give them programs they were not so excited about.'

SOCIETY'S RESPONSE: The shortcomings of the book are not those of Seldes alone. They are really shortcomings of art theory and of our social thinking about the arts. Most theories of social progress for industrial societies which do not account for the mass arts and the mass communication media may be fairly compared to a theory of human anatomy which leaves out the nervous system and the brain. The analogy of the individual's nervous system and a modern society's communication system is apt, for it points along the way for which Pavlov broke ground in the physiology of the higher animals by showing the how and why of the conditioned reflex. It leads to the parallel social question of how and why societies and groups in societies respond in fixed ways to certain kinds of stimulation.

The absence from theory of answers to these questionsof the questions themselves in forms that make practical sensemay be reflected in the current poor showings of the most advanced capitalist and socialist countries in the arts. Bread is necessary but that "man does not live on bread alone" may be related to the fact that he has such a highly evolved nervous system. He has emotions and he has a continuous need for values and satisfactions which can be provided, for better or worse, only on the cultural level.

Since no truly human creatures exist or have ever existed, so far as the evidence of archaeology and anthropology show, in anything but cultures of some kind, to say "on the cultural level" is no more than to say "on the human level." What a people pays attention to, good or bad, becomes by the continuing act of attention that people's culture. What is bad should be improved, what is good should be supported; but in neither case should the fact and the culture be ignored.

SHAW AND HELEN TRENT: How are the tired workingman, his tired wife and confused kids going to find livable values and satisfactions? And what about an even more technological future? Given the material basis, how are they going to be more cultural, more fully human? With the exception of some condescensions toward esoteric jazz, this writer cannot recall a single admittedly progressive work dealing with culture as the people know it—and support it.

Among the memorable cultural dates of 1956 were those of Van der Meer the Younger (300 years), Mozart (200 years), Bernard Shaw (100 years) and the 30th year of continuous broadcasting of the soap opera, The Romance of Helen Trent. Even though Helen is still a 35-year old widow, still engaged to the same man after all those broadcasts, it might be objected, reasonably, that she doesn't belong in such company. Soap operas are not "cultural" culture. They are not "refined" fine art. Yet it might be argued, with just as much reason, that they do have a special significance for an age of electronic democracy, for what Thurber calls "the age of the atom and aspirin.'

DO THEY RELATE? The novelty of our mass art vehicles has misled most of us, including Seldes, into thinking that our cultural problems are also entirely new. We forget that the ritual of the Mass in the middle ages, like those of the earlier temples and later meeting houses, had its artistic-emotional show and then its sermon, or "message from the sponsor," which aimed to relate the art pointedly to social realities.

When the reasonable message and the art of the past did relate, the society was comparatively healthy. When the sale of toothpaste today comes into head-on conflict not only with its means of drawing an audience but also with the source of livable value in the artsas did the sale of indulgences which Luther denounced—the society cannot be called healthy. Seldes has begun the job by presenting the record of our popular arts. What remains is to nail the challenge freer and more honest culture to the door of the mass art cathedrals everywhere.

-Robert Joyce

*THE PUBLIC ARTS by Gilbert Seldes. 303 pp. Simon & Schuster, N.Y. \$3.95.

