

Guardian is 2 years old

Where we stand

THIS IS THE SECOND BIRTHDAY OF NATIONAL GUARDIAN. It is celebrated by a family of 75,000 spread all over the land. If the setting for the birthday is not the happiest we could desire, the fact that we are celebrating it—despite the head-shaking of some of the learned doctors before and since our birth—is something for the whole family to be happy about.

If the family is an embattled one today, the fact that it continues growing in size and strength is a cause for pride. If it is poor in possessions, it is rich in heart and purpose. To each member of the family, our deepest thanks for the way you have rallied to us at every crisis, continually reaffirmed your faith.

"WATCHMAN," you might say to us as we go into our third year of publication, "what of the night?" And we would reply (Isaiah 21, 12): "The morning cometh, and also the night: if ye will enquire, enquire ye."

When will morning come? It is no wonder that some people doubt its coming in these days when black is white and war is peace and wrong is right. Indeed, historians will one day label our time the Time of the Hypocrite. In the press, over the radio, on billboards, in placards on subways and buses, the money-power rulers of America are trying to stand Truth on its head.

In San Francisco, in the hall where the UN Charter was ratified five years ago, the President of the United States said with straight face: "It is a source of pride to us that our country was asked to furnish the first commander of United Nations troops."

What monumental hypocrisy! U. S. money-power has draped itself in a UN flag, rewritten the Charter and made the UN ITS tool instead of the world peace organization it was designed to be. President Truman, as money-power's errand boy, traveled 7,000 miles to tell its Pacific agent on Wake Island, in effect: It's okay to go ahead and build the new American Empire (the Pax Americana). But we've got to rig up UN "support" for each move to make it look good. So take it easy, Mac. Next time wait till we've got the stooges in line before you start dropping bombs.

BACK HOME, in the midst of a critical election, the press black-out on the real issues is complete. "There can be no progress without peace," said Dr. W. E. B. DuBois; but the press, knowing full well that it is only on our side of the cold war that the death drums are being beaten, has boycotted peace as indecent.

The interrelation between gangsterism and municipal government is recognized in the press. For their partisan purposes (that is, if the corrupt government is Republican and the newspaper Democrat, or vice versa) the newspapers give you big, black, juicy stories about gambling investigations—without, of course, suggesting a remedy. But where have you seen stories of the greater corruption—the alliance between big government and big money which is strangling the economy, the freedom, the peace of our nation?

THERE IS ONLY ONE national voice that speaks to you of peace; only one voice which lays bare the brazen manipulations of money-power. That voice is the GUARDIAN. Two years ago, in Vol. 1, No. 1, we said:

We present our publication humbly, in the conviction that the times call for a voice in our nation which without fear or reservation will speak for peace, freedom and abundance.

We feel, still with humility, that we have kept the faith. Some others who bespoke the cause—the faint of heart and the muddled—have dropped away. But their number has been so small—in the face of witch-hunt, character assassination, loss of livelihood, violence and prison—that it has given great heart to those who stayed in the fight.

The cause IS being fought for; make no mistake about that. When we discussed this issue you are now reading we decided that the best way we could mark our birthday would be to turn the whole issue (enlarged by eight pages) over to the fighters—the men and the women who are trying for public office under the banner of peace and decency.

Who are they? Some have names you never heard of. Some are white and some are black. Some have a deep faith in God and some, for all we know, are atheists. Some are lawyers, engineers, school teachers. Some are laborers and some will call themselves simply the mothers of children—children whom they cherish and for whom they want a world of love and light.

They are plain people with truth in their hearts and without fear. They are the salt of the earth.

"IF YE WILL ENQUIRE, enquire ye." The truth, which dissipates despair of the coming of morning after the long night, can be found; it is here. The antidote to despair is to go out in the highways and byways and tell the truth that your enquiry yields. Tell the despairing that there are people fighting for them; tell them to help the fight with their votes; and tell them about the paper in which they can enquire and learn truth week by week, along with 75,000 other Americans who read it now and the thousands more who will be reading it.

There WILL be thousands more—don't ever doubt it. The GUARDIAN has a faith to live for, and will live—because you share that faith with us and we share it with you.

We have asked you to do much. We ask you now to do even more: to carry the GUARDIAN and its message of truth into every corner of this land; to help us work more and more effectively for the purpose we stated in our credo two years ago:

...To further the ideals of peace, freedom and abundance by giving the inheritors of Franklin D. Roosevelt's America an uninterrupted flow of facts to fight with in the continuing battle for a better world.

—THE EDITORS

NATIONAL

5 cents

GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

Vol. 3, No. 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., OCTOBER 25, 1950



Photo by Barney Cole

This is Marc — on wheels

They call it the Marcmobile—this cruising office in which the fighting Congressman is touring his district. More than 30,000 visitors have come to see Marc in the past two years, but he apparently decided there were more who wanted to talk to him, so—the Marcmobile. Above, the Congressman with some future American Labor Party voters.

U.S. needs no more cowards

By W. E. B. DuBois
(From a speech delivered at Rochester, N. Y.)

THE two planks in my platform on which I place faith and emphasis are these: Peace and Civil Rights.

The world wants peace. It must have peace or civilization will die. Everything that war by any imagination could possibly gain for mankind has been sought by three wars of such colossal cost in death and destruction that every sane soul is simply appalled by the result. Yet we are not only arming for more and greater war but, driven by the furies, are trying to shut the mouths and stifle the consciences of all or any who dare speak for peace.

To fight this overthrowing and negation of the Bill of Rights is the second plank of my platform. I never thought I would live to see the day that free speech and freedom of opinion would be so throttled in the United States as it is today. Today is this a free country? No man can be sure of earning a living, of escaping slander and personal violence, or even of keeping out of jail unless publicly and repeatedly he proclaims:

That he hates Russia.
That he opposes socialism and communism.

That he supports wholeheartedly the war in Korea.

That he is ready to spend any amount of the nation's resources for further war anywhere or at any time.

That he is ready to fight the Soviet Union, China and any other country.

That he believes in the use of the Atom Bomb or any other weapon of mass destruction and regards anyone who is opposed as a traitor.

That he not only believes in and consents to all these things, but is willing to spy on his neighbors and denounce them if they do not believe and do as he does.

THE mere statement of this creed shows its absolute in-



sanity. What can be done to bring this nation to its senses? Most people answer: Nothing; just sit still; bend to the storm; if necessary, lie and join the witch-hunt.

Swear to God that never,

never did you ever sympathize with the Russian peasants' fight to be free; that you never in your life belonged to a liberal organization or had a friend who did; and if so, you were deceived, deluded and a damned fool.

But there are others who say we can do something; that America needs no more cowards and liars; that it needs honest men, and that honest citizens who are mistaken are infinitely more patriotic than scoundrels who follow the herd.

We still have elections and we still have a secret ballot. If you do not want war, you have the right and opportunity to say so and no one need know how you have voted. If you want the Bill of Rights restored to the Constitution you have the legal right to say so and do so secretly. In this Democracy you still retain the right to help elect your lawmakers and executives. If you fail to exercise this right, you will suffer and you ought to suffer. Today the vast majority of the American people who are not crazy do not want war. Most Americans hate the current witch-hunt. The only way to oppose war and the death of civil liberty is to elect officials who agree with you.

ELMER BENSON: Our fighting heritage

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Vol. 3, No. 1 Vol. 3, No. 1



Praise for DuBois

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. Dr DuBois' statement on the situation of the American Labor Party election campaign is the best summing up I have read anywhere on the money-power system which Lincoln foretold would be the death of this republic. M. Bingham

ROXBORO, N. C. Note Dr. DuBois preaching from the right text. Said slogan used, and system followed, will win the Presidency and hold it till removed by a higher power. It will elect a Democrat or Republican in '52. It will control Senate and Congress, and control one-third of the classes and all the masses. It will save one million in campaign funds and one-half the candidates' energy. R. M. Smith DuBois' slogan: "There can be no progress without peace." Ed.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN. No wonder GUARDIAN gave a full page (Oct. 4) to the superb and forthright statement by Dr. DuBois. We hope that all the weary and wobbly, wishy-washy, fagged and fogged liberals will read it and weep for the shame which is theirs in this crucial hour of the history they are helping to write.

It is a crime against God and humanity that hungry people cry for bread and we give them guns and bombs. Do our mis-leaders and mis-rulers think we don't know the vast amounts of food hidden away in caves by the government? Seven and one-half million pounds of stored rice would have done much more than bullets to win the Peace in Korea.

One half of the hospital beds in America are occupied by mental patients, and one-half of the mental patients in the South are victims of pellagra. I do not know how many counties there are in the U.S. that do not have a doctor, a dentist or a hospital, but I do know that a large body of clergymen met near one recently and en-

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not only going, but growing. We hear from too many of our good friends that they are buying homes, 1950 cars and television sets. You can't take these things with you to a concentration camp. There is no safety in silence and "grass growing under a beech tree." The German middle class tried to escape to the garden. There isn't any choice except between fighting for peace and social progress—and fascism.

We are sending \$300 to show that we practice what we preach.

George and Eleanor Wheeler Two days after the Wheelers' letter arrived, that staunch defender of freedom Walter Winchell reported in his column: "George Shaw Wheeler, who denounced the United States and renounced his citizenship [not true—Ed.] . . . is in dire straits. He is a most pitiful figure there, we are informed . . . wants to get back home. . . ." Ed.

Birthday blessings

MEXICO CITY We think the GUARDIAN is a great paper, and we appreciate the sacrifices the editors and the staff make in publishing it. There are millions behind you. Keep up the good work! Mexico City Progressives



LOS ANGELES, CALIF. Enclosed is a five dollar bill—my renewal in advance—and the names of four people to get the best periodical in America today. One of the very, very few that gets the facts and tells the American people what is really happening in this war-ridden world of ours—and who is responsible for that war! Heartfelt appreciation for your courage and steadfastness in the cause of a real humanity. Barbara Bess Nestor

A farmer with faith

ANN ARBOR, MICH. The progressive movement in Michigan pays devoted tribute to the memory of Clyde Smith, a farmer of Honor, Mich., who died last week: a leading spirit of the Michigan Farmers Union, state secretary of the Michigan Progressive Party, and active circulation-builder of the GUARDIAN among the farmers of Benzie county. Clyde was arrested in the wave of repression following World War I, when "red squads" swooped down on the IWW in Toledo; in the early thirties he led the farm mortgage foreclosure fight in upper Michigan. A beloved PP leader, he rolled up the largest vote of any Michigan PP candidate in 1949, running for state Agricultural Commissioner. While suffering from ill health he organized the strawberry growers of the Traverse City area to resist the frozen food monopolies which, up to that time, had been robbing the farmers blind and charging city consumers extortionate prices. He had tremendous faith that the

The Importance of Words

The U.S. favors a peace treaty with Japan that would permit the U.S. to administer the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands on behalf of the UN. . . . However, it is hoped to find a different word for their proposed status than trusteeship because this, when translated into the Japanese, Chinese or Korean languages, is the same word that was used by the Japanese to describe their rule over China, Korea, and territories they invaded after Pearl Harbor. —N.Y. Times, Sept. 22.

dorsed the things for which the bankers are pleading: higher taxes and a tightening of the belt. Can you imagine Amos, Isaiah or the Nazarene going along with such a program? Little wonder that Rev. Claude Williams felt compelled to request the government to register him as "an agent of a foreign power: the Way of Righteousness." So long as we have clergymen of such stature; so long as we have intellectuals of the depth and profundity of Dr. DuBois; so long as we have a weekly newspaper whose integrity is equal to that of the GUARDIAN, there is hope for the real America and world peace. Enclosed \$3 is for a big bundle for Dixie. (Bundle means GUARDIANS, of course.) Clara M. Vincent

From Dr. DuBois

I want to say how much I appreciate the coverage which the GUARDIAN has given my election efforts. I am sure that it will carry my message a long way. W. E. B. DuBois

They are not aware

PRAGUE, C.S.R. The idea that the NATIONAL GUARDIAN may go bankrupt when it is most needed appalls us. This danger to the GUARDIAN reflects the fact that American progressives and liberals are not yet aware of the crisis in American liberties. There isn't much time left now to wake up and start fighting. One of the most essential parts of that fight is to keep the GUARDIAN

About this issue

BECAUSE of their overriding importance as a protest against disastrous bi-partisan policies, the GUARDIAN gives almost its entire space in this 2d birthday issue to Progressive election campaigns around the country.

This is also OUR protest against the press black-out which seeks to hide from the voters the fact that Peace is on the ballot.

We think of this as a special "service issue" of the paper. It introduces you to the peace candidates for whom you can vote on Nov. 7, and tells you briefly what they are fighting for. We hope you will not only read it carefully but make the utmost possible use of it to win more votes for your peace candidates.

Space limitations make it necessary to drop almost entirely the summaries of vital domestic and world news to which most of the paper is normally devoted. We stress this here for the benefit of the many people not already acquainted with the GUARDIAN who will read this issue.

We cannot, of course, consider our "election service" performed without analyzing the great issues at stake on Nov. 7—issues which affect the bread-and-butter, dignity and security of us all. These analyses will be in next week's GUARDIAN; be sure to get your copy so that you and those you can influence will go to the polls fully informed.

In addition to the indispensable weekly news round-ups, the GUARDIAN will continue to bring you its unique features of documentation and analysis. Here are some to look out for next week:

• What It Feels Like to be a Political Prisoner, by Howard Fast. In two parts, 1st part next week (also a review of Fast's new novel, The Proud and the Free).

• What Asia Thinks of U.S. Policy, by Kumar Goshal. An analysis of the recent Institute of Pacific Relations conference in India.

• How Washington is Putting UN on a Leash. A clear, simple account of the State Dept.'s current maneuvers at Lake Success.

The kind of news and analysis you get in the GUARDIAN is priceless. ITS COSTS YOU ONLY 3.3 CENTS A WEEK TO GIVE IT TO A FRIEND FOR 30 WEEKS.

