

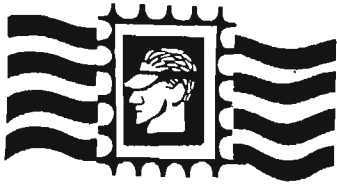
The American Liberal



CORE In The Negro Uprising

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

- ANTI-COMMUNISM
- MISALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS
- MEDICARE VS. THE SWEDISH SYSTEM



Corresponding with the Editor

A Democrat Opposes Utt

I am the Democratic candidate for Congress in the 35th Congressional District, opposing incumbent James B. Utt.

It has been brought to my attention that the September issue of your magazine contains an article discussing Utt's alleged support of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft, a neo-Nazi organization.

I would appreciate it very much if you would send to me a reprint of this article, or a copy of the issue in which it was published. I would also appreciate being advised of whatever verifications and their sources which you might have in this matter. Such information may prove to be good ammunition in the fight to replace this man in Congress.

—BURTON SHAMSKY

Solano Beach, Calif.

• There's no "alleged" about it; Utt wired his best wishes for the Sudeten German Day, 1960, and this was reported in German newspapers. A better election issue, however, is Utt's introduction of a bill to prevent deportation of Andrija Artukovic, chief Nazi in Croatia, whose decrees were responsible for the deaths of thousands of Serbs, Croats and Jews.

—Editor

Helping NTS—in Different Ways

The major purpose of our little organization here, DIRECT ACTION, is to raise dollars for the NTS [he spells it out "Narodno Trudovoi Soiuz," but the U.S. State Department report uses as the authority by WIP has it "Natsional 'no-Trudovoi Soyuz"—Editor].

I wanted to point out that having NTS attacked by the likes of you is very helpful to our cause.

It's the attacks from the Right, accusing NTS of being infiltrated, or of being socialistic, too sympathetic to "rebel" Communists like Evtushenko, etc., that make our work more difficult.

—DON MACDONALD, President
Direct Action

Box 268
Forest Hills, N.Y.

• It's a favorite gimmick of right-wing fanatics these days to make appeals to respectability by stating that they themselves are being attacked as too socialistic and soft on communism. But it is difficult to see how a fascist organization such as NTS, whose official publication recommends Adolf Hitler's Mein Kampf as the guide for social action, would win that accusation from anyone.

—Editor

A Sudeten German's Hope

I am a born Sudeten German with first-hand knowledge of the Sudeten German people. The tragedy about Sudetenland started when the American President Wilson, in spite of his great concern for self-determination of all nations, ignored the wishes of the three million Sudeten Germans and handed them over to the Czechs.

Please let me correct you on one point concerning the number of Sudeten Germans allowed to remain in their old homeland after the second world war. According to the decree by the late Czech President Benes in 1945, only 100,000 Sudeten Germans out of 3,000,000 were given permission to stay.

I wish to point out that before the German Nazi Soldatesca overran Czechoslovakia, an awful lot of provocation and discriminatory measures on the side of the Czech majority against the Sudeten German minority occurred, with the Czechs holding large anti-German rallies, shouting and screaming hate-inspired slogans and songs. Isolated violence against the Sudeten German population was reported; some I myself was witnessing on more than one occasion. The Sudeten Germans in retaliation held their massive provocative demonstrations in quite military fashion with their gray and black uniforms marching through streets decorated with Nazi Germany swastika flags and demanding secession from Czechoslovakia and annexation to the Reich, not having the slightest idea about the enormous mess that was awaiting them during and after the second world war.

Sudetenland is a beautiful little country where I have spent my childhood and the happiest years of my life. I am dreaming of returning there one day. I predict that the Germans and Czechs can live alongside in harmony in the not too distant future under one roof called the European Federation or The United States of Europe.

—ALBERT JURA

Milwaukee, Wis.

A Minister Approves

It would be much better to use your new title and stick to it. Another change, backward or forward, is not going to do you any good.

In the meantime be assured that the stand you take on many important issues, particularly in the hysteria of meaningless anti-communism, and your attacks on the self-appointed protectors of reaction, are appreciated. Some day I shall express myself somewhat more critically of some of the language you use, but this can wait.

—REV. R. M. BENNETT

Toronto, Canada

Waterway of the World's Future

At last I've got round to reading your paper. In extenuation—but not excuse—let me admit my 80 years. It was your question about changing your paper's name that really put the bite on me because I am strangely of the opinion it should be changed. As a name "The Californian" is small, it is cramped. One of the titles you suggested I should be most happy to see on your masthead—"The Pacific Monthly."

In college I studied geography under Prof. Torr. He told us the Pacific was the waterway of the world's future, and history is bearing him out.

I see your sponsors contribute on an average about \$5 a month. Enclosed please find check for \$50. Next year I will send another \$50 if you need it.

—HARRIET W. PATTERSON

Rochester, N. Y.

• WIP shares Harriet Patterson's feelings and The Pacific magazine will be published half along the lines she suggested and half along the lines set forth in the October issue of The American Liberal if the World Peace Convention idea materializes and there is sufficient support.

—Editor

If More Were Like Her . . .

In an effort to get others interested in this magazine, I always give my copy to someone interested in some article, or to someone who does not know the magazine—or, lacking this, I leave it in a public place where magazines are placed for the convenience of the customer (such as a launderette), hoping that someone will see it and become a subscriber.

—SUDIE MAI HODNETTE

San Francisco, Calif.

The Liberal is Everywhere

While visiting Fallon, Nevada this month, I found your magazine in a little magazine shop (I have never seen such a magazine around Reno). If I had not seen that word liberal, I would not have picked it off the shelf. I believe too many humanists (at least you sound like humanists) mask unintentionally their views under not too earth-shaking words. I think the public should be hit in the eye with their views.

I will say that this is the first magazine in many years that I have read from "kiver to kiver."

—BERKELEY W. BLACK

Reno, Nevada

• Who you calling a humanist?

—Editor

Students are Attracted

Your mogozine in its new form has attracted the interest of many of my fellow college students, especially your articles on American Nationalism. Don't waste your mogazine on petty California politics. On the national scene it provides stimulating contrasts to our textbooks, and isn't the nationwide audience more important than that of one state?

—WALTER E. NEELY

Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Pa.

Back to Third Grade

Re my verse scheduled to come out in the October American Liberal: it should read Francis Scott Key, not Keyes.

—WILLIAM MATHES

San Francisco, Calif.

• The editor is preparing to sit in during the history and spelling hours of the local third grade elementary school class. — Editor

Which Newspaper Do You Read?

Here is some material for your next "Which newspaper do you read" column. It concerns two articles which both appeared on July 30, one in the San Francisco Chronicle, the other in the Examiner. The articles each dealt with the fact that Dwight Eisenhower arrived in Stockholm on July 29, at which time he apologized to the Swedes for—and on this point lies the discrepancy.

The Examiner stated that he apologized "far once 'wrongly criticizing' Sweden's social security conditions." But the Chronicle reported that it was for "linking Scandinavian-type socialism to suicide and drunkenness" that Eisenhower apologized. The Chronicle also added that he had made this analogy in 1960 (while still in office, of course, and therefore the number one spokesman for the people of our country) upon reading an article in an American magazine.

The Examiner, however, neglected to mention any of this and instead went on to report that Eisenhower was met by "thousands of cheering Swedes" (while the Chronicle stated that only 2,000 Swedes were present, making the total thousands, naturally) and that "the 71-year-old American 'statesman' then 'charmed' the Swedes at a news conference."

There is no doubt in my mind that Eisenhower is no more—and probably less—of a statesman than the local newsboy, but how he could "charm" anyone but an imbecile at a news conference is beyond belief. I wish all your readers would buy a copy of Dwight Eisenhower Speaks! from you and see for themselves!

—ROCKY LEPLIN

San Mateo, Calif.

Foreign Correspondent

We fling in your teeth a challenge (since we note the addition of "Staff" names):

You haven't guts sufficient to include after typographers: "Tiger Tucker, Foreign Correspondent for Texas."

—TIGER TUCKER

Expensive Real Estate Appraiser

Houston, Texas

• Oh, yes, we do. Typographers: Tiger Tucker, Foreign Correspondent for Texas, biggest state except for Alaska.

—Editor

A Different 'Featherbedding'

I read with interest your issue of the May Californian and, in particular, the article on "Featherbedding in Hospitals."

It seems to me that this article for the most part is composed of half-truths and information taken out of context, which indicates that either the author did not intend to present the full case or only the portions of the case which tended to prove his point. I think that you might consider writing an article on "Featherbedding" and cover in it the areas of waste in time and money to the county that is a result of the malingering by patients at the San Francisco County Hospital. There is as much or more "Featherbedding" existing in these hospitals than you present in your article.

I think an expose of these situations and conditions existing in the county medical facilities that allow patients to stay on long after they are cured of what illness brought them there, only because they are not willing to go to their respective homes, would enlighten your public, also, and perhaps be a more valid presentation of an evil existing in our society than the one you mentioned in the article in the May issue.

—EDWARD K. WACHSMAN

San Francisco, Calif.

Bring Back The Californian

You have apparently transferred the features for which I originally subscribed to The American Liberal (nee The Californian) to your new quarterly.

I found the October issue of the Liberal an empty, pathetic thing, and I will not buy two magazines for what I once found in one.

You have done yourself and your following a disservice.

—BERNARD REICH

Beverly Hills, Calif.

• Californians did themselves a disservice by not supporting The Californian as a regional publication and helping to make it grow. Not only has it been abandoned as a monthly, but now there will be no quarterly, either.

— Editor

\$5 for Peace

If the United States has the most freedom with the maximum opportunity for the individual to assert his initiative, then we should lead the world in the quest for peace. We should be able to have a people's movement for peace that would make other movements seem puny in comparison. I rise to your challenge of calling the bluff of all liberals, by sending you my check for \$5 to be used in furthering the efforts for a World Peace Convention.

— R. T. BARRETT

Clear TV

South Logona, Calif.

• Money is nice, but we need organization of local committees, World Peace Convention chapters in every community. How about it? —Editor

The Jefferson Quote

OK, let's get the record straight about the Jefferson quote ip. 26, cal. 2, Editor's note, July 1962 issue. I have before me what appears to be a photostatic copy of Jefferson's letter of Sept. 23, 1800, to Dr. Rush (I received the copy from John Latta, Oklahoma City, Okla., who knows how to get copies from the Library of Congress).

As the enclosed story in the April-May 1962 issue of Free Mind says, Jefferson wrote to Rush as follows: "... for I have sworn upon the altar of god eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man. . . ." Latta then commented to Free Mind: "It would seem that a deliberate falsification" of Jefferson's original meaning was made in about 1830 in the Randolph collection of Jefferson letters, in which the quotation is edited to read, "... altar of God, eternal hostility. . . ."

"What a difference a capital letter and a comma can make!" said Latta, who maintains that "god eternal" was an expression used by Deists (perhaps by agnostics and atheists as well) to soften the impact of their true beliefs about a deity.

If you took your version from Seldes' Great Quotations, then perhaps the editors of that volume should check the original Jefferson letter, too.

—LLOYD WILKIE

Managing Editor, Free Mind

American Humanist Association

Yellow Springs, Ohio

• It seems unimportant to me whether Jefferson was swearing to "god eternal" (photostat of the original letter) hostility to tyranny, or to "God, eternal hostility" to tyranny (Seldes' "Great Quotations"). The important point is that the fragmented quotation in the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D. C., turns an anti-clerical statement into a one hundred per cent religious statement. Jefferson's oath to god or God "against every form of tyranny over the mind of man" was directed at the clergy and organized religion; that is the important point. —Editor

A Right-Winger Talks Back

I am writing with regard to the series on American Nationalism, referring to article two. I did not see Article Number One, but I presume that it was in the same vein.

As an extreme right-wing nationalist, I never cease to be amazed at the lack of comprehension that the liberals and Commies show toward the right-wing Christian movement in this country and throughout the world. I should make it clear that I am not ashamed to be described as an ultra-right-winger. I support Bob Welch and his Birch Society, though I am a bit to the right of most Birchites. I am a hearty admirer of Generalissimo Franco, President Salazar and The Hon. Dr. Verwoerd of South Africa, who I believe is practicing racial separation in a very intelligent manner. I support the objectives of the O.A.S. and other ultra-right movements.

What I object to first of all is the assertion that I must therefore be a fascist. A fascist, as I define it, was an Italian patriot who rose to save his country from Bolshevist control, just as a Falangist was a Spanish nationalist who overthrew the Communist-minded Republic. Now, just because I admire these foreign patriots, does this mean that I am intent upon overthrowing the Republic and our system of government? I do not believe this is the case.

General Franco has found the best solution for the Spanish people, applying the Christian Social principles as espoused by many papas. America is a different country. We have our traditions, and our fundamental standards; therefore our solution to our pressing problems would necessarily differ from that of General Franco. Our solution must be in accord with the Constitution of the United States, which all conservatives and nationalists would die to defend.

We think that other countries should apply those principles which are in accord with their needs. As Americans, we like to believe that they could borrow from us, but as long as they do not choose to do so, is this any reason why we cannot respect those men who have led the way in the struggle against Communists and other forces contrary to Christianity and Western ideals.

I believe that we of the right have treated leftists in general much more fairly than we have been treated by the left-wing press. For example, although your journal agrees with the Communists on many points, I would consider it intellectually dishonest to call you "Communists". I would say that your journal is "ultra-lib", "left-oriented", "ultra-left" or that you follow the Communistic slant, but I would not go any further. Yet, such Christian men as James B. Utt must be branded as Fascists, when as far as I know, Mr. Utt is not an Italian patriot, but an American patriot.

Also, I am surprised that Freddy Schwarz should be put in with other nationalists. Among the hard-core right-wing, there is much hostility toward this Australian "doctor". For one thing, Doc Schwarz has continually brought ultra-liberal speakers to educate his people. I might mention both Thomas Dodd and Walter Judd. A look at their voting records would be enlightening to both conservatives and liberals. Senator Dodd

I believe has voted right-wing only 21 percent on the key issues facing our nation. Walter Judd voted for the Peace Corps, Cultural Exchange, the Disarmament Agency, the Agricultural Act and other ultra-liberal legislation. Therefore, until Fred Schwarz removes liberals such as Senator Dodd and Congressman Judd, we do not even believe that he deserves the title "conservative", and we do not give him our aid in any way. We also object to Schwarz when he points to the external danger of Communism, and fails to focus the attention of our people on the internal danger that we face from Communists and those tolerant of Communism. We feel that the "spoon-feeding", "tremble-knee" tactics of Doctor Schwarz are unworthy of our support, are insulting to an American public which wants the TRUTH, and the WHOLE TRUTH, from men who know what forces are hostile to the American Republic. The charge that Doctor Schwarz is "anti-semitic" (I presume you mention this, meaning "anti-Jewish") is, of course, absurd since Schwarz himself is Jewish, as is Barry Goldwater.

The long report on the German activity provokes this conclusion. Is there any reason why these Germans should not strive to regain German territory, and does the fact that they were at one time supporters of Adolf Hitler disqualify them from speaking out on matters of public concern? Does the fact that they supported Adolf Hitler mean that therefore any cause which they espouse is therefore evil and wicked? Are we to look upon these men as hostile to our country, or opposed to American interests? These are questions that occur to me as I read this well-documented piece.

The Californian always seemed to me reasonably fair, but I feel you have gone to extremes this time. You brand respectable men as "fascists", you refer to liberals as "nationalists and conservatives", and you go through the old German-hate that we have read so many times over. I hope I have helped to clarify a few of the points which came to my attention.

— D. B. DELANO

Fullerton, Calif.

Whiskey in Louisiana

In checking liquor prices, I discovered that whiskey is cheaper by the quart than by the gallon and cheaper by the fifth than by the quart. This was the case in the four or five brands that I checked. You might want to look into this in your area to see if it's only we poor southerners that are getting the business.

Thanks for keeping the Wolf(e)'s Den. But have you decided to drop the recommended reading section?

—RICHARD P. BROWN

Dept. of English and Speech
Louisiana State University
New Orleans, La.

• The section has not been dropped, but there has not been space for it lately. —Editor

Peace Pickets vs. the AEC

As one of the 75 pickets who spent all night on the 30th and final night of 19-year-old Derrel Myers' vigil in front of the Atomic Energy Commission building in Berkeley, I wish to report something which took place and, by design or oversight, has not been brought to the public's attention anywhere. I refer to an attempt by somebody in the AEC to provoke a riot through the use of 10 men who suddenly appeared in some official AEC cars shortly after midnight and left, having met a solid wall of non-violent resistance, in complete defeat.

