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NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Vol. I, No. 1

NEW YORK, N. Y., OCT. 18, 1948

10 Cents

RAY C THOMAS



"Of course Mr. Churchill is a great war leader. That's why he wants another war."

—Emanuel Shinwell,
Labor M.P.
October 11, 1948
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Written Exclusively for National Guardian

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Vol. I, No. 1 178 MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1948

This Is National Guardian

THE accompanying pages of news, comment and illustration make up the first issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the progressive newsweekly.

We present our publication humbly, in the conviction that the times call for a voice in our nation which without fear or reservation will bespeak the cause of peace, freedom and abundance. We ask the indulgence and support of all who share that conviction.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN has come into being as the result of consultation and help of innumerable men and women of the highest standing in American journalism. They have given freely of their time, effort and professional experience because of their acute awareness of the need for an effective progressive publication in our country.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN will have no editorial page. But it will certainly have an editorial point of view.

This editorial point of view will be a continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and overwhelmingly supported by the American people in the last four presidential elections.

We conceive this progressive tradition to be represented today by Henry A. Wallace, and by him alone among the candidates now contending for election to the presidency of the United States.

We believe, with FDR and Henry Wallace, in expanding freedoms and living standards for all peoples as the essential foundation of a world securely at peace.

We believe, with FDR and Henry Wallace, that peace can be secured only by seeking areas of agreement among nations, rather than seeking areas of disagreement.

Since FDR's death we have seen a succession of manufactured crises and negations of peoples' rights and freedoms. These convince us that his political successors and his Republican opposition—now joined in bi-partisan policies which are not in dispute in the 1948 elections—intend neither to seek agreement in world affairs, nor to permit freedom for any peoples except on terms dictated by American big business.

This conviction of ours is confirmed by:

The misery inflicted on the people of Greece, after they had won their own freedom, by U.S. government interference in behalf of U.S. business interests;

The scrapping by the Western powers of the Potsdam agreement, leading to the present policy of division and re-Nazification of Germany, which creates a new threat to world peace;

The open abetting by our government of strife and turmoil in the new state of Israel, to suit the requirements of oil monopolies and feudal interests in the Middle East.

With FDR, we believe that:

"The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state. That, in its essence, is fascism."

We believe that the world's greatest productive machine has been created in America by the people of America, out of their own resources; that monopoly's increasing grip on that machine threatens the security of farmer, small businessman and wage-earner alike; and that all these must combine to carry forward the greatest American political tradition—the battle against concentration of private power.

We believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN begins its existence as the campaign period comes to a close. It is the purpose of NATIONAL GUARDIAN'S editors to further these ideals 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.

JAMES ARONSON
CEDRIC BELFRAGE
JOHN T. McMANUS

Who's A Liberal?

On Aug. 1 a preview issue of NATIONAL GUARDIAN was published as National Gazette. J. W. Gitt, publisher of The Gazette and Daily of York, Pa., was listed as publisher. Because of the pressure of other activities, Mr. Gitt was forced to withdraw from the weekly, to the great regret of the editorial staff. The preview issue brought thousands of subscriptions and many hundreds of letters to Mr. Gitt and the editors. A bare handful of letters expressed disapproval. Below we print one of the severest criticisms and Mr. Gitt's reply to it, with which we concur.

The Criticism

Dear Mr. Gitt:

In my opinion, if your preview copy is a sample of what you have in store for your readers, it will bring the "TRUTH" to the American public to the same degree as does the Daily Worker, whose Communist policies and line you seem to follow. Let me be explicit:

You criticize and attack the (1) European Recovery Program; (2) Draft; (3) Association of Catholic Trade Unionists; (4) Arrest of 12 Communist Leaders; (5) President Truman, U.S. policies and officials, etc., etc.

You do not write anything favorable about our government. You do not criticize or attack Russia, Russian policies or officials. THIS IS THE 100% COMMUNIST LINE as I understand it. Is this not true?

Now let me make myself perfectly clear: I AM A LIBERAL and a small businessman. I am not a Communist-Hater, Fascist, Red Baiter, War Monger, Cartelist, Wall Streeter, Jim Crowist or any of the many names thrown at honest and sincere Liberals, when they are not in agree-

ment with those who follow the Communist line 100%.

Asher Charleston
Philadelphia, Pa.

The Reply

Dear Mr. Charleston:

As a matter of fact, there seems to be a wide variance in your outlook and mine, which, after all, is the kind of thing that has always been true of America and I hope always will be. And which, by the way, is one of the big reasons I am so interested in the Progressive Party movement.

To me Americanism means the right to have opinions,



J. W. GITT

whether or not they are the opinions of those who are in power. And certainly, in view of the fact that a very large percentage of the press is setting forth only the viewpoint of the powerful, it seems to me that something like the National Gazette is badly needed to present the other side which it happens I sincerely believe to be the truth.

Let me be explicit. I do not approve of the European Recovery Program because it by-passes the United Nations

and commits us to unilateral action in Europe. I am opposed to the draft because I believe with Dr. Charles A. Beard that militarism is bad medicine for any country; that it always has been, and that it always will be. May I call your attention to the fact that when Athens took up militarism in imitation of Sparta, Greek civilization soon began to break up.

I believe that the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists is not in the best interests of the labor movement and I would believe the same thing if it were an Episcopal trade union movement or a Lutheran trade union movement or an Evangelical and Reformed movement, I being a member of the Evangelical and Reformed church.

The arrest of 12 Communist leaders on such flimsy charges was, in my opinion, at odds with the American ideal of free speech and free thought.

I am opposed to President Truman because I think he is leading us down the road to war. I am opposed to a number of other United States policies for the same reason.

If that make me a Communist or is one hundred percent the Communist line it is news to me. In my opinion that is the American line—the line that all these of us who appreciate what was done for us by our forefathers will follow if we really understand and appreciate what kind of a free country they intended this to be.

May I say that I do not think you could possibly be a liberal or you would not have written me as you did. I assure you that I am a liberal and I resent the insinuation that I am in any sense influenced by anything except my sincere belief in the America of my ancestors.

J. W. Gitt

LETTERS

Following are a few of the flood of letters received by the editors of NATIONAL GUARDIAN after publication of the preview issue:

Many of us in the progressive fight have worried that our cause would be neglected with the end of the election campaign, so it's good to know that we will have one national example of our much vaunted freedom of the press.

William J. Kehoe
New York, N. Y.

I am sure that this paper will render a great service to the people of this country. More power to you.

J. O. Reese
Pasadena, Texas



See Page 12

I find many contributions of keen interest, many that are suppressed in our own kept press.

E. F. Kerstner
Eureka Springs, Ark.

'Swanderful, boys!—keep it up—here's a few subs to start with.

Lou Garvin
Cleveland, Ohio

This paper looks good to me. Here is my one year sub, and six trial subs for anyone you want to give them to.

Sol Cahen
Spivak, Colo.

Thanks for an honest publication.

Edwin L. Braunes
Rapid City, So. Dakota

It is a great service to the American who has no chance for the accumulation of facts and features from other sources.

Dan Anthony
Newark, N. J.

Your new national paper is excellent. I think the idea powerful, and I hope it can be highly and widely circulated.

Rev. M. E. Dorr
Dayton, Iowa

A buck a throw is a cheap way to make friends and influence people.

Martin Stern
New York, N. Y.

Your good presentation of new versions of the news is very refreshing compared with the stale style of the propaganda producers of the paper curtain.

Charles Bostwick
Stanton, Del.

A dog-gone swell paper, filling a much-felt need.

Rev. I. J. Dumas
Atlanta, Ga.

For a long time I have been on the lookout for a weekly publication which fearlessly told "the other side of the story" on matters of national and international importance. I think I have found that publication.

R. A. Brown
Phoenix, Ariz.

As a former high school teacher who has been excluded from the profession since 1935 by the device of red-baiting, I appreciate the fact that your paper evidently does not indulge in such journalism.

V. R. Jewett
Albany, Calif.

THE WORLD

Charles Duff

What's the Deal on Spain?

THREE weeks ago Don Juan de Bourbon, pretender to the throne of Spain, sailed north from Portugal in his cozily appointed yacht *Saltillo*. At the same time the even more sumptuous yacht *Azor* pushed off from Vigo, bearing dictator Franco on a "fishing trip."

The ships met at sea and the fishing, of a strictly diplomatic order, began. At first Franco talked down to Juan and told him exactly where he got off.

Then Juan played his big card. "If you don't listen to reason," he said, "I shall throw in my lot with middle-of-the-road Socialist Indalecio Prieto. He and his Centrists will collaborate with the Monarchists in Spain against you."

Franco was ready to listen, and they talked turkey. Juan's first demand was that his son, the Prince of Asturias, should be official heir to the Spanish throne. Next, that he (Juan) should be allowed to live in Spain with his "Court in Exile." Third and most important: that Juan's own position should be immediately reconsidered (he is ruled out of the succession by a Franco law passed last year).

They're Hopping Mad

Franco agreed. Juan at once dropped Indalecio Prieto and the Centrists, who now feel very sore.

The Franco-Juan chat in the privacy of the Atlantic Ocean set the stage for the activity now going on in Madrid, Paris, London, Washington and the Vatican to find a "solution of the Spanish Question" acceptable to the right people. The 27,000,000 people who live in Spain are not being and will not be consulted. The solution aimed at is not for their benefit.

Success now seems imminent, following Sen. Gurney's visit to Franco. Latest news from Franco's inner hierarchy is that both they and in-the-know Americans in Madrid are convinced the main principles of a Franco-Washington deal have been settled; that only the details have to be worked out be-



Gentleman's Agreement

Drawing by A. Carbonal

fore a pact is signed and some of its terms are announced.