—THE EDITORS

farmers—bruised in the never-ending contradiction of low farm prices, high city-goods prices, and eternal mortgage indebtedness—could with a little effort be brought back into their traditional position alongside the labor movement, as during the days of Populism and for a while during the depression. Bob Silk

Artur's atomic piano

SEATTLE, WASH. Seattle Times quoted noted pianist Arthur Rubinstein as saying: "The Russians have instigated this trouble (Korea), and I think we should drop the atom bomb on them. We should drop several—all we have."

I sent a copy of the GUARDIAN and this note to the atomic warrior: "Have you forgotten the man who 'settled his differences' with the Jews by having 6,000,000 of them slaughtered—and, with the world, by drowning in human blood the lives of countless millions more? May your piano chords sound the creativeness that is peace and not be enshrouded in radioactivity." Lyle Mercer

Liberalism a la Dulles

NEW YORK, N. Y. A candid bit of reporting by "liberal" columnist Joseph Lash in the N. Y. Post of Sunday Oct. 8: "In order to serve as associate chairman of Sen. Lehman's Speakers Bureau, Joseph L. Broderick had to take time off from his law firm, Sullivan & Cromwell. Allen Dulles, brother of John Foster, is filling in for him. Another Sullivan & Cromwell man, Alfred Jaretski, has assumed the leadership of the Fair Deal Democrats."

As Dr. DuBois pointed out, last year Lehman called John Foster Dulles, most important Sullivan & Cromwell partner, "a bigot, an anti-Semite and a fascist." How bi-partisan can you get? How 'bout "Vote Row C for an end to hypocrisy" as an ALP slogan? Dave Parker

Hell for Harry

CHEYENNE WELLS, COLO. I do hope the people will put in a new bunch up there at the capital at the coming election that will give Truman hell for the next two years. John Carroll

Carpet the rd

SEATTLE, WASH. My utmost praise and gratitude for your glorious indictment of our scourged country's Wall St. "Gobblearchy" in power for the moment (GUARDIAN, Sept. 27). Is it possible in any way to print it in leaflet form—to carpet the land? From hand to hand; put in our outgoing letters; to pass around in buses; to scatter in meeting places; to paste on store windows and everywhere else; to pass out in churches and

clubs; to flood universities, offices, houses, stores; to fly over and shower cities with—billions of them.

The bedridden, I write handfuls of fighting letters daily, even up to 20 a day on special drives. I am so grateful for my introduction to the GUARDIAN, and will make a monthly contribution if my idea can possibly be carried out in any degree, until the fund is paid—so long as I have it to send. Necessarily small, alas, since Gov. Langlie is hell-bent to demolish the Washington pension—I depend on it. Julia W. Cockcroft

A book to boost

ARDEN, DEL. Your review of the James Stewart Martin book All Honorable Men is another stroke in the good service that you have been doing. I am passing it along to friends here and wish I could reach many more. Edwin S. Potter

Who's whose slave?

PANA, ILL. Congratulations on your articles on "Why the U.S. Abandoned the Peace." To express the Morgan-Rockefeller schemes of world subjection is, they tell us, "communism," a sinister creed because it is "totalitarian." But is not Mr. Franco's government, to which the U.S. has just negotiated a large loan, a totalitarian government which is fascist? It is not really a question of "totalitarian slavery"—but of who is the master and who is the slave. Mark Louis Molisky

One shock enough

BRONX, N. Y. The suspension of publication of George Seldes' In Fact came as a shock—and a much-needed awakening. That can't happen to the GUARDIAN! We need you too much. Enclosed \$1 for another new reader. I'll try to keep them coming at the rate of at least one a week. Lynn Bortnick

Correction

On p. 1 of our Oct. 11 issue, in an appeal for nationwide support of the ALP campaign in New York, we referred erroneously to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as "the first Negro candidate for U.S. Senator in any state since Reconstruction days." A reader chides us for overlooking the 1948 campaigns of Rev. W. T. Brown and Larkin Marshall, running for U.S. Senators from N. Carolina and Georgia on the Progressive tickets. Our sincere apologies to Rev. Brown, Mr. Marshall and the Progressives who fought gallantly for them in '48.



No Four Roses, Please!

WE'LL TAKE FOUR BIRTHDAY SUBS INSTEAD— AND GO INTO OUR 3D YEAR FULL OF FIGHT

Please enter the following subs at () \$1 for 30 weeks () \$2 full year () Renew my own sub at \$2 a year. () Send me a wrapped Booster's Bundle of five copies weekly at \$5 a year. City & ZONE state PRINT NAMES street

1 2 3 4

SENDER \$ enclosed for subs, renewals, bundles. \$ my contribution to the Peace Paper. Write for special rates on larger bundles.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 MURRAY STREET NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

NEW YORK Hanley letter tops corruption stew for 2 old parties

THE scales were nicely balanced in New York. As much corruption weighed on the Republicans as on the Democrats, and the best that either could do was heap the other's dish.



On the Democrats' side were these items: tie-up between top N.Y.C. police officials and gambling syndicates, revealed and undenied; the strategic retirement of Mayor William O'Dwyer before the storm broke and his pay-off, the ambassadorship to Mexico; the offer, admitted by Tammany leader Carmine de Sapio, to pay off Acting Mayor Impellitteri with a \$28,000-a-year Supreme Court judgeship if he would retire from the race. On the last item, American Labor Party candidate for governor John T. McManus commented:

The fact that Impellitteri refused to take the bait does not in any way exculpate the O'Dwyer-Lynch-Lehman-Tammany machine from guilt under the law.

HANLEY'S HOWLER: The Republicans were weighed down with assorted gambling scandals in Saratoga and elsewhere, but the howler was the undenied story of how Gov. Dewey repossessed his nomination after he had bowed out of the race last June. Lieut.-Gov. Hanley, to whom the nomination had been promised, had to be persuaded to make way.

The pay-off and the terms were made clear in a letter written by Hanley to anti-Dewey Republican Rep. W. Kings-

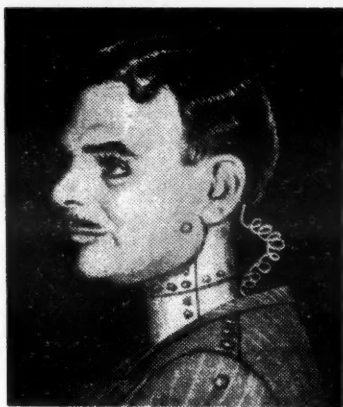
land Macy, leader of Suffolk County. Hanley owed \$30,000 to Macy and to anti-Dewey newspaper publisher Frank Gannett, a sum they had advanced for his pre-convention campaign for the nomination.

CONFESSION: Written on N.Y. State Senate stationery, Hanley's letter said in part:

Today I had a conference with the Governor in which certain unalterable and unquestionable definite propositions were made to me. If I will consent to take the nomination to the U. S. Senate, I am definitely assured of being able to clean up my financial obligations within 90 days. . . .

I am assured of an adequate living compensation if elected, in a perfectly legal and unquestionable way. Also, I have an iron-clad unbreakable arrangement whereby I will be given a job with the State which I would like and enjoy (I have been told what it is) at sufficient compensation to make my net income more than I have now. . . .

Therefore tomorrow morning [at the Republican State Convention] I am going to announce that, if the delegates will nominate me for the office of United States Senator, I will accept. . . .



GOV. DEWEY

"... ironclad, unbreakable..."

Dinner with Clem

ALP campaigners and candidates were preparing to eat, have fun and pay tribute to their "Darling Clementine," Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, candidate for lieut.-governor.

Sponsored by the Village LaGuardia ALP club, the dinner will be held at 7 p.m., Sunday, Oct. 29, in the Crystal Room of the Hotel Brevoort, Fifth Av. and 8th St., N.Y.C. Cost: \$5 a plate. For reservations telephone Mrs. Francine B. Bradley, WATkins 9-4369.

Vito Marcantonio, Dr. DuBois and the rest of the ticket will be there. If you can't come, canvass.

I am humiliated, disappointed and heart-sick . . . [but] within a short time you will receive from me every cent that I owe you, and at least you will not lose that part of the investment. . . .

You and Mr. Gannett have been wonderful and the only bright spot in the whole terrible picture is that I shall be able, within a reasonable time, to pay you both in full.

McMANUS CALLS ON U.S.: The deal was plainly in violation of at least four sections of the New York Penal Law. Yet at the week's end no action had been taken by either the Republican State Attorney General or the Democratic district attorneys of Albany and New York Counties.

NEW JERSEY

Katharine Van Orden for Congress heads Progressive ticket

IN 1947 the people of Montclair, N. J., planned a peace parade. The police banned it. The paraders marched, ban or no, and at their head was Katharine Van Orden.

In 1948 seven homes in Montclair had been condemned to make way for a parking lot. It meant eviction for seven families. Katharine Van Orden led the fight to save them from eviction.

More recently a Montclair policeman shocked the community by repeated brutality against Negroes. Katharine

ALP's and GUARDIAN's John T. McManus, candidate for governor, called for an investigation not only by state officials but also by the U. S. Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections which has jurisdiction over chicanery



involving federal elective and appointive offices. Cong. Walter A. Lynch, Democratic nominee for governor, self-righteously made hay, saying:

"All the people of this state must feel the deepest disgust at the sordid activities of Tom Dewey and his fellow-conspirators."

In self-defense Joe Hanley strolled through Wall Street on Sunday afternoon. He pointed out the entrances of Lehman Bros., bankers, and the Middle States Petroleum Co. of which Lynch is a director. He remarked, within earshot of his wife, a campaign aide and attendant newsmen:

"This is very interesting to me—for a poor man to come down to where all the money comes from."

To the ALP Lynch looked as righteous as Hanley looked poor.

Van Orden led the fight that drove him from the force.

SERVICE RECORD: Katharine Van Orden, old-line American who could qualify for the Mayflower Society or the Daughters of the American Revolution, is the Progressive Party's candidate for Congress from the 12th District. She has been president of the New Jersey League of Women Shoppers and national League president. In 1943

(Continued on following page)

Behind the Hanley scandal: Battle of the bankers

By Tabitha Petran

A BITTER conflict of financial interests is mixed with petty personal and machine politics in the steamy pudding of New York State's Republican Party scandal. Behind the scandal is an alliance between Publisher Frank Gannett of Rochester, one-time leading Dewey backer and spokesman for an upstate-midwest banking group, and publisher-Congressman W. Kingsland Macy, wealthy Suffolk County, L.I., Republican lead-



er who has fought Dewey off and on for years, to challenge Dewey's leadership.

Thomas E. Dewey's most ardent sponsors are the Guggenheims and Rockefellers. He owes his rise to American Smelting & Refining Co., Rockefeller - Guggenheim - Morgan concern whose board meetings are noted for discussing political strategy rather than copper. AS&R president Roger Williams Strauss, married to Gladys Guggenheim, is Dewey's close friend and chief backer. Rockefeller's Chase National Bank, which holds several directorships in AS&R, has made its board chairman, Winthrop Aldrich, treasurer of every Dewey campaign. Other prominent Dewey backers include:

• **John Foster Dulles**, of the top corporation law firm Sullivan & Cromwell, chiefly identified with Rockefeller. (S&C are attorneys for Lehman Bros., Democratic Senatorial candidate Herbert Lehman's investment bank now under indictment with 16

others for violating the anti-trust laws.)

• **Marine Midland Corp.**, controlling 20 banks in N.Y. State, on whose boards are represented Buffalo's Schoellkopf family, Morgan, Rockefeller, Sullivan & Cromwell and also Lehman director Gen. Lucius Clay. Marine Midland holds interests in Studebaker Corp. along with the Lehmans.

Dewey's state chairman, Edwin F. Jaekle, is a partner of Gerono, Jaekle & Kelly who are attorneys for Marine Trust of Buffalo (Marine Midland bank there) and in pre-war days prepared the incorporation papers for the Nazi Bund in Buffalo. Jaekle is a foe from away back of publisher Macy.

HEAVY SUGAR: W. Kingsland Macy, the Congressman apparently responsible for publication of the Hanley letter, is married to Julia Dick, whose brother William is board chairman of Morgan's Natl. Sugar Refining Co. and is involved with the Schoellkopfs, Mellons and Morgans in Niagara Hudson Power Co. Macy's brother-in-law is Horace Havemeyer Sr., son of Henry O. Havemeyer who organized American Sugar Refining Co. in 1887 and told a Senate Committee the government had no right to interfere with corporations "in any way, shape or manner. Let the buyer beware: that covers the whole business," he said. "You cannot wet-nurse people. They have got to wade in and get stuck. . . ." (Havemeyer's sugar trust stuck the U.S. Treasury for over \$30,000,000 in the next decade by cheating on tariff duties with the connivance of government officials.)

Although American Sugar is Rockefeller-controlled, the present-day Havemeyers—Horace Sr. and Jr.—are lifelong allies of the Morgans: the father is a director of Morgan's Bank-

ers Trust, the son of Morgan's New York Trust.

Macy's present revolt probably stems from personal considerations but his Morgan connections won't view the break with displeasure. The Morgans have never sponsored Dewey and consistently backed his rivals for Presidential nomination such as Wendell Willkie and Harold Stassen.

HERE'S MORGAN: Frank E. Gannett borrowed \$2,750,000 from Intl. Paper & Power in the 1920's to buy newspapers including the **Brooklyn Eagle** (which he sold in 1931). When the Federal Trade Comm. began investigating IP&P in 1929, Gannett rushed to N.Y. where he borrowed \$2,500,000 from the Chemical Bank & Trust (in Morgan orbit) to pay off his debt. He owns 21 newspapers mostly in the upstate dairy country and is a



spokesman for an upstate finance group involved in power, grain terminals, various industries and several universities.