At about 12:20 in the morning, three cars pulled up to our picket line and sleeping bags and blankets in the outside lobby of the AEC building, one equipped with a radio. Ten men gathered in a group in front of us, then went into the building. Inside were the usual night guards in uniforms, a plainclothesman who seemed to be in charge, and a Navy CPO in uniform who took pictures with a Lond camera every time a new person showed up for the vigil (the pictures were immediately developed and filed by a guard in a big notebook). Every night prior to this one, the only people inside the AEC were a couple of sleepy guards.

When the 10 men went inside, they were admitted without any badges or identification, and then were given official AEC badges. Much hand-shaking and backslapping took place inside and everybody was buddy-buddy. About five minutes after this, we were suddenly hit by a barrage of rotten eggs, which stained our clothes and our signs, smashed on the side of the building and inside the outside part of the AEC lobby (my little Volks, being parked directly in the line of fire, was splattered and stuck up with egg shells—peace shrapnel). We—and the AEC—called the Berkeley police; after conferring with the AEC officials inside, the police came out and asked us to move out of the lobby so that it could be hosed down and cleaned up. We complied, moving across the street with our signs, blankets and one eight-month-old baby.

After the janitor completed his work and left, we started to move back, only to be confronted with the 10 Kafka-like men standing shoulder to shoulder in the outside lobby. We shouted to each other on the picket line: "Do not be provoked. Keep moving. Keep the line going." After a few minutes of this, the Kafka men dispersed. I told the Berkeley police sergeant: "You have just witnessed an attempt by our government to provoke a riot; we were not provoked and it failed."

The police were there, seeing the whole thing, but photographing us; we asked them to photograph the men standing shoulder to shoulder, but they didn't. What apparently was planned was a riot to produce headlines such as "Beatniks Riot at AEC." Just like many of the AEC's bombs, it didn't go off.

—GEORGE KAUFFMAN
Berkeley, Calif.

The American Liberal

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The Wolf(e)'s Den

THERE IS STILL nothing further to report on plans for incorporation. The Commissioner of Corporations is tossing a great deal of red tape at us and we have to wade through all of this before we get anywhere. The lawyer handling the papers has said repeatedly that all we want to do is ask a simple question: *If* a corporation were formed, how many readers would subscribe to stock? But we still have to go through all of the red tape before even that question can be asked.

In the meantime, we need help: gift subscriptions, donations, solicitation of subscriptions from your friends. To those of you who keep suggesting that I make more personal appearances and cover more stories, I say: Why don't *you* do something to help instead of suggesting more things for me to do? I'm already working more hours than any sane man ought to work, and I have already made the appearances you keep suggesting. I have spoken before various church groups and other organizations, and on the following campuses: University of California (Berkeley), Stanford University, Los Angeles City College, San Jose State College, San Diego State College and Foothill College. I have appeared on radio stations KPFA (Berkeley) and KHJ (Los Angeles), and on both San Diego TV stations.

For those of you who say the whole thing is hopeless because of the blackout by news media, you might consider the fact that *The American Liberal* or *The Californian* has been written up, quoted or mentioned in the following newspapers and magazines: *San Francisco Examiner*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Chicago Sun-Times*, *Springfield (Mass.) Daily News*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Congressional Record*, *Reader's Digest*, and others. In addition, the magazine has been discussed more than once over the ABC and CBS networks. So, there isn't exactly a blackout.

There is apathy. Too many of you aren't willing to do anything to help; you just want to criticize. I was particularly distressed by the number of readers who became afraid because the name "American Liberal" was placed on the cover. What do you want me to do, hide my liberalism behind a girlie magazine cover? It may be that the word "liberal" is considered dirtier in this country than the content of the girlie magazines. But I hope to give it dignity and distinction.

In addition to continuing the tradition of muckraking, which was always a part of the American liberal movement, this magazine will offer immediate and forceful solutions to our problems and will work for the formation of a liberal party and a world peace convention. If you don't think these goals worth working for, then what do you think is worth working for?

How about more help from all of you?

'THE CONSERVATIVE'S BIBLE'

HERE ARE THE LATEST results of the name poll: 122 for *The American Liberal*, 49 for *The Californian*, 16 for *The Pacific Monthly*, and 37 for other names. In the latter category, four persons—completely independent of each other—suggested "The American Muckraker" (not necessary because liberal encompasses muckraker and the latter term is in even greater disrepute than liberal). Four persons suggested "The Western Independent" and three suggested "The California Liberal."

Among other names suggested (quotes eliminated for convenience) were: Brand X. Challenge. Conservative's Bible. The Obstinate Observer, The Pacific Anathema, The National Contrary, The American Recalcitrant, and The Observing Dissenter. The funniest name suggestion was: "The Left Wing Extremist." The one that topped them all and will end this whole thing was: "Confusion Compounded."

Plans for now are to concentrate on *The American Liberal*. For the time being we have abandoned *The Californian* quarterly completely; it will not be published as a quarterly, so if you subscribed and haven't already received your refund, write in for it. There is nothing to report yet on plans for the World Peace Convention and publication of *The Pacific*.

I greatly regret having to abandon *The Californian* completely. This state, the most populous in the nation (or anyway it soon will be), is in desperate need of independent news coverage and reform journalism. I spent 2½ years trying to convince people of that and to interest them in *The Californian*. There was never much help or support, and so I have stopped batting my head against the wall.

Let me hasten to amend the last sentence by thanking all of you who did work to make *The Californian* a success—not just those of you who donated money, but those who passed the magazine around and urged others to subscribe, induced libraries and universities to subscribe, wrote letters about and sent clippings from *The Californian* to other publications, sent in checks that covered postage for mailing of magazines when that wasn't even asked of you, sent in return envelopes to save our typing, volunteered your help around the office, and made a hundred other gestures which have made me rich for the experiences (and they really are worth more than money). It was not your fault that others were so apathetic.

THE INTEGRITY OF M. S. ARNONI

IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR I wrote to M. S. Arnoni, publisher of *The Minority of One*, requesting that he remove my "testimonial" from a promotion piece he was circulating. We were a long time coming to this. He once published an attack on me referring to me in a venomous manner as "Rabbi Wolfe." He wrote letters containing long tirades against me, Paul Krassner (editor of *The Realist*) and Lyle Stuart (editor of *The Independent*). He is now suing Krassner despite my repeated warnings that liberals must not fight among themselves. I feel very strongly about this because the liberal movement has been split too often by fanatics who insist on arguing among themselves instead of turning their

wrath against the conservatives. Menachem Arnoni has spent too much of his time attacking Paul Krassner, myself and other liberals.

At one time I was an Arnoni fan and said some glowing things about him. I felt sorry for him because of his concentration camp background, and I tried to help him in a number of ways. Now he has pushed me too far.

When I wrote to Arnoni in April asking him to remove my testimonial, he answered with another tirade and promised: "Since our supply of the reprint is rather low, and I am about to order a new reprint, you can rest assured that in the new edition your testimonial will *not* appear." In October, more than five months after he made this promise, Arnoni mailed out a new batch of reprints—still bearing my testimonial. Such is the integrity of M. S. Arnoni.

—BURTON H. WOLFE

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, JULY 2, 1946 AND JUNE 11, 1960 (74 STAT. 208) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION OF

THE AMERICAN LIBERAL—Published monthly at San Francisco, Calif. for Oct. 1, 1962.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher: Western Independent Publications, 1005 Market St., San Francisco, Calif., Editor: Burton H. Wolfe, 1005 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

Owner: Burton H. Wolfe, 1005 Market St., San Francisco, Calif.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the 12 months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required by the act of June 11, 1960 to be included in all statements regardless of frequency of issue.)—5,130.

Burton H. Wolfe, Editor and Publisher.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 5th day of October, 1962. (SEAL) Jay J. Herz.

My commission expires Nov. 10, 1964.

A REALIST VIEWS MIRACLE DRUGS

by TOM PEASE

Miracle drugs, so the papers say,
Grow more effectual every day;
Sickness gives way to vaccine and pill—
Yet such a lot of my friends are ill!

Miracle drugs, so the papers tell,
Cure the diseased and make sick men well;
Surely the papers cannot be lying—
Yet such a lot of my friends are dying!

Miracle drugs, so the papers state,
Save men from death when it seems too late;
Surely it's true, or 'twould not be said—
Yet such a lot of my friends are dead!

CORE in the Negro Uprising

The Negro in America is not a part of the American society. This is the greatest single crime that the American people have ever committed, and one of the greatest crimes that any people has ever committed.

—DR. ROBERT M. HUTCHINS, *President, Fund for the Republic*

WHEN JAMES MEREDITH, who should be given the Congressional Medal of Honor as one of the great heroes of our time, became the first Negro to register at the University of Mississippi, the nation's press gave sensational front-page coverage to the resultant uproar. The startling news coverage and editorials of mock-shocked journalists, like the news and editorials which resulted from the Central High School incident in Little Rock, carried the impression to the world that this explosion of violence in the South was something new and rare. Had the nation's press been devoting adequate news coverage to revolutionary Negro activities during the last two years, the riots at the University of Mississippi would have been presented as nothing more than another week's continuing chain of typical events in the South.

Not only in the South, but across the nation from Philadelphia to San Francisco, Negroes are engaged in an uprising of militant action to obtain their rights under constitutional law. The activities range from boycotting the *Philadelphia Bulletin* to picketing the San Francisco Board of Education, and they are achieving mostly success. In Philadelphia, the *Bulletin* was hit so hard by the power and effectiveness of the boycott that management initiated a new policy regarding the employment of Negroes. In San Francisco, the Board of Education rejected a plea for the establishment of a committee to study and eliminate segregation in the schools—a loss to Negroes—but this was offset by the effectiveness of picketing that resulted in favorable newspaper editorials and the abandonment of the racially imbalanced Central Junior High School. Also, across the San Francisco Bay in Berkeley, Negro action did result in a committee to end segregation.

As in most phases of the Negro uprising, the leaders in San Francisco and Berkeley were members of CORE—Congress of Racial Equality. CORE is the most successful organization ever devoted to the rights of Negroes, considering its action and accomplishments during the few years it has been in existence. In its ranks are the first Freedom Riders and the organizers of the first sit-ins. The combination which CORE has used in these and other activities—determination, militancy, and self-sacrifice mixed with love and non-violence—has achieved dramatic results that overshadow the work of the NAACP (National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People).

THE NATIONAL DIRECTOR of CORE is James Farmer, a Negro. Instead of describing him through a lengthy biography, let his actions speak for him. Here is a statement which he released on May 25, 1962:

A year ago, on May 24, 27 of us in two buses arrived at Jackson, Mississippi, the first in Jackson to test the Boynton decision of the U. S. Supreme Court desegregating terminal facilities in interstate commerce. We were met by about 50 police, with three police dogs. Almost immediately, we were all

arrested—some of us before we reached the door of the restaurant. The charge was breach of the peace. We went first to the local jail, then before the local court where we were found guilty, fined \$200 and given suspended sentences of two months. We went to jail to work off our fines at the rate of \$3 a day.

We were next in the Hinds County Jail, then the county prison farm, then the maximum security unit of the state prison at Parchman, the first of the 325 Freedom Riders to make this tour of Mississippi jails. Our being arrested was not extraordinary. Since the sit-ins in Greensboro, N. C., in February, 1960, more than 5,000 civil rights demonstrators have been arrested.

Parchman is a flat one-story building surrounded by a high chain-link fence topped with rolls of barbed wire. In the cell block our clothes were taken from us; we were given ill-fitted shorts; mattresses were taken away; we slept on the floor; in very hot weather, windows were closed and fans turned off. Most of the 325 riders were 39 days in jail, chiefly in Parchman.

Sentences reached six months for other riders. We decided to appeal; appeal bonds were first set at \$500 for each of us, for many bonds later reached \$1,500, and for one, \$2,000. We have all appeared before the county court for arraignment and most of us again for trial. Trials are still going on at the rate of two a day, 10 a week, and will continue for another month. This despite the Supreme Court ruling of last February 26: "We have settled beyond question that no state may require racial segregation of interstate and intrastate transportation facilities."

To pay bonds, and riders' travel costs to and from Hinds County court, CORE has spent privately more than \$350,000. No bonding company was found that would give bond. In the best possible estimate—there are no exact figures—since the Greensboro sit-ins total demands for bonds of all kinds, cash and other, in civil rights cases have exceeded two million dollars.

Working under Farmer is a team of field secretaries consisting to a large extent of dedicated young Negroes such as Thomas W. Gaither, 23-year-old graduate of Claflin College in Orangeburg, S. C. Gaither's life is typical of the young Negroes in CORE. He was born and raised in Great Falls, S. C., where the rule of Jim Crow is so complete that most Negroes accept it as their way of life. His father worked in a cotton mill and, even after graduating from college late in life, could find no higher position than a brick mason. Gaither's descriptions of life in the South are full of shack scenes, where Negroes die from illnesses that can easily be cured with hospital treatment, and where a heavy rain means floods that maroon entire communities.

For Gaither and others like him, working for CORE means facing mobs of imbecile white southerners bent on violence, suffering mistreatment by unsympathetic and often-

times brutal police, enduring months in filthy jails which often entails hard labor on road gangs and a garbage-like diet. It means developing an amazing self-control which will prevent him from committing violence when he sees police toss tear gas bombs and turn firehoses on Negro students engaged in peaceful picketing, and which will enable him to take it as the police knock down a blind Negro girl and herd her and 388 other picketers into a chicken coop turned into a stockade in sub-freezing weather—while they were still wet from being hosed. It means accepting southern justice as Gaither himself explains it: "If you are a Negro, there is no such thing as court trial or justice in the South: if you are accused of doing something wrong, you are automatically guilty." It means sleeping on the dirt or filthy mattresses in southern jails. Sometimes it means being spat upon and beaten. It sometimes even means facing death.

BLACK AND WHITE, ALL ARE BROTHERS

SINCE THE CONSEQUENCES of facing southern white mobs, southern "justice" and southern jails involve so much sacrifice (even when he is not in jail, Gaither stays in training for the sub-human meals he knows he must endure again soon by remaining on a spartan diet devoid of desserts or anything but essentials), it would seem that only Negroes would become field secretaries or organizers for CORE. Not so. White men and women serve side by side with the Negroes, attending schools where they learn how to organize and picket and practice non-violent resistance, and then facing the maniacal fury of mobs of their fellow white Americans on the streets of the South.

A typical example of the amazing white talent in CORE is Genevieve Hughes, 29, attractive, fair-skinned, mild-mannered, quiet, but burning inwardly with the desire to end her fellow whites' abuses of and hatred for Negroes. Her father (William J. Hughes, lawyer and professor at the Georgetown Law Center in Washington, D. C.), like those of other young whites in CORE, could scarcely have

imagined that the education he gave to his daughter would lead to the militant actions she has taken.

Genevieve graduated from the high school of the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Catholic school in Washington, D. C., as valedictorian and class president. She studied at George Washington and Georgetown universities, and passed the Foreign Service Examination. She was employed as a librarian for the Operations Research Office of Johns Hopkins University, and then went to work for Dun & Bradstreet in New York as a municipal bond analyst. She had been there 2½ years when she broke her bonds with conventionality to join boycotts of Woolworth stores in support of sit-ins down South. She went along on the first Freedom Ride, which ended for her in a severe case of smoke inhalation that hospitalized her for two weeks—a victim of the hatred of anthropoid white men who set fire to the bus on which the Freedom Riders were assaulted in Anniston, Alabama.

Genevieve is now field secretary in charge of CORE's West Coast regional office in San Francisco. Since her headquarters are in a city with an undeserved reputation for racial tolerance, her opening statement here came as a surprise to some:

"To say the North and West are making less relative progress than the South in ending discrimination is an understatement. In the fields of housing and schooling they are going backwards—re-segregation is more typical than desegregation in the last three or four years. A concerted, broad-based and frontal attack on the problem is imperative not just at the level of voluntary organizations, but by all agencies of government. It is sad to think that unless this trend can be reversed, the average Negro child will have less opportunity for a decent education than his older brothers and sisters whose chances were none too good at best."

For Genevieve Hughes and her fellow CORE members on the West Coast, fighting for Negroes' rights means picketing, speaking, carrying on court battles and the like. The victories seem small, but are extremely important. They are accorded such scant attention in the newspapers because they are not achieved amid the scenes of violence and sensationalism that bring northern, eastern and western newspapermen flying into the South on orders from their editors and publishers, eager to sell newspapers and put the blame for the Negro problem on southerners.