Franco has stated the essential preliminary terms, to which the U.S. agreed in principle. They are: (1) Spain to be a Member of the United Nations; (2) Spain to have American aid—Marshall or otherwise—in money, credits and supplies; (3) normal relations to be resumed between Spain and Western Powers, with appointment of ambassadors. In return, Franco will grant the U.S. sea and air bases in Spain with all necessary facilities for American personnel.

In order to placate public

CHARLES DUFF is an English barrister, author of books on Mexico, James Joyce, human nature, hanging and other subjects. Since 1936 he has been a premature anti-fascist devoting his time continually to the cause of the Spanish Republicans.

opinion in Europe and the U.S., Franco will go through the motions of 'democratizing' his regime. He will ease censorship, release some of the 100,000 political prisoners, hold municipal elections, stop political executions and the military tribunals which try political prisoners, and put the *Falange* into a farcical dissolution.

The big card in the game is restoration of the monarchy. For several reasons it becomes probable that this will happen soon. The Vatican, the British Foreign Office and the U.S. State Department have long favored the restoration of Pretender Juan. To this end all their pressure is now being brought on Franco as part of the bargaining for bases—on the grounds that a restoration under Juan will make the Spanish regime respectable to the French, British and American public.

THE WEEK'S NEWS

UN — Palestine and Berlin

AFTER a week of intensified cold war with hot words in Paris, the nations sharpened their diplomacy for a weekend with the two top crises of the hour: Berlin and Palestine.

The sapling state of Israel was in the middle of a power play. President Truman's chances for re-election might be aided by fulfilling his pledge to grant Israel full recognition and lift the arms embargo; but he was in the grip of his advisers who preferred to stall.

The British were pressing to put the U.S. as well as Israel on the spot. With China they demanded condemnation of Israel for not doing more to catch the killers of Count Bernadotte, the late U.N. mediator who recommended that Palestine's Negev area should go to the Arabs. Britain expected the Arabs to grant her bases in the Negev. Russia wanted Israel to get it. The U.S. was leaning slightly toward the British position.

As yet there were no indications that the two-thirds majority needed to put across Bernadotte's plan was forthcoming, and there was lobby talk of slicing the cake still thinner by dividing the Negev at the 31st parallel. But while the powers wrangled in Paris, the thread sustaining the Palestine truce was likely to break at any moment. The problem might again be solved by force of arms.

SMALL FRY. Closer to home, the Berlin problem to which the Security Council returned on Friday spotlighted the dilemmas of the U.N. "small fry." Already up to their necks in America's "stop communism" crusade, they were alarmed by deepening internal conflicts and by the prospect of expendability in a war between the titans.

Efforts of the Security Council's "neutral six" (Argentina, Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, Syria) to find a face-saving device both for Russia and the western occupiers of Germany had borne no fruit up to the start of Friday's meeting. Argentina's Bramuglia, Security Council chairman for the Berlin session, opened the debate urging continued direct negotiation between the powers concerned. The West agreed to try it; Andrei Y. Vishinsky of the U.S.S.R. called it a trick. The U.S. needed seven votes to pass a resolution against Russia, and was far from sure of getting them.

WHAT DID LENIN SAY? At one point in the preceding word-battles in Paris, Vishinsky pointed out that Faris El-Khoury of Syria was asleep, and France's Alexandre Parodi had to nudge him back to consciousness. The debates showed the gulf between Russia and the Anglo-Americans yawning wider than ever.

The United States and British delegates Warren R. Austin and Sir Hartley Shawcross pointed to Lenin's works to show that Communism's Holy Writ implied "a mad but calculated plan" (in Gov. Dewey's similar words at Louisville) to wreck civilization by war. Russia's Jacob A. Malik snorted that they should read Lenin more carefully; their arguments came from "the arsenals of Trotsky and Goebbels." His fellow-delegate Vishinsky said that, on the contrary, "war . . . is a kind of public or social development of capitalism." He added: "We want cooperation with capitalist countries. . . . We can sit at the same table as we did during the war."

Nor could the Russians agree with Shawcross that "one little word — Stop" from Moscow would halt activities of the Left in France, Italy, Greece, China, Iran, Indonesia and Malaya. These movements, said Malik, consist of patriots fighting for freedom; it was "a lie and a slander" to say they were controlled by Moscow.

Atomic Peace

WHILE discussing disarmament, the U.S. continued to bristle and wave her atomic bomb in the air. Two Air Force colonels produced blueprints for a "super atomic blitz" featuring "strategic results of population destruction in urban areas."

To this bonbon for members of "populations," war-leader Churchill added whipped cream by declaiming that only the atom bomb stood between Europe and "subjugation to communist tyranny." The Archbishop of York added official Christian sanction to rearmament against "aggressive totalitarianism."

Among the "expendable" nations in the U.S. grand Continued in wide column on next page.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Lidice in the Year 1948 A. D.

LIDICE SHE came steadily up the slope to the height where we waited beside the half-built new houses and the barracks of the Youth Brigade. Then she was on the windy summit, her black, wavy hair blowing over a face that might have been any comely country-woman's face—reserved, intelligent, pleasant, but holding depths in her eyes into which I dared not gaze for fear of their memories.

She was Helena Leflerova, mayor of the new Lidice, chosen by the votes of the women who had returned.

This is the one town of the whole world where only women are voting, for it is the town where all the men were slain. Because Hitler's deputy assassin, Reinhardt Heydrich, was killed by a bomb, the Nazis killed all the men of Lidice, gassed the children to death and took the women away as slaves. Lidice, the world re-

members Lidice! Can it be that you have forgotten?

Mayor Helena was a bride of 21 at that time. Her husband and father were killed at once, and her little sister gassed later. She was one of the 143 women and 16 children who came back. They found no trace of Lidice.

"They dynamited the buildings," she said, "dug up the graveyard to take fillings from dead men's teeth, then covered the rubble with earth and plowed it. So that the memory of Lidice should perish, they sought out and killed our men who had gone to other cities."

THE rebuilding of Lidice goes slowly. All Czechoslovakia has rebuilding to do, and only 250 of the 200,000 youths who gave free time this summer worked in Lidice. Twenty houses are nearly done. There will be 200.

"Some visitors from America

who came here," said Mayor Helena, "were surprised that it is so little rebuilt. They said much money was collected in America to build it. I don't know who collected it, but none of it came here."

"So you did everything yourselves?" I asked.

"Not everything. The Red Army took up a collection for that memorial with the great cross and flowers; they built it a little to one side, for they did not know just where the town was."

The monument is a tall cross of plain wood, on a square of grass bordered by a hedge and flowers. I asked Mayor Helena what was the curious circle ringing the intersection of the cross.

"That is the crown of thorns," she said.

"And the Russians did that?"

"Yes," she nodded. "The men of the Red Army made it when they freed our land."

THE WORLD

They Can't Eat Tommyguns

The Dilemma of the Marshall Plan

TURKS, Italians, Englishmen—even the Chinese—like to eat.

They read about billion-dollar U.S. handouts, but don't do enough eating. From there stem the dilemmas of Secretary Marshall and his Planners—some of whom say the Plan is to fight hunger, some to fight communism.

The Plan looks to those on the receiving end like a new way of killing people with kindness.

- In some famine-ridden provinces of Turkey (getting \$69,000,000 in 1948-9), peasants are dying of hunger. Living costs have risen 500% since the war.

- In hungry Italy (\$621,000,000), faced with mass factory layoffs and with peasants still waiting for big estates to be broken up, workers threaten a general strike unless they get more chow.

- In England (\$1,545,000,000), economic czar Cripps hopes that by 1952 the living standards "will show some improvement on the rather meager standards of today, which are hardly as high as in wartime." Food Minister Strachey has removed export controls from wedding cake and lemons; the people's food would leave Americans eternally hungry, and they have no money to buy clothes.

- In Chiang Kai-shek's China (\$6,192,498,223 received since the war), millions starve; prices rose 2,000% in six months.

- In France (\$1,312,000,000), people spend 80% of their wages on food, and are hungry; coalminers are on strike.

- In Greece (\$212,000,000), years of increasing misery have brought the peasants to despair. Even women and children

who protest are herded into stinking jails.

- In Germany (\$2,000,000,000 so far this year), Gen. Clay "found no-one hungry" in a tour of the Ruhr, Hitler's industrial arsenal which the U.S. is building up again. Elsewhere the people, crowded into ruins and holes, are half-starving in



the grip of the Black Market—"an elite industry since currency reform," reports U.S. News.

GRAVY TRAIN. A few of the very rich in these countries are getting richer. But in general not even the business and property interests are happy.

They are stymied by U.S. opposition to trade with Eastern Europe—a trade vital to their economies, now being stolen from under their noses by comparatively independent Switzerland and Sweden. Shipping men in Norway, whose Merchant Marine is her life-blood, kick because U.S. bottoms must carry 50% of ECA (Marshall Plan) shipments. Turkish tobacco, 70% of whose crop is left to rot because ECA tobacco floods the markets, are involved in a newly-formed Turkish right-wing party to oppose the Marshall Plan. U.S. wheat shipments "embarrass" German millers. Pertinax, spokesman for French conservatives, opposes the conditions of U.S. aid as "fundamentally unhealthy." All are worried sick by the prospect of further inflation in the U.S. bringing down with a bang the purchase value of Marshall Plan doles.

So the people over there still

ask: "When do we eat?" They can't fry up tommyguns for Sunday dinner.

BIG STICK. "Most of the experts," as columnist Stewart Alsop said the other day, "are still convinced that the Russians do not want to fight." But under the new military pact between the U.S. and Western Europe, as reported in the Wall St. Journal, from \$4,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000 worth of military lend-lease is to cross the Atlantic.

England's defense bill is already nearly \$3,000,000,000 this year. She must pay and remove from productive industry the men to go with her new presents from Uncle Sam. Any such increase in defense expenditure will, says Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., mean "chaos nearly as great as that of any war."