A Gannett director is Thomas J. Hargrave, president of Eastman Kodak, Munitions Board chairman 1947-48, and partner in the law firm Goodwin, Nixon, Hargrave, Middleton & Nevans, which runs the city of Rochester. Other Gannett directors hold cross-directorships in the University of Rochester (owner with three

other universities of the Eastman Kodak stock) and Rochester Gas & Electric whose stocks are managed by Lehman Bros.

University of Rochester trustees include: S. Sloan Colt, president of Morgan's Bankers Trust; Harper Sibley, director of Morgan's N. Y. Life Insurance Co.; Edward Griffith Miner, president of Pfaudler Co. and father-in-law of Thomas Lamont Jr., son of the late Morgan partner. Sibley has been a close associate of Gannett's.

TOO MUCH ROCKEFELLER? The Gannett upstate group includes Bausche & Lomb Optical Co., Pfaudler Co., Remington Rand. Pfaudler makes glass-lined milk refrigerator cars, has branches in Michigan, Ohio, California, Germany, Scotland, and is involved with General American Transportation Corp. (financed by Kuhn Loeb and with a strong Mellon interest) in General American Pfaudler Corp. of Delaware. Remington Rand is involved with the Schoellkopfs in Marine Midland Corp; James Rand has been associated with Gannett. Where Marine Midland will stand in the present party split is not yet clear—it has ties to both sides.

Through his activities in the farm bloc and the Committee for Constitutional Government, Gannett's associations go far beyond the group mentioned. Big contributors to his committee in 1940 were Thomas Lamont and J. P. Morgan & Co. Gannett seems never to have got anything from the Rockefellers.

Whatever the motive of the split with Dewey, Gannett's move indicates a revolt of the upstate banking group against Rockefeller-Guggenheim domination of the GOP. Whether the Morgans (with whom the upstate group has more connections than with the Rockefellers) are lining up with this revolt remains to be seen.

(Continued from preceding page)

Chester Bowles, then OPA administrator, appointed her to the Natl. Consumer Advisory Committee of the OPA. In 1946 Pres. Truman named her to the Natl. Famine Emergency Council.

In her home town of Verona, she organized the first Consumer Information Center which became a model for others all over the country. She served as state chairman of the N. J. OPA Consumers' Advisory Committee. In 1947 she joined with four others to sponsor the Joint Committee on a Constitutional Bill of Rights for New Jersey. That committee's work was largely responsible for the anti-discrimination clause in New Jersey's constitution.

TIME FOR TRUTH: One day after the Korean war broke out Mrs. Van Orden told a radio audience:

"All of us who believe in democracy should call for an end of armed intervention in Korea and China by the U. S. or any other country."

Every Monday night she is on the air over WJNR Newark at 8:45 p.m. on her program "Time for the Truth." Weekly, she asks her opponents, Republican incumbent Robert Kean and Democrat Harry Dudkin, to tell the voters how they stand on the rearmament of western Germany. She calls it insanity; they have been silent.

When Mrs. Van Orden ran for Congress in the same district in 1948 she polled 5,700 votes, holding the balance of power between the Democrats and Republicans.

THE SLATE: Other PP candidates are:

- For Congress from the 3d Dist.: Frances Leber, former Democratic candidate for State Assembly, leader of Eastern Divn., Natl. Farmers' Union, editor of Eastern Union Farmer, only progressive farm paper in the state;



KATHARINE VAN ORDEN
For Congress, 12th CD

helped draft family-farm legislation.

- For County Board of Freeholders in Mercer County; Morris Forer, Trenton businessman, and Joseph Collins, NAACP leader.

- For assemblyman from Essex County: William Johnston, Negro veteran, secretary of N. J. State Tenants and Consumers' League.

- For Township Committee in Landis Township: Verda Hunt of Vineland. PP headquarters are at 264 15th Av., Newark 3, N.J.

Don't be an "armchair progressive."
Get subs - Send \$5 to the Guardian.

FREEDOMS

Blondes, Boy Scouts urge 'freedom' pledge

HIGHEST pressure obtainable was behind Gen. Lucius Clay's Freedom Crusade around the country. Bankers, businessmen and brass were local sponsors. In most places a "sign-or else" spirit attended the circulation of the Freedom Scroll.

A day after Pres. Truman appointed a five-man Subversive Activities Control Board and the Justice Dept. announced a nationwide roundup of foreign-born "subversives," Gen. Clay's World Freedom Bell was ringing in Berlin. On that same day U. S. pressure reached its highest point: with brass bands and official fanfare, a drive to raise \$365,000 in one day to build a radio transmitter in Europe got under way. But for all the pressures, public response was something less than the crusaders hoped for.

From New Orleans a GUARDIAN correspondent wrote:

Large booths were erected on the sidewalks, marked "Crusade for Freedom" on the sidewalk side, and "Fight Communism" on the carriage-trade side. The booths were staffed usually by two or three men, and luscious blondes calling: "Sign here! Prove you're not a Communist!" The radio called at intervals for "all true patriots" to sign. Boy Scouts were raked in as barkers. When booth attendants were asked why they lined up with a man like Clay, most replied they "didn't know anything about the program."

In San Francisco 350 delegates from the city's 90 units of the Parent-Teachers Assn., representing 19,000 members, voted two to one against a Board of Education decision to permit circulation of the Freedom Scroll in the schools.

In Detroit an editorial in the Wayne University Collegian called the crusade . . . an invasion on the dignity of the thinking man and a threat to the very freedom it purports to exalt. . . . The Freedom Scroll . . . could be the tool which, if put in the hands of panicky reactionaries and pseudo-liberals, would destroy the foundations of free speech, thought and opinion.

The editors announced their refusal to sign it.

THAT CRUDE LOOK: In Boulder, Colo., five student commissioners of the associated students of the University of Colorado refused to sign the scroll. Said Commissioner Dan Hoffman:

"I wouldn't sign it on my death bed. It is one of the crudest propaganda techniques I've ever seen. It is a complete play on the overwrought emotions of the American people."

Said Commissioner Dick Heath:

"I just want to find out what will happen if I don't sign it. It looks like an Eisenhower-for-President promotion."

This letter turned up in the Cleveland, O., Press:

Don't people read the papers, don't they listen to the radio? Are American people here in Cleveland asleep, are they uninterested, unaware of what goes on about them? I'm attempting to get signers for the Freedom Scroll. I'm sitting in the lobby of the Bulkeley Building. I have only 15 signatures.



RELIGION

Vatican envoy plan stirs Protestant ire

A STORM of applause, lasting over a minute, greeted the speech by Rev. Dr. Franklin C. Fry, president of the United Lutheran Church in America, to delegates to that Church's convention in Des Moines. Dr. Fry's theme was the proposal to appoint a U.S. representative to the Vatican, which he described as "a tiny state hardly larger than a respectable golf course." He proclaimed total and unalterable opposition to it and said that plans for a nation-wide campaign against it, in which virtually every Protestant denomination will participate, have been completed.

After conferences last summer between Cardinal Spellman and State Dept. officials, President Truman said he was "considering" the appointment of a Vatican ambassador. Inside reports from Washington are that Truman has since promised to make such an appointment.

SHOULD CARDINALS REGISTER? Any doubts had been dispelled at Des Moines that, if Truman went ahead with the Vatican ambassador plan, a religious tornado would descend on his head. But the State Dept. wants closer ties with the Vatican as a powerhouse of the cold war, and the political heat has been turned full on by powerful Catholic Democrats. Pro-Vatican circles are using as an argument the value of the Vatican as an "international listening-post."

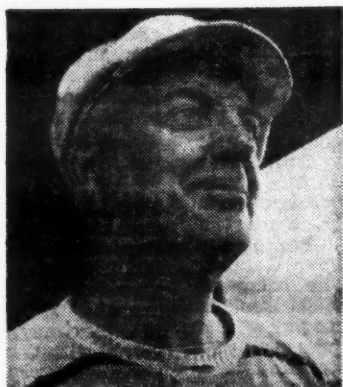
To this Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, sparkplug anti-Vatican group, has an answer. It points out that the "listening-post" can work two ways, and that according to a New York Times report on June 21, 1946, it was through "Vatican sources" that Hitler got advance information of the Allies' North African invasion plans in 1942 (when Myron Taylor was at the Vatican as FDR's "personal representative"). POAU leaders insist that if this report was true, all members of the Catholic hierarchy in the U.S. must register as agents of a foreign power.

REPORT ON McMANUS

There's only one man running for Governor

By James Aronson

THE LAST WEEK of August my wife and I abandoned our baby to her grandparents and made our way for a short holiday to a village in New Hampshire with the unlikely name of Center Sandwich (pop. 700, GUARDIAN subscribers 4—and we stayed with one of them). That Friday, coming home from a swim, we stopped at the post office for mail. There was a special delivery from John T. McManus, the GUARDIAN's general manager. It said:



JOHN T. McMANUS

I have been asked to run for Governor on the ALP ticket. I have explored every lane of objection before assenting . . . but a man would have to have a heart of stone to refuse a place on a ticket with Dr. DuBois as well as Marc. But if the GUARDIAN needs me . . .

As though his reassurance was necessary! Perhaps birthdays are occasions for special sentiment (the GUARDIAN's certainly is no exception); perhaps this piece will have to come under the heading of "An Appreciation" (a form of writing I heartily deplore)—but nobody has worked harder to keep the GUARDIAN alive and vigorously kicking than Jack McManus. And few have worked harder to keep the progressive movement of this country knit together as a united force in the face of monstrous odds.

I HAVE KNOWN Jack McManus for a long time. Our first acquaintance goes back to the early days of the Newspaper Guild, when he was working for Time and I was doing time at the N.Y. Post. When he was president of the Newspaper Guild of N. Y. I was editor of the Guild paper. He was in on the ground floor at PM and won himself a repu-

tation as a film and entertainment critic with a difference. He worried about the effect that pictures of crime and violence were having on people. He wondered in print whether talented artists whose skin was a little off-color were getting a break. Did he hit home? Well, in an unobtrusive corner of his living-room there's a small picture of Lena Horne with this inscription: "Thanks for all you've done."

Something over two years ago PM folded and the N.Y. Star took over the plant. Jack became a member of the Star staff, but he was on leave at the time of the sale and was working in Washington as administrative assistant to Rep. Leo Isacson (ALP-N.Y.). Just about that time Cedric Belfrage and I were developing the idea of the GUARDIAN. I knew Jack's leave was ending and I wrote him saying we'd like to tell him of our plans when he came back to New York.

ONE HOT AUGUST MORNING he dropped in. He was wearing a wry smile under his close-cropped, prematurely white hair. He had just read the Star's editorial announcing the paper's support of Truman in the 1948 election.

"What's cookin'?" he said. We told him. The wry came out but the smile stayed. And so did Jack. He sent his letter of resignation to the Star the next day. There couldn't have been a happier marriage.

GUARDIAN readers are perhaps more familiar with Jack's cheerful optimism than any other brand of writing in the paper. Back of that cheery note is a mountain of effort. I can remember many early morning calls with the salutation: "Are you sitting down, Hugo?" It was his way of introducing a new idea that had come to him at 4 a.m. and kept him awake the rest of the night. He is constantly working on ideas, turning them over, discarding, culling out the best, getting more. And all with one purpose in mind: to help the people who don't get a break—all of them, everywhere—to get one.

THERE ARE THREE CANDIDATES in the race for Governor of New York. There is a Republican robot whose mechanical parts are so displaced he cannot even bend over to kiss babies; who spends a good deal of his time browbeating dirty old politicians in hotel rooms (see New York Politics.) There is a Democratic nonentity who could not even make the front row in the picture of the reception for the anti-Semitic Polish General Anders—although he did try hard; who votes your money for fascists abroad and for concentration camps here at home. And there is Jack McManus.

There are three candidates, but there is only one choice.

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It's a house-to-house battle in Marcantonio's E. Harlem district

By Barbara Schaffer

ON a long, narrow, tenement-crowded strip of Manhattan's upper east side a decisive house-to-house battle is being fought to push back the tide of reaction in America. The area is New York City's 18th Congressional District where progressives are fighting to keep in office their sole representative in Congress, Vito Marcantonio. The race is without precedent in political history—against a candidate (James G. Donovan) backed by a coalition of all three opposing parties.

The battle began last June, when the metropolitan ALP responded to Marc's call for 500 of its best canvassers. He needed 40 to 42 thousand votes to win—8 to 10 thousand more than he had ever received in the district. He could get them, he promised, if the canvassers would work with him, three to five nights a week, three hours a night.

THE DOORBELL ARMY: Since June canvassers have been descending upon the 18th's six ALP clubs from all of the city's boroughs and many of its suburbs. In groups of three and four they are assigned to four-block election districts, and put in charge of card files containing the names of every voter. At 6:30 every night the cards with the unvisited names go into the big red canvassers' envelopes along with literature in English, Spanish, German and Italian, and petitions pledging support for Marc. At 9:30 the cards with the visited names are filed: "favorable," "unfavorable," "undecided," "work nights," "dead and moved."

Form letters of thanks are addressed



MAXINE BERNARD
She's a canvasser

to every person who has signed a petition. And one night a week each club is treated to a personal briefing from Marc, who shuttled back and forth from Washington almost every day while Congress was in session.

As you go uptown from 59th to 129th street, the number of "favorable" cards noticeably increases. At 116th street a canvasser can tell you:

"I have more than 675 signatures out of a possible 750. Last year the E.D. gave us 475 votes." 116th street is East Harlem where

Marc grew up, worked all his political life, and where anyone can go any Sunday afternoon and tell him his troubles personally. Even now on week-day nights, with the 116th street office full of canvassers, the front section is reserved for one of Marc's polylingual lieutenants who interview a steady stream of people. Rent increases, evictions, apartment-paintings, divorces, jobs. "Everybody in the district," almost any canvasser will tell you, "has been helped by Marc or knows somebody who has been. That's the basis of his strength."

FOR THE PEOPLE: All up and down the district, support on the political issues seemed to rest in almost direct proportion on this personal contact. It has a definite effect on the red-baiting, which is the opposition's main campaign plank. Says a 116th street canvasser:

"The older people have known Marc all his life. They won't believe anything bad about him. If being a Red is bad, and they call Marc a Red, it only makes them angry."