If these same newspapers which have turned world attention on Mississippi had been following CORE activities all along, their pages would have been covered with incidents that make the Meredith case puny by comparison. There have been hundreds of incidents which merited President Kennedy's calling out federal troops to restore law and order in the South. The nation's press had the opportunity to cover them as they took place, but did not. The newspapers had a final opportunity to make up for lost time when Eleanor Roosevelt called together a "Committee of Inquiry into the Administration of Justice in the Freedom Struggle"—for this committee turned up some devastating testimony, all in one convenient package, on some of the most shocking episodes in the South. The committee met in the community room of the *Washington Post* in May of this year and consisted of:

Roger Baldwin, former director of the ACLU; Tallulah Bankhead; A. D. Beittel, president of Tougaloo College; Kenneth Clark, psychologist; John Bolt Culbertson, attorney; Harry Golden; Bishop James Pike; Judge Justine Wise Polier; A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Joseph Rauh, Jr., head of Americans for

On the Cover . . .

Fighters in the vanguard of the civil rights struggle—Genevieve Hughes, field secretary at CORE's West Coast regional office in San Francisco; and James Farmer, National Director of CORE in New York City.



Democratic Action; Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers; William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO; J. David Stern, publisher; Dr. Gardner Taylor of the protestant council of New York; Telford Taylor, lawyer and prosecutor of the German generals at Nuremberg; Norman Thomas; Howard Thurman, Dean of Chapel of Boston University; and James Wechsler, editor of the *New York Post*.

Below are parts of the summaries of testimony heard before the Committee of Inquiry (the summaries were compiled by CORE from the official transcript of the proceedings).

RONNIE MOORE

(21, born in New Orleans, the youngest of five children and the only one to reach college. Until recently a sophomore majoring in sociology and a B student at Southern University near Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the largest Negro university in the world. Chairman of Baton Rouge CORE.)

December 14, 1961: I addressed a campus rally of 3,500 students gathered to protest the arrests, and on the morning of the 15th helped organize the silent protest march of 4,000 students from the University at Scotlandville to Baton Rouge, eight miles away. I had rented sound-truck equipment from a Baton Rouge firm, the same equipment commonly used by local politicians. No license was required. Beginning at about 9 a.m., at the edge of campus, with sound volume at medium, using the loudspeaker from a car. I urged students to join the march and directed them. At 11 a.m. police arrested me and four other students in the car for illegal use of a sound-truck.

The five were held in Baton Rouge Parish jail under \$1,500 cash bond each. My attorneys bonded me out in the evening. As the group left the jail's second floor and got to the first they were detained; I was rearrested for conspiracy to commit criminal mischief, and returned to jail. An additional \$2,000 bond was set, bringing my total then to \$3,500.

I remained in jail, awaiting bond, for 21 days, until January 4, 1962. I was not officially told the meaning of the criminal mischief charge; it was brought out later in a related trial that the charge had to do with directing a non-violent clinic, and other CORE activities.

Jail atmosphere was hostile; I was denied consultation with ministers, mail and use of the telephone. After making three requests on one day to see a doctor I was slapped and choked. Jerome Smith, a fellow CORE prisoner, was hit with a judo chop and Dave Dennis, who inquired about these incidents, was pulled from the Negro cell area, thrown with force against iron bars and placed in solitary. An FBI inquiry concluded that there had been no violation of civil rights.

After January 4, I returned to the University. During the night of the 16th, while the University considered suspension charges against seven CORE students, including me, I joined 1,000 students who, in bitter cold, marched with candles, sang spirituals and knelt in prayer before the home of Dr. Felton G. Clark, University president. I was expelled on January 18.

At noon on January 18, Dr. Clark announced the closing of the University, declaring the student movement one of vandalism and anarchy. He ordered all students off campus by 5 p.m. that afternoon. I was in town during the afternoon concerning my arraignment. I returned to the campus at 10 minutes before 5 for my belongings and at 5:20 met my



Common CORE scene: Negro being refused service in a Maryland restaurant.

friend Weldon Rougeau outside the gymnasium. It was raining; we stood under a ramp. Police drove up in two prowling cars and arrested both of us for criminal trespass. At the Parish jail, bond was set at \$3,000 cash each. My total bond then was \$6,500.

Rougeau and I were placed together in an isolated cell 7x7 feet, where we remained for 58 days.

On February 12, the additional charge of criminal anarchy was brought against me. The charge states that "in public and private I advocated opposition to the government of Louisiana by unlawful means, and as a member of the Congress of Racial Equality, an organization known to the defender to advocate, teach and practice opposition to the government of the State of Louisiana." An additional bond of \$12,500 was set for me.

I got so tired of looking at the green and white wall for 58 days. More dreadful, there was only one bunk bed and one mattress on the floor. Rougeau and I switched from night to night. The air was terrible. I was bonded out by CORE on March 16. My trial for criminal anarchy will take place in Baton Rouge on Monday, May 28. Maximum penalty: 10 years at hard labor.

REV. B. ELTON COX

(30, ordained minister of the Congregational church; pastor, Pilgrim Congregational Church, High Point, North Carolina. CORE field secretary.)

Working with Southern University students in Baton Rouge, La., CORE in December, 1961, I guided unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with 12 downtown stores discriminating in hiring and at lunch counters. I conducted a two-day non-violent workshop for 170 civil rights activists. I helped organize distribution of Don't Buy leaflets, and a picket line. On December 14, after one-and-one-half minutes of picketing in downtown Baton Rouge, all 25 students on the lines were arrested. That evening I addressed a student rally of 3,500 at Southern University and was among those who asked for a silent march, protesting arrests, to downtown Baton Rouge.

On the morning of the 15th, 4,000 students went to Baton Rouge, 800 walking the eight miles from the campus, others riding in cars, taxis and buses. Students assembled opposite the Baton Rouge courthouse. In the absence of Ronnie Moore (local CORE chairman arrested at campus for illegal use of a sound truck) I, as leader, discussed the demonstration's program with the sheriff, police chief and

captains, who gave permission for certain singing, a prayer and a brief address. After the program, as students began to disperse those already in jail sang from courthouse windows, bringing cheers from those in the street. Sheriff deputies, fire department officials and city police faced the students. Tear gas shells (I counted 47) were then thrown at the students who trampled each other trying to escape the gas, leaving a litter of coats, money, umbrellas. When students reassembled at the state capitol, police sicked German shepherd police dogs on them. Two dogs leaped into the crowd. Clothing was torn; dogs bit several students. Police hit students with nightsticks; and a second tear-gas attack occurred.

A 2½-lb. tear gas shell injured me in the ankle. After hospital treatment I joined students in a Baton Rouge church for an evaluation session and there was arrested. Because of my injury officers carried me to a car and took me to the Parish jail, where I was charged with blocking a sidewalk, taking over lunch counters (I had not been inside one), failing to obey an officer, and criminal mischief. I was placed in solitary confinement, remaining 10 days.

Bond was set at \$2,000; CORE in New York raised it; when money was presented bond was raised to \$4,000, again to \$6,000, again to \$8,000, then reduced to \$6,000. No explanation was given for the increases. I was bonded out on December 27, at \$6,000.

At the end of January, after a three-day trial in an atmosphere that was hostile, I was found guilty of blocking a sidewalk, failing to obey an officer, and criminal mischief. The district attorney stated that I had criminally conspired (by conducting a non-violent workshop and in other CORE activities) with more than three persons in trying to overthrow the social and racial system in Baton Rouge. I was sentenced to 21 months in jail, fined \$5,700 and returned to solitary, remaining 10 days until bonded out.

Later I returned to jail under legal advice to test what lawyers considered my illegal arrest, remaining 33 days with other Negro prisoners. Twice I had the flu. The jail physician avoided me for a week; he could not get a prescription filled for two weeks. I was bonded out at \$7,125; case now on appeal before Louisiana State Supreme Court.

Negro students arrested in Lexington, Ky. after trying to gain admittance to a theatre.



FRANK NELSON

(26, white; scholarship student in engineering at Cooper Union, New York City; graduate, 1959. Since employed as an engineer. Background: Early in August, 1961, Frank Nelson, George Blevins and John Dolan, all white, were in New Orleans after serving 40 days in the Parchman, Mississippi prison as Freedom Riders. They awaited return to Jackson August 14, for the setting of their retrial dates. In New Orleans, they stayed at the home of a Negro minister and on the evening of August 12 went with him for dinner to the home of a Negro member of New Orleans CORE. About 8 p.m. guests, hostess and her family awaited dinner.)

At about 8 p.m. there was a knock on the door. Several police entered, said they'd had complaints that whites and Negroes were together creating a disturbance, found none and left. Soon after about six other police walked in and when we asked them to leave, they refused. They had no warrant; they told us to come with them. We asked if they had the right to take us out of a private home. They said we had no rights; that when they say come, we'd better come.

At a police station we were charged with no visible means of support, though we had money.

We were put in a van with another prisoner. When he got violent toward us we realized this was apparently a put-up job. When the van stopped at another police station the man yelled and swung at my friends. We remained non-violent. Police opened the van door and came in, swinging blackjacks and yelling. I managed to slide onto a step and onto the ground outside. An officer grabbed me by the collar, beat me on the head with his blackjack and yelled, "He's trying to escape."

John Dolan was thrown out of the wagon and landed face-down on the ground, dazed. An officer jumped from the van onto John, luckily just grazing him.

The police made the three of us stand facing a wall and hit us with blackjacks. I was struck along the back and lower side at least 10 times. About 20 police were watching.

We were taken upstairs in the station to be photographed, fingerprinted and questioned. The officers who had hit George Blevins asked about the blood on George's shirt; George said he had a head wound. The officer grabbed George by the hair, said 'where,' felt with unclean hands into the cut and tore it open; later George had four stitches. This officer told me he would kill me if he saw me again in the city.

John Dolan was questioned in another room. I could see the questioning officer hitting John with a blackjack, and putting his foot in John's stomach and groin, trying to get John to tell who was in New Orleans with us. Then we were taken to a hospital. We waited over an hour for attention.

After two days in jail we were charged with attempted assault, aggravated assault, attempted escape, and no visible means of support. We were acquitted of the latter; other charges have apparently been dropped.

(Lolis Elie, Negro CORE lawyer in New Orleans, has stated that nothing was done to officers participating in the beatings of Nelson, Blevins and Dolan. Elie also states that with the exception of this beating there has not been a great deal of police brutality in connection with civil rights in New Orleans.)

ROBERT MOSES

(27, graduate of Hamilton College, Clinton, New York; M.A. in philosophy, Harvard University. Taught mathematics at Horace Mann School, New York City. Left in 1961 to join staff of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.)

From July to November of 1961 I was one of almost a dozen SNCC staff people working on voter-registration in Pike, Walthall and Amite counties in southern Mississippi, in a hostile and dangerous atmosphere. Pike County contained 25 Negroes registered to vote; Walthall and Amite counties, none.

Whites shot at the house where Dion Diamond of SNCC was staying, blasting windows; four SNCC members were beaten by whites. I was attacked by a relative of a sheriff. I received a head wound requiring eight stitches. At a trial, the assailant was acquitted.

Herbert Lee, Negro cotton farmer near Liberty, Mississippi, helped the staff of SNCC in its work, driving us from place to place. After an FBI investigation in August, atmosphere continued tense into September. Lee, active in voter-registration efforts, was a marked man. He was murdered on September 25 outside Liberty. The murder is brought into testimony to indicate that voter-registration in southern Mississippi is a matter of life and death.

ALBERT BIGELOW

(White, in his fifties. Quaker of Cos Cob, Conn. Naval Commander during World War II. Married; has two daughters, seven grandchildren. Captain of the Golden Rule, boat sailed into Pacific bomb area in 1958. Artist; member of CORE.)

Certainly police had foreknowledge of violence, since we did. Our bus, approaching Anniston (Ala.), stopped while our driver conversed with the driver of an outgoing bus. A traveler from the bus leaving Anniston came onto ours and warned us that an angry mob awaited us.

A crowd of 150, perhaps only 50 active, was ready for us at the Anniston station. Outside, no police were in sight. During 15 minutes in Anniston, while the mob slashed tires and smashed windows, one policeman appeared in a brown uniform. He did nothing to stop vandalism but fraternized with the mob. A man in a white coverall with dark blue oval insignia on the breast was friendly with the policeman and consulted from time to time with the most active of the mob. Two police appeared and cleared a path. The bus left the station. There were no arrests.

A few miles out on the highway to Birmingham a tire blew and we pulled to the roadside, the mob after us in about 50 cars. They surrounded us again, yelling and smashing windows, brandishing clubs, chains and pipes; I saw all three. They surged around the bus, screamed obscenities and tried to board but were prevented by Eli Cowling of the State Highway police, in plainclothes, who, with a pistol, held back the mob from inside our door. We had thought Cowling an ordinary passenger. His single-handed action showed that a mob can be held off. Again Mr. Cowling stood in our door. For 15 or 20 minutes no other police were in sight. The bus was now being attacked with fury.



Albert Bigelow was one of the Freedom Riders aboard this bus when it was attacked by white mobs near Anniston, Ala.

The man in the white coverall stood in front of the bus. A state trooper arrived, consulted the man in the coverall but did nothing to stop the vandalism.

After about 21 minutes at the roadside there was a very loud crash and shouts of "siege heil." The bus, on fire now, filled with acrid, dense black smoke. All of us, 14 I think, got out, some jumping from windows. Across the highway, in a state patrol car, three or four police sat joking and laughing.

Outside the bus, Mr. Cowling was again in charge. He fired into the air; the mob did not attack, except for hitting one of us.

We spent from about 2 in the afternoon until 9:30 or 10 at night in the Anniston hospital, where we were taken for smoke poisoning. The mob gathered in the parking lot outside the emergency-room door. A few state and local police mingled with the mob. Newsmen who came said the town was in an ugly mood. They said they had telephoned Governor Patterson to ask whether we would have protection on the 60 miles to Birmingham, and that the Governor had said he would provide no protection for outside agitators.

The Anniston Police Chief was very hostile toward me. I said it was his duty to give us protection; he said it was not my job to tell him his duty.

Later the chief went into the yard and talked with the man in the white coverall. The hospital superintendent had asked us to leave. I felt there might be police collusion in turning us over to the mob.

We were saved by Negroes of Birmingham, who drove out the 60 miles to Anniston, and drove us without incident to Birmingham.

JAMES PECK

(White, 47, of New York City. Editor of CORE bulletin, the CORElator: author of Freedom Ride.)

On May 13, Mother's Day, 1961, our bus arrived at Anniston, Alabama. When we got out we heard ambulances and learned of the burning of the previous bus. Other passengers left our bus. We got back on; eight whites climbed aboard. From the bus I saw no police. The driver announced he would not drive on until the four Negroes of our party went to the back of the bus. They refused. The whites then went to work on the four Negroes. Walter Bergman, also white, and I, went forward to talk to the attackers. They slugged Walter Bergman on the head and dragged him to the back of the bus; I was similarly slugged and dragged. The Negroes were dragged to the rear, also. We maintained non-violence. I saw no police near the bus. The bus then left for Birmingham.

Walter Bergman's injuries have since resulted in a stroke; still very incapacitated, he is the most serious Freedom Ride casualty. At the Birmingham station a mob awaited us, their pipes then wrapped in paper. No police were in sight. In an alley away from spectators, I was beaten unconscious. Police Chief Bull Connor of Birmingham explained later that we had no protection because his men were off for Mother's Day.

James Peck, whose account appears above, being beaten in Birmingham, Ala.



ERIC WEINBERGER

(White, 30, of Norwich, Conn. In December, 1961, went to Brownsville, Tennessee to teach unemployed sharecroppers, evicted from their land after attempting to register to vote, to make leather tote bags and thus earn some money.)

During January, I taught some of the sharecroppers to make tote bags, and after an absence returned to Brownsville on Monday evening, February 27, to continue teaching. Two days later police went to the home of Negroes with whom I was staying and questioned them about me. On Friday, March 3, Jeff Gordon and I started to drive to Memphis to get materials for the bags. We had gone about four blocks when sheriff's men told us to drive to the courthouse. There, we explained why we were in Brownsville. They told us we would have to spend the night in jail, and refused to say why.