How many more billions will go to China, where those spent so far have only brought Chiang to the edge of disaster, the next U.S. administration must decide.



BY LAMPLIGHT. Pledged to "stamp out communism," the Republicrats are — by helping the corrupt Chinese, Spanish and Greek regimes and being kind to Buchenwald lampshade-makers — creating ten Communists for every one Chiang, Franco or King Paul can kill.

By reviving German heavy industry under the same Nazis who ran it for Hitler, they are scaring the daylight out of Germany's western neighbors and driving her eastern ones more than ever into Russia's arms.

By talking about "our frontier on the Pyrenees" as they woo Franco, they are giving insomnia to the "expendable" French, Dutch and Belgians, who would rather not have to be "liberated" again.

England and Japan are viewed as western and eastern "unsinkable aircraft carriers" in our strategy. Says a Japanese commentator: "A Russo-American war would result very probably in virtual extinction of the Japanese race." Says a British columnist: "The Americans will pay for our funerals."

Greatest dilemmas of all may be here at home. On top of the bill for rearming western Europe, a \$15,000,000,000 rearmament program is projected for the U.S. in 1949. To put it over "might" require renewed wartime controls over labor and industry, says Defense Secretary Forrestal.

It's getting harder to hide from the people that the Marshall Plan has failed on the peace level. The \$64 question for a Republicrat President next month will be how to make Americans foot an even more fabulous bill than hitherto, for a policy leading to "the war to end war" — universal suicide.

—CEDRIC BELFRAGE
(Figures for 1948-9 U.S. aid are as published in the conservative Paris newspaper Le Monde.)

THE WEEK'S NEWS

Continued from preceding page.

strategy, France showed herself most nervous of what it implies. Through the week the delegates of her shaky, unrepresentative government — menaced by a labor crisis and De Gaulle's threats to seize power — sought a "gradual and balanced" formula to end the disarmament deadlock.

Romance in Spain

OUR NEW ALLY. A new shadow had been thrown over UN deliberations by the American courtship of Spanish dictator Franco, whose violent overthrow of "Bolshevism" (i.e., Spain's democratically-elected Republican government) with Hitler's and Mussolini's aid lifted the curtain on World War II.

Last week Franco repeated what he said when he was Hitler's fighting ally: "If the Communist hordes pass through Berlin, 1,000,000 Spaniards must fight." The Allies did not heed his words then, he added; now they recognized the danger, and he was happier.

As Paris buzzed with speculations about a "deal" between Spanish monarchists and Socialist Indalecio Prieto [see Charles Duff, page 3], Franco "observers" were lobbying ardently for their Caudillo in UN anterooms, passing gay evenings as guests of the Argentine delegation. Secretary Marshall, less concerned about the public smell of Franco than about the need for U.S. bases behind the Pyrenees, had issued a feeler statement that UN's blackballing of Franco in 1946 was outdated. There were no cheers, and Marshall was using four pro-Franco Latin American nations to front for him.

It was clear that Franco would need a lot of catsup before the British and French publics would swallow the rancid titbit. In the U.S., the machinery for reaching a "Gentleman's Agreement" would have to be cleansed of the filings thrown in by a Madrid ecclesiastic last month, in a censorship report on the film of that name, which recalled the murderous anti-Semitism of Hitler. The film was banned because, said Franco's censor, the Christian duty to "stimulate love" should not extend to Jews. The report was promptly assailed by Cardinal Spellman.

ARAB IDYLL. Sen. Chan Gurney of South Dakota, Republican spokesman for Army brass, acted as chief matchmaker with Franco, and was followed to Madrid by a wave of Democrats — first ex-Postmaster Gen. Farley, then five Southern polltax Congressmen. Gurney came to Franco's sanctum hot from a visit with Saudi Arabia's King Ibn Saud, who wants the Arab Julius Streicher, Mufti Haj El-Husseini, to rule in Palestine. "I love him," said Gurney of Ibn Saud, partner with Standard Oil in its chief Middle Eastern colony.

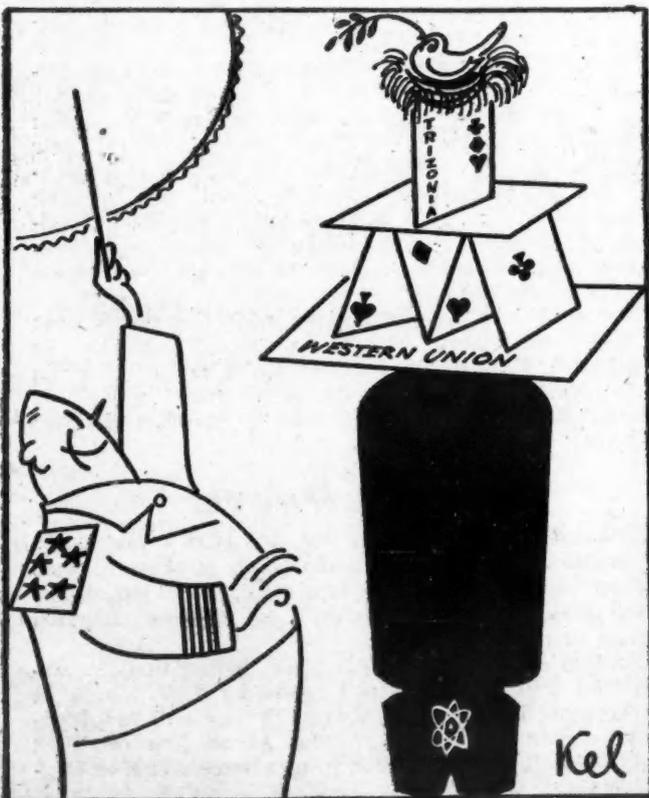
Gurney's stopover in Araby recalled a never-revealed incident of three winters ago, when Soviet Moslem leaders including the Muftis [religious leaders] of Kazakhstan and Moscow made a pilgrimage to Mecca. Received by Ibn Saud, they were told that the Jews were every Moslem's enemy and should be so treated in the U.S.S.R.

"That is hardly possible," said the pilgrims tactfully. "Under our constitution any racial or religious discrimination is a crime."

Greece and China

S.O.S. — E.R.P.! King Paul of Greece and Chiang Kai-shek of China were signalling wildly last week for even bigger U.S. handouts to "stop communism." Chiang denied that the port of Chefoo had been lost, but said that Sian, Taiyuan and Suchow in central and eastern China were threatened by huge People's armies. A decisive battle was to be expected soon. Meanwhile Chiang piled ashes on his head, publicly apologizing for his failures against the "Communist bandits wearing the masks of Chinese."

In Greece, a 150,000-strong Royalist army with 400 U.S. officers and modern equipment could not cope with a guerrilla force of 25,000 at most. This was clear from President Truman's own report to Congress, in which the Greek aid program was, nevertheless, declared a success. Gen. Markos' "Free Greeks" had virtual run of southern and central Greece. Insiders felt that Paul and Chiang were piling on the agony thick to make a good touch with Uncle Sam, but there was no doubt their prospects were dim.



Who Said Vaudeville Was Dead?

THE WEEK'S NEWS

Continued from preceding page.

ing this week, will review the action of the Illinois State Electoral Board in banning the party from the ballot. A spot on the Georgia ballot was assured; status in West Virginia and Nebraska was in doubt.

Wallace took to the air on Thursday, told his listeners: "In the next few weeks I hope to make it abundantly clear to my fellow-Americans that peace is within our grasp, if we stand up and fight for it."

Wallace will be on national hookups almost daily during the campaign's home stretch. Last week there was noted an extraordinary gain in Wallace's Hooper rating: from 4.4 to 5.1 between the first two broadcasts of his Monday night series. That rates Wallace on a par in radio popularity with Lowell Thomas and Ed Murrow.

Round the Nation

LESS AND LESS. Business was good last week but businessmen were beginning to worry. Americans were buying less, spending more, saving less. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. warned banks of "exceptionally large numbers" of business failures.

Department stores reported that goods, particularly luxury items, weren't moving off the shelves at quite the same rate any more. [See Dollar-Stretcher, page 8.] Mail order houses complained too.

First signs of unemployment were seen in the shoe industry as production was cut way back, workmen fired or forced to take a cut in hours per week. The United Mine Workers, facing up to a tougher industrial situation at their convention, emphasized the need for a seven-hour day, 35-hour week to make sure the work goes round.

NO LADIES INVITED. War preparations went ahead with bi-partisan unity. By Dec. 1, a full-scale mobilization plan will be completed by the National Security Resources Board. It will provide for press and radio censorship, food rationing, allocation of materials for industry, wage freezing, labor draft, transportation requisition. Gallantly the war mobilizers declined to consider drafting women, feeling such a move would be "against American tradition."

The war boom seemed more inviting to big business than war itself. U. S. News (the GUARDIAN of Big Business), announced brightly: "There isn't going to be a war now, and maybe not for a long time. . . . If only people knew it, they could settle back and enjoy a few months of repose before the next set of problems bursts on the country."

Witches Riding High

COURTS, boards and legislatures rode to the hunt last week. As some citizens took cover, others stood trial, others stayed in prison, joining America's lengthening list of political prisoners.

In New York 11 men and a woman faced trial, charged with an overt act, but with holding to a belief and seeking under the Constitution to spread that belief. For that offense they face 10 years' imprisonment. The prisoners are the twelve leaders of the American Communist Party. While pickets ringed the court house, defense attorneys argued for dismissal of the case. Decision was postponed to Nov. 1.

One of these 12 faced yet another prison sentence when the U. S. Court of Appeals ruled last week that Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Party, was guilty of contempt of Congress. Dennis had refused to answer a subpoena from the House Unamerican Activities Committee. His reason: The Committee was unconstitutional. In reply ex-America Firster Judge Bennett Champ Clark fumed:

"Dennis was not content with denouncing the late Theodore Bilbo and the late Eugene Talmadge but went on to denounce the former Attorney-General of the United States, the late A. Mitchell Palmer [notorious American witch hunter of post World War I days] and also the present and respected head of the FBI of the United States [J. Edgar Hoover.]" Dennis will appeal.