Further downtown, where a canvasser may have 275 out of 750 signatures, the red-baiting is a major issue. "They know he's for the working people, but they say he's a Communist," a Yorkville canvasser reports. And at 67th street, in a Polish-Irish neighborhood: "He's a good man, but he's mixed up with the wrong people."

In this almost solidly working-class neighborhood the knowledge that "Marc's for the working people" is almost universal. Few voters will name any one specific bill or issue on which he's fought, but the general feeling that he's on their side has percolated through the district for the last 14

years. People just about take it for granted that Marc is for things like housing, price control and full civil rights.

THE LONGING FOR PEACE: But though the important issues here are overwhelmingly the domestic and local ones, the question of peace draws a widespread response. Uptown canvassers find a large number of voters who know and support Marc's position on Korea. To some of the German-Americans in Yorkville the division of Korea holds a parallel to the division of Germany, and many will agree that the war is a civil one that should be left to the Koreans. Other German-Americans are resentful of rearmament plans for Germany and fear that their countrymen will be used again for cannon-fodder.

An extraordinary number of the voters have never heard of Marc's opponent; among those who have, there is a strong feeling that "Donovan's not our kind." In the primaries, Marc got more ALP votes than Donovan's Republican, Democratic, and Liberal votes all together. Explains a native East Harlemiter, who two years ago was working with the Democrats:

"What other Congressman could you go up and visit any Sunday? Marc belongs here. Who else could represent us?"

PLAIN TALK: Marc is now out canvassing himself, on the streets of the 18th in a trailer. No speeches, he promises. He's just going to talk to the people about their problems. With a long-distance telephone to get in touch with the people who can solve them.

There's a strong chance that nobody else will represent the district this year.

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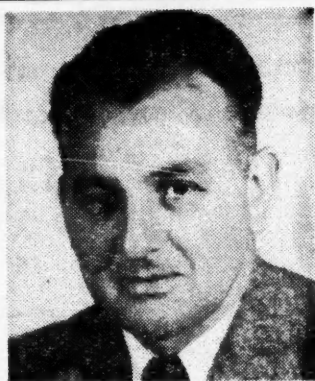
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CALIFORNIA

Roll the vote up!
That's the IPP's main objective

TO the nation's press California was an arena in which James Roosevelt, Democrat, would battle incumbent Earl Warren, Republican, for the governorship and Helen Gahagan Douglas, Democrat, would contend for a Senate seat with Richard M. Nixon, Republican, of the Mundt-Nixon Bill.

To Californian progressives the "main bout" showed less fight than the "preliminaries." Roosevelt and Mrs. Douglas had sounded good on domestic issues, but on the paramount issue of peace the donkey and the elephant had little to scrap about. Moreover, Independent Progressive Party spokesmen indicated that if Mrs. Douglas continued to compete with Nixon in the red scare, and Roosevelt continued to campaign as if the key issue were the evacuation of California in case of atom attack, Nixon and Warren would win in a walk. As of last week PP had still withheld support from either Roosevelt or Mrs. Douglas.

Gamblers were betting five to one against Roosevelt, but odds against Mrs. Douglas were considerably lower.

BANNERS AND BEARERS: Progressives had these campaign objectives: to elect their own candidates where they could, roll up a big enough vote to stay on the ballot (approximately 135,000), and everywhere to talk peace.

These are the IPP standardbearers:

• Mrs. Charlotta Bass for Congress from Los Angeles' crowded, impoverished 14th CD. The district is made up of Negro and Mexican-Americans, represented up to now by Mrs. Douglas.

In November they will have these choices: Sam Yorty, Democrat, one-time head of California's Un-American

Committee; Jack Hardy, Republican former national commander of AMVETS, tarred with his party's bitter, reactionary record; and Mrs. Bass, IPP, a gallant Negro lady who has fought for and won employment of Negroes at Boulder Dam, the Southern California Telephone Co., the Los Angeles General Hospital, the L. A. Transit Co., the Bank of America in L.A. County.

She has crusaded for peace across the country and overseas; for freedom at home as editor and publisher of the



progressive California Eagle. Once a Republican (she was western regional director of the Wilkie-for-President campaign), she is a founding member and co-chairman of the IPP, a national committeewoman of the Progressive Party.

• Jeanne Cole, wife of screen-writer Lester Cole of the Hollywood Ten, for Congress from the 15th CD. Her opponent, Republican incumbent Gordon McDonough, has voted for every measure that would undermine the Bill of Rights. He has voted for raising taxes for middle and low income groups, cutting corporation taxes. He stands for: Taft-Hartley, aid to Franco, rearming of Germany; economy for housing, health and pensions; spending for arms.

• Rev. G. Linwood Fauntleroy for state senator from Alameda County. His home town is the working-class shipbuilding center of Richmond.

Early this month the Civil Rights Congress announced publication of the "Jerry Newson Story." It detailed the case of a young Negro who had been railroaded on the flimsiest evidence to the death house in San Quentin. When it came out, Fauntleroy commented:

"One of the reasons for my candidacy is that in running for this office I can expose many of the monstrous inequities which exist in Alameda County. A voice in the State Senate which would speak in behalf of poor people, a Negro in a lily-white legislative body, is one way to prevent other

How the progressives work

THIS IS CALIFORNIA's Independent Progressive Party in action:

• The streets of Russell City, Alameda County, are rutted dirt roads where rainwater gathers in gaping holes. There are no street lights and no fire protection. The residents, mostly Negro, draw water from outside pumps, pay taxes for water systems and improvements in other areas.

In the closing weeks of the campaign IPP canvassers kept at their year-round job, helped to rally a Citizen's Committee for Russell City.

• The council of Sierra Madre, a suburb of Los Angeles, was set last week to pass its own little McCarran Law requiring "Communists and Communist fronters" to register.

William B. Esterman, IPP candidate for Congress from the 20th CD, argued before the council that the bill was "unequivocally unconstitutional," helped force postponement of any action on the measure.

• Public schools throughout the

state were staging air-raid drills for the children.

Reuben W. Borough, IPP chairman and nominee for state treasurer, led the fight against them. He said that the drills

"... indoctrinate fear in the mind of the child and, through the mind of the child in the minds of the parents, the conviction that war and atom bombs are inevitable in the present-day world. This we protest is not true. . . . [Such a program inspires] hatred of people—unending hatred of people. And thus you arrive at the beginnings of the fascist state."

• On July 28 the Los Angeles city council passed a resolution that would lift all rent controls. Mrs. Jeanne Cole, IPP candidate for Congress from the 15th CD, Hollywood, appealed to national housing expeditor Tighe Woods "not to approve this irresponsible resolution." Mrs. Cole is the wife of Lester Cole, one of the imprisoned Hollywood Ten, mother of two teenage boys who have worked actively for the Ten's defense campaign.

The key issue for all candidates was: peace.

young men from facing the agonies of fear to which Jerry Newson has been subjected."

• Mrs. Emily B. Morse for state assembly from the largely rural 80th district of San Diego County. Mrs. Morse is a school teacher and citrus grower, member of four farm co-operatives, also of the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. This is her program: a long-range water development program for southern California; adequate state-wide relief and a useful public works program for the needy; a Fair Employment Practices Act with teeth (the San Diego Transit Co. employs over 600 drivers but not one Negro); more schools, and a job-training program for the young.

At San Diego soldiers embark for the Korean war; the wounded disembark from hospital ships. Factories are busy at war work but many workers are jobless. War is close to San Diego. Peace, IPP's first plank, has an eager audience. Mrs. Morse's only opponent, incumbent Republican Ralph Cloyd, said after his last election: "I didn't promise anybody anything." His record of opposing all progressive legislation has been consistent.

• Mrs. Alia T. Washington for state controller: active member of the NAACP and fighter for civil rights.

• George Walsh for Secretary of State: member of Local 10 of the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, leader in the drive that put

FEPCC on the 1946 ballot.

• Reuben W. Borough for state treasurer: former L.A. Commissioner of Public Works, businessman, newspaperman and chairman of the IPP.

• For Congress from the 13th CD, Ellen P. Davidson: from the 20th CD, William B. Esterman. For State Assembly from the 47th AD, I. H. Spears; 56th AD, Raphael Konigsberg; 63rd AD, Leo Johnson.

State campaign headquarters for IPP are at 2204 So. Vermont Av., L.A.

KENNY FOR MAYOR: Angelenos will decide this November on the recall of Mayor Fletcher Bowron. That question's appearance on the ballot marks a victory for IPP, which sparked the recall campaign one year ago after close tie-ups between prostitution rings and top L.A. police officials were revealed. The mayor's lawyers tossed every-monkey-wrench they could find to halt the recall move. Lesser heads rolled, but it did not save the mayor's reputation.

Voters will pick their candidate for mayor when they vote for the recall. Seven candidates have filed for the post, of whom Robert W. Kenny is the only progressive. Running as an independent, he faces stiff competition only from City Engineer Lloyd Aldrich. A fighting progressive well-known for many years in California, Kenny has been municipal and superior court judge, state senator and attorney general.

S. Calif. ASP meets Nov. 18

Members and friends of the Southern California Chapter of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council will hold a convention in Hollywood Nov. 18 and 19. Following a business session to elect an executive board and officers for 1951, a report will be made on the Status of Culture in America Today. Nine divisions of the Council in three panels will discuss the effect of repressive measures in the arts, sciences and mass communication. A program for action against censorship and blacklist will be presented.

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PENNSYLVANIA **Big Pittsburgh UE local backs progressives; Narins fights hard**

LOCAL 601 of the United Electrical Workers at the big Westinghouse plant in East Pittsburgh gave four Progressive Party candidates its full endorsement and asked other locals to follow suit.

In announcing the local's action its president, Porter Mechling, stressed the candidacy of Progressive **Thomas J. Fitzpatrick** for governor. He said:

"The majority of members who voted to endorse Mr. Fitzpatrick were registered Republicans and Democrats. They endorsed Mr. Fitzpatrick because they felt for the first time in the history of the State of Pennsylvania, labor had the opportunity of voting for a gubernatorial candidate whose record proves he can represent the workingman, and who unquestionably will fight actively in behalf of the workingman."



THOMAS J. FITZPATRICK
For Governor

ON THE RECORD: The record showed: When Tom Fitzpatrick was 9 years old his father died working in a Maryland coal mine. At 14, he went to work in East Pittsburgh. He was twice elected president of UE Dist. 6; three times president of Local 601. He served as treasurer of the Steel City Council (Pittsburgh's CIO Industrial Union Council) and delegate to the State CIO Council.

"I and the other labor candidates are running on the Progressive Party ticket to give the working people and organized labor an opportunity to protest against the unfair Big Business legislation supported by both the Democratic and Republican parties in this state and nationally. A large protest vote for myself and my fellow-candidates will do much to stop the attacks against the working people and make other parties give serious consideration to the needs of working people."

Fitzpatrick's old local also endorsed these other PP candidates:

• For lieutenant-governor: **Alexander Wright**, truck driver, longshoreman, seaman, brickyard worker, member of the Intl. Executive Board of the United Stone and Allied Products Workers of America (CIO), Executive Board of Steel City Council, NAACP, AME Church and Elks.

• For state representatives from the 10th Dist., Allegheny Co.: **Thomas Quinn**, former UE field organizer, and **Fred Uzelac**, grievance committeeman Local 1933, United Mine Workers.

NARINS AND ALL: A top-priority PP candidate is former school teacher **Lillian Narins** for Senator. She has organized delegations, led campaigns, talking and fought for: FEPC, care of children in wartime, 7½c fare and free transfers; against the Mundt Bill and high prices.

Here's the rest of the slate:

For Congress, 6th CD, **REV. KENNETH RIPLEY FORBES**; 4th CD, **CHARLES OWENS**, sec.-treas. Local 196, Fur Dressers and Dyers Union (CIO). For state senator, 4th Sen. Dist., **IRVING W. BACHMAN**, attorney. For state assembly, 7th Dist., **MARGARETTA W. TIMMS**; 10th Dist., **ELEANORE M. JORDAN**; 18th, **HARRY POLK**, organizer, Food, Tobacco and Agriculture Workers; 20th, **ANNA DUBOW** and **JOSEPHINE HUGHES**; 21st, **WILLIAM FRUTZER**; 22nd, **SYLVAN L. LEVEY**.

WASHINGTON **Social Security ranks high with peace and freedom as big issues**

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE **W. Walter Williams**, backed by the National Assn. of Manufacturers for Senator from Washington, said of his Democratic opponent, incumbent Sen. **Warren G. Magnuson**:

"Magnuson's vote for the McCarran-Wood Bill was reluctant."

That summed up the differences between them. The Progressive Party of Washington had no eye for subtleties. Its position was: "Defeat all who voted for the McCarran-Wood Bill at any stage in its passage, reluctantly or not."

THE \$60 QUESTION: Civil liberties was next only to peace among the PP planks, but after those came the big local issue of social security.

In 1948 Washington voters approved an initiative providing minimum pensions of \$60 a month. To this a \$5 cost-of-living hike would have been added by now, had not that requirement been sidestepped by Republican Gov. **Arthur B. Langlie**.

In November Washingtonians will vote on two new initiatives. Init. 176, sponsored by the Pension Union, would continue and enforce existing regulations. Init. 178, backed by Gov. Langlie, would wipe out the \$60 minimum, put all pensioners at the mercy of Director of Social Security **Roderic Olzendam**, a former public relations man for **Weyerhaeuser Timber Corp.**



VERLE F. HEMEKE
For Congress, 2d CD

the 3rd CD is **L. C. Huntamer** of Olympia, PP state chairman, twice a sheriff, active in the Farmers Union. He supports the Brannan plan with FU and PP amendments; trade with China; price freeze at 1950's lowest point; rigidly-controlled selective logging in Olympia National Park; repeal of McCarran Act, Taft-Hartley and loyalty screening for maritime workers.