We refused to move and when police grabbed us we went limp. We were dragged out of the courthouse, heads bouncing on the concrete steps, stuffed in a police car and taken to jail. After about three hours in a cell police came to fingerprint us. They dragged Jeff out by a wrist clamp which is very painful and leaves the wrist torn. Because of the injustice of the proceedings I could not cooperate even to the degree of holding my fingers still for inking. I was beaten by Deputy Anderson and four others, some in blue uniform, some in plainclothes. The wrist clamp was screwed down to the screaming point and shaken. My fingers were bent back, my pants torn or slashed off, and a high voltage electric probe applied. During the beating on Friday, I passed out two or three times, but was revived each time by slaps so that the torture could continue.

On Saturday, with the sheriff present, I was again dragged from the cell, and tied face down on the floor in an adjacent cell. The wrist cuff was applied again, plus pliers to hold the fingers. We were released about noon on Monday.

BRENDA TRAVIS

(17, of McComb, Mississippi. Now in Talladega, Alabama, under six months parole forbidding her to take any part in civil rights activities, she was unable to appear at the hearing. Her story was told by Robert Moses, of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who participated in some of the events leading to Brenda Travis' arrests.)

On August 30, 1961, Brenda Travis, with two friends at the McComb bus station, bought tickets to Kentwood, Louisiana, and sat down on a bench in the "white" section. Told to move on, Brenda declined, was arrested and charged with disturbing the peace. She was given six months in jail, fined \$200; bond, \$1,000.

Although Brenda, then 16, was a minor, she spent the month of September in jail, awaiting bond. She was allowed visitors three days a week. Little air came into the cell from a small opening in the wall; Brenda could look out through this opening by standing on a bed. The cell, where she was alone most of the time, was filthy and hot. She had one grimy sheet. The food was without seasoning and half-cooked.

On September 30 Brenda was bonded out. She went to her high school to see her principal who told her she could

not return to school because she had been in jail. The principal told Brenda her school record had been removed, and that he did not know where it was.

Friends of Brenda's, students, had gathered at the school to learn the outcome of her interview. 115 students then decided to walk in protest to the Masonic Temple, then the two miles to downtown McComb. They then started out for Magnolia, about eight miles away, but turned around and at the McComb city hall tried to hold a prayer meeting. Lined up for prayer, all were arrested. Later, all but 15 over 18 years of age were released. Brenda was among the 15 held in jail.

On their return to school 115 students were asked to sign a slip stating they would not participate in any further civil rights demonstrations. Only those who signed the slip would be allowed to continue at school. All refused, and were in effect expelled. They were told they could not receive public education anywhere in Mississippi.

After two days in jail, Brenda was told that she was to be taken to see a lawyer. Actually, without her mother's knowledge and without charge or trial, she was taken to the Oakley Training School for Colored Girls in Raymond, Mississippi. Brenda was in this training school for six months and three weeks. She has called it a teen-age prison. Her room, shared with three others, was decent; the food, often crawling with maggots, terrible; inmates, when allowed out of their rooms, were watched, and were locked in at 6 in the evening.

Brenda had been an A to B student in high school. The training school had classes only through the 9th grade; Brenda was ready for the 10th. She attended one class in home economics. Friends sent her a 20-volume encyclopedia. She had no other books.

When a busload of Brenda's friends set out from McComb, in a jolly mood, to visit her, the bus was joined by county and state highway patrolmen, their cars forming a convoy around the bus. At the destination there were the police with dogs, rifles and tear gas. Police cursed the bus driver and subsequently took away his license.

Brenda would still be at the reform school (she feared until her 21st birthday) but for the efforts of Dr. Herman Einsman of Talledega College, who heard of her case, visited her judge and with difficulty persuaded the judge to release Brenda, on the 19th of April, in his custody. Brenda is now living in Talledega with Dr. Einsman and his wife.

LOUIS LUSKY

(Attorney of Louisville, Kentucky.)

After the mass arrests in Jackson, Mississippi, last summer, and following convictions in the local court, no one was able to find a surety company in the state able or willing to write the appeal bonds. Official pressure on bonding companies was suspected but not proved. Efforts to raise bonds through an insurance company in Hartford, Conn., with branches in Mississippi, were to no avail. The Hartford company at first promised to write the bonds, but on the advice of one of their Mississippi representatives who said his local business would be ruined if it were known that his company had put up bond for Freedom Riders, Hartford officials refused bonding money. A large effort was made to find other bonding companies, without success.

Up to now, cash has been found as needed. Total cash requirements, astronomical, have been over \$350,000.



Free lance photographer Thomas Armstrong leaving Jackson, Miss. courthouse where he covered civil rights trial, followed by policeman and snarling German shepherd.

CHARLES MCLAURIN

(Jackson, Miss. Active in civil rights about a year. The Mississippi State Fair was held at Jackson in October, 1961. Commonly the first five Fair days are for whites; the last three, when the Fair is shabby, are for Negroes. Negroes had organized a boycott of Negro Days. There were six pickets.)

On the 16th of October 1961, 14 of us were at the Fair grounds to see if the boycott was a success. We asked people going in if they knew about the boycott, if they felt they should take second best, if they knew they were paying for leftovers. Police gathered around us yelling vulgar language and told us to go on. They arrested seven of us before we had a chance to move. Then police came toward the Fair entrance with three police dogs; they went up the hill with the dogs, running people away from the Fair. One dog got loose and chased people on his own. There were about 300 or 400 people there in front of a band. I heard a dog attacked and bit a man who was hospitalized.

We were put in the paddy wagon and at the Jackson jail charged with breach of the peace. I was in jail three days. The mattress was black with dirt. Court found me guilty, fined me \$500 and sentenced me to six months. The case was appealed. I was bonded out at \$500. I think I was arrested for speaking out against segregation.

In the past, police have not used police dogs to break up peaceful demonstrations, but to frighten Negroes. Police have brought dogs to neighborhoods in Jackson where students live, and near schools, to frighten Negroes.

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

(Auburn Professor of Systematic Theology at Union Theological Seminary, New York City. A Freedom Rider.)

Last summer, our group of bus riders—five white ministers including myself, three Negroes, and two rabbis—testing the ICC ruling, arrived in Sumter, South Carolina. We integrated the Greyhound terminal without incident. During the entire day in Sumter, wherever we went, to church, to restaurants, we had courteous and good police protection. At 12:30 a.m., when the bus left, the police were at the station for our protection.

Later on our trip, at the air terminal at Tallahassee, Florida, our group waited hours during the afternoon and into the evening for the restaurant to open. After dark an ugly looking mob gathered outside the terminal. Local police did not allow them inside the building. They sat on their car fenders glaring at us through the plateglass walls. When the mob increased in size, state police augmented our protection by local police. There was no violence against us.

When the terminal closed at midnight, state police escorted us five miles to the Negro church where we slept; there was a state police car outside the church through the night. Though we were protected from violence, we were arrested the next morning at the air terminal for unlawful assembly.

HENRY THOMAS

(20, of St. Augustine, Florida. A sophomore on scholarship at Howard University in Washington when, in May 1961, he left to become active in civil rights. Now CORE field secretary.)

In January 1962, in Huntsville, Alabama, I was active with college and high school students in sit-ins at downtown lunch counters. Police, who followed me everywhere, knew me and my car. Police said they followed me for my safety and I believe this to be generally true.

On the 15th, my car was parked downtown near a sit-in, with police nearby, and one near the car. My car battery was tampered with and the car had a strange odor. The policeman said he had seen no one near my car. Later, I started the car with a booster battery and drove on with two students. Someone had put mustard gas, or oil of mustard, in the seat of the car. It was stinging and burning me very badly. Police, who followed, refused to take me to a hospital. Students in another car did. I was hospitalized for a day and a half, under sedation. Police apprehended no one, but impounded my car and clothes, which they refused to return. I flew to New York for additional medical attention.

On January 22, Marshall Kieth, 27, white, a technical writer at the Redstone Arsenal who had joined CORE in sit-ins, was at home reading. At midnight two men entered, stuck a gun in his back, blindfolded him, took him to a remote part of town, partially stripped him, beat him and sprayed him with oil of mustard. Kieth got to a nearby home; police were summoned. Kieth was hospitalized in much pain. He had grown up in Huntsville; his parents, he told me, had received threatening phone calls. To protect them, and because he could not bear the harassment, Kieth left Huntsville to take up his life elsewhere, and left us no forwarding address. No one was apprehended in Kieth's beating.

JAMES FLYNN

(White, former teacher at Eastern State College, Richmond, Kentucky. Now at Wisconsin State College, White-water, Wisconsin.)

I was chairman of CORE at Richmond, Kentucky from November 1960 to June 1961. Job pressure was brought from the beginning of our organization. Police Chief Newland called on the employer of a young Negro minister friendly to us; the employer warned the minister that he might lose his job. The chief telephoned the minister's father to say that he would break up the next CORE meeting. Mayor Ed Wayman advised us to disband. The cook at the college cafeteria, mother of a CORE student, was fired.

My telephone calls were reported to the college president, Robert Martin. He forbade me to address student groups concerning CORE; he warned students that CORE activity would jeopardize their stay at Eastern. A white high-school teacher was told by her principal that city officials had called; that her job was in danger if she remained active; and she did not. President Martin told department heads to instruct subordinates not to participate. Fear of job pressure in the Negro community was strong, after insinuations by the police chief.

About Easter, 1961, after fruitless negotiation attempts with drugstore owners, I wrote a letter to the local paper proposing a boycott of discriminating businesses. I received a letter from the Mayor attempting to intimidate me. In May 1961 we began picketing. When an unruly crowd of 70-90 whites gathered, the police chief appeared, did not disperse the crowd, and left. Rocks were thrown at us. Again, on a picket line, a local man grabbed me, put his fingers in my eyes. The police chief stood a few steps away. There was no arrest.

Stand up and be counted for civil rights.

End racial discrimination, the unfinished business
of our democracy.

JOIN THE NAACP

(National Assn. for Advancement of Colored People—
Largest civil rights organization—over 1,100 branches)

**Membership fee from \$2, \$5 or \$10 to \$500 for
life membership, which can be paid in installments.**

Send this clip with your name, address and money to:

- **NAACP, 690 Market St., San Francisco 4, Calif.**

or

- **NAACP, 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.**
(Alfred Baker Lewis, Treasurer)

I had arranged an interview with Vice-president Lyndon Johnson, who was to address commencement on June 1, 1961. This made college president Martin very angry; he refused to allow time for the interview. Considering my job at the college terminated, I had arranged to take my present position at Wisconsin. At 9 a.m. on June 1, I was driving out of town, extra slowly. I was arrested for speeding and held six hours at the jail, without being allowed to call an attorney. The charge of reckless driving was added. At 3 p.m. a judge, with the understanding that I was leaving Richmond for good, filed charges.

C. D. KING

(Albany, Georgia. Attorney in civil rights cases; the only Negro attorney in this area of Georgia.)

Early in March 1962, I appeared before the Dougherty County Superior Court in Albany with four clients, to answer charges of conspiracy to commit breach of the peace. Court was in session, the judge on the bench. My clients, Charles Sherrod and Charles Jones, Negro, and Robert Zellner and Thomas Hayden, white, with Mrs. Hayden, took seats in the second row from the front. A deputy sheriff asked them to move to the rear. As they got up to do so the sheriff pushed Sherrod with force to the floor and dragged him on the floor to the rear. Two officers then seized Zellner, sitting in the rear, by the trousers and the collar and dragged him from the courtroom, with much bumping and confusion at the revolving door. While Zellner was on the floor in the hall, he was hit. Mrs. Hayden was dragged over three or four seats and carried into a room behind the court. All this while the judge sat on the bench watching and never said a word.

CORE STEPS UP ACTION

FOLLOWING ALL OF THIS and other disheartening testimony, CORE reacted by plunging into the fight for Negroes' rights with even more fervor. Here are some of the actions taken this summer and fall:

- A recently formed group at Lebanon, Tennessee, conducted a wade-in at the Cedars of Lebanon State Park swimming pool. Later, crosses were burned on the lawns of their homes.

- A "Freedom Highways" campaign to desegregate Howard Johnson's restaurants in North Carolina culminated in a mass meeting in Durham, attended by more than 2,000 persons. Up to this time several dozen persons had been arrested for "trespassing" at the restaurants. CORE met this by sending hundreds of Negroes to Howard Johnson restaurant on the road to Chapel Hill. There were too many to arrest. But some CORE members are still serving out jail sentences and the managers of Howard Johnson restaurants have refused to change their segregation policy. Frank Nelson, white CORE member whose other experiences were recorded in the Committee of Inquiry testimony, was convicted of trespassing, along with 19 others, by Judge Jack P. Harris of Statesville, N. C., who refused to let Nelson sit down during a 15-hour court session despite the fact that Nelson had fasted for 10 days and was near fainting. Nelson had fasted in jail to protest police brutality and segregation of prisoners. Finally, his life was threatened and James Farmer, CORE's National Director, had to wire Attorney General Robert Kennedy:

Life of Frank Nelson, 26, white CORE leader convicted of trespassing in Howard Johnson demonstration in Statesville, North Carolina, has been threatened by other prisoners. Nelson has been on hunger strike for 10 days and is dangerously weak. He must serve 60 days on road gang. Unspecified location. Urge protection of his personal safety.

North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford also got the telegram, after which Nelson was removed to the Central Prison Hospital in Raleigh to be force-fed.

- David Dennis, CORE field secretary, and others opened a registration clinic for Negroes in Clarksdale, Miss. Dennis was stopped by police three times after the clinic closed, shortly after midnight. Finally, he was arrested at 1:30 a.m. on charges of failing to yield the right of way as he was driving back to Jackson. Five others were held on charges of loitering.

- Forty members of Brooklyn CORE made their own trash pick-ups in the Bedford-Stuyvesant Negro ghetto area and deposited three truckloads on the steps of Borough Hall in a protest action against irregular garbage and trash collections. With the steps piled high with old mattresses, broken orange crates and other refuse, the CORE members then picketed with placards stating: "Taxation Without Sanitation is Tyranny." Next day, Brooklyn Borough President Abe Stark announced that garbage collections in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area would take place daily.

- A St. Louis alderman, William Clay, joined the local chairman of CORE, Lucian Richards, in picketing of Kroger's Wells Avenue Store in St. Louis as a protest against discriminatory employment practices. They were arrested on charges of disturbing the peace, but immediately resumed their demonstration.

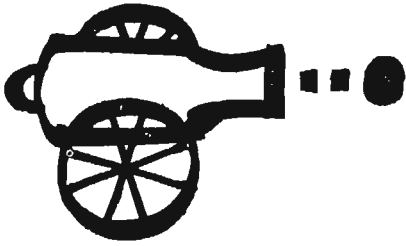
- A recording called "Sit in Songs: Songs of the Freedom Riders" has been produced by Dauntless, subsidiary of Audio Fidelity. It is a collection of revitalized Negro spirituals with new words, plus an original by James Bevel, young Mississippi minister prominent in the freedom fight in that state. All of the performers are members of CORE, and the lead singer, Henry Thomas, was one of the Freedom Riders on the bus burned in Anniston, Alabama on Mothers Day 1951. (*Copies of the record may be obtained from the Congress of Racial Equality, 38 Park Row, New York 38, N. Y. for \$3.95 each.*)

- Five CORE members in Tallahassee, Florida tested the June 4 Supreme Court decision outlawing police enforcement of discrimination in bus terminals by seeking service at the Trailways lunch counter. The police arrested them in violation of the court decision and demanded their bus tickets, which is illegal under Interstate Commerce Commission regulations. CORE is taking legal action.

- A great step forward in Florida was achieved when CORE negotiated successfully for the desegregation of all 67 Howard Johnson's restaurants.

- Eight Denver CORE members staged a sit-in before the show-home of the Morbro development in nearby Aurora, Colorado, because the Morris Bros. Construction Co. put up its housing development with built-in discrimination against Negroes. Morris met the sit-in by turning the sprinkling system of the show-home on the eight demonstrators, who nevertheless continued their sitting.

- Finally, CORE has begun a broad program of economic sanctions against Mississippi. Industries are being urged not to locate in Mississippi, and the federal government is being asked to cancel construction of segregated facilities.



Editorials

SUPPORT NAACP AND CORE OR WATCH VIOLENCE GROW

For the white man in the United States, the alternatives are now clear. He must lend his wholehearted support to the non-violent action being taken by the NAACP and CORE, or watch while the Black Muslim movement spreads into Negro nationalism, hatred, violence and possibly even race wars. We have already seen the potentialities in Monroe, North Carolina, when a Negro named Robert F. Williams decided that he would not take abuse and threats—some of them on his life—from white men any longer. He would meet violence with violence. The result: for a time Monroe was turned into an armed camp, with hundreds of Negroes prepared to shoot it out with their white antagonists.