PIN BALLS FIRST. Board members of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee last week waited for a decision on review of their convictions, while the Supreme Court

Continued in wide column on next page.

THE EGG AND US . . .

TO BE assaulted by eggs is not so grave as a lynching. To be threatened for a few days is not so grave as to live a lifetime in terror.

As a matter of fact, to be assaulted by eggs is not a new thing in my family. My great grandfather, James Howell White, a Methodist minister in Ohio, was treated similarly. He took it with dignity I try to emulate.

What angered his opponents was his stand on slavery. James White was an abolitionist: not a Sunday abolitionist who confined his principles to his pulpit, but a weekday one as well who helped actively to construct a successful underground railroad in his part of the country. A mob of those who sympathized with the slaveholders or who were paid by them gathered and hurled eggs at his house. His wife, so our family story goes, wanted to wash the eggstains from the windows, but James White would not hear of it. Said he: "Those stains can be washed away only by the rains of Heaven."

It was that same Grandfather White who was approached by an official in the Methodist Church saying to him: "Brother White, if you don't leave the slavery issue alone, it will blow you sky high."

Said James White: "Brother Drummond, if the Methodist Church doesn't get right on the slavery issue, it will be blown hell low."

I CAME back from the South with a deep conviction. It is this: So long as the brotherhood of Man is denied in any part of our land, all of our nation is in danger. Where a man's kinship with his fellow

man is disowned because of color, there is the weakness that can undo us. There are the reserves of hate that can be manipulated against any of us, against all of us. There is the spiritual arsenal of fascism.

And I have learned another

I know that we cannot dismiss the persecution of others and say that it is not so serious because it isn't in our city or in our state or on our side of a mythical Mason-Dixon line.

Such mythical boundary lines create dangerous precedents. Some may say that what hap-



They came to jeer at Henry Wallace's message.

thing: Time is short. I used to think that the ancient cure-all, time, could handle segregation and all its attendant ills—that slow progress was being made. But now I know that time is running out. I have seen hate, generated by prejudice over the years, now coming to power. That is fascism menacing our own nation.

There is a tendency—and I have felt it myself—to think that hate may flourish in one part of our country and not infect the entire country. But I know now that fascism spreads like rot.

pens north of 110th Street is not the concern of the rest of New York City, or what happens on the North Side is not the concern of the rest of Chicago. We must get over the dangerous habit of erecting ghettos in our thinking. Fascism in America, anywhere in America, is a day-by-day, hour-by-hour threat to all of us.

THE people I saw in the South were good people. The great majority of them were ready to listen to our story. When I saw them, black and white together, I felt a great pride in them. And for the others, the ones who came not to listen not to debate, but to throw eggs and jeer and provoke violence—for those I have the utmost compassion.

In their lives have been sown hatred and fear. And now that hatred and fear are being used by master wire-pullers for base political ends. To the politician in the company towns this is merely another trick in a backyard game.

We Americans have always been a people who mistrust



"My God, my wife!"

They're Dum

* Insurance companies through their U. S. government bond recent months they have worth. Banks too have joined \$50,000,000 worth during Jul

Prime objective of the drive not only on government bond profit for the money lender must pay the increased rate other borrowings. The Federal taxes, rises more than \$1,000,000 rate goes up by one half of

The drive to jack up interest somely accommodated by the lowered a rise in August and Reserve Board is now working to a yet another rise. The companies is designed to put a raton—Democrat or Republic

NATION

THE WEEK'S NEWS

... by Henry A. Wallace

Continued from preceding page.

men in politics. We expect corruption in our officials. The genial political boss is a cynical symbol in our folklore.

But when machine politicians play the game not with the usual petty graft but with the explosive of human hates and fears—then it is clear that we must no longer tolerate them. When they groom hooligans and nurture violence, then they can no longer be regarded as buffoons. They must be recognized and dealt with as fascists and the makers of fascists.

For how else can fascism come except from these three elements: a reservoir of hate that denies the brotherhood of Man; a leadership which manipulates that hate; and a

Why else did the police of Durham, N. C., arrest not the hoodlums but one of their victims—a man of our party who was gashed repeatedly by one of the young boys, the idlers who gathered under the forlorn banner of the Confederacy? Why, if they were not so ordered by the men in power, did the police take into custody a young man still bleeding from his wounds and sanction by their unconcern those who had wounded him?

FOR myself, I know that what I had to endure was nothing compared to the daily lot of thousands of Americans who, because of their skin, are the special target of the haters and those who profit by hate and division.

There is only one conclusion to be reached. If we don't get right on the simple issue of the brotherhood of Man, of decent living within our house, we will assuredly be blown hell low.

We must hew to such a line, in whatever we do, whatever we write or say or speak or think. It is not enough to say that Americans are free people who will never endure fascism, that Americans are peaceful folk who will not abide another war for profit.

That is true, but it is also true that, by and large, our Southern citizens do not approve of the egg-throwers—and yet in their cities there were egg-throwers. I know that among the crowds there were many, very many who in their hearts were with us. I pray that Americans will not succumb first to apathy and then to what Mark Twain has called



Wallace refused to eat at Jim Crow restaurants. He took his meals out of a basket.

the "conscience-soothing falsities" of the war makers.

The deceptions which other men may seek to practice upon us are powerless unless we also deceive ourselves into silence. And self-deception, in this atomic age, leads not to the comfort of illusion but to annihilation.



He came to applaud.

population tolerant of those who profit by hatred?

In my swing through the South, I saw all of these elements at work. I saw the people, the good people, who came from the bare, unpainted shacks of the countryside. I saw those obsessed by hatred and I could detect the hands which reached from behind the scenes to fling one poverty-stricken American against another.

Want to Be a Reporter?

Where will you be on Election Night? Will you listen in to the returns with your neighbors in a cross-roads store; around the television set in a big-city bar; at the Harvard Club; on a train; in a trade union hall? Wherever you plan to be, so long as it's with other people, we'd like to make you a special GUARDIAN correspondent for the night. Send us a couple of paragraphs on where you were; the kind of people who were there and how they received the election news. Quote them where you can. Mail your stories to us on Wednesday morning to meet our deadline.

Dumping U.S. Bonds

ies throughout the nation are dumping bonds in unprecedented quantities. In have unloaded more than \$3,000,000,000 joined the selling spree. They cashed in ng July, August and September.

the dumping is to jack up interest rates at bonds but all loans. The result is clear lenders, clear loss to the public which ed rates on their home mortgages and Federal debt, which must be paid by \$1,000,000,000 a year every time the interest alf of one per cent.

up interest rates has already been hand- by the Truman administration which al- t and again in September. The Federal working with the Treasury Dept. to nego- The current campaign of the insurance to put pressure on the incoming adminis- Republican—to keep up the collaboration.



"But, your honor, Hse Koch was no Nazi—she was just a premature anti-Communist."

ruled with swift, sure decision on pinball machines and Varga girls. The 11 are charged with refusing to make public the names of refugees from Franco whom they helped.

In New York John Santo, CIO Transport Workers Union organizer and World War II veteran, was charged with being a Communist and ordered deported to Hungary. Santo has tried 24 times, as soldier and civilian, to become an American citizen. He will appeal.

TERROR IN COLORADO. In Denver U. S. District Judge J. Foster Symes turned to Arthur Bary and said: "State the names and addresses of all members of each particular club, cell or subdivision of the Communist Party of Colorado."

When Bary, chairman of the Colorado Communist Party, refused, he was thrown into jail to be held there indefinitely or until he complies. Jailed with him was another Communist Party leader, Paul Kleinbord. Trial by jury has been denied both. Also jailed are Jane Rogers, Nancy Wertheimer and Irving Blau, who took the legal recourse of refusing to answer incriminating questions. Their appeals come up this week.

SO UNFRIENDLY. Not even friendly witnesses were safe. Whittaker Chambers was being sued by Alger Hiss; Elizabeth Bentley by William Remington; and ex-Communist George Hewitt was arrested, charged with perjury by the very same "little Dies Committee" (in Seattle) which had used him as their own witness. Others kept their fingers crossed.

Legless veteran James Kutcher of Newark, N. J. was denied his job with the Veterans Administration on suspicion of disloyalty. Kutcher, a member of the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyite), vigorously protested that his group was not Communist but anti-Communist. Loyalty Boards care little about such distinctions.

Labor's Week

HOUSE DIVIDED. At the week-end CIO rank-and-file rights were on trial. The defendant was the Greater New York Industrial Union Council. Plaintiff, judge and jury were national CIO officials.

The dispute, brewing a long time, grew out of the attempt by CIO's national chiefs to compel all local councils to accept Truman and the Marshall Plan and to oppose Wallace. The N. Y. Council held that it could not enforce such a program on its member unions. Instead, it held that each union had the right to decide for itself.

The trial was held behind closed doors. Council representatives were limited by ruling of the trial board. Those remaining were roughed up, some evicted. The decision will be handed down on Nov. 17, nine days before the CIO convention.

NO HOLDS BARRED. While labor fought within its house, outside it, the Taft-Hartley axe was wielded. Here were the casualties:

The International Typographical Union (AFL), was held by Federal Court to be in contempt because its contract called for a closed shop.

The Store Employees Union (CIO), was fined \$750 for one picket line against Oppenheim Collins in New York. A second picket line brought a \$20,000 fine and jail sentences for six officers. Sentence was suspended provided picketing was stopped. Pickets were withdrawn pending higher court appeals.