The Progressives put other local candidates in the field, but for some offices threw full support to candidates of the Independent Party formed this fall with principles "parallel to the position of the Progressive Party on major issues." IP candidates, all supported by the PP, are: for Senator, **Dr. Herbert J. Phillips**, former asst. philosophy professor at the University of Washington dismissed Jan. 1949 because of membership in the Communist Party; for Congress from the 6th CD in Tacoma **Mrs. Baba Jean Decker**, chairman of the Tacoma Civil Rights Congress; for Congress from the 1st CD, **Paul Bowen**, a Negro veteran and airplane mechanic.

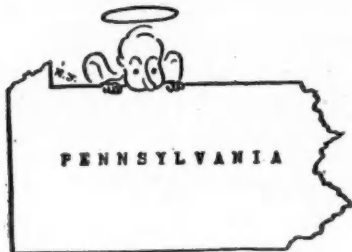
Campaign headquarters are at 417 Eitel Bldg., Seattle.



The Republicans endorse 178; the Democrats condemn both; the PP endorses 176.

HEMEKE AND HUNTAMER: Meeting the key state issue is carpenter **Verle Hemeke**, PP candidate for Congress from the 2d CD in northwest Washington, chairman of the Snohomish County Pension Union. His only opponent is Republican **Russell Mack**.

In the southwestern part of the state—a lumber, fishing and farming area—the PP's candidate for Congress from



Women of America! This is your country — save it

By **Irma C. Otto**

THIS IS YOUR COUNTRY, Women of America, but the government in Washington is not your government. Women make up 50% of the voters of the U.S., but women have only 1% of the voice in the lawmaking of our country and no voice whatever in its policy-making. Women own the greater part of the wealth of this country, but they do not CONTROL it.

The policy of the government in Washington is one of hate, greed, repression and destruction of all that we hold dear in life—our families, our homes, our liberties, our peace of mind, our Constitution.

The role of woman in life is to love, to serve, to give life and to nurture that life to its highest possibilities. Is our sacred role in life to be smashed by a monster war machine that seeks to crush the lives and liberties of our sons and brothers and husbands? Dare we, Women of America, be silent?

THERE IS NOTHING THE WOMEN OF AMERICA COULD NOT DO IF THEY BUT MAKE UP THEIR MIND TO DO IT AND THEN, WOMANLIKE, CUT ALL RED TAPE AND TAKE ACTION!

- We could abolish the exorbitant food prices and hurt no one but the profiteers.
- We could swiftly disentangle the corruption and hypocrisy which has kept the American people from having decent housing.
- We could put an end to the piling of human scrap heaps of men and women over 40, against whom industry discriminates.
- We could put an end to all discrimination because of sex, age, political belief, race, creed, color.
- We could end lynch law and police brutality.
- We could swiftly abolish a war economy built for the benefit of a ruthless, godless, inhuman, insatiably avaricious few.
- We could put an end to the merciless bleeding of the poor by taxation for the sole benefit of war profiteers.

THE "SERVANTS OF THE PEOPLE" whom we have honored with office have become a stench and a mockery, violating the Constitution they have sworn to uphold. If we, the Women of America, vow to throw out of office, by use of the ballot, every last government official and office-holder who is working for war instead of peace, for the destruction of our liberties, for higher taxation for those who cannot pay, for higher food prices—if we out these enemies of the people, it would put the fear



of God and the people into the hearts of their successors.

Until the Women of America, who are 50% of the voters; until our Negro citizens, who are 10% of the population; until the common people of America have a proportionate voice in our government, ours will not be a government of, for and by the people. The overwhelming number of corporation lawyers and military men in our government is the greatest danger facing our democracy.

We must nominate and elect to office capable women—and no group of women, however incapable, could possibly do a worse job for the people of America than the present government.

Hendrik Ibsen said that only the women and the working people can save the world. **George Bernard Shaw** said that only through women and their sons

can the world be saved. **J. B. Priestley** said: "And if the women of every major country took over the politics and economics for the next 50 years, I, for one, would be delighted. In a world still badly housed, fed and clothed, you would not catch the housewives spending five minutes or five dollars making atom bombs."

WE, THE WOMEN OF AMERICA, have given life to every man, woman and child born in America. We must have a voice in the laws governing the lives we have given. We have not borne our sons and given our lives to the rearing and educating of our children that evil and godless men can order their destruction for their own profit.

With the world sitting at the edge of a volcano—the time is now! The place is wherever you are! The women of Madison, Wis., without fanfare, have had their entire slate of women—from mayor down—put into office. What they did, YOU can do. For every honest man in America is as utterly sick and weary of the path to destruction this country is taking as are the women.

What can YOU do? To start, send 10 penny postcards to friends, neighbors, business, club or church associates or acquaintances asking them to help throw out of office those who would lead America to destruction. Ask them in turn to send out 10 penny postcards until the land is flooded with them.

There is nothing you cannot do, Women of America, if you but WILL to do it. This is your country—save it! These are your children—save and protect them! These are your homes—keep them homes and not houses of mourning! There is NOTHING, NOTHING you cannot do!

IRMA C. OTTO, tireless worker for peace, lives on a farm in the White Mountains. She was Progressive Party candidate for Governor of New Hampshire in 1948.

CHICAGO

McCord on the ballot as Progressive for representative

VOTERS on Chicago's near north side last week had a Progressive Party candidate for state representative, Charles McCord, as the result of a circuit court decision that the Chicago Electoral Board had acted "arbitrarily, capriciously and illegally" in ruling him off the ballot.

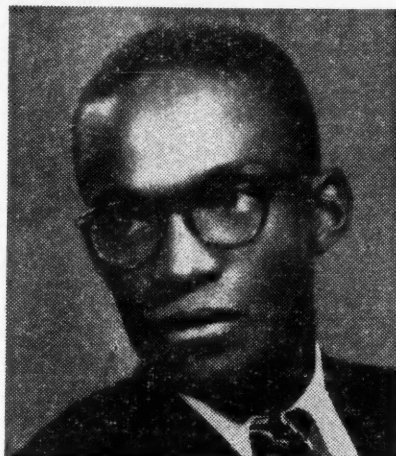
McCord, a window-washer and former organizer for the CIO Furniture Workers Union, has a long record of community activity. Married and the father of four children, he lives in the Mother Cabrini housing project where he helped organize a tenants council several years ago. He organized the near north side chapter of the Civil Rights Congress which has won employment for Negroes in several theaters and stores in the community. He is a pioneer of the third party movement in Chicago and has been active in the 42d Ward Progressive Party since its formation.

BOTCHIE & THE JURY: The 42d Ward, with its striptease dives, gambling joints and honky-tonks, is one of the most corrupt in the city. Its boss is Botchie Connors, who not only holds office as a state senator (he is the Democratic floor leader in the Senate) but draws \$6,000 a year from the city as deputy bailiff of the Municipal Court. He is also Democratic committeeman of the 42d ward. A recent grand jury

Well, do you?

In St. Louis the Civil Rights Congress was appealing the cases of James Sage, former assistant instructor at Washington University, who was fined \$400 on a charge of "disturbing the peace" by soliciting signatures to the World Peace Appeal in front of a food market. The prosecutor had asked the jury:

"Here's a man in America in time of war and he cries peace. Don't we as Americans resent that? Isn't that a defiance of our whole system of law and order, our whole system of government?"



CHARLES McCORD
For State Representative

investigation of police corruption in the ward failed to produce any results because its 30-day term expired before it could question enough witnesses; Connors helped defeat a bill in the legislature that would have extended the terms of Cook Co. grand juries.

With three representatives to be elected from the ward, campaign workers for McCord recommend "bullet" voting for him; by ignoring the other candidates, his supporters would, in effect, be casting three votes each for him.

THE ATOMIC PROFILE: Sen. Scott Lucas, Harry Truman's floor leader in the Senate, is worriedly campaigning for re-election with his profile, the atom-bomb, and the red scare. At a recent rally he invited women voters to compare his handsome face with that of his tousle-haired opponent Everett Dirksen and "take your choice."

Addressing the Slovak-American rally, he said of the A-bomb: "We have it and we will use it in World War III." He told the Aurora Lions Club that the Russians are "international cut-

FLORIDA

Stetson Kennedy gets backing of Progressive Voters League for Senator

SOUTHERN TRADITION depends on who makes it. Last week Floridians had two to choose from.

One looked like this: Klansmen and Klanswomen, robed though unmasked, drove in a cavalcade of 50 automobiles three times around the town square in Live Oak. A constable's car (license number 31-2081) headed the parade with siren screaming. As the cars went by the Klansmen scattered anti-Semitic literature published by Gerald L. K. Smith of Detroit.

Stetson Kennedy of Jacksonville, independent write-in candidate for the U.S. Senate, representing the other tradition, observed the "propagation meeting" that preceded the demonstration, listened to out-of-town dragons, noted down license numbers. Later he asked Gov. Fuller Warren to dismiss the constable who led the "Kavalcade." Kennedy wrote:

The spectacle of robed fascists with their faces hanging out, enjoying a police escort

throats," and boasted to an audience of farmers at Metropolis that the 81st Congress "struck more blows at communism at home and abroad than any other Congress in the history of America." To Polish-American war veterans he suggested a UN formula for overthrowing the government of Poland:

"When the countries of Western Europe have been built up to a high level of economic and military strength, it is very possible that the traditional allies of Poland will call upon the UN to conduct and supervise free elections in Poland in the great liberal tradition of its glorious past."

UPSTATE & DOWN: Lucas makes little mention of his labor record in Chicago (he voted for the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill, the Case anti-labor bill and Harry Truman's "draft strikers" bill), but downstate he boasts that he voted for the original Taft-Hartley Act. He is opposed to federal health insurance and the Brannan farm plan and was a strong supporter of the McCarran Law.

Illinois Progressives have decided to boycott the Senatorial election. Their own candidate, Sidney Ordower, was barred from the ballot.

while bent on terrorism, is a sad one for America to be parading before the eyes of the world today.

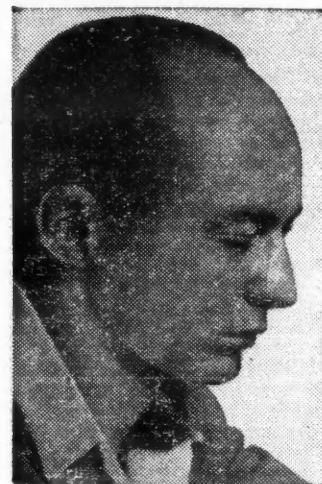
COLOR-BLIND TRADITION: To Kennedy's banner of "peace and equality" last week came the Progressive Voters League of Florida which endorsed his candidacy at their statewide meeting.

Kennedy told the League that he was a "color blind candidate" fighting for full civil rights

"... not as a scrap of political paper but as the living law of the land. . . . Ten million Negro Southerners have an equal right [with Democratic nominee George Smathers] to say what southern tradition shall be."

The League announced that 130,000 Florida Negroes were making that tradition, having registered to vote. Kennedy labeled his opponents, forlorn Republican John P. Booth and Democrat Smathers, as a single "two-headed Republican candidate." They are both for war and "when war is on, civil rights and a fair deal are off."

Kennedy's "peace and equality" program has made itself heard despite the refusal by many radio stations to give him time, by newspapers to give him space.



STETSON KENNEDY
For Senator

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First Congressional District
NOV. 7th ELECT
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FLORENCE H. LUSCOMB
For Congress, 12th CD

MASSACHUSETTS

Florence Luscomb takes on McCormack

JOHN W. McCORMACK, Democratic Representative in Congress from Boston's 12th District, has a bad record. He voted against repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, was instrumental in killing FEPC legislation, was an early supporter of the Mundt-Nixon bill, introduced the "draft strikers" bill which broke the railroad strike in 1946, voted for all cold war measures.

Out to unseat him in November is the Progressive Party's **Florence H. Luscomb**. Her record is the exact reverse of McCormack's. A life-long progressive, she served for five years as secretary of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; is vice-chairman of the American Civil Liberties Union of Boston; a member of the executive committee of the Boston Branch of the NAACP, of which she has been a member for nearly 40 years; has won awards and honors for her work with numerous trade unions; is a member of the executive board of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; helped win Massachusetts' first old-age

CONCENTRATION POINT IN CHICAGO

This is the story of Sam Parks

By Rod Holmgren

SAM PARKS, Progressive Party candidate for Congress in Chicago's teeming First District, has been fighting reaction and jimcrow since he was a kid growing up on Memphis streets in "old boss Crump's" home territory.

Fresh out of Booker T. Washington High School in Memphis, Parks got a job as recreation director at the Beale St. Auditorium. There he fought for three years for better recreational facilities for Memphis Negroes. When he went to work in an Illinois Central RR shop in Memphis he campaigned for equal rights for Negroes within the AFL Boilermakers' Union for upgrading on the job.

He drew blood in the Crump machine when he helped organize the Bluff City Civic League to persuade Negroes to pay their poll taxes and vote. To suppress that movement, the machine politicians unloosed a reign of terror.

Parks and his wife, Johnnie Mae, were forced to move North in 1939—"to save our lives, and to learn to fight better for my people." In Chicago he took a job at the Carnegie-Illinois steel plant, went nights to the John Marshall Law School. He continued to study law after he left Carnegie-Illinois for a job as a construction worker on the Chrysler plant then being built in Chicago.

A FAMILIAR ROPE: In 1943 he went to work as a "freezer" at the huge Wilson & Co. plant in Chicago's packingtown, and promptly joined the United Packinghouse Workers Union. Within six months he was elected president of big Local 25. More than half the Wilson workers were white; Parks won by a 2 to 1 majority.

A year later he was elected secretary-treasurer of District 1, UPWA, and still holds the position. He remained Local 25 president until 1948, when he resigned in protest against the Taft-Hartley Act:

"I recognized the old Memphis Ku Klux rope in that Taft-Hartley law, and I wouldn't stick my neck into it."