There are two sides to this story. Robert Williams' side was aired completely for the first time over the Pacifica Foundation's listener-supported radio stations (this writer listened to a three-hour tape over KPFA, Berkeley, Calif.). His arguments are convincing. He was faced by white law enforcement officers who were prepared to beat him on some occasions or to turn him over to frenzied white mobs on other occasions. He describes facing one mob of several thousand raging whites screaming at him and his associates: "Grab the niggers and kill them! Kill the niggers! Pour gasoline on them! Burn the niggers!" If Williams is telling the truth—and there is evidence that he is—one can understand how he would eventually be driven to violent action.

Non-violent members of CORE have thrown themselves on white southerners with pleas for their rights, peace and mercy. These pleas have been met with brutal beatings administered by white anthropoids who understand hatred, not love, and force rather than non-violence. The non-violent members of CORE are dedicated individuals willing to give up their lives for principle. It is understandable that not every Negro can think that way. Some, like Williams, are not about to stand still while whites who may be their intellectual inferiors beat them to a bloody pulp. Williams chose to fight for his rights. He did not commit any violence (unless one believes the kidnaping charge), but he certainly was prepared to shoot it out if necessary. He is now in Cuba, he says, because the federal indictment on a charge of kidnaping was rigged up and he does not believe he will be given a fair trial.

On the other side, we have a report on Williams written to WIP by Harry Golden, editor of *The Carolina Israelite* in Charlotte, N.C., not far from Monroe. Golden is actively engaged in the struggle for Negroes' rights and has been following the Monroe affair carefully. Here is his report.

We have a group of liberals, "do-gooders," here, some of them fine, dedicated men and women, often fighting against racism at great risk to their social standing and means of livelihood.

And so when we first heard of this Robert F. Williams of Monroe, N.C., we went to see him and what we heard turned our blood. Two years ago [Golden wrote this in August of 1961] he told us that the time had come to "shoot it out," and that he was storing up guns in an "arms race with the whites."

Well, I happen to be one who believes that we will win this fight only because of people such as Martin Luther King. Non-violence. I have found during these past 10 years that nothing so frustrates the segregationist as this wonderful program of non-violence. Faced with the greatest provocation the Negroes keep saying: "Let's go to church to pray for the fellows who have just beaten us . . ."

This is the program that is winning and the program that will eventually win.

We had the case in Monroe of the two children arrested and which became known as the "kissing case." Williams immediately seized upon it to go around the country and raise "defense" funds. The NAACP asked me to intervene with the then Governor Luther H. Hodges and when the Governor released the two children the next morning, Williams was left high and dry in Ohio on his fund-raising tour. Who got the money? Not the parents of the two children whom we set up in new homes here.

The NAACP expelled Williams because of his constant threat of violence, a threat which I believe would completely defeat the entire program and set us all back another 10 years. The racists love Williams for this I can assure you, because they know in their hearts that the program of non-violence and the constant writs before a judge will win this great sociological victory and eliminate the concept of a second-class citizenship in our country.

But the Black Muslim movement is growing, and elsewhere another Robert Williams will spring up—unless the Negro is integrated into our society and given his free and equal rights speedily. Every liberal in this nation should be a member of the NAACP (\$2 a year minimum, but try to make it \$5 or \$10—send to 690 Market St., San Francisco 4, Calif.; or 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N.Y.) and CORE (send a minimum of \$5 to 2085 Sutter St., San Francisco, Calif.; or 38 Park Row, New York 38, N.Y.).

KENNEDY IS NO LINCOLN

Since May of this year, President Kennedy has had in his possession a 115-page document, delivered to him by Dr. Martin Luther King, calling upon him to issue a Second Emancipation Proclamation. The document details the constitutional means by which the President may act. Kennedy was asked to proclaim these four basic policy statements:

1. That the full powers of your [the President's] office will be used to eliminate all forms of statutory-imposed segregation and discrimination from and throughout the 50 states of this nation.

2. That commencing Sept. 22, 1962, effective Jan. 1, 1963, that as of the school year, September, 1963, all school districts presently segregated must desegregate.

3. That racial segregation in federally assisted housing is henceforth prohibited and unlawful.

4. That any and all laws within the United States requiring segregation or discrimination because of race or color are detrimental and against the national policy of the government of the United States and inimical to the interest of the United States at home and abroad.

The petition calling on Kennedy to sign this Second Emancipation Proclamation was signed by many prominent Negro leaders and by Eleanor Roosevelt. If Mrs. Roosevelt's husband were alive and president in these hysterical times, he would undoubtedly issue the Second Emancipation Proclamation. Jack Kennedy has refused to do it, prompting Jackie Robinson, former Brooklyn Dodgers baseball star who signed the petition, to comment:

"... The President of the United States ought to have the courage and the integrity to rise above politics and reach the level of statesmanship. He should recognize that the United States has no right to pretend to be the leader of world democracy abroad until we straighten out at home some of the terrible violations of democracy and decency which occur... Dr. King knows, as the whole country knows, that Mr. Kennedy's real reason for evading this issue is that he is afraid of offending Southern politicians.

"... Dr. King, in his appeal for a second Emancipation Proclamation, refers to the fact that Abraham Lincoln brought physical freedom of the Negro into being by a stroke of the pen. If Mr. Kennedy does the same in the area of the Negro's total freedom it will be the biggest surprise of our life. We think the President is a fine man, like we said. But an Abraham Lincoln—he ain't."

(Quotes taken from the Mississippi Free Press of May 26, 1962.)

The points are well taken. Kennedy is still coddling the racists in his party, and he will have to do so until the day a new Liberal Party is formed. Kennedy has been urged to enter the South himself, as well as sign the proclamation, in a dramatic show of his support of Negroes' rights. Instead, all he has done so far is to send troops, as did his ex-Army general Republican predecessor. It really takes guts to do that, doesn't it?

A Phone Co. Exec's Philosophy

"I can understand it happening to a truck driver or someone else off the street, but this is outrageous," said a New York executive, arrested at San Francisco International Airport yesterday for claiming he carried a bomb.

Taken into custody by the FBI was Gerhard Rudolph Andlinger, 32, director of planning with International Telephone & Telegraph Co.

—SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER, Oct. 8, 1962

CONGRESS FOLLOWS A 'DEMENTED CRACKPOT'

In passing the new postal rate bill, Congress has directed the Post Office to detain "communist political propaganda," notify the addressee and deliver it only upon his request. For adding this provision to the bill, Congress earned the following editorial comment from the *San Francisco Chronicle*:

This is the first time Congress itself has attempted to write into the statute books a program for screening the public's mail. It would set up the Secretary of the Treasury (who heads the Customs Service) and the Postmaster General as Big Brothers to keep the people from being influenced "with reference to the political or public interests, policies or relations" of a communist government. Such mail addressed to government agencies, libraries, and institutions of higher education would be exempted from detention, but that does not make the censorship principle any less indefensible.

A measure like this goes through Congress because the members don't have the will to stand up and say that the bill's sponsors are demented crackpots who are seeing ghosts under the bed. But the sad effect is to make the United States look like an immature country whose people can be trusted to read only what Congress chooses.

That is only part of the story. Throughout President Eisenhower's two terms, books, magazines and other mail coming from communist-dominated countries were intercepted by the Post Office by executive order—around 15 million pieces a year. Among the pieces was a pamphlet by a member of the British Parliament criticizing the position of the U. S. during the Guatemalan revolution of 1954, pacifist leaflets from England, scientific documents, geographies, novels and one edition of the *London Economist* (England has not yet been declared a communist-dominated country). Other hysterical developments were reported in a study by Murray L. Schwartz and James C. N. Paul in the *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*:

The procedures were hasty and improvised, nor were there enough men anywhere to do the job properly—as at St. Paul, where a warehouse full of material accumulated while a non-Russian speaking customs employee, furnished solely with a Russian-English dictionary, attempted to select and detain all publications deemed to contain Communist propaganda...

The criteria for propaganda were so broad that enforcement officials in the field were able to find suspect matter in Soviet published works on art, religion, philosophy, 19th century literature, and even so political a subject as "Chess for Beginners." Volumes of this kind were detained even though they had been published prior to the Czar Nicholas's demise.

... *Mathematical Review*, one of the world's three publications which list all known works in the mathematical field, was deprived of Russian titles for a year.

The system also enabled officials to confiscate works which did not jibe with their own political or religious beliefs. For example, Avro Manhattan's scholarly study of

the Roman Catholic Church, *Catholic Imperialism and World Power*—which is neither pro-communist nor anti-U. S. in theme—was seized in wholesale lots. As the *S. F. Chronicle* put it in discussing the seizure of the 15 million pieces a year: "This preposterous stupidity accomplished nothing except to make the study of the communist world difficult for literate people who made it their business to know what was going on in that world. The red-mail censorship was so inane that even the National Security Council's planning board unanimously recommended its discontinuance. A month after taking office in 1961, President Kennedy knocked it off."

Now Kennedy has given his tacit approval to the same kind of measure, tossed into the postal rate bill through an amendment authored by Republican Congressman Glenn Cunningham of Nebraska, who is so far gone that the *Chronicle* refers to him as a "demented crackpot." Even Congressman Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, expressed his opposition to Cunningham's amendment. Yet, on the floor of the Senate, only three men had courage enough to speak against it—Joe Clark of Pennsylvania (who did most of the talking), Jennings Randolph of West Virginia and Ralph Yarborough of Texas. Most of the remainder of the Senate, including "liberals" such as Paul Douglas and William Proxmire, fell in line with the "demented crackpots" and voted for the amendment. The result is that from now on writers and scholars, as Senator Clark phrased it, "will not be able to receive such so-called communist political propaganda unless they write in and ask for it and thereby perhaps get their request placed in an FBI file and subject themselves to slander by any professional flag waver who chooses to contend that those who make such requests are soft on communism because they choose to inform themselves about what goes on behind the Iron Curtain."

More and more, we are eroding our freedoms in this country because Congress and other vital parts of our society will follow the lead of any demented crackpot who is willing to burden us with fascist doctrines on the grounds that they are necessary to "fight communism." Congress is following the lead of these wild men and the Executive is remaining silent. Our only hope is the Supreme Court, which will undoubtedly strike down the Cunningham amendment as unconstitutional at the first opportunity afforded. At this stage of mass hysteria in this nation, the religious may thank God and the secular may thank Western civilized thought for the good sense that prevailed among those of our founding fathers who insisted on the system of checks and balances that resulted in a Supreme Court to protect the liberties of our people from political demagogues and cowards.

'SENATOR, I SHALL NOT SILENCE THEM'

When Senator Barry Goldwater was insulted by *The Gadfly*, magazine of the University of Colorado, he was not satisfied merely to demand and get an apology. He felt compelled to write to Dr. Quigg Newton, president of the University of Colorado:

It isn't what you said about me or who said it. It was the fact that it has now become obvious that this type of attack is the rule rather than the exception at the University of Colorado.

I am far more concerned about the ability of people with an un-American philosophy displayed in the college press and, in some cases, defended by that press, than I am about what happens to me or my name. I have spoken with groups of some 250 colleges and schools in this country, and this is the only one where the Socialists, or whatever you care to call them, seem to have the ability to do what they want without censure.

Goldwater's letter brought the following reply from Newton, which must be considered the most forceful of its kind to come from the president of a major American university in the last decade:

My first impulse was to reply, as politely as possible, that I did not consider it any of your business. But, on reflection, I do not think that would be accurate. The real issue does involve you, because you have made yourself a symbol of the suppressive forces which are waging an all-out assault on the university.

We have a genuine democracy of ideas on our campus. We have fought long and hard to achieve it, and the fight has been against those who—like yourself—believe the function of a university is to indoctrinate, rather than educate; to control thought, rather than to stimulate it.

The cry you raise has a very familiar ring to us: "You must silence those who do not agree with me!"

We have heard it from the John Birchers, from the Wolvingtons, from the Rozeks, from the Eakins, from the Bromleys, from the local Goldwaters. It is always the same: "Our way is the only American way. All others are un-American and subversive. You must silence those who do not agree with us!"

Senator, I shall not silence them.

200 BAY AREA VETERANS NEEDED

Veterans for Peace, a new organization under the aegis of the American Veterans Committee, is going to participate in the annual Veterans' Day parade to be held in downtown San Francisco on Sunday, November 11. The group is currently raising money for a float, posters, armbands, etc., and also hopes to find 200 veterans to march in the parade.

Parade participation was the idea of San Francisco poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti and sculptor Benny Bufano who felt that it is important to have a sizeable group representing peace since the other groups marching—American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, army bands, etc.—are militar-

istic. If you are willing to march or can contribute to the cost of a float, contact George Benello or Carl May at May's office, 843 Montgomery St., San Francisco. Telephone number is YU 2-5271.

* *

Veterans for Peace will put on the play *Juggernaut* at San Francisco's Marina Junior High School auditorium on Nov. 23rd. The play is a dramatization of Fred Cook's searing article on the military which appeared in *The Nation*. Tickets are \$1 each and are available from Carl May, 843 Montgomery St., San Francisco.

MEDICARE vs. the Swedish System

by DAVID HOROWITZ

David Horowitz, the author of Student (Ballantine Books), is a former University of California teaching assistant now studying and writing in Sweden.

FROM THIS MOST PROSPEROUS of the Scandinavian democracies, the controversy over medical care for the aged which is occupying so much attention now in the States is not only difficult to understand, but seems tragically beside the point as well. For here in Sweden, since 1955 when the government passed a compulsory social insurance law, every Swedish citizen has enjoyed protection under a system that not only provides ten-fold more benefits than the King-Anderson Bill, but also appears to have answered all the major objections raised by opponents of the American MEDICARE legislation.

Whereas King-Anderson pays hospital care for up to three months (after the patient has paid \$90 for the first nine days), the Swedish plan pays hospital care for up to two years (with no cost initially to the patient). Moreover, under King-Anderson the patient must pay his own doctor bills, whereas under the Swedish plan the insurance pays three-quarters of all doctor bills (whether the patient is hospitalized or not) provided that the doctor charges prescribed fees. If the doctor wishes to charge more than the standard fee, then the patient is reimbursed only for three-quarters of what the standard fee would have been, so that he pays the difference. In this way, not only is the doctor given the freedom to charge what he wants, and the patient to choose his own doctor (a right which he has in any case) but the costs of the insurance are kept down.

Another benefit under the Swedish plan, for which there is no corresponding provision in King-Anderson, is compensation for the cost of medicine (something that Americans can appreciate). In cases of chronic or serious diseases such as cancer, diabetes, tuberculosis or epilepsy, medicines are free. In all other cases, there is a 50 per cent reduction on the cost of any medicine after the first 60 cents has been paid.

But the main feature of the Swedish plan which distinguishes it from most other such plans (including the English) is the fact that it is not merely a *medical* insurance, but a *social* insurance as well. Recognizing that the loss of income when a breadwinner is ill can be even more damaging financially to a family than the costs of doctor bills, the Swedish plan provides cash benefits for all wage earners and others with incomes derived from work, amounting to two-thirds of a person's normal income for each day after the fourth day of illness and up to two years thereafter. Self-employed people may also benefit from this section of the plan voluntarily by paying the premiums which are set according to individual income. For all others it is compulsory.

Aside from the objection that such plans hinder the patient's choice of doctor or hospital (which is not to the point here since the Swedish plan provides for free choice of doctor and hospital, and even fees) the major contention of the opponents of social insurance is that it will give over-weening power to the central government—that is, that such

a plan means centralized federal control in matters which would be better and more humanely administered on local levels. How is the Swedish plan organized to meet this problem?

FORMERLY, SWEDISH CITIZENS were insured by voluntary health insurance associations such as we have in the United States. These voluntary associations have certain serious drawbacks. In particular, they are not open to everybody. People over a certain age limit or in poor health—that is, people who constitute "risks"—are either not taken into the plans or charged extremely high premiums and granted coverage only under special circumstances. But these are just the people who are most in need of insurance; yet they cannot be accepted under a voluntary plan because they would drive up the premium costs, and that in turn would discourage others from joining. Therefore, the Swedish government decided on a compulsory scheme which would equalize the advantages among all groups and, by taking "the bad with the good" from the beginning, distribute the costs over the whole population.