Elsewhere employers dispensed with the law and used clubs. In California helmeted deputy sheriffs smashed picket lines and convoyed scabs in an effort to break a strike of the Oil Workers International Union. Four strikers were hurt; two others jailed.

In Washington Rep. Hartley, co-author of the Taft-Hartley law, threatened to cite 40 union leaders for contempt of Congress. Hartley, retiring this fall, plans an exit in a blaze of headlines.

Also in Washington officials of telephone unions were talking strike after five months of futile bargaining.

Hartley has their names. They have Hartley's number.

Do You Have 4 Friends? See Page 12.

The Dollar Stretcher

The White Market in Gadgets

HOUSEHOLD gadgetry is getting hard to sell. Dealers in radios, washers, and appliances are being pushed out their front doors by overstock. The old days of the schlepperman, or puller-in, are coming back. You can buy almost all the household wonders of the postwar world at from 15 to 25 per cent off, if you tell the dealer you have the cash in your stash and go up and down Appliance Row making your money talk. The big corporations don't like it, but the dealer has to do it.

The corporations are retaliating with "Fair Trade" price-fixing laws such as New York's Feld-Crawford on-again, off-again Act, and by withholding orders from retailers who are trying to compete for the dwindling consumer mazuma.

There's an injunction request now pending against Manhattan appliance dealers to restrain them from selling Philco products below the manufacturer's dictated prices. General Electric wants another court order against one, Monarch-Saphin, to cover its line. The respondent in the first suit claims Monarch sold a Philco television set for \$352, or \$71 less than Feld-Crawford scale. Ain't that awful. Television might escape from the barrooms if this goes on.

The white marketeers are retaliating with old black market strategy. To guard against corporation snoops, one dealer demands photo-identification cards from customers before he will sell under price. Others are reviving the old trade-in gag, by which they discount new merchandise against your old gadget, and then pay a junk man to take your used machine out of their sight.

There are a couple of ways the consumer can get in on this unexpected bonanza.

THROUGH YOUR UNION OR LODGE. Many unions and organizations have deals with retailers to give members special prices. If not, have a committee appointed to dicker with merchants: it's good business for them to tie up group patronage.

THROUGH YOUR EMPLOYER. Some large employers have setups by which employees can buy electrical appliances and other goods at discount. If not, suggest it to the boss.

DO IT YOURSELF. Don't be too shy to mention money to a shopkeeper: it's increasingly good form. Offer him your continued patronage in return for cutting the list price. You'll be surprised how many stores will agree.

Discounts of 15 to 25 per cent are the usual thing with the white marketeers, although items in short supply, such as refrigerators, pop-up toasters, mixing machines, big-screen television sets, some brands of washers and pedigreed silverware, are still hard-priced.

DRIVE A HARD BARGAIN ON WATCHES. The market is flooded with good Swiss chronographs from war surplus.

COTTON RUGS THE YEAR ROUND. Wool rugs, already out of sight for most people, are going up still more. Room-size cotton-and-fibre rugs are now coming in for around \$40. They're neat, durable and easier to clean.

BUYS IN CHINAWARE. This week dinnerware makers notified dealers of a price rise. One intelligent manufacturer took the occasion to announce his prices would remain as is: he is shortening his profit and asking dealers to do the same. This is the widely-sold Lu-Ray pastel line. Woolworth is also a good spot for china.

SOAP OPERA. In addition to supporting radio bathos, the soap manufacturers are making giant mailings of cut-rate coupons. The best way to buy soap is by weight: the floating brands have been pumped full of air at the expense of the soap content. They also have a lot of moisture. Buy milled soap, which is pressed solid. Department store sales, generally in November and February, offer dozen-bar boxes of milled soap. It's crafty to grab a lot of soap at sales and unwrap it for storage. Dry soap lasts longer.

If you absolutely have to have floating soap buy surplus Navy life jackets for each cake.

Snoek Snack

In England they are saying "Have a snoek?" All too often the reply is "No, thank you. I've had one."

With the simultaneous disappearance of England's stock of canned salmon and American dollars, the previously little-known South African fish, the snoek, is being offered in cans as a substitute. It is the Food Ministry which is politely holding out the can-opener. And

the consumer, according to the London Daily Express, is valiantly pretending to have had enough. No burps, of course, since neither blitzes nor austerity have been able to shock the public of Britain into rudeness. But in spite of Parliamentary praise, the snoek is still unloved.

One grocer reports that, after having snoek on his shelves several months, he fed the last of it to his cat.

Food Prices Are Down, But the Cost Of Living Is Still Sky High—Why?

January 1948 high
\$3.18 per bushel



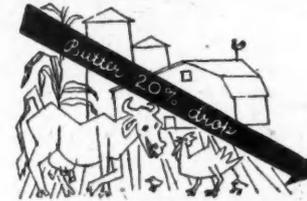
October 1948 low
\$2.25 per bushel

January 1948 high
\$2.84 per bushel



October 1948 low
\$1.60 per bushel

January 1948 high
92c per pound



October 1948 low
65c per pound

THE steep declines in wholesale food prices shown in the charts at the left might lead you to expect that the store prices of bread, butter and corn ought to be going down instead of up.

But don't jump at conclusions.

Take bread, for example. The wheat in a 20 cent loaf of bread costs only three cents. Thus a drop of one-third in the price of wheat alone would reduce the price of bread at the very most by one cent.

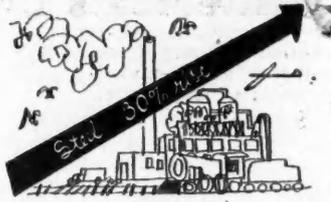
The factors determining the rest of the price of a loaf of bread, over and above the wheat costs, are the costs of processing, packaging and distribution plus, of course, the yen for profit upon which free enterprise feeds.

When we get to figuring what keeps these other factors high, the upswinging charts at the right show what is at the bottom of it all.

It's a long, involved story—the story of how the high price of steel and metals, and the shortages of them created by a peacetime war program, work to inflate food prices. We won't try to tell it here.

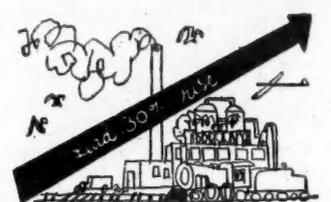
But anyway, don't build your hopes on declining farm prices lowering the cost of living until you see a decline in prices of basic stuffs like steel. And don't look for a decline in steel prices while the war-machine builders are in the saddle.

October 1948 high
\$58.24 per gross ton
(billets at Pittsburgh)



January 1948 low
\$45 per gross ton

October 1948 high
19 1/2c per pound



January 1948 low
15c per pound

October 1948 high
15 1/2c per pound



January 1948 low
10 1/2c per pound

Maybe We All Should Switch to Pumpernickel

WITH virtually no attendant publicity, the big U. S. flour and baking interests voluntarily informed the Food and Drug Administration in Washington this month that a bleaching agent, "agene", used for the last 25 years in processing white flour, is potentially injurious to humans and is actually death on dogs, cats and other animals.

The occasion for the revelation was an application by the millers and bakers to switch from agene to chlorine dioxide, another bleaching agent said to be harmless.

Agene is nitrogen trichloride. It first came into use about 1921. Two years ago it was found to be the cause of fatal "running fits" among dogs which have been fed bread.

Like Epilepsy

Agene first came into use in 1921 as an agent to make marketable white bread out of inferior, low-protein flour. In 1946 it was discovered to be the cause of the "running fits" in dogs. Subsequently experiments have found it injurious to cats, rabbits, rats, ferrets and even monkeys. Similarity of the illness to human epilepsy has led to experiments indicating that agene may cause subtle, cumulative injury to human nerves.

The substitute bleaching agent proposed by the millers will probably receive the O.K. of the Food and Drug Administration. The switch will prob-

ably take from six months to a year to complete. How 140,000,000 Americans will weather the switch from agene to chlorine dioxide-enriched bread remains to be seen. Anyway, your dog will be a lot better off.

Bread eaters themselves will be better off buying bread made from unbleached or whole rye or wheat flour. So-called "enriched" flour is really a commodity from which some 26 vitamins have been removed before it is ultimately "enriched" by the adding of six.

Bark, Don't Bite

NATIONAL GUARDIAN'S globe-trotting James Dugan (no kin to the Dugan Bros. bakers) calls U.S. white bread "the worst punk known on the globe" and claims that Andes bark-eaters derive more vitamins from their staff of life than we do from ours. He terms U.S. white bread a "pusher"—not a pusher for mopping up brown gravy but a pusher for sales of such niceties as butter, jelly, sandwich spreads, toasters and grills.

He frets about U.S. "enriched" flour being substituted under the Marshall Plan for Europe's diet of whole grain rye and pumpernickel. This stuff, he asserts from no mean experience as an international trencherman, is really bread! Best bet for his money this side of the Atlantic is any good Sicilian-American bakery, where, he says, the padrone

Crying Corner

Stay out of crowds, keep away from lodge meetings, cancel your order at the corner newstand, go home and lock the door and keep the radio turned off. Or else get ready for a good cry because the landlords of the land are out to tell their sad story again—in a bigger way. Meetings in Los Angeles last week, the National Apartment House Owners Assn. has decided to launch a nation-wide "repeal rent control" campaign, using newspaper ads, radio broadcasts and public speakers.

will bake you custom-made loaves from whatever mixture of flour you decide on. This, he says, is bread — with a crust on it!



BETTER LIVING

EDUCATION

The Book-Burners Invade America's Class Rooms

In municipal City College, New York, early this month, students staged all-night sit-downs in school corridors. They demanded the removal of two instructors, one of them accused in a City Council resolution of exercising anti-Semitism in college classes. The instructors still hold their jobs.

Also in New York, the Board of Education affirmed a ban on the magazine *The Nation* in public school libraries and classrooms because it ran articles disputing the position of the Roman Catholic church in medicine, science and education.