When unemployment among Chicago Negroes rose last year, Parks helped organize and became executive director of the South Side Negro Labor Conference to fight for jobs and equal rights. Overall employment has increased tremendously in Chicago since the start of the Korean war, but Negro re-employment is slow. Parks still is director of the Conference.

Both Parks and his wife are active in the Greater Bethesda Baptist Church, where he was Sunday School superintendent and a church trustee for several years.

CUT IT! The entire Progressive Party in Chicago has



SIDNEY ORDOWER and SAM PARKS
The eyes of the state are on this race

made the Parks campaign a "concentration" point. Parks says: "We'll win, if everyone who agrees with us has the courage to vote for us." Speaking on street-corners and at mass meetings from one end of the district to the other, he points out that his opponents, Democrat William Dawson and Republican Archibald Carey, can't possibly be any better than the parties they speak for:

"A vote for either one would be a vote for witch-hunts and wars, Taft-Hartleys and police-state rule, because that's what their parties stand for today. I'm campaigning on the Progressive ticket so my people can have the chance to cut the big Ku Klux rope both old parties are swinging these days. . . . We hear how GI's are fighting 'way over there in Korea for freedom. What freedom? The freedom for a Negro GI to return to Chicago's south-side, to live in a ghetto, to come back and look for a job and find he's not wanted?"

pension law; originated the Nye Senate Investigation of the munitions racket.

ROBESON vs. HYNES: When Boston's Mayor John B. Hynes recently banned Paul Robeson's portrait from an exhibit of famous Negroes, Miss Luscomb said:

"I would stack up Mr. Robeson's Americanism against that of Mr. Hynes any day, the real Americanism that fights to make America a land of justice and equality for all, without jimcrow, job discrimination, lynching or poll taxes, where men and women can earn a good life for themselves and their children, in a world un-

terrified by the horrors of war. Besides being one of the world's greatest artists, who by his songs and acting has delighted millions, Paul Robeson is one of the world's greatest fighters for the advancement of all people, white as well as colored. Mayor Hynes brings shame upon Boston. . . . Campaign headquarters: 7 Broad St.

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Oct. 28—8 p.m.
Prizes for Zaniest Costumes
Good Food — Games
River Park Fieldhouse
Foster and Francisco Av.
Donation 75c

HALLOWE'EN PARTY
Sat., Oct. 28—8:30 p.m.
7124 South Paxton
Entertainment — Drinks
Donation \$1, food incl.
7th and 8th Wards

HALLOWE'EN at the STEINBERG'S
Sat., Oct. 28—9 p.m.
2734 S. Deere Pk., Highland Pk.
Prizes for original costumes
Richard Pick, classical guitarist
Championship Dance Team
Buffet supper — refreshments
Donation \$2

HALLOWE'EN SIDE SHOW
Sat., Oct. 28—8:30 p.m.
Liberty Hall, 3420 W. Roosevelt
Prize for funniest costume
Witching wizard fortune teller
"Donkaphant" game —
Dunking for apples
Entertainment—dancing—drinks
Smorgasbord buffet
Donation \$1

PP WOMEN'S DIV. RECEPTION
for Johnnie Mae & Sam Parks
Packinghouse Center
4859 South Wabash Av.
Sat., Oct. 28—1 p.m.
Entertainment — Refreshments

TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR SAM PARKS
Spaghetti Dinner
HEAR PAUL ROBESON
Fri. Eve., Nov. 3—7 p.m.
Packinghouse Center
49th and Wabash Aves.

The Progressive Party is honored in presenting
PAUL ROBESON
in a Concert for Children
Sat., Nov. 4, 2 p.m. Donation 50c
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PAUL ROBESON
Orchestra — Night Club Acts
9 p.m. till ? Donation \$1
Packinghouse Center
49th and Wabash Aves.

MICHIGAN

Auto plant workers lead fight for T-H repeal, minimum wage, free speech, equality

MICHIGAN has its little McCarran Act—its Amendment No. 3 that will kill the free speech section of the state constitution unless voted down in November. It has its overcrowded cities and its jimcrow.

To the workers in its auto plants repeal of Taft-Hartley is a must, and they need a \$1 minimum wage law as well. People throughout the state need more state hospitals, a Michigan FEPC, abolition of the sales tax on food.

All these and peace, too, is the platform of Michigan's Progressive Party. PP leaders are calling upon voters of all political parties to jump their own tickets where a PP candidate is running so as to chalk up the votes for Michigan's most urgent needs and to safeguard the state's liberties.

Some had already begun to kick over the traces. Dr. Ossian Sweet, Democrat, defeated in his party's primaries, has joined in a non-partisan committee to elect Dorothy Knight, PP candidate for Congress in the 1st CD, Detroit. Other old-line party leaders in the district, both Democrat and Republican, were also considering support for Miss Knight.

The 1st CD is mainly Negro and working-class. Miss Knight is a Negro leader, a worker in the Plymouth plant, active in Local 51, UAW-CIO. She is also on the state staff of the Elks and the executive board of the Civil Rights Congress.

Travis for Secy. of State

When the workers sat down inside the Flint plant in 1936 and closed the mighty General Motors open shop, one of their leaders was Robert Travis.

Before those days and since, Travis' career summed up all that was good in CIO's promising youth. He had come to



DOROTHY KNIGHT
For Congress, 1st CD



ROBERT TRAVIS
For Secretary of State



VIRGINIA GLENN
For State Treasurer

General Motors as a shop worker, became a charter member of UAW-CIO and president of the Chevrolet local in Toledo, then was assigned to the national organizing staff to drive on GM.

For five years he was the executive vice-president of the Illinois CIO Council. He has worked with the Farm Equipment Workers, as a newspaper man and now as a farmer. He came off his farm to run for Michigan's Secretary of State on the PP ticket.

Virginia Glenn, peace expert

If you want to know about war ask the mother of a fighting man. Mrs. Virginia Glenn's son is now fighting in Korea. She knows so much about war that peace is her main plank as the PP candidate for state treasurer.

Mrs. Glenn was once secretary to the regional director of UAW-CIO, chairman of the youth committee of the lo-

cal branch of the NAACP, member of the AME Zion Church.

The rest of the PP ticket includes workingmen and women, farmers, ministers, Negroes and Mexicans, but no professional politicians. The slate:

For Congress: 6th CD, Flint, Shirley O. Foster, 16th CD, Dearborn, O. Don Christie; for state senator, 5th Sen. Dist., Macomb Co.: Jesus Gonzales, Jr.; for state representative, 1st Dist., Wayne Co.: Ruth St. Aubin, Merle Lord, Paul A. Henley, Harold Mikkelsen, Calvin Lippitt, Geneva Smith; 2d Dist., Macomb Co.: Deacon Wiley Jones of the First Baptist Church at Rosewell, former chairman of Macomb County Colored Democratic Committee; 5th Dist., Dearborn: Herman F. Christie, father of O. Don Christie, PP candidate for Congress.

PP headquarters are at 421 Reid Building, Detroit 26, Michigan.

MARYLAND

Lick jimcrow & you lick TB, says PP

MARYLAND PRIDES ITSELF as the "Free State"; its inhabitants like to call themselves "citizens of Maryland and subjects of the United States." But it was the first state in the Union to adopt thought-control "anti-subversive" legislation—the Ober Law. It still retains the whipping post for some crimes. Just south of Mason and Dixon's Line, its jimcrow practices are as evil as any in the land. Baltimore has the highest tuberculosis rate in the country.

Last week two Progressive Party candidates for the state's House of Delegates, Otto Yerrel and Milton Seif, blamed the TB on segregation, pledged as their first act if elected the introduction of a bill repealing all jimcrow practices. They criticized Democratic Gov. William Preston Lane Jr., running for re-election, for defying the Maryland Court of Appeals and the U.S. Supreme Court by keeping the doors of the University of Maryland closed to Negro students. They were for: a state civil rights law; a state fair employment practices act; a "long overdue" veteran's bonus; repeal of a state sales tax; and repeal of the Ober Law.

Challenging the Ober Law as part of their campaign strategy, PP candidates made one small dent in it. The five-man Maryland Court of Appeals ruled unanimously that candidates for Congress are not required to sign the law's loyalty pledge, but split three-to-two in deciding that state candidates must.

Louis Shub is the Progressive candidate for governor; running for Congress are Marshall Jones and Thelma Gerende; opposing Democratic Sen. Millard E. Tydings, now seeking his fifth term, is Sam Fox.

Campaign headquarters: 2632 Pennsylvania Av., Baltimore 17.

OREGON

Jobless, housing, China trade are key issues

By Jean Jackson

PEACE and continued freedom or more Koreas and the McCarran law? When Oregonians go to the polling places Nov. 7 they will have a choice, because the Progressive Party is running a slate of five candidates. These are some of the local issues they are campaigning on:

JOBLESS BENEFITS: Now experiencing semi-war boom as a result of the Korean conflict, Oregon led the nation's jobless army with 19% unemployed last winter, during one of the worst blizzards in the state's history. Repeal of a "seasonality" clause in the unemployment compensation law, which cancels many benefits, is urged by CIO and community organizations as well as the PP.

HOUSING AND RENTS: Like other west coast centers, Portland's population has burst its seams and outgrown city facilities since the war years. For those of low or moderate income, housing is virtually non-existent. Rent control, still effective in Portland, has been an "in-again, out-again" issue at city hall, and at landlords' insistence the council passed a milquetoast local ordinance enforceable Jan. 1. Petitions to save federal controls by referring the measure to the voters are being circulated by the Portland Central Labor Council, AFL, with Progressive support. City living costs are among the nation's highest. The Portland Traction Co. has upped its fare to 13c, 33½% more than it was in 1940.

DISCRIMINATION: An ordinance to give all Portlanders equal rights to the use of all public facilities was passed last winter, but was sidetracked by hotel and tavern owners. It will appear on the city ballot in November. Spade-work for the measure was started nearly two years ago by Progressives and others who organized the Citizens'

Committee for Civil Rights and obtained over 5,000 signatures in support of it.

POLITICAL PERSECUTION: Four foreign-born Oregonians, all present or former active trade unionists, who have resided in the state from 20 to 40 years, were arrested in Aug., 1949, by immigration authorities, charged with membership in a subversive organization, and released on bail. Progressives are working for their freedom.

FOREIGN POLICY: The Progressive

Party of Oregon reaffirms its support of the United Nations as the means of securing peace. It urges immediate UN seating of the new Chinese government; revival of U.S. trade with China, which would also help provide full employment to Oregon's longshoremen, waterfront workers and seamen; and immediate international control of atomic and other mass-destruction weapons. It pledges vigorous opposition to all repressive legislation, endorses the Portland Civil Rights ordinance, and recommends its extension

on a state-wide basis. Other points on the 1950 platform include public power development through Columbia Valley Authority and pensions of \$100 a month plus free medical care for all over 65.

The Candidates

For U.S. Senator: Harlin Talbert of Albany, retired industrial worker and former actor who in 1918 and 1920 campaigned on the Socialist ticket for U.S. Representative.

For Congress, 3d District: Prof. Vaughn S. Albertson, former English instructor at Portland's Vanport College, who recently returned from a year's graduate work in New York to organize the Progressive campaign in Oregon. An Army Air Force veteran, Albertson was a founder and the first state vice chairman of the American Veterans' Committee.

For state representatives, 5th District: Estus Curry, former CIO member who now runs his own cleaning shop, and Paul Lehmann, an active participant in the Townsend movement and organizer of Progressive pension work in the state.

For state representative, 6th District: Michael Loring, nationally known singer and radio entertainer, who toured the country with Henry Wallace in 1948. Loring is a veteran of four years' navy service with the Bronze Star award, and was formerly information specialist for Bonneville Power Administration.

BEAR YE: In a series of broadcasts, the candidates are presenting their program over Station KXL in Portland at 10:30 p.m. Loring will be heard on the 30th. The candidates will appear at statewide pre-election rally Oct. 26 in Portland at Norse Hall, which will feature addresses by national Progressive officers Elmer Benson and G. B. Baldwin. Time: 8:00 p.m.

Senatorial candidate Harlin Talbert is campaigning throughout the state. Progressive Party offices in Portland are at 417 S.W. Washington St.



"Ha, ha—here's a funny story about a crazy guy who imagines someone is trying to kill him."

CONNECTICUT Progressives blast war talk; Eslanda Robeson tops the state slate

NOT a single Connecticut voice was raised in the U.S. Congress to denounce the McCarran Act or to uphold the President's veto of it. John Marsalka, former history professor at Yale and the People's Party candidate for congressman for the 3d CD, summed up: "The old parties differ only in the spelling of their names."

Alike in all their failures, neither Republicans nor Democrats could find a Negro to carry their banner or even make a pitch for them in Connecticut.

Cong. William L. Dawson (D-Ill.) was imported for the job. The Democratic National Committee announced that Cong. Dawson would tour eight states to plug his party's slate and substitute for Negro representation. Cong. Dawson faces a fight at home from Illinois PP candidate Sam Parks.



ESLANDA ROBESON
For Congresswoman-at-large

ESLANDA ROBESON: Alike too in their backing of war measures, both Democrats and Republicans face the fire of a People's Party peace campaign.

Top PP candidate Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, running for congresswoman-at-large, said:

"My first objective is to save the families and homes of all through the outlawing of atomic bombs everywhere."

Mrs. Robeson of Enfield, anthropologist, lecturer, author, peace campaigner abroad as well as at home, is a Connecticut figure in her own right aside from the magic of her husband's name, Paul Robeson. By putting her at the head of its slate the People's Party punctures Republican and Democratic election oratory, offers Connecticut voters their only chance to vote for freedom or peace.

PEOPLE'S SLATE: Backing Mrs. Robeson are these PP candidates:

- For Congress from the 3d CD: **John M. Marsalka** of New Haven. He served the U.S. for five and a half years at the Embassy in Moscow, later at the Library of Congress and the Dept. of Justice, taught history for two years at the University of Pittsburgh, three years at Yale; ran for Congress on the PP ticket in 1948.