This new compulsory plan is organized in much the same way as the former voluntary system. The voluntary health insurance associations have been converted and their funds taken into central and local bodies (sick funds) which administer the compulsory scheme. There are 31 central sick funds in Sweden, covering one province or one city each (presumably there would be more than 50 in a similar plan for the U.S.) Then there are 630 local bodies in Sweden, each affiliated with the central sick funds (this represents more decentralization than is called for in the AMA-backed Kerr-Mills state administered insurance plan).

The relationship between the central and local sick funds is primarily financial. In order to equalize the costs among local units, the central bodies assume a good deal of responsibility for their liabilities. Each sick fund, however, is an independent corporate entity, responsible for its activities and financial solvency. Benefits are always paid out by the local sick funds, even if the central body bears the economic responsibility for these obligations. Needed resources beyond contributions from employers and the government must come from member contributions. This means that contribution rates vary from sick fund to sick fund. If the rate of illness is low in a district and if the fund is well administered and in a good capital position, contribution rates will be low and vice versa.

It is easy to see that this means much less government control than any of the proposed American plans, including Kerr-Mills. The costs of the program are paid by member premiums (about 20 cents a week for the medical insurance and 30 cents a week for loss of work compensation) by employers who pay about 40 cents a week per employee for work loss compensation and are thus freed from contributions to previous health benefit plans; and by the government which provides the rest. Swedish taxes are high (about the same as U. S. taxes) but all things considered, the Swedish citizen is getting quite a bargain for his money.

MISALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Since 1955 David Graham has visited Guatemala four times, spending seven weeks there in all. He has written five articles on Guatemala for The Nation and one for the New Republic. Graham has spent most of the last 10 years, however, in Mexico, on which he has written for Vogue, The Progressive and others. His humor articles have appeared in Esquire, The Atlantic and other magazines. When he is not in Latin America, Graham lives on a Maine farm with his wife and daughter. For this article, he went through U. S. and Guatemalan government documents and Mexican newspapers; and he interviewed dissident Guatemalan Army officers, the assistant manager of a large Guatemalan bank, and other Guatemalan businessmen.

IN THE DEBATES over the Alliance for Progress, one fact seems to be forgotten: that the Alliance already has had a trial run in Latin America—under another name. The Republicans, who fired up the Guatemalan pilot plant in 1954, listed it under International Cooperation and Mutual Security. They not only provided money and technical aid for highways, agrarian reform and education, but also gave the Guatemalans a new President—Col. Castillo Armas—and helped him write a new Constitution.

It was the overthrow of President Arbenz by CIA-backed Castillo Armas that Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota described as an action for which "it is difficult to establish any justification in law or treaty, or even tradition." (Today, incidentally, Arbenz is very much alive and residing, as one might expect, in Cuba, whereas our man Castillo Armas succumbed in a palace intrigue.) But the Dulles brothers were determined on this course—to end the communist menace in the western hemisphere—and afterwards, of course, they wanted to make a showcase of Guatemala.

And how fares the land, in size and number of inhabitants roughly comparable to Tennessee, that in eight years has received more than \$150 million in United States loans and grants?

Ruled for months by martial law, Guatemala lies today in a mixed state of economic stagnation and political turmoil. Violence exploded in the capital last March, when a score of persons were killed and hundreds wounded. Four of the victims were radio station personnel, shot down at their jobs by government forces because the station didn't have a permit to broadcast. In April three students were machine-gunned to death at the University entrance.

The crisis had been building up since December, when the Government of President Miguel Ydigoras won an astounding victory at the polls, capturing 30 (he later settled for 25) of the 33 Congressional seats at stake. The victory was so one-sided that it was attacked from all other sides as fraudulent. For the Guatemalans this was the final shame, the ultimate ignominy in a long series of government indignities, abuses and scandals. Led by the students and faculty of the national university, they responded with strikes and demonstrations.

Just another Castro-communist conspiracy, said President Ydigoras. Like Trujillo, the Guatemalan president soon learned that all that would be required of him by Uncle Sam was anti-communism. He has made a career of it. Three or four communist plots a year has been about par for the presidential course. But among the signers of manifestos calling for the resignation of Ydigoras are the Guatemalan equivalents of the Bar Association and the AMA, as well as the Christian Democratic Party, a right-wing party close

to the Church, and the MLN, a party founded by Col. Castillo Armas. The entire Guatemalan labor movement has also asked for the president's resignation, although some of the leaders later recanted—from jail.

THE REBELLION, temporarily quenched in blood, is bound to break out again. Too many Guatemalans have been jailed, exiled or massacred. So, on April 25 the president packed his cabinet with military men, only one civilian remaining. As in Argentina and Peru, U. S.-financed militarists took control. But no one knows how long the armed forces will abide Ydigoras; a part revolted on November 13, 1960, and many of the mutineers are still in the field. Others sympathetic to them are still in the army.

Yet the wily, nimble old Ydigoras (he once skipped rope to convince reporters of his fitness to be president)—is a man of courage, it must be said, and infinite resources. In Central America, the saying goes, there are only two ways to make a fortune—by inheriting it, or by going into politics. Ydigoras entered politics early in life and rose high in the regime of the dictator Ubico. After Ubico was overthrown, Ydigoras found it expedient to live abroad for a while. But he became an ambassador for Col. Castillo Armas, whom the brothers Dulles elevated to the presidency in 1954; and he himself was elected president after the colonel's assassination. Ydigoras owes his success, if not his life, to the first law of demagoguery: always put on a good show. At his inaugural parade he dismissed the official car and strode through the city accompanied by a weird retinue that included a dwarf and a huge woman who dressed as a man.

OIL AND UNITED FRUIT CO.'S 200,000 ACRES

WHAT GUATEMALA SEEMS to have become is a case-history in wasted money. For what this year's political and economic troubles in Guatemala have revealed only too brutally is that the country's basic problems have not been solved with eight years of aid; they were merely salvaged—bought off for awhile with American money.

Perhaps what we wanted in Guatemala was stability more than a popular government—not so much a healthy, independent economy as a "cooperative" one. At any rate, with the coming of Castillo Armas to power, several significant laws sped through the Guatemalan Congress. One restored more than 200,000 acres of expropriated land to the United Fruit Company; another opened up Guatemala

BOATLOADS OF MEXICANS SHOT

by DAVID L. GRAHAM

to exploration by foreign oil companies. Whereupon some 20 American oil companies and one British surged in and staked out concessions to practically the entire country.

It was a great day for Guatemala. Gushers were expected momentarily. See what happens, people said, when you pry the socialistic bureaucrats loose and turn a country's development over to free enterprise. But now five years after the first well went down—appropriately called the "Castillo Armas No. 1"—the oil still refuses to gush. Not present in commercially-exploitable quantities, the explanation is. But don't we have an excess of crude oil anyway? Could it be that the companies were not looking for gushers but for oil reserves—to be tapped 20 or 30 years hence?

Be that as it may, here we are eight years after we made our first payment on stability in Guatemala—by subsidizing Castillo Armas—and the country is so unstable that its president needs martial law, a military junta, and 85 million additional dollars to keep himself in power. "Aid" has proved not only ineffective—non-curative, that is—but, like most pain-killers, habit-forming.

Bungling, corrupt and oppressive as the Ydigoras administration is, however, all Guatemala's woes cannot be laid to it. Despite his uncanny ability to split opposition parties while stirring up his compatriots with bellicose nonsense, President Ydigoras has been under constant strain because of certain structural flaws in the national economy—flaws riveted in by the ruling elite's feudalistic fixations.

An unfavorable balance of trade resulting from a one-crop (coffee) economy reduced dollar reserves from 72 million in 1957 to 37 million at the close of 1961, a year in which coffee exports were down \$10 million.

Yet the wealthy few who have always controlled Guatemala, 2 per cent of them owning about 70 per cent of the land, have blocked all basic reforms, agrarian and fiscal, including an income tax. Guatemala has none! They plant and harvest their crops on bank loans, then promptly bank the proceeds abroad. The economy, consequently, is expiring from a sort of financial hemophilia, notwithstanding the transfusions donated by the American taxpayer.

Yet here in this Guatemalan microcosm are the main forces with which President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress must grapple: (1) A wealthy ruling caste of mostly landowners, backed by the military and dead set against self-liquidation—in which they are heartily joined by a few equally-privileged American corporations, for whom time's bell is likewise tolling. With admirable candor Kennedy's lieutenants have spoken out against the blind greed of Latin America's privileged few—but with nary a whisper against the greed of American business.

(2) Another important factor in the situation is a merchant and professional class too small to carry the ball for reform or to set up the sort of stable, democratic, more or less classless society we have. Latin America has had fringe capitalism for generations, but in only three countries has the iron grip of feudalism been broken—in Mexico, Bolivia and Cuba.

(3) A third factor that the Alliance for Progress must take into account is a massive majority of illiterate, undernourished, traditionally-exploited untouchables—Indians, in Guatemala's case.

THAT PRESIDENT YDIGORAS would be neither eager nor able to push through the essential reform and demolish the feudalism he has in his bones was soon apparent. Though receiving a plurality of votes in a comparatively honest election, as president he quickly showed that his talents were for intrigue and exhibitionism rather than administration or reform.

Whether leaping to Guatemala's defense against communism, the British Empire, or Mexican shrimpers — his planes shot up several boatloads of them — Ydigoras has always been putting on an act, staging a distraction, rather than attacking Guatemala's problems.

More disgusting was his jackal-like behavior in the Cuban affair—first denying up and down the presence of any invaders in Guatemala, later boasting about them as the *quid pro quo* for American pressure on Britain to cede him British Honduras.

Worst of all was the president's assent to a brutal crackdown on the Guatemalan people for protesting the corruption, election frauds, and inhumanity of his administration. Since December more than a thousand in this little country have been jailed, exiled, beaten up, wounded, or slaughtered. If not for his utter incapacity to bring reform and prosperity to Guatemala, surely for the stench of corruption and murder that clings to his administration Ydigoras should be dropped.

Why does the United States continue trying to prop up Guatemala's obsolete ruling class and their present representative, Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes? Planes we sent him were used to strafe unarmed Mexican shrimpers; the arms we sent have been turned again and again against his own people. Have we learned nothing from Cuba?

By helping the government of President Ydigoras we are subsidizing an oligarchy that refuses to tax itself for scarcely anything but the political and military apparatus that keeps it in power. Or, as the *Washington Post* quoted one American expert as saying, "American taxpayers are contributing the revenue that the Guatemalan ruling class should be contributing themselves."

Funds for Ydigoras are funds for the status quo, funds for stagnation. Yet the very issue of the *New York Times* (March 20, 1962) that described the Guatemalan government's worst slaughter of its protesting citizens carried another item announcing the allocation of more American money to that government for health measures. In addition, Ydigoras has requested an immediate grant of \$4 million to pay back salaries due teachers and civil servants; and he will probably get it. The Alliance for Progress just keeps rolling along.

Most of Central America, to be sure, has stagnated in this same tragic way for nearly a century—malodorous little police states exploited by the few, thanks to American indifference, if not outright American connivance. But now Cuba has exploded across the Caribbean. Now for the first time, as all of Latin America well knows, there is another power eager to challenge American hegemony in the western hemisphere. Our old indifference, our old high-handed ways of dealing with Latin America will serve no longer.

Surely, therefore, it is not unreasonable to suggest that American aid to a government that has looted, debauched and shot up its own country is no Alliance for Progress but a misalliance, disgusting and stupid.

AMERICAN NATIONALISM (Cont.)

III. ANTI-COMMUNISM

Both Hitler and Mussolini were against communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them.

—J. EDGAR HOOVER in "The Communist Party Line," report prepared for Senate Internal Security Subcommittee

ONE OF THE HALLMARKS of Nazism was false anti-communism which was used to attack liberals, socialists and Jews. Similarly, the anti-communism stand is used by American Nationalists as a cover for attacks on internationalists and liberals, and for the promulgation of reactionary political viewpoints. Because they are hiding behind the cloak of anti-communism, these nationalists are able to express the most un-American and undemocratic views imaginable and yet remain above criticism.

For example, of all the men and women now serving in Congress, none is more opposed to the U. S. Constitution, none is more opposed to democracy, and none is more un-American than Congressman Gordon Scherer of Ohio, ranking Republican member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Scherer is a member of the Committee of Endorsers of the John Birch Society, whose leader states that even former President Dwight Eisenhower was a "dedicated, conscious agent of the communist conspiracy." Scherer can deny being in agreement with this particular statement, but how much of Robert Welch's *Blue Book* can he reject and still be considered in honest disagreement despite the high position he has taken in the Birch Society? Would Scherer, for instance, place himself in disagreement with this statement from the *Blue Book*:

Until the intended Communist internationale now called the United Nations has been wiped out or made over from the bottom up, our attitude toward so-called internationalism is made clear and uncompromising by the stated purpose of the society.

The only thing which can possibly stop the Communists is for the American people to learn the truth in time, the domination of our press, television, and radio by Communist influences is now so great that you simply are not allowed to learn or be reminded of the real nature of the beasts to whom we are losing.

In that first paragraph, Welch was stating the "purpose of the society." When Congressman Scherer became a member of the Committee of Endorsers, he aligned himself with that purpose. Yet this man, who would support such lunacies as those espoused by Welch, is the one who is delegated to investigate other Americans for possible subversion. Is there any organization in the United States more subversive to American democracy and liberty than the John Birch Society, and is there any man of responsibility in the United States Government who is more subversive to them than Gordon Scherer? But Scherer repeats over and over again that he is fighting communism, and on that basis he can be assured of support from the majority of his constituents and he can be assured that he will be permitted to continue his investigations of other Americans.

Similarly, the *Arizona Republic*, largest newspaper in the

state of Arizona, can pass off its reactionary, isolationist views as merely anti-communist views. Here is a newspaper that editorializes against the United Nations, against welfare spending, against medical care for the aged, against labor unions, against . . . against the 20th century. Its viewpoints command respect from the people of Arizona. Yet this newspaper could editorialize on Dec. 16, 1960:

In the past, communism has had few effective, dedicated opponents. Thankfully, that deficiency is now being remedied by an anti-Communist movement—comprised of thousands of dedicated Americans from every walk of life — springing up all across the United States. The movement is known as the John Birch Society, and its sole purpose is to turn back the Communist tidal wave threatening to engulf the world.

Notice that phrase "sole purpose." At the time that the *Arizona Republic* published this editorial, its editors had become familiar with Robert Welch's *Blue Book*, full of its tirades against Eisenhower, Nelson Rockefeller, Harry Truman and the United Nations. Clearly the purpose of the John Birch Society is to fight liberalism, not communism. Clearly, this is also the purpose of the *Arizona Republic*. Anti-communism, again, is the vehicle of camouflage and only the nationalist is the true opponent of communism. Dr. Fred Schwarz, director of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, expressed the same idea in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on May 29, 1957, when this exchange took place:

RICHARD ARENS (HCUA counsel): It is our information, Doctor, that there are in the world today approximately 25 million communists. Is there any cohesive force that is opposing them?

SCHWARZ: Unfortunately, no.

Once testimony of that sort is on the record, HCUA's members, all of whom are extreme nationalists, then feel free to go out into society in search of the cohesive force necessary to "fight communism" *i.e.* to fight liberalism. Thus, Gordon Scherer aligns himself with the Birch Society. Thus, Congressman Clyde Doyle of California aligns himself with Project Alert (lynch Earl Warren; invade Cuba), for which he helped conduct a "school of anti-communism" in Los Angeles in December 1961. There Doyle said that hearings by HCUA were necessary in Los Angeles because that city has become the center for communist activities in the United States. On the same program with Doyle was Loyd Wright, former president of the American Bar Association, member of the Board of Directors of Project Alert, and candidate for governor in the California primary. Wright's program for victory over communism, as he outlined it, would include expelling all socialists from the government, withdrawing from the United Nations until all members pay proportionate share of expenses, invoking the Monroe Doctrine in waters around North and South America, and attacking Russia first under certain conditions.

"I would give notice to Russia to get out of the enslaved Baltic nations," Wright said, "within a certain time. If they didn't get out I would commence shooting." He was followed

by Admiral Felix B. Stump, who brought cheers from the audience when he declared that the U. S. Government should "kick the U. N. and its thousands of spies out of New York."