In this stifling academic atmosphere the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions called a conference this month in Manhattan to discuss threats to academic freedom in America. More than 200 educators, from nearly every college and university in the East, took part.

Attacks at Peak

Dr. Kirtley Mather, Professor of Geology at Harvard, was the keynote speaker. Others leading discussions were Dr. Ira Reid of Haverford College; Dr. Harlow Shapley, world famous astronomer of Harvard Observatory; historian Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, Dr. John De Boers of the University of Illinois.

Dr. Mather sized the situation up this way:

"Education for democracy is endangered in America today by more serious attacks than at any other time in the history of our country."

● Book-bannings and censorship of publications were reported in New York, California, Alabama, New Jersey, Wyoming and Washington, D. C.

● Throughout the country the drive against education was manifested in persecution of teachers for alleged political convictions, as well as for standing up to school boards on matters of straight teaching and citizenship.

● In Buffalo, high school teacher Eleanor Dushane was fired for posting an announcement of a lecture by Dr. Max Lerner, educator and editorial writer for the Newspaper PM (now the N. Y. Star).

● In New York, Dr. Lyman Bradley was fired from his New York University job for defying the House Un-American Committee.

● In Michigan, Prof. T. Barton Akeley and his wife, college librarian, were fired by Olivet College for "ultra-liberalism." General Motors stands accused of ordering an end to the University of Michigan's Workers Education Service, a program



Will their future be free?

supported by the United Automobile Workers, CIO.

● In Indiana, Dr. George Parker, instructor of Bible and philosophy at Evansville College, was removed for chairing a Wallace meeting.

● Other victims include: Prof. James Barfoot, University of Georgia, Progressive Party candidate for governor; Prof. Luther E. McNair of Vermont State Teachers College; Richard G. Morgan, Ohio State University; and six faculty members of the University of Washington.

The full extent of victimiza-

tion, "silencing" and outright discipline and dismissal of "liberal" teachers cannot be determined, since most cases are hushed up or endured by the victims without protest for fear of further persecution. Dr. De Boers of Illinois asserts there have been thousands of cases.

Helpless victims in any assault on academic freedoms are the students, who are deprived of facts and outlooks essential to citizenship in a democracy and understanding in a changing world.

Ultimate sufferer from any repression is, of course, our nation itself.

Cotton-Patch Charlie Says

T'OTHER night I was making a speech at Lilbourn, Missouri. Lilbourn is a little Planter's Village (owned and operated by the planters). I was speaking on how to force the County to Build a school in those districts, where there are as many as 900 Negro Children without a school Building—such as the Wyatt Community where last year they held School in one side of a "HONKEY TONK" with only a thin petition through the Building, the teachers tryin to teach on one side with the Juke Box and the honking tonking going on the other.

I was just getin warmed up in blastin these conditions, when one of the brothers crept up to me, and whispered to me, "There's a Planter's PIGEON in the House". I cooled a little, then decided how I would put this Pigeon on the Spot.

So I says, "Sisters and brothers; I have just been told that a very distinguished Jentmun is in the House, a Man who knows more about how to get things done for us than any Man in the County, a Man who has led the way in getin many of the things that we now enjoy. I refer to no other than Andrew Beanhead of our New Madrid County."

This came as a Thunderbolt to this Pigeon, so he got up and came to the Rostrum, Eyes out on a stem like a Crawfish, and gobs of sweat rollin down his face and neck. And after stumblin and blunderin through some kind of a speech, he bowed to the folks and went back to his seat, as I led the people in loud aplauds. After about two minutes this Pigeon got up and crept kind of sickly from the Buildin. He had just begin to realize what had actually happened to him. He had been maneuvered into the position of makin the Keynote Speech, and therefore couldnt tell the boss about the meetin without getin himself messed up in it. So feeling kind of safe now, I gets warmed up again, and goes back to blastin at the situation.

Some of these days these stool Pigeons will find themselves like old man Jep Jackson, age 90, as he leaned on his walking Cane and peeped through the bushes at two beautiful Girls bathin in a Creek (in a secluded spot) in the Nude.

"Lawd, Lawd," says Uncle Jep, I feel so unnesecary."



See Page 12.

RELIGION

Should the Church Go Back Where It Came From?

By Guy Emery Shieler

AN eminent counsel to the U. S. Steel Corp. is "profoundly shocked" by the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam, for its rejection of the ideologies of both communism and capitalism. He is Nathan L. Miller, a former Governor of New York.

Even the adjective "laissez-faire" before the word "capitalism" is "not definitive," he said. It will not "correct the misunderstandings or undo the harm caused by the report."

Scolding the churchmen for their impertinence, he added that if we are getting too materialistic, "it may be because those whose sacred mission it

is to minister to man's spiritual needs are devoting themselves to temporal affairs instead."

Robert W. Johnson of the Johnson & Johnson Co., New Brunswick, N. J., assailed the denunciation of capitalism as "irresponsible." These are fairly typical American reactions to the Disorder of Society section (Charles P. Taft, chairman) of the report. Represented at the Assembly were 142 communions and 48 countries.

Periodic Pressure

The statement condemning both capitalism and communism as inadequate was not world-shattering. But it caused heightened blood-pressures as churchmen's gatherings have

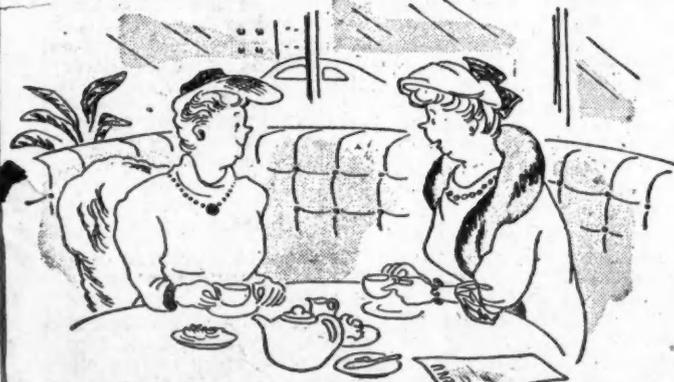
a habit of doing when — and only when—they criticise the social order and demand betterment.

Every clergyman who has sought to apply the basic principles of his religion to the social order has long been familiar with these objections. They were hurled at the Old Testament prophets. One Assembly report, stating that too many laymen look upon the church as "a place for the satisfaction of a religious need isolated from everyday realities," declared this "a flat contradiction" of the fact that Christianity "demands expression in all realms of living."

This same other-worldly concept of Christianity, so long characteristic of the Russian church, came out ahead of the Amsterdam meeting in a decision of the Pan-Orthodox Conference in Moscow. That conference decided not to be represented at the World Council assembly, because the ecumenical movement (church cooperation) "pursues mostly political and not religious aims."

No Flames There

Many Protestants have been critical of the Assembly for not facing up forthrightly to acute world problems. Dr. P. O. Bersell, president of the Augustana Lutheran Church, who was a delegate from America at Amsterdam and a member of the Central Committee, is an illustration. The Assembly indicated



"I always vote the opposite of my husband so I can cancel his ballot."

DR. GUY EMERY SHIELER is editor of *The Churchman*, the oldest church publication in America. He was the leader of the U. S. ministers' delegation to Yugoslavia last year, which caused a storm by reporting that "complete freedom of religious worship" exists in that country.

OTHER PEOPLE'S LIVES

Characters

Dropped by Mrs. Carolyn Hagner Shaw from her 1949 "Social List of Washington": the name of Henry A. Wallace. "Many a prominent social career," said Mrs. Shaw, "has been ruined and even international incidents have been brought about by lack of knowledge of who sits 'above or below the salt'."

Modern girls' experience is "sufficient to tarnish their delicacy and freshness but insufficient to protect them against the blandishments and hypocrisies of seducers," said Pope Pius in a plea for "irreproachable" boarding houses, etc., for young ladies.

"I lost control of myself," pleaded Filippo Don Francesco, 31, at Hastings, England. He was sent to jail for three months for pulling off his wife's clothes in the kitchen and throwing bones at her.



Two thousand mourners, gathered at a Richland Center, Wis., mortuary to hear the funeral oration and read the prepared obituary on Enoch Jewel, 86, veterinarian, got a lecture on matrimonial woes. "A man that is married," said the obituary, "is seen on Saturday nights . . . purchasing food for his dear ones with only one suspender on." Author of the obit and reciter of the oration: Enoch Jewel. He wrote and recorded them five years ago.

"This is long enough," wrote Lucas Villaluz Rodriguez of Matanzas, Cuba, before hanging himself. He was 103.

"Why not go by plane?" said author Oliver La Farge to Florence Begay, 17, Navajo schoolgirl and Sarah Lawrence College scholarship winner. Miss Begay had returned home to Flagstaff, Ariz., from Texas, after being ordered into the Jim Crow section of a bus en route to the college.



Cries of "Turn him around so we can see him!" rang through a Tokyo department store at the opening of National Newspaper Week exhibition. Target for the voracious cameramen: the sacred person of Emperor Hirohito.

Norman Mailer

A Credo for the Living

I MUST admit that I enjoy this opportunity to write a word or two about my own politics. In the thirties it was common enough for authors to send out a barrage of credos and counter-credos, but today—because, perhaps, this is a period of less hope and greater concentration—the tendency has been to pool our efforts in the Progressive Party, and to leave the refinements, the definitions-of-position, to those authors who have deserted the Left to create political parties of three or four members.

A long sentence, the above. My apologies.

Now my own politics, naturally, have a certain relation to *The Naked and the Dead*.

THE Naked and the Dead was a parable. It was a parable about the movement of men through history, and how history operates; and specifically it was a novel about America's destiny and the historical paths America was to follow after the war. (I was a very ambitious young man at the time I wrote it). It was not a bitter book. It tried to explore the outrageous proportions of cause and effect, of effort and recompense, in a sick society, and in that sense it is a book with a certain grim humor. Its function was not to seek for affirmations, but meanings, and for that reason perhaps it has been called a novel without hope.