- For lieutenant-governor: war hero **Clyde Trudeau**, businessman of Bridgeport, wounded in the Battle of the Bulge, decorated with the Silver Star, national vice-chairman of Young Progressives of America.

- For Secretary of State: **Dorothy Haven** of Falls Village, formerly a member of the Diocesan Board of the Women's Auxilliary, Episcopal Church,

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WISCONSIN

4 seek to restore old liberal tradition

THE cave-man antics of Sen. Joe McCarthy, the slightly less strident red-baiting of Rep. Alvin O'Konski and the violent isolationism of Sen. Alexander Wiley have made America wonder what happened to the old liberal tradition of Wisconsin. That tradition dates back to 1890, when the elder Bob LaFollette started a progressive movement that in its time gave Wisconsin many a first in good legislation.

Running no candidates for Congress, the People's Progressive Party is calling on voters to reassert the tradition by rolling up a mighty vote for the state Progressive slate of four. The slate is headed by **M. Michael Essin**, fighting labor lawyer formerly with the Natl. Labor Relations Board, who is running for governor. He is state chairman of the People's Progressive Party. **Linton Jahr**, a farmer, is the candidate for Secretary of State; **Bertha Kurki** of Marengo, a housewife active in Finnish women's groups, for treasurer. **Frank C. Stoll**, candidate for state attorney general, is a former Air Force captain, veteran of 45 combat missions against the Japanese, now a University of Wisconsin graduate student specializing in American history.

Campaign headquarters are at 414 N. Plankington Ave., Rm. 202, Milwaukee.

VIRGINIA

Byrd man opposed by Phronia MacNeil

SEN. Harry Flood Byrd runs the state of Virginia with one of the tightest, smoothest-running political machines in the U.S. He controls the structure of the state government like a private dictatorship. A wealthy apple man (200,000 trees, a million bushels a year), his policies have kept the "mother of states" as backward as any in the South and Virginia's Negro citizens at a level as low as Mississippi's.

This year a Byrd stalwart, J. Vaughn Gary, running for Congress from Virginia's 3d District, will be opposed by Mrs. Phronia A. MacNeil, a Negro working woman with more than 18 years' service in Southern textile mills and a former assistant organizer for the Textile Workers Union in High Point, N.C., where she was born. In Harry Byrd's jimcrow province, she is campaigning for federal action to end jimcrow. Although Negroes for the first time in history have recently been admitted to Virginia's white colleges, it was the result of Supreme Court decisions; on the question of racial equality she dismisses the state legislature as "hopeless."

Progressive Party campaign headquarters in Virginia are at 10 West Leigh St., Richmond 19.

COLORADO

Progressives support Erb for Congress



TILLMAN H. ERB
For Congress, 1st CD

TILLMAN H. ERB grew up on a mid-western farm, learned early that most of the continent known as the free west was not at all free but more like a colony ruled by eastern financiers. He attended the University of Colorado, took a master's degree, went for special graduate work to Cornell and Columbia, returned to Colorado to teach American and European history in the state's public schools for 25 years. Last week teacher Erb was campaigning as an independent candidate for Congress; one of his slogans was: "Western independence must be asserted in Washington. Eastern monopoly-control must be broken."

His platform had sturdy planks. He was for peace, repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, enactment of an FEPC law, repeal of the McCarran Act, enactment of the Brannan Farm plan, federal development of low-cost housing, and a national old age pension. Colorado progressives were giving him full backing.

Campaign headquarters: 1440 Gaylord St., Denver 6.

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OHIO Cleveland has a choice: De Lacy for state representative

CHAMBERS of Commerce are wont to be astute politically: they test their friends by performance. In Ohio the C. of C. is backing a Democrat—Frank Lausche—for governor, and Mr. Republican himself—Robert Taft—for the U.S. Senate; distinctions between the two parties have disappeared. But in Cleveland at least the electorate will have a choice. Hugh De Lacy, state director of the Progressive Party, is a candidate for state representative.

An experienced legislator—he served a term in Congress from his native state of Washington—and a formidable campaigner, he has been a target for abuse since his name was placed on the ballot by the signatures of nearly 8,000 voters (only 5,000 were needed). The Cleveland News published a series of five red-baiting articles directed at him and the sponsors and signers of his petitions, printing long lists of their names; the Plain Dealer editorializes against him and his party almost daily.

THE VOICE OF THE LANDLORD: Both papers are published by the Forest City Publishing Co. whose president, Isadore Freiberg, is chairman of the

board of the Cleveland Trust Co. Cleveland Trust includes among its holdings large interests in Cleveland real estate. The press attacks on De Lacy began a few days after PP petitions went out urging the City Council to extend rent controls, which expire Dec. 31 unless local action is taken.

Rent controls are a prime issue in the city; when they were removed in some suburbs, rents were doubled in many cases. A program of non-segregated, non-discriminatory low-rent housing is also a major plank; Ohio's public housing record is the worst of any major state. Democrats and Republicans are silent on the matter.

Police brutality has been made a campaign issue embarrassing to the city administration. Within the past two years nine Clevelanders have been killed by cops; eight of them were Negro. Other campaign demands are for a price rollback, a state FEPC law, repeal of the McCarran Act, protection of labor's rights, and the overriding demand for peace.

THE MAN NOBODY LOVES: Although the Progressive Party has no candidate for the Senate, it is campaigning for



SENATOR TAFT AND TWO OF HIS VICTIMS
Why, fellows, you know I have your interests at heart

the defeat of Sen. Taft. The job is a little complicated because his Democratic opponent, State Auditor Joseph Ferguson, got the nomination by default and hasn't even the backing of most of his own party organizations in the state. If Taft is defeated, it will be because the people voted against him rather than for Ferguson. As a Progressive Party campaign paper put it:

Ferguson isn't much good, but who doesn't know enough to go and vote Taft out?
Taft himself in his campaign speeches never mentions Ferguson's name, but concentrates on red-baiting the CIO Political Action Committee which formally designated him labor enemy No. 1. The Cleveland Plain Dealer also embarrasses the anti-communist organization by attacking it as "Communist."

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THE WORLD Asia cold to U. S. offer of 'partnership for peace'

GEN. MacARTHUR's forces took Pyongyang, North Korea's capital, and meeting almost no opposition surged toward the Chinese frontier as resistance forces stepped up guerrilla warfare in the South. On the New York Exchange stocks had climbed to a 20-year high following President Truman's report from San Francisco on his Wake Island trip to meet MacArthur. The President mentioned "peace" 35 times, but Wall St. was persuaded that the war boom is here to stay.



Truman made his roughest attack yet on the Soviet Union. He called it "a constant threat to a world peace." The "evil spirit of aggression" he found abroad in the world he called "a clear and present danger." (Such a finding by the Chief Executive might speed prosecution of progressives, whose constitutional rights have been somewhat protected hitherto by the "clear and present danger" concept.)

DOUBLE DOUBLE-TALK: Despite his threats, the President seemed curiously defensive. His efforts to persuade Asia of America's peaceful intentions seemed an attempt to answer widespread fear—such as that voiced at the recent Lucknow (India) Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations—that "the U. S. intends to fight Russia on Asian soil"; his promise to speed reconstruction in Korea, a reply to the horror over U. S. bombings and to charges that "the U. S. regards the people of Asia as expendable" (Lucknow); his insistence on America's unselfish motives and attacks on "Soviet colonialism," an effort to deflect charges of "economic imperialism."

He offered Asians a "partnership for peace." But he had nothing but praise for Gen. MacArthur, whose contemptuous references to "Oriental psychology" which respects only "aggressive, resolute, dynamic leadership" have insulted Asians. He promised to let Asians run

their own affairs—provided they stood by private enterprise and the "family-size farm." Indian reaction, reported the N. Y. Times, "was uniformly critical."

SYNGMAN & DOUG: The President revealed nothing about Wake Island. He angrily told reporters, who asked if he agreed with MacArthur's Formosa policy, that MacArthur agreed with his.

On the future of Korea, Truman and MacArthur were said to have reached "easy agreement." But for the UN—supposedly charged with this question—Korea, correspondents reported, posed "a complex task." South Korea's Syngman Rhee, ordered by the UN Commission on Korea to stay out of the North, publicly announced for the third time his intention of taking over. His Youth Corps, political organizers, and governors are already in business there, he told reporters in Seoul last week.

Should the UN, after due "normalization" procedures carried out by MacArthur, sponsor elections in the South as well as the North? The vague General Assembly resolution indicated that it should, but as the N. Y. Times pointed out it was a "touchy issue, since such elections might mean the end of President Rhee's regime." A further complication was MacArthur's "long personal friendship and harmony of political views" with Rhee. The Commission, meeting behind closed doors, decided to ask the U. S. to ask MacArthur to ask Rhee what he was up to. The Times explained:

The sense of the Committee appears to be that it is important not to antagonize the United Command in the person of Gen. MacArthur by taking hasty action without consulting him.

WALL ST. LOOKS AHEAD: In the UN Economic Committee, U. S. delegate Sen. John Sparkman (D., Ala.) let the mask slip for a moment when he said last week:

"... I wonder how many people appreciate the significance of the war in Korea on the international investment picture. It is possible that the long-range effect of the Korean war will be beneficial to the international flow of private capital. As time goes on, investors are bound to realize that the UN—united and strong nations with a will for peace—have become a very powerful influence for political stability and economic growth. This new influence, we believe, will become a part of the working consciousness of private businessmen, traders and investors. It is only beginning to operate. Its full force is yet to come."

In the Los Angeles Times, Oct. 2, Homer Alexander said it more bluntly:

The U. S. has won another war. . . . Despite the fiction of carrying out a UN police action, we have a clearer claim to write our own ticket than in 1918 or even in 1945. For we have not only become the mightiest of military nations, we also stand as the fountainhead of the world's diplomatic leadership, of the world's wealth and even of the world's thought. . . .

Who else dominates the seven seas and the air above them? Whose diplomats control every positive move of the 57-member UN and of the left-out nations, such as Germany, Japan and Spain? . . . And what else except made-in-America democracy is the overriding philosophy and aspiration of the known universe? . . . We truthfully bestride the world like a colossus. Well, somebody's got to be boss. What are we waiting for?

DEMOCRACY, ETC.: In Pyongyang, UP reported that a U. S. civil affairs officer chose a mayor for the city by the simple expedient of picking Lee Chong Han, a "hotel keeper with a heavy black beard, as a likely looking prospect." Asked to invite the city's elder citizens to a meeting, Lee turned up with seven lawyers. The officer demanded "a bigger, more representative group." Lee rounded up 30 citizens, who chose a 65-year-old school teacher as mayor.

In Indo-China, the anti-colonial army of Ho Chi Minh had routed the



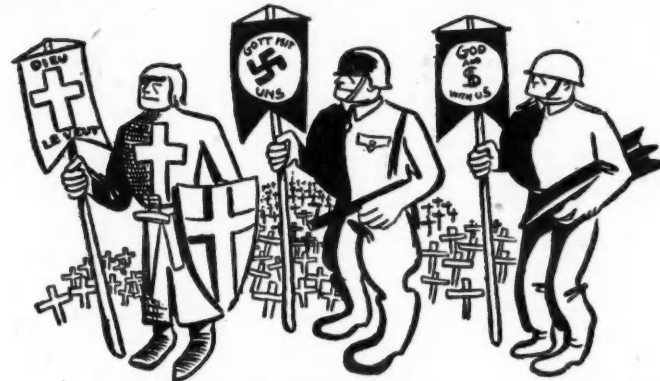
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French from their last important post on the China frontier. The U. S. promised France up to \$2,400,000,000 in arms aid. (Paris reports said this might be conditional on French acceptance of German rearmament.) Emperor Bao Dai was reported flying from Cannes to preserve "the liberty of the world" which he said was endangered by losses in Indo China.

At Lake Success, the UN Charter was virtually junked when the General Assembly's Political Committee voted 50 to 5 for the Acheson Plan. It strips the Security Council of most of its power and gives the Assembly the power to use military sanctions. In an effort to hold the UN together, the U. S. S. R. compromised on some points, tried to amend the plan's most objectionable features, succeeded with only one amendment: inclusion of the Big Five in the Peace Observation Commission. India's Prime Minister Nehru said the plan

"... seemed like converting the UN into a larger edition of the Atlantic Pact and making it a war organization more than one devoted to international peace."

But the demand of the world's people for peace was still insistent. The Assembly voted unanimously for a Syria-Iraq resolution calling on the Big Five to get together and settle their differences. U. S. delegates did their best to discount this move but could not vote against it.



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ARTHUR H. COMPTON, Chancellor of Washington University, St. Louis, physicist who helped develop the A-Bomb, as quoted in "The American Magazine." Dr. Compton is also president of World Brotherhood.

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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newspaper

"The Year of the Oath"

The story of the teachers who fought back

By Cedric Belfrage

To the shame of our state and of our University it must be said that we felt it necessary to organize for the writing of this book as the French organized their Resistance during the years of the Nazis, with radiating lines of responsibility and with no one knowing all the others who were involved.

PONDER that sentence and what it implies for the state of academic freedom today in America. It is how George R. Stewart, the University of California professor who among the group of co-authors on the faculty sticks his neck out by signing his name, describes the writing of this account of the "red" witch-hunt going on there since early 1949.*

The highlights of the story—the resistance by some of the faculty against the regents' "loyalty oath" decree—have been told in the GUARDIAN as it unfolded. The details given here make it completely clear that the witch-hunt never did have as its intention the "purging" of Communists as such.

THE LOST CHORD: During the whole sordid business not a single professor has been charged with being a Communist—only one 30-year-old teaching assistant (fired after admitting he had "participated" with "Communist fronts" before 1943) and one pianist (fired in the middle of a Rhythms class, leaving "the girls . . . poised on one toe, waiting for the concluding chords that never came").