THE FREEDOMS FOUNDATION'S ROLE

FOR THIS KIND of militarism and isolationism. Project Alert won the Freedoms Foundation's George Washington Honor Medal in 1960 for bringing about "a better appreciation of the American way of life." The Freedoms Foundation of Valley Forge, Pa., most highly respected of all American Nationalist organizations, has already been discussed under the topic of "Racial and Religious Prejudice," in which its leader, Dr. Kenneth D. Wells, was termed an "anti-Semitic, racist fanatic." Quotes were given to buttress this assertion. It now remains to buttress another assertion in that part of this analysis of Nationalism: that the Freedoms Foundation is using the anti-communism issue to cloak its fanatic right-wing activities.

Lecturing at a Project Alert school, Dr. Wells shouted into television cameras, according to *Life* magazine of February 9, 1962: "I want to talk to you Marxists and traitors out there! I know you're glued to your television screens. Get this, and get it straight! Get the message, Comrades. This country's 20-year Rip Van Winkle sleep is over!"

To bring the anti-communist message home to Americans, Wells' Freedoms Foundation has used Dwight Eisenhower as honorary chairman and a host of other important names as officers (see list in July issue of *The American Liberal*). On Nov. 21, 1949, at a ceremony at Valley Forge presided over by General Eisenhower, Freedoms Foundation distributed its first annual "Freedom Awards" in the form of cash prizes totaling \$72,000 and 203 gold medals to 121 American individuals and organizations "extending the freedom philosophy of Americanism." The Awards Jury headed by Harold E. Stassen included eight chief justices of state supreme courts and representatives of such organizations as Colonial Dames of America, Sons of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Lions International, Kiwanis International, National Council of Women of U. S., and the American Legion.

Some of the awards given then were quite respectable—e.g. the awards given to Herbert Hoover, Jimmy Byrnes, John Foster Dulles and Senator Robert Taft. In others a more distinct pattern began to emerge. Judge Harold R. Medina was honored for his handling of the trial of the 11 communist leaders. Jackie Robinson, Brooklyn Dodger second baseman, received an award for his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The National Association of Manufacturers got an award for a film called "The Price of Freedom." And, at last, Harding College of Searcy, Arkansas was honored for its film cartoon "Make Mine Freedom."

Now the thinking in the Freedoms Foundation came into clear focus. The anti-communism of Dr. George Benson, leader of Harding College, is well known to be anti-liberalism, anti-socialism and anti-unionism. It is based on distortions of history and vicious lies about modern developments in the United States and other nations. An example is the 30-minute technicolor film "Communist Encirclement, 1961" which has been in wide use throughout the Armed Forces and our public school system.

The purpose of the film, produced at Harding College for Dr. Benson's National Education Program, is to prove

that the communists are succeeding in carrying out what is supposed to be Lenin's plan to encircle the United States by taking first Eastern Europe, then Asia, then the U. S. itself. To prove the communists are succeeding and that there is no one left to trust but American Nationalists, the film rewrites and distorts history and the world situation. Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan—all neutrals—are shown in lurid red on the map as part of the "Communist bloc." U. S. recognition of the Soviet Union in 1933 is called a gift to Stalin. The United States lost the Korean War. Ed Sullivan helped the communists win Cuba by interviewing Castro on TV. The "Reds" now "control" university students in the U. S. The communists "hold great power here [in the U. S.] in proportion to their numbers."

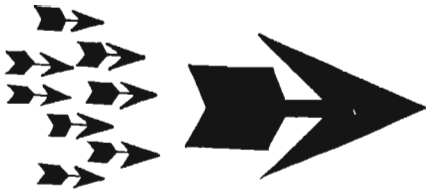
HAD THE FREEDOMS FOUNDATION given only that first award in 1949 to Harding College, there might have been grounds for dismissing it as a mistake. But, in fact, the Freedoms Foundation has now given awards to Harding College for eight straight years! To top it off, Freedoms Foundation places these awards to Harding under the category of "college winners," thus lumping Harding together with respected American colleges. The 1957 award to Harding under this category read: "For bold, scholarly, and effective work greatly strengthening the structure of American citizenship."

In addition to awarding Project Alert and Harding College, the Freedoms Foundation has awarded the Daughters of the American Revolution for "dispelling the fog of collectivist propaganda" (*Los Angeles Times*, April 19, 1962)—although not without the DAR's almost rejecting the award because Sen. Thomas Dodd of Connecticut was also honored and the DAR condemns Dodd as a "world federalist" (Dodd headed a world federalist chapter in Connecticut in 1946, but has since severed this relationship in a sharp and decisive manner). This "collectivist propaganda" line has been extended in Freedoms Foundation awards to men who link communism with socialism.

Thus, in 1956 the Foundation's Abe Lincoln Editorial Award went to Bob Siegrist of the *Milwaukee Sentinel* for an editorial featuring this statement: "Compare all of our freedoms, our greatness, our individual wealth and possessions with those behind the Kremlin's Iron Curtain . . . the ultimate in a socialist society" (the dots are not by this writer, but by Freedoms Foundation in its published excerpts of Siegrist's editorial). Siegrist also won the Foundation's George Washington Honor Medal for a radio broadcast on the Declaration of Independence sponsored by the Allen-Bradley Co. This firm, convicted six times in the last two years of engaging in price-fixing conspiracies and other illegal practices designed to create monopolies in its field of industrial electronics, has been one of the most important financial backers of the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade.

This leads to the question of financial backing. Who is sponsoring the Freedoms Foundation and similar organizations, and for what purpose? Who is fighting liberalism, socialism and internationalism through right-wing fanatic organizations that disguise their activities under the guise of anti-communism? How does the Freedoms Foundation acquire \$72,000 in its first year just for prizes? From what sources do the Nationalists obtain their funds, and what is the ulterior motive by which, as J. Edgar Hoover put it, history should judge this so-called anti-communist movement?

(To be continued with Part IV: "The Tie-up With Big Business.")



Follow-ups

'ANTI-COMMUNIST' RADIO MAN TURNS OUT TO BE A BIRCHER PROMOTING ANTI-SEMITISM

Fred Huntley, whose "Anti-Communist Amateur Radio Network" (ACARN) was rejected by the Federal Communications Commission (see October issue of *The American Liberal*) now turns out to be a dues-paying member of the John Birch Society who has been promoting anti-Semitism. The story of Huntley presents one more in a series of lessons on the true nature of the pious so-called "anti-communists" making so much noise in the United States.

Huntley, a civilian electronics employee at the Alameda Naval Air Station and a resident of Berkeley, Calif., is an amateur radio operator who broadcasts over Amateur Radio Station W6RNC. By passing himself off as nothing more than a man dedicated to stamping out communism, he was able to gain newspaper publicity in an effort to recruit other hams for ACARN. The idea was to beam "patriotic" messages abroad because the Voice of America has not been effective and "the resources of amateur radio offer a tremendous untapped potential for combatting communism" (the quote is from one of Huntley's letters published in the *San Diego Union*, the big Copley newspaper which has sponsored John Birch Society propaganda).

Huntley freely admitted working with the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade and promoting Dr. Fred Schwarz's book *You Can Trust the Communists*, but that is all he admitted up to the time the Federal Communications Commission denied his application to beam his "patriotic" messages abroad. Stymied in that gambit, Huntley began using telephone lines to circulate messages urging listeners to fight the United Nations, fight the U. S. Supreme Court, work for repeal of the income tax, and promote two anti-Semitic books: *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (proven many times to be a forgery) and *The Invisible Government*. Residents of the San Francisco Bay Area were attracted to these telephone messages through advertisements in local newspapers advising readers to dial a Berkeley number to hear "patriotic" messages under the title of "Let Freedom Ring."

After a short period of this, Berkeley residents complained and the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League filed protests with the Pacific Telephone Co. and the FCC. The League's local director, Stanley Jacobs, revealed that Huntley had written him as long ago as Aug. 13, 1961, to declare: "I think that maybe Eichmann had the right idea."

Interviewed by local newspapermen, Huntley told more about himself; he is a 46-year-old bachelor whose mother was Jewish, and he is a \$24 a year dues-paying member of the John Birch Society. He said he has been paying the Pacific Telephone Co. \$150 a month for the recorded service and this money comes out of his monthly salary of \$560.

Huntley has experienced success in using newspapers and the telephone company as vehicles for entrance to his hate messages. One wonders what would have happened had he obtained his permit from the FCC and had his "Anti-Communist Amateur Radio Network" become a reality.

KENNEDY'S REPORT VERSUS THE TRUE PRICE-FIXING PICTURE

Attorney General Kennedy's 434-page report (the September issue of *The American Liberal* incorrectly stated it would be 480 pages) concluded that price-fixing was found in only one per cent of all bids submitted by private business to government agencies. Since firms are reluctant to attempt price-fixing in this area because of the strong possibility of getting caught, the general picture given to the public was that price-fixing exists in only one per cent of the business being done in the U. S. Actually, price-fixing is a way of life in the U. S. It is widespread, so widespread that the Department of Justice cannot keep up with even a small percentage of the potential cases for prosecution.

In areas of business outside government dealings, federal officials are at a loss to estimate the extent of price-fixing. There has been no comprehensive study of a leading business practice that is tearing down the free enterprise system in the U. S. and helping to bring about oligopoly. But here are some typical cases, given scant coverage by daily newspapers, that show the common aspects of price-fixing among business corporations:

'ECONOMY BREAD'

was the subject of an indictment against six firms and seven individuals in the Philadelphia-Trenton area on charges of artificially raising the price of the least expensive type of bread and attempting to shut off the source of supply of distributors who would not cooperate. Those indicted were:

Ward Baking Co. of New York and its Philadelphia sales manager, Oscar Doyle; Fleischmann's Vienna Model Bakery of Philadelphia and its president, F. W. McCarthy; Leo Rossi Baking Co. of Trenton and its president, Theresa Rossi; Schulz Baking Co. of Pottstown, Pa., and its president, Charles Schulz, Sr.; Stroehmann Baking Co. of Pottstown, Pa. and its vice-president, Leonard V. Thompson; Frankford Grocery Co. of Williamsport, Pa. and its president, Herman Heim; Theo Staab, Executive Secretary of the Pennsylvania Bakers Assn.

"Economy" bread is a class of white loaf bread which is usually sold at lower prices than regular bread under a separate trade name. Retail sales of this class of bread amount to \$4.5 million annually in the Philadelphia-Trenton area.

According to the indictment, the bread companies held meetings at which they agreed upon prices to be charged,

thus wiping out potential consumer savings from competition. One Philadelphia distributor, however, refused to cooperate and began buying "economy" bread in York, Pa. for distribution in Philadelphia. The companies then ganged up on him by cutting prices in the York market in an effort to force the York baker supplying the Philadelphia distributor to cut off the supply. These are the same methods which the Continental Baking Co. (Wonder bread and Hostess cakes), largest baking company in the nation, has found to be so successful in driving out competition.

Maximum penalty possible for the individuals involved is a year in prison and a \$50,000 fine; and for the corporations a \$50,000 fine. The loss of savings to the consumer through the loss of competition involves hundreds of thousands of dollars.

SCHOOL SUPPLIES

were at the heart of an indictment against eight firms and 11 individuals on charges of fixing prices, rigging bids and allocating customers in school districts in Delaware, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Those indicted were:

Kurtz Brothers of Clearfield, Pa. and its vice-president, Robert M. Kurtz; Kurtz Bros. Eastern Division of Paoli, Pa. and its manager Ira P. Romberger; Garrett-Buchanan Co. of Philadelphia and its manager of school supplies, Maurice C. Huff; J. L. Hammett Co. of Cambridge, Mass. and three of its vice-presidents; L. B. Herr and Son of Lancaster, Pa.; Roberts and Meck, Inc. of Harrisburg, Pa. and its president, Robert S. Meck, and vice-president, Robert M. Comfort; Carl Gordon, former president of Peckham, Little & Co. of Jersey City, N. J.; A&C Co. of Baltimore and its president, Charles Ellerin; Paul M. Adams Co. and its president and treasurer, James G. Schmidt.

The indictments charged that the firms and individuals conspired to designate a low bidder, on whom they all agreed, to supply the needs of various school districts. As a result, the school districts were forced to buy supplies at artificially high prices and the suppression of competition jacked up prices even higher.

The maximum penalties possible are a year in prison and a \$50,000 fine for the individuals and a \$50,000 fine for the corporations. The school supplies involved — stationery, pens, pencils, notebooks, brushes, colors, etc. — amount to a \$14 million annual business in Delaware, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania; and a \$1 million annual business in Maryland and Virginia.

RENAULT, INC.,

Peugeot, Inc. and three of their distributors agreed to stop fixing prices of Renault and Peugeot cars and parts. The agreement enabled the firms to escape punishment in store for them as the result of a suit brought by the Justice Department.

Renault and Peugeot are American corporations that import Renault and Peugeot cars and parts, and sell them to distributors, who sell them in turn to dealers. The Justice Department's suit charged them with fixing the dealers' resale prices of cars and parts, forcing dealers to sell only Renault and Peugeot products, and splitting up territories into zones to prevent competition among distributors and dealers.

Since Renault and Peugeot agreed to stop these illegal practices, there will be no punishment.

REVLON, INC.

of New York was charged with fixing artificially high wholesale and retail prices for cosmetics ranging from hair spray to pedicure implements. Revlon management, according to the Justice Department, took advantage of their firm's position as the nation's leading manufacturer of cosmetics to force wholesalers and retailers to abide by the prices they fixed. Some wholesalers, described as franchised distributors, were forced to sell Revlon products only to beauty shops and then only in allocated territories.

Non-franchised wholesalers were prevented from buying a full line of Revlon products. Franchised retailers were forced to buy directly from Revlon and to sell only to the public. Any firm that did not conform had its cosmetic supplies cut off, according to the Justice Department.

Of the one billion dollars which American consumers spend each year for cosmetics, Revlon gets \$150 million. In drug and department stores across the nation, one-fourth of the cosmetics sold are Revlon products.

SCRAP METAL

accumulated in Hawaii from the armed forces, plantations and discarded autos involved the Learner Co. of Oakland, Calif. in a nasty indictment by a federal grand jury on charges of conspiracy to defraud, fix prices and monopolize trade. Along with the major company the indictment named: its president, Paul W. Learner; Flynn-Learner of Honolulu and its vice-president, Gilbert Wong; National Metals of Honolulu and its president, Louis Dulien. (Flynn-Learner is a subsidiary of the Learner Co. and Paul Learner is its president.)

Most of the scrap metal which the Learner dynasty accumulated from the armed forces and other sources was exported to Japan. This export business is worth \$4 million annually and represents 85 per cent of Hawaii's exports to Japan. Flynn-Learner and National Metals were the only two scrap dealer-exporters in Hawaii.

According to the indictment, Learner, Wong and Dulien agreed upon prices they would pay to scrap collectors and bids they would make to large sellers of scrap metal. They held periodic meetings and apportioned the tonnage of scrap metal for export among them. As the result, the price level for scrap metal was depressed and competition was eliminated.

The fraud conspiracy count charged that the Learner dynasty agreed on rigged bids to be submitted to the U. S. Government and apportioned the market of government scrap sales among themselves.

SILVER MILL PRODUCTS

became the subject of an indictment of two firms by a federal grand jury on charges of fixing prices. The two firms, Handy and Harman of New York City and Engelhard Industries of Newark, N. J., held meetings prior to each major price change and decided on what the prices should be.

Silver mill products are processed forms of silver and alloys such as sheets, strips and wire. They are used in the manufacture of jewelry, tableware and electrical equipment. The two firms account for 90 per cent of the \$42 million annual market in the product. Their price-fixing arrangement has resulted in artificially high prices and elimination of most competition. The maximum penalty possible is a fine of \$50,000 for each firm.

THE TRAGEDY MUST GO ON

by DWIGHT L. BOLINGER

Dwight Bolinger is professor of Spanish at the University of Colorado and one of the authors of Modern Spanish. Several other textbooks and approximately 150 articles on Spanish and English linguistics written by him have been published. His articles on other topics have been published in The Progressive Education Digest and the AAUP Bulletin (American Assn. of University Professors).

WE HAVE SUNK so deep in the rut of military commitment that nothing can turn us aside from disaster except disaster itself. The immunizing disaster could take any one of many forms, all of them the stuff of nightmares that grow more vivid day by day. Someone drops a phial of one of those essences distilled in the germ factory at Fort Detrick; it spreads and kills a thousand before it is checked. An experimental missile with a nuclear warhead flies out of control. A freak wind deposits a deadly concentration of fallout on a city. Supply anything in your imagination from our well-stocked museum of horrors. The germs may not be checked, the fallout or the accidental explosion may be blamed on the Russians and start the fireworks in earnest. But if the accident is just bad enough not to be put down as a serious but tolerable error in judgment or mechanical failure, just unmitigated enough not to be met with the pat reassurances of government officials or given the silent treatment by the press, and just obviously enough our own responsibility, we may be spared a worse fate.