I think actually it is a novel with a great deal of hope. It finds man corrupted, confused to the point of helplessness, but it also finds that there are limits beyond which man cannot be pushed, and it finds that even in man's corruption and sickness there are yearnings and inarticulate strivings for a better world, a life with more dignity.

I have written these words about "hope," because hope moves people politically. Although I do not think that "hope" has anything to do with the merits of a novel, I think it has a great deal to do with an author's political activity or lack of it.

Thus, with a delay or two, we come to the credo. I suppose that politically I am an ignorant Marxist. I mean by that a confession that I cannot in all honesty call myself a Marxist when I have read so few of the basic works of Marxist theory. But politically in terms of specific objectives, of specific legislation and specific projects, I am in agreement with a great many tenets of the left. To focus it more finely I might say that I feel myself to the left of the Progressive Party and to the right of the Communist Party.

I HAVE come to this station by way of certain basic assumptions. I feel, and this is most directly important, that the need today is to approach "issues and questions"—those ponderous words which are the bane of all leftist writing—with an attitude that problems are complex, and their solutions are complex. Out of the swirl and the honey which has been

strewn over the Soviet Union, it is rarely stated that the USSR is an immense country, and that evaluations of it must be as many-faceted and various as evaluations of the United States.

A book which saw America through a Negro chain-gang in Georgia, or from a night club on 52d Street or from a peaceful farm in Iowa, would be hardly a definitive work on the United States. By the same token almost every approach to the USSR has been that lim-



ited and that special. It is my diffident opinion that Russia is neither Arcadia nor a black police-state in which every man slaughters his brother. It is an immense nation with wonderful things and bad things, and it is a state which like all states is in the midst of an historical process, and is moving and changing.

But when the last war ended, it was not Russia which sought to take over Europe by force. It was the United States. A deep revolutionary movement that was spontaneous and natural, and came to being out of the miseries and lessons of the Second World War, was created in Western Europe. Communism was the answer for Western Europe, and it would have been a more satisfactory answer than the mangle of present-day political life

there. We opposed it as a nation not because Communism in Europe would have been a threat to America's existence, but because it would have been a threat to the present economic organization of America.

It is perfectly ridiculous to assume that if Europe had gone Communist, Russia would have engaged in a war with us. Both Russia and the countries of Western Europe would have had their own crucial problems of reconstruction. It would have taken decades, as it may now take centuries, to have restored those countries to healthy productive societies. In the process America would have been influenced by what was occurring in Europe, might gradually and peacefully have oriented itself toward socialism.

That would have meant the end of the present ruling society in America. And in the instinctive appreciation of a dangerous problem that ruling societies always exhibit, the campaign to identify the Soviet Union with the worst ogres of a nightmare was begun. Its success was a reflection of the neurosis of America.

America is in a moral wilderness today, torn between a Christian ethic now enfeebled, a Capitalist ethic, and a new sexual ethic whose essence is sadistic. When one contemplates the staggering frustrations and animosities of American life, I think there is hope to be found in the fact that there is resistance, and that there is a political party, the Progressive Party, which will poll millions of votes, millions of protests, against the campaign to make America fascist in preference to letting it move socialist.



NORMAN MAILER

MY HOPE for the future depends upon more than those millions of votes. It is heartening for us to remember that the economic rulers of America have their problems too. They have satisfied temporarily the spiritual frustration of America life by feeding Americans upon anti-Russian hysteria. But hatred, except in rare cases, is only a temporary food. The basic problems of Americans, the spiritual problems, remain unsolved, and there is no way short of fascism or war for the present ruling groups to solve those problems.

There is resistance to fascism, and there is resistance to war. I think it is childish of us to assume that it is impossible for Americans to move toward the Progressive Party. History is filled with waves and counter-waves. My hope and my belief in America is that unlike Germany there will be more and more resistance created as we move closer to the solution of the fascism and war that the reactionaries will present us.

In the meantime I will act politically for those things in which I believe. If it will take courage so much the better. We shall all find our courage. The beauty in man is that under the press of circumstances he develops what he must possess.

... And the People Left the Land

"BOSS, you've told us before to git off your land. Well, Boss, we're gittin'."

With these farewell words to Dixie, a tide of people is flowing northward every day across the segregation line. It is an exodus that started in the war years, and now again it is reaching flood proportions.

Two reasons lie behind it. Here is how Owen Whitfield, preacher, cotton-picker, one-time sharecropper and CIO organizer, reported it last week from the "underground South" where he is GUARDIAN's correspondent.

"When Strom Thurmond of the Dixiecrats raised the stars and bars, the Negroes of the South saw in him a Jeff Davis and in Wallace they saw a Lincoln. If it should come to a fight, the Negroes want to be on the side of freedom.

"After they threw eggs at Wallace, I listened to the talk outside the church. The people used the words of Christ: 'If they do this to a green tree, what will they do to a dry one?' What they meant was: If they egg a former



Vice President of the U.S., what will they do to a Negro?"

The tide is borne not on the streamliners from Miami but on the dusty locals that take their passengers from Southern whistle stops to Detroit, Gary, Flint, Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Columbus. It is in these cities that the wave breaks in full strength.

Knowledge of the Northern housing situation is common throughout the South. Letters from relatives who have gone before describe households where 18 people live in one room. It makes no difference. In the hills of the South, houses stand empty—unwanted.

These people do not flee unemployment. Planters in the rich cottonfields of Arkansas go begging for pickers though they offer the highest rates in history—\$5 a hundredweight. A man can earn \$10 in a 12-hour day during the two- to three-month season.

That is peak prosperity for cotton-belt workers. But there are few takers.

Supporting Whitfield's firsthand report are these statistics: Negro population of Detroit's Willow Run area rose 47% over the 1942 figure, Chicago's 18.5%, Cincinnati's 11.6%.

Not only north but west the tide rolls. Los Angeles Negroes rose 78.2%, Seattle's 86.8%. In 1940 there were 458,000 Negroes in New York; today there are 700,000.

Whitfield summed up: "Some who left the South will come back, but sharecropping is over. And we who stick it out won't go back to the days when all a black man could do when the white folks were through, was to pick up his dead."

LEISURE

COMICS

Li'l Abner Shmoos Inflation

FAR and away the most popular comic strip in America is Li'l Abner, which has flourished for the last 15 years in an Ozarkian setting called Dogpatch, peopled with scraggly, half-clad foragers whose supreme delights are "presarved" turnips and infrequent "po'k" chops.

Recently, with an apparent eye on the current all-American problem of making both ends meet, inventive cartoonist Al Capp's underfed Dogpatch suddenly found itself overrun with ingratiating droves of fat little critturs called shmooon (singular: shmoo).

Savory, ham-shaped animals with rapturous smiles on their faces, Al Capp's happy hamsters are now by way of solving all of Dogpatch's economic problems and also those of a not-so-mythical surrounding U.S.A.

Butter and Eggs

The shmoo, it appears, is not only succulent but when even looked at hungrily, expires of sheer joy. Fried shmoo tastes like chicken (all white meat). Broiled, it's steak. Roasted, it tops po'k chops. And prior to its happy ending, the shmoo lays grade A eggs, yields bottled milk and brick butter, Reynolds-wrapped. Finally, as the serviceable finale of its obliging career, its eyes make fine pants buttons and its hide covers a multitude of uses from shingles to shoe leather. Also, the shmoo can multiply far more rapidly than man can use him up, and what's more, he loves it.

Already the shmoo has had a revolutionary effect on the economy of Dogpatch and its environs. In Dogpatch itself, the once-usurious storekeeper, Soft-Hearted John, has gone out of business.



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well-clothed, well-housed and no longer available at the once sound and tested rate of \$3 a week of seven 16-hour days.

Last Saturday, Oct. 16 (which was National Sweetest Day in case you failed to observe it), a national organization devoted to spreading sweetness if not light proclaimed Al Capp's shmoo as "Sweetest Creature of the Year."

On Guard!

But despite such national acclaim, Al Capp's all-purpose, trust-busting, die-for-dear-old-

Elsewhere, distracted capitalists have been taking the sadder way out. "From Natchez to Mobile, from Memphis to St. Joe, wherever the four winds blow," distraught pork-trust, egg-trust and milk-trust tycoons have been jumping out of windows, flat broke. Industrialists who used to come to down-trodden Dogpatch looking for cheap labor now find their labor supply well-fed,

BERLIN—An airborne battalion of American shmooon dropped from the skies over this blockaded city this week in the form of 100 balloons with the shape and features of cartoonist Al Capp's popular U.S. comic strip animal characters.

Anybody capturing one of the shmooon can get a CARE package by returning the shmoo to the 17th Air Force.

Dogpatch shmoo was nevertheless viewed with serious alarm in some very high circles.

Those two sentinels for publisher Henry Luce's American Century, Life and Time, the Weekly Newsmagazine, fired simultaneous salvos at Al Capp's all-providing shmoo.

Warily speculating on the possible Marxist - Leninist - Stalinist effect of the shmoo let loose on the world outside of Dogpatch, Time fretted for two columns before coming to the self-comforting conclusion that "A vigorous capitalism has nothing to fear from plenty; not even from plenty of shmooon."

Life capped a full-page spread on Al Capp's good (and free) provider with this observation:

"Readers waited fascinated but uneasy for the bubble to burst and for Soft-Hearted John to get back in the saddle again."