The target from the outset was independent thinking of any sort; the aim was intimidation; the leaders of the attack have been those on the Board of Regents who, as representatives of great money power, stand to lose everything if resistance to cold-war "thinking" is allowed to continue; and the whole story proves—what its authors, perhaps understandably, are too polite to state outright—that under the system of endowment from big business circles every American academic tradition worth two cents stands now in peril of extinction.

THE BANKER IS FRANK: This is not a book destined to go down in history as a great progressive document. The reader with a broad perspective will feel that these professors driven to exasperated and stubborn resistance have no heroic dimensions, for if they had they would blast the whole modern inquisition of which they find themselves among the vic-



Action, Paris
"You must be nuts—it's your house that's on fire."
"Yes, but one of the fireman is a red."

tims as an outrage and a filth, and damn the consequences. But the authors do understand what was implied when regent (banker) Giannini at one of the "loyalty oath" sessions said without raising any protest from the others:

"I want to organize 20th century vigilantes, who will unearth Communists and communism in all their sordid aspects, and I will, if necessary."

They understand that "the way to prevent a flood is to keep the first crack from opening in the dam." And they see the deadly parallel with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, where the long and bloody night all began with civil servants and teachers being made to sign oaths of loyalty to tyrants. They record the frightful nervous strain that has been placed on men of conscience in the U of C faculty: "confusion," "exhaustion," "insomnia," "fear verging into paranoia" partly induced by the tapping of telephones or belief that they were tapped—a belief so common that

. . . when work on this book was begun, use of the University telephones was found to be impractical because a considerable number of people flatly refused to discuss anything important over those lines.

WHAT THEY FACE: Also recorded by the authors as a "characteristic response throughout the first part of the controversy" is

. . . the feeling in the faculty ranks of a satisfaction at

unity, of exhilaration, almost of exaltation. For a few fortunate individuals some remnants of this early happiness remained even through the darkest weeks.

These good and honest professors, in short, did discover that there are spiritual compensations in standing firm against commonly-recognized evil, even if the economic implications are rather grim when you have payments to make on pleasant Berkeley haciendas and the streamlined iceboxes and washing-machines they contain.

Those among them who continue to stand firm will suffer grievous economic consequences; this they know now beyond a peradventure. The washing machines might have to go back where they came from. And merely for sticking to their guns they would—for that is all it takes—be labeled "communists" even though they never met a Communist in their lives.

BENDIX OR BUST: It is a dark picture by the standards of a washing-machine civilization. There will be the question of how many Mrs. Professors can face the horror of washing Mr. Professor's shirts in the old tub; concerning the perspectives here, deponents say not. Nor can we tell from this book how many of the professors themselves are strong enough to give up everything for "the exhilaration of unity" in resistance. But the Bible does say, does it not:

"What doth it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"

* **THE YEAR OF THE OATH**, by George R. Stewart and other professors of the University of California. Doubleday, N. Y. 156 pp. \$2.

A new song

A NEW song, and a better song,
Oh friends, I'll sing for you.
Here on earth we mean to make
Our Paradise come true.

We mean to be happy here on earth
Our days of want are done.
No more shall the lazy belly waste
What toiling hands have won.

A new song, and a better song!
It rings like fiddle and flute.
The miserere sounds no more;
The bells of death are mute.

—HEINE

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DUGAN'S HISTORY LESSON

The contemptuous patriot

By James Dugan

ONCE upon a time there was a patriot in a period of reaction. He was against a law which tried to bludgeon the people into denying their own liberties. He wrote a leaflet denouncing the scheme, called *The Betrayed Inhabitants of the City of New York*, and signed it "A Son of Liberty." His name was Alexander MacDougall.

MacDougall called on the citizens of New York to assemble in front of City Hall, to protest to their legislators and sign petitions. The people gathered around a Liberty Pole, 1,400 of them, and sent a committee of seven to the legislators to make their wants known. The legislators said MacDougall's leaflet was "an infamous and scandalous libel" and voted \$500 reward to any snitch who would name the author of it. Only one member voted "No."

The legislators summoned the printer of the handbill, who named MacDougall as the author. They summoned MacDougall, who refused to acknowledge the leaflet or give bail. After several months in prison he was brought before the legislators again, and his answer was declared to be in contempt. He was in prison for over a year, when he was released and never troubled again.

The story began in 1769. MacDougall, after his release from prison, became Colonel of the First New York Regiment, Continental Army. Two months after the Declaration of Independence he was made a Brigadier-General. He served at Long Island, White Plains, Germantown, Peekskill, Hudson Highlands, and was promoted to Major General. In 1781 he was elected to Congress and became the First Secy. of the Navy. In 1783 he was elected to the N.Y. State Senate—the revolutionary body which succeeded the New York Colonial Assembly that had thrown him in jail.

MORAL: *Progressive regimes measure a citizen's worth by his contempt for reactionary ones.*

NEW YORK

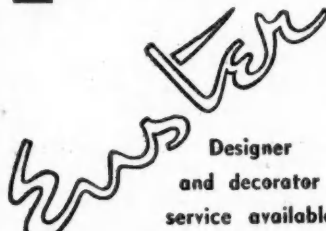
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Tea taster tells all

TEA: Tea tasting is an old and highly specialized occupation. Consumers Union based its ratings of 62 brands of tea on tests by a tea expert who took into consideration flavor, color and body (giving greatest weight to flavor). Preference in teas is solely a matter of taste and yours may differ from that of the professional taster. The top grade is "fine" and 23 brands were so rated. The following black teas were at the head of the list, in order of price: Merit Blended Black Pekoe, 47c for 8 oz. Finest Homeland Tea Pekoe & Orange Pekoe, 25c for 4 oz. Nectar Pekoe & Orange Pekoe, 25c for 4 oz. Bohack's Best Orange Pekoe & Pekoe, 27c for 4 oz. Schilling Orange Pekoe & Pekoe, 56c for 8 oz. Elm Farm Orange Pekoe, Pekoe & Cut Black Tea, 29c for 4 oz. Ecco Orange Pekoe & Pekoe, 31c for 4 oz. Ehler's Grade "A" Pekoe & Orange Pekoe, 31c for 4 oz. The prices are for loose tea. There is no quality difference between the loose tea and the tea bags of the same brand.

ELECTRIC FOOD MIXERS: If you want one which will make malted milk, beat a cake batter, and do other kitchen chores, you will be interested in the results of tests of 14 home mixers. Tests simulating kitchen use were run by three members of a university home economics faculty, to judge performance and convenience. Laboratory durability tests were also run. One or more samples of each of five models presented the possibility of severe electric shock. Consumers Union considers this inexcusable in a product designed for the kitchen where touching grounded metal is a constant possibility. The only moderately priced model to earn a "Very Good" rating in the tests was the Sunbeam Mixmaster 9, \$39.50, including juicer. Rated as "Good" was the Westinghouse FM-81, \$35.50.

BAKING POWDER: Eleven brands tested met federal specifications and were rated "Acceptable." However, there were great variations in speed of action and in price. On the basis of cost per 100 teaspoonsful, the least expensive powder cost 10c, the most expensive, 44c. In general, the use of a delayed action powder will allow the baker more time after adding the baking powder and before getting the dough into the oven. The so-called "double-acting" powders are in this group. Those double-acting powders which in tests released one third or less of their available carbon dioxide at room temperature were Clabber Girl, 10c (10 oz.); and Hearth Club, 11c (11 oz.).

HOME PERMANENT KITS: Provided they are used properly, all the brands rated "Acceptable" could be expected to give a satisfactory permanent at a fraction of the cost of a beauty shop wave, tests indicate. However, the average user should not expect results as good as from a competent professional operator. The right kind of curler will save a good deal of time and make the job easier. The Toni Spin Curler and the Smart Wave Super-Speed Curler were judged most effective and easiest to use. You might buy these sets (Smart Wave, \$1.30; Toni with Spin Curlers, \$2.49) for the curlers, whatever refills you use later.

This is a digest of articles appearing in "Consumer Reports," the monthly magazine published by Consumers Union, 38 E. First St., N. Y. 3. Product ratings are based on unbiased tests.

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The right to oppose war --- at any time

By Elmer A. Benson

National Chairman, Progressive Party

It is the right and duty of citizens who love peace and who believe in maintaining the high ideals for which our government has stood to inquire whether the war is righteous and justifiable, and if it is not ... to denounce it and demand that it shall cease.

HON. Robert H. Morse, who spoke those words as he demanded an end to the U.S. war against the Philippines on April 4, 1899, believed that rights were for citizens to exercise and duties were to be performed. Is this any less true in our day of atomized super-war—or is it more true?

William Lloyd Garrison, who in the Mexican War of 1846-48 scorned "My country, right or wrong" as a "profligate motto," urged good citizens to "protest against the war ... unmoved by the clamors of the vile, and undeterred by any of the mandates of Government." Shall we now stand in fear of these false clamors of "Treason" and "Sedition?" Or shall we exercise the Constitutional right Morse and Garrison invoked, the duty of which they reminded us, to oppose unrighteous war in time of war?

To the fearful and the clamorers alike I recommend study of that Constitution which should and must be our yardstick as Americans. With purposeful



ELMER A. BENSON

clarity, to prevent future misinterpretation, it thus defines treason, the one political crime (Art. III, Sec. iii):

Treason against the U.S. shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court.

"ARTIFICIAL TREASON": The framers of the Constitution had a purpose in thus narrowing the limits of political crime. It was explained in *The Federalist* (written by James Madison, Alexander Hamilton and John Jay to explain the Constitution to the people), Vol. XXXIII:

As new fangled and artificial treasons have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offsprings of government, have usually wreaked their alternate malignity on each other, the convention have, with great judgment, opposed a barrier to this peculiar danger, by inserting a constitutional definition of the crime, fixing the proof necessary for the conviction of it, and restraining Congress, even in punishing it, from extending the consequences beyond the person of its author.

Yet still the people insisted that the limits of political crime be further narrowed and defined so that human rights be better protected against property rights. The Bill of Rights with its guarantees of free speech, press and assembly achieved one of the primary goals of the Revolution—to get rid of the English common-law concept of sedition, the biggest legal barrier to discussion of public issues in the colonies. It was a concept from the old world, born out of the divine-right theory that government was the master and therefore not subject to censure and criticism by its subjects, the people.

The American Revolution made the people master, the government their servant and subject not only to censure and criticism, but even (as the Declaration of Independence proclaimed) to overthrow. In this view of government there could be no crime of sedition in the old-world sense.

NO TREASON IN WORDS: The Bill of Rights and the Constitution's definition of treason smashed the concept of verbal treason. Words do not constitute an

overt act. The men who fought for American independence clearly intended to abolish forever prosecutions for criticism of the government without any incitement to law-breaking.

But the Bill of Rights did more than draw boundaries which government could not overstep. It laid down within those boundaries certain fundamental policies of American life, demanding that all branches of the government respect and implement them.

Public discussion of all public affairs was to be unrestricted, said the First Amendment. In his *Free Speech in War Time*, first published in 1920, Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., pointed out:

The First Amendment protects two kinds of interests in free speech. There is an individual interest, the need of many men to express their opinion on matters vital to them if life is to be worth living, and a social interest in the attainment of truth so that the country may not only adopt the wisest course of action but carry it out in the wisest way. This social interest is particularly important in wartime.

NO CURTAIN ON TRUTH: Is it not precisely in wartime that this "social interest" in free speech is most apt to be ignored on grounds of "public safety"? Yet it is also the time when knowledge of the truth is most vitally important. Thus in war even more than in peace public safety and the search for truth must be weighed carefully against each other to find the boundary of free speech. If the First Amendment means anything, it must apply to those activities of government which are most liable to interfere with free public discussion, such as over the undertaking and the conduct of war.

The Supreme Court—in the *Milligan* case just after the Civil War—ruled:

The Constitution of the U.S. is a law for rulers and people equally in war and peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men at all times and under all circumstances. . . . No doctrine is more pernicious than that any of its great provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. That leads directly to anarchy and despotism.

THE CHALLENGE: Written into the Constitution by the revolutionary founders of our nation, these principles have been affirmed again and again by American law and tradition—but only as men have fought for them in each succeeding generation.

The fight to affirm them anew and set our nation back on a course of probity and full democratic rights falls now upon the progressives of America.

We do not intend to shirk the challenge.

AN EXCITING GIFT FOR CHRISTMAS

MASSES & MAINSTREAM pits itself against all the trinkets and treasures jampacked into Macy's fabulous department store in sheer value of what it offers for \$4—the price of an annual subscription.

Here is what M & M brought its subscribers during last year:

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16 STORIES, by Louis Aragon, Phillip Bonosky, Howard Fast, Barbara Giles, Meridel Le Sueur, Martin Andersen Nexø, Carl Offord, Anna Seghers, Gwyn Thomas, and others.

17 POEMS, by Milton Blau, Millen Brand, Langston Hughes, Mao Tse-tung, Thomas McGrath, Eve Merriam, Pablo Neruda, Edith Segal, Genevieve Taggard, and others.

58 BOOK REVIEWS, by James S. Allen, Marion Bachrach, Joseph M. Bernstein, Walter Bernstein, Alvah Bessie, Richard O. Boyer, Abraham Chapman, Arnaud d'Usseau, Ben Field, Frederick V. Field, Franklin Folsom, Barnard Rubin, Morris U. Schappes, Howard Selsam, Joseph Starobin, John Stuart, Jose Yglesias, and others.

ART, by Amen, Bard, Becker, Evergood, Frascioni, Gellert, Gropper, Gross, Heller, Karlin, Keller, Kruckman, Lawrence, Mendez, Orban, Refregier, Shahn, Toney, Weber, White, Wilson, and others.

FEATURES AND DEPARTMENTS, like Isidor Schneider on the theatre, Warren Miller on films, "On Safari with Harari," "Right Face," and correspondence from cultural associates in Peking, Tel Aviv, Tokyo, Paris, London.

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