However, at United Features Syndicate Li'l Abner's publishers gave little thought to the prospect of Al Capp's shmooon one day forcing them to jump out windows. Instead, United Features hastened to sign up Li'l Abner for a new ten-year contract. JOHN T. McMANUS



For many a baseball fan the 1948 World Series was the most rewarding ever, for reasons dramatized particularly in the fourth game, won by the Cleveland Indians on the way to their Series victory over the Boston Braves for the 1948 baseball championship. A home run by Centerfielder Larry Doby, one of Cleveland's two Negro stars, won the game. How the winning Cleveland pitcher, Steve Gromek, responded to his teammate's winning clout is evidenced by the above photo, which may well be hailed by all but Dixiecrats as the Sports Picture of the New Era.

SPORTS

Racing Fans Unite! You Have Nothing to Lose But Your Change

AT SWANK Belmont track on Long Island, with the unbeatable Citation about to run for the \$100,000 Sysonby Handicap against a field of acknowledged also-rans, the management announced that no "show" bets would be accepted. This decision was aimed at the wise money which was fixing to play Citation ultra safely for show, with a guarantee of almost the same return per dollar as he might pay to win at the extremely low odds. If every wise guy backed the favorite for a safe third place, the track might have been forced into a "minus pool," meaning that the management would have to dig into its own pocket to pay off.

When the "no show bets" announcement blared over the loudspeaker, an angry murmur broke out among the 60,000 racing fans in the stands. Then, in gathering unison, the murmur turned into an articulate mass protest:

"Don't bet! ... Don't bet!" This group determination—heck, let's call it a mass boycott—caught on so widely among the hard-boiled horse players that the great Citation won the Sysonby with less money riding on him than in any of his victories since he started racing.



ON GET-AWAY (closing) Day at the Atlantic City race track this month the starting gate failed to open for a 3-2 favorite and the horse, with \$70,000 bet on him, never got in the running.

Track officials eyed their take on a wagered-and-lost \$70,000 and declared the luckless horse "left at the post," paying out all the money bet on the race, less track percentage, state and city levies, etc., to holders of tickets on the horses finishing one-two-three.

Incensed at not even getting a run for their \$70,000, the irate holders of tickets on the frustrated favorite stormed over fences and barriers and out on the track, refusing to let the next race start until the track management came across.

Faced with this demonstration—heck, let's call it a mass picket line—the track refunded the \$70,000 to the picketing ticket-holders out of its own managerial pocket.

BOOKS

Every Day Is Ladies Day With Liz

MAYBE you ought to think twice before handing over Elizabeth Hawes' Anything But Love (Rinehart, \$2.75), to your teen-age daughter without a certain amount of preparation—even though it presumably has been written for her.

But as for you—and you—it might not be a bad idea to sit down with a copy of Miss Hawes' latest gay exposé and try its theses on yourself, for size and fit.

"Liz" Hawes—a svelte stack of energy and enterprise who designs slick clothes and has written Fashion Is Spinach, Men Can Take It and Why Women Cry in addition to newspapering and building B-29s during the war—tees off this time on what she contends custom, usage and the predatory women's magazines are doing to the destiny of America's females.

Unless something is done about it, Miss Hawes argues, the cosmetic, home-furnishings and fashion crowd will have succeeded in eliminating every other incentive for U.S. women except the profit-building pursuit of the devoted male.

Miss Hawes is bitter about the U.S. family's supine acceptance of the heresy that all

a woman is good for is to home-make for some man. On the way to her conclusions, she illuminates quite acidly, with statistics, the extent to which folks generally—and females in particular—have fallen for this line. In the 277 pages, sex rears its intriguing head quite frankly and frequently, and there are other recompenses, too, if you'll just be patient while the statistics have the floor.

Originally, Liz Hawes says—away back in antiquity—women used to rule the roost until men ceased to worship fertility and decided to make a business out of it. Then women, like the fields and domestic animals, began to be fenced in and men have never since lost the upper hand in the battle of the sexes.

But, she says, the industrial revolution started the pendulum the other way. Machines can be handled as handily by women as men: "... the power loom and the typewriter accomplished [for women] what centuries of feminist agitation had failed to do. ...

"Some day this age will be known, not as that of stratospheric flights or atom bombs, but as the age of the emancipation of women."

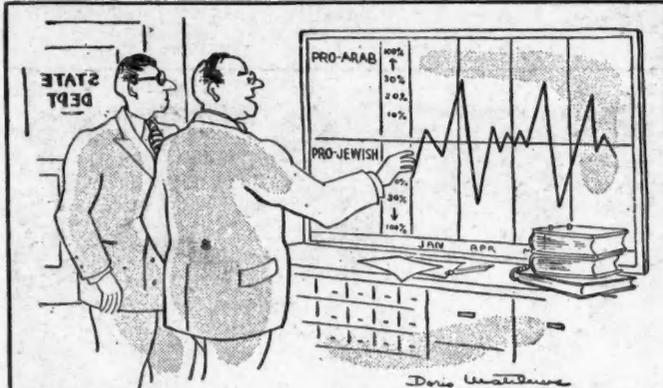
Furthermore, she concludes



ELIZABETH HAWES

(or an astute Dr. Minority in the text concludes for her): "In this age of mechanical convenience, rapid transportation, and easy communication, running a home and raising children is not enough as a life profession for an intelligent woman."

So step out, girls, when you're 12 or even earlier, and start freeing yourself from the shibboleths and fences and face-paintings which society now imposes on you (Liz advises). You'll feel freer for it now—and much, much more so when you're 35. —J. T. M.



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James Dugan

How to Build A Dewey

THE making of Thomas E. Dewey is a triumph of American know-how and mechanical ingenuity. For ten long years a team of inventors worked to produce the successful Dewey of today. These five Yankee tinkers, Jaekle, Lockwood, Brownell, Hagerty and Bell, started out in a little tobacco-stained courtroom with nothing but a youthful ambition and a baritone voice. By sheer pluck and determination they licked the obstacles; today they can point with pride to a Dewey as characteristically American as a 50-cent slot machine.

Every schoolboy knows the trials our great inventors have had to overcome. When they picked Dewey the eyes looked straight at them, and when they lifted an arm Dewey repeated uncanny little mottoes on crime and communism.



Preparing Dewey for public exhibition in 1938, the inventors resisted impulses to fix Dewey to whistle like a choo-choo and play a tin banjo; but they did put in a coin slot, and trained the hands to hold a pitchfork. Unfortunately, the voters heard the gears grinding inside. And right in the middle of the test Dewey sprang a gasket and ratchets and vacuum tubes started falling out.

THE patient inventors took Dewey back to the shop for rebuilding. They added a bigger mustache. They took apart an automatic milking machine and successfully installed its principles in Dewey. In 1940 they tightened all the bolts and took Dewey to the Republican Con-

In our Preview Issue the accompanying story appeared on the reverse side of the page containing our charter subscription blanks. Hundreds of charter subscribers protested bitterly at having to tear up this story in order to send in their subscription orders. Consequently we are reprinting the story herewith, intact, by popular demand and suitably placed for easy clipping out and mailing to your grouchy Republicrat uncle.

vention. Darned if Dewey didn't overheat and fill up with carbon! The Gallup Poll sampled millions of human beings and Dewey was re-styled to resemble the average of them all. The inventors wisely decided not to risk Dewey in the war. By then there was too much money sunk in the project. If Dewey didn't pay off, a lot of big investors were going to be plenty sore.

In 1942 a vastly improved Dewey was entered in the New York gubernatorial contest, trying for Guber of New York State. Motor noise had been virtually eliminated and Dewey—tested in wind tunnels and artificial frost chambers—operated successfully without visible wires to the control board.

Dewey worked perfectly at the 1944 G.O.P. convention and had to be oiled only twice. But even after Dewey had won the nomination, the inventors did not allow themselves to become cocky. Dewey was up against pretty tough odds; Dewey had to run against a man. That Man won.

BY 1948 a decade of work and millions of dollars had gone into Dewey. People in the know at Albany were whispering about what was going on in the Executive Manse late at

JAMES DUGAN, a native of Altoona, Pa., went to Penn State before it became "a football college." A reformed movie and jazz reviewer, he served 41 months in the Army in Europe. He was a staff correspondent for Yank in London, where he met a Minnesota Wac who became Mrs. Dugan.

night as the inventors prepared Dewey for the final test. A specialist, John Foster Dulles, was called in to install a foreign policy. Representatives of the anxious stockholders called to see the finishing touches. Only a few people knew what the inventors were actually attempting; they were trying to give Dewey a heart! It was a last desperate gamble, but the inventors coolly calculated that it was all that stood between Dewey and the White House, and the risk had to be taken.

In Philadelphia the careworn inventors watched Dewey perform without a hitch. Dewey



walked, talked, turned television dials, gestured, poured coffee with a steady hand. And all the time the brown eyes stared in perfect alignment. The nomination came off with well-oiled smoothness, the oil being provided by Mr. Pew of the Sun Oil Company, one of the original investors. Dewey went back to the hotel unaided.

A group of happy inventors and backers sat in the hotel suite, marveling at Dewey, while outside a great crowd of mechanical enthusiasts had gathered, shouting to see Dewey. The inventors swear there was nobody at the controls when Dewey suddenly started on well-carved feet for the balcony. Dewey smiled at the people. The rich voice said with excellent volume and not a hint of static, I AM SORRY TO HAVE KEPT YOU WAITING. PERHAPS YOU WILL FORGIVE ME WHEN I TELL YOU WHY. I WAS PUTTING THHROUGH A LONG DISTANCE CALL TO MY MOTHER IN OWOSSO.

The heart had worked!

<p>1 Name..... Street No..... City..... Zone.... State..... 1 year [] 13 weeks []</p>	<p>3 Name..... Street No..... City..... Zone.... State..... 1 year [] 13 weeks []</p>
<p>2 Name..... Street No..... City..... Zone.... State..... 1 year [] 13 weeks []</p>	<p>4 Name..... Street No..... City..... Zone.... State..... 1 year [] 13 weeks []</p>

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