The reason comes down to a question of *shock*. We are victims of a creeping expediency that has inured us step by step to accept preparations and condone acts that a couple of generations ago would have caused the perpetrators to be lynched.

Back of this is not only a slow habituation, like Mithridates taking poison to get used to it, but the fog of unreality that covers all those things that have never touched us deeply. America is the first society to achieve a virtual taboo on the unpleasant. A list of the dirty jobs that people used to have to do for themselves, but that we have managed to delegate and hide from view, would reveal how we have sanitized our civilization: the repulsing of our enemies, the delivery of our children, the killing of animals to feed and clothe us, the vigil over our dead, and their burying. The important things of existence, by the very fact of their importance and the energies that men before us have expended to make them no longer burdensome, have become so easy to resolve that they have moved out to the edge of our lives. Everything is on tap, even war, which can be fought by pressing a button. It is all so remote from us. In our catalog of neuroses, the wail of a victim is abnormal.

Against this background, which might be described as typical of a happy childhood in other civilizations, Americans are being asked to think about death, and it is no wonder that their minds reject it as the minds of children always do. The problems are there, and we know they stalk us in the dark, but we dare not speak of the dark. And by waiting,

in our childish experience, we know that the dark will go away.

Refusing to admit that death is real, we paralyze our efforts to avoid it. We dare the Indians to shoot us because it is only a game of bluff and anyway all the arrows we have ever been hit with had rubber tips.

Besides, we are in the right; everyone we are willing to listen to tells us so; and the right always wins in the end. If you are right, there is no room for compromise. If your enemy persists in opposing you, that proves he will not listen to reason and must be met with force.

OUT OF THIS MIXTURE of delusions, of pathological cheerfulness, childish faith, and terrifying inexperience, we have brewed a confidence in our professional defenders that has put us completely in their hands. Funds that might have gone to a hundred different agencies in an ideally diversified economy have been channeled through Defense, giving it the power to buy up everything from industry to education. And Defense has outdone itself to merit our confidence. It has channeled brains, built communities, rewarded its friends and accepted the aid of devious agencies to silence its critics, persuaded us to vote it the money to persuade us to vote it more, and left no single fiber of our lives untouched by it.

The trend is irreversible by any ordinary means of reason or argument or moral suasion or the efforts of the few remaining practitioners of free enterprise among the multitude of recreant preachers of that gospel. If it could not be turned aside in Britain by the real outcry there, it will not yield to a few thousand peace marchers in this country. It is too late to vote it out, even if a majority were opposed to it and a slate of candidates presented themselves; and the administration in the relatively simple matter of nuclear testing has proved itself capable of ignoring the desires of a majority, or even of taking the trouble to find out whether there was one. We are boxed in because there are no avenues of democratic expression. The most vital issue in history has been maneuvered beyond discussion. And if a rational "nay" were arrived at, it would have no place to register itself.

This is why the trend can be reversed only by a blunder of such proportions that it will create a revulsion of feeling everywhere and in everyone. We can only hope that when the blunder happens—and with military hardware thicker than planes over Idylwild and getting thicker, it will happen as surely as planes collide—the disaster will not be total; and, if we do get through it with only minor scars, that the reaction will not go so far as to wreck our legitimate means of defense.

It is a desperate hope that sees salvation only in misfortune, immunity to smallpox only in catching the disease. But Americans have reached the point where they cannot be convinced that there is such a thing as smallpox until they come down with it. Our survival hangs on a light case.

Fighting City Hall

by BURTON H. WOLFE

IF YOU HAVE ever wondered what would happen if some publisher took on City Hall with an expose of crooked politics in a big American city, you may be interested in the story of what happened when I did it. My attempt, with the Summer 1962 issue of *The Californian*, featured three sensational eye-catchers on the cover: (1) a headline, "The Real Christopher of San Francisco," that added one word to the best-selling book published by Macmillan; (2) Christopher's police mug shot; and (3) a quote from former Republican California Governor Goodwin J. Knight, taken from a letter to Thomas J. Storke, Pulitzer-prize-winning editor and publisher of the *Santa Barbara News-Press*: "His record is the worst I have ever seen, and the Republicans in nominating him have made a basic blunder."

Inside, the article proved with carefully documented facts that Mayor George Christopher, Richard Nixon's running mate in the lieutenant governor campaign in California, has two criminal convictions in his record; that his milk company has been caught in dozens of violations of the law; that his milk has been watered down; that he spent time in jail as the result of forcing farmers to pay him kickbacks; that he switched party registrations from Republican to Progressive to Democrat to Republican; that he first won election to the office of supervisor partly by placing illegal political ads on his milk bottles; that one of his best friends, whom he appointed supervisor once he became mayor, used his political office to obtain business for his own supply company; that Christopher's sales of milk from the time he entered office as supervisor to the middle of his second term as mayor increased from 1,500 to 15,000 gallons sold per day; that his milk business with the city school system increased from \$8,820 in 1948 to \$60,299 in 1961; that he used political influence to obtain milk business at San Francisco International Airport, the San Francisco Giants' baseball stadium, the San Francisco Forty-Niners' football stadium, and many other places around the city; that he refused to hire any Negroes as milk wagon drivers until the NAACP threatened a boycott; that he struck persons and kicked his wife; that his fiscal policies resulted in a record high property tax in San Francisco; and that he deliberately lied about the anti-HCUA demonstration by students in City Hall, May 12-14, 1960.

As soon as this issue hit the newsstands, phones started jangling all over the city. Before the first day was over, 12 of the biggest newsstands, which have regularly carried *The Californian* and *The American Liberal*, had removed the issue from their racks. At one of the biggest outlets, 13 copies of the magazine were sold in the first half-hour—at an unbusy time and before there was any word of any kind that *The Californian* was out with a Christopher issue. The distributor had anticipated a sale of anywhere from 500 to 1,000 copies at this outlet; instead, after that first half-hour the owner of the newsstand pulled the issue off his racks. He said he would continue to display *The American Liberal* in his place, but that he would not get mixed up in "dirty politics."

The owner of another important outlet explained to me that while he likes *The American Liberal* and will continue to display it, he would not carry the issue on Christopher

because "I'm a die-hard Republican and this stuff turns my stomach." The owner of a big liquor and cigar store with a big magazine rack, located in Christopher's neighborhood, told the distributor: "I agree with every word in the article. I know it's all true. But the pressure in this neighborhood is terrific."

One day after the magazine first hit the newsstands, the pressure became greater. Herb Caen had mentioned it in his column and Herb Caen is the most popular newspaper columnist in California. In his column of Sept. 14, Caen said: "If you hear Mayor Christopher yelling 'Ouch!' in the next few minutes, it's because he has just been bitten by the big, bad Burton Wolfe. Wolfe, editor of *The Californian* magazine, devotes his entire new issue (32 pages) to an unprecedented blast at the Mayor. 'Nobody is behind me on this,' reports Wolfe. 'It is a labor of love.'" Immediately there was a run on the newsstands.

Just as immediately, pressure was applied to the distributor to stop distributing the magazine and on newsstand dealers to stop selling it. Herb Caen also mentioned this in one of his columns, but it didn't slow down the pressure, which was coming from Democrats as well as Republicans. (Leading Democrats are just as much a part of this city's dirty politics as are Republicans.) At this point, any ordinary distributor would have thrown up his hands and quit. But not this distributor.

LOU SWIFT, OF HIDDEN GREATNESS

THE DISTRIBUTOR in this case is Louis Swift (see "The Story of Lou Swift," February 1960 issue.) Without him *The American Liberal* and *The Californian* would have ceased to exist long ago. The favors he has bestowed are too numerous to mention—things like buying an extra thousand copies himself each month and distributing them without any fee. Lou owns the East Bay News Co., the Golden Gate News Agency at 66 Third St. and 150 Powell St., and L-S Distributors, sole northern California distributor of *The New York Times* and several hundred other periodicals. His Golden Gate News Agency, the most complete newsstand in the United States, is plastered with liberal publications—but only three are displayed in his window across the street from Hearst's *Examiner*: *The American Liberal*, *The Californian*, and *The Realist*.

Lou is an old-time radical, one of the founders of the IWW, who came off the streets of New York, survived eight years in the hospital (ages 6 to 14) as the result of a polio attack, overcame the burden of crippled legs which put him back in the hospital almost every year for 50 years, and became a prosperous businessman. He rose from copyboy to promotion manager of the *Examiner*, founded a newspaper in Texas for old-man Scripps of the Scripps-Howard chain, and did enough other interesting things in his life to fill a book. But despite success, he never gave up his liberalism.

Lou could be a wealthy man today. Instead he gives all of his money away to people like me. Poor Negroes come to

him all of the time for handouts, and they always get something. His store was used by CORE picketers to store signs when no one else would provide space. He not only saved an old San Francisco orthodox Jewish synagogue from possible extinction, but paid for repairs and publication of a unique bulletin which have now brought the synagogue fame and status as a landmark.

Lou is also a fighter. He sells girlie magazines in order to make up the loss he suffers on the liberal publications which he alone will handle in the San Francisco Bay area. When the censors moved in, Lou fought them through the courts and won. When the State Department demanded he register as a foreign agent for selling *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, he refused on the ground that it was material obtainable through the mail anyway and he was making it easier for scholars to get these periodicals (Stanford University is dependent to a great extent on Swift for foreign periodicals from around the world). Of course, Lou won; the State Department was no match for him.

You can understand, then, that when the pressure became the heaviest, Lou said quietly: "All they're doing is making me more determined than ever to keep *The Californian* out on the newsstands."

Lou was not the only one helping. There was also John Draeger, owner of the Brighton Express, which advertises "No Tourists" (and means it). John also placed a wowzer of an ad in *The Californian* proclaiming: "We sell BORDEN'S milk." It's time I introduced you to John and his unique restaurant.

THE CUSTOMER IS ALWAYS WRONG

ALTHOUGH BRIGHTON EXPRESS has a limited menu, the food is so unique and the atmosphere so different that John has to turn customers away. Well, he doesn't really have to, but when every seat is taken, he won't let people wait in his doorway. "Can't you see that all the seats are already taken?" he snaps at them. And when they've left in amazement, he says to me: "I can't stand people who will wait in line to get into a restaurant. Damn, they don't have any pride, or anything to do. It just sickens me."

Not only that, but you had better not say the wrong thing if you are in his place. One night a right-winger got into an argument with one of the left-wingers that frequents John's place regularly (the clientele ranges from John Birchers and executives of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. to "known communists" such as Archie Brown, for whom John took up a defense fund collection when Archie became the first political victim of the "anti-communist" section of the Landrum-Griffin labor act). John listened up to the beginning of an attack on Franklin D. Roosevelt, then said: "Okay, you bastard, get out of here." The man got. John is a big, tall fellow.

John's wife, Joanna, is a small Japanese gal. She does the cooking, while John serves as head waiter as well as manager. Customers would like to talk to Joanna in the kitchen because she's fun, but John enforces a big sign which says: "Keep out of the kitchen." There are no exceptions. I'm a steady customer, but when I went back there one night he said: "All right, get out of there; don't bother the cook when she's busy."

Nor are there exceptions for the rule that no one but John's regular bachelor customers sit at the rear table. One night an agreeable bachelor gave permission for two females to sit at the table, since no one else was there and it was

late. John ordered them out. They pleaded with him to stay. "Absolutely not," he said. "There can't be any exceptions to the rule."

John just doesn't care about being popular and making money (which he does anyway). When his place fills up or when he's tired of serving food, he closes the door—sometimes in someone's face. Why wait to take in \$500 for the night when you've already taken in \$300?

John also loves battles. He fought the *San Francisco Chronicle* for closing up Pacific Avenue (the ex-Barbary Coast and International Settlement street on which his restaurant is located) and charging people money to get into the street for Barbary Coast night. John now has the *Chronicle* so frightened that management is planning for next year to call off the closed-street policy and the charge for Barbary Coast night as well.

John's latest projects include (1) plans to drop leaflets from his plane over farm areas where wealthy corporation growers refuse to permit laborers to become part of the human race, and (2) getting *The Californian's* Christopher issue plastered all over the city. This he has done by selling the magazine in his restaurant, paying for circulars which have been passed around the city, and helping us sell magazines on the street.

REVERTING TO NEWSBOY

NO, I AM NOT JOKING. John, my wife Sandy, and I have actually been standing on street corners peddling the magazine. We were forced into it as one by one the newsstands refused to sell it and the communications media either remained silent or gave unfavorable reports of the Christopher article. It was called a "smear" on radio station KGO of the American Broadcasting System. A newscaster for KCBS of the Columbia Broadcasting System referred to it as "McCarthyism." (I joked with both of these broadcasters about it and thanked them for mentioning the article, since their criticisms resulted in many additional sales.)

Meanwhile, a *Chronicle* reporter had taken a copy of the magazine to Mayor Christopher (who had already seen it) and asked him to comment. Christopher threw it into his desk and said: "I'm not going to answer this. The only reason Wolfe publishes this stuff is so he can get a plug in Herb Caen's column. Of course, I'll sue after the election. But I don't want to blow my stack just now." Herb Caen published part of this, emphasizing the last statement, at the top of his column of September 19: "Mayor Christopher took one glance at the new issue of *The Californian*—all 32 pages are devoted to blasting him—and filed it away till after the election, when he may sue Editor Burton Wolfe. Quote from George: 'I don't want to blow my stack just now.'" Thus, Caen in effect challenged Christopher before all San Francisco to sue right then if there were anything libelous in the 32 pages. (Lawyers have checked the whole issue; there is nothing libelous in it.)

While all of this helped sales, it also frightened newsstand dealers who were afraid they would be sued or pressured out of business. Thus, on September 20 Herb Caen

KURT'S BAZAAR

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reported: "Some of the town's bigger newsstands are refusing to stock the new anti-Christopher issue of *The Californian*, and Publisher Burton Wolfe is hollering 'Pressure!'" The publicity had now backfired. People were no longer buying the issue because they could not find it on the newsstands, which convinced them all the more that the whole thing must be a smear.

Faced with these obstacles, I took the only course left open to me: I tried, with my wife and John Draeger, to sell the magazine on the streets and, as Herb Caen reported in his column of Sept. 28: "Burton Wolfe, editor-publisher of *The Californian*, tried to peddle his anti-Christopher issue on Montgomery St. yesterday morning and lasted all of five minutes before the cops ran him off for having 'no permit' (which Wolfe tried to get from Chief Tom Cahill and failed)."

Here's what had happened: First, I had called the police to ask for a permit to sell the magazine on the street. I was told: we have not issued any peddler's permits since 1957 and there is a city ordinance preventing the sale of anything on the street without a permit, so you can't sell it. This answer was obviously a run-around, so I wrote to Chief Cahill advising him that other organizations were selling their publications on the streets and that I intended to sell mine. I asked his recommendations on what would and would not be permissible. Back came this reply from Al Arnaud, assistant deputy chief in charge of the legal division: "This department is a law enforcement agency, and it is not its function to issue opinions of the legality or illegality of contemplated acts." I considered this a denial of permission to sell the magazine, and so on Sept. 26 John Draeger, Sandy (my wife) and I stood on the corner of California and Montgomery (Wall Street of the West) trying to sell magazines.

We lasted between five and 10 minutes, long enough to sell one copy and listen to a typical businessman-for-Christopher who stopped to say: "You're worse than swine. You should be deported to Russia." Then, along came a big, new gray Cadillac convertible with a Christopher sign on the bumper. The car stopped in the middle of the intersection, and its occupant—a stocky, swarthy fellow—got out, came over and tried to grab a copy out of my hand. I pulled it away and said: "Uh, uh. We're not giving these away." He said: "Well, what are you doing with them, then?" I told him we were selling them. He snarled: "You idiots!" and drove away to get the policeman on the beat one block down Montgomery. The policeman told us we could not distribute or sell the magazine without a permit and ordered us off the street. As we walked away alongside Christopher's man, a taxi cab driver moving slowly down Montgomery in his cab spotted the magazines under our arms and yelled: "Californian? I already got my copy. I'm on your side." Christopher's man turned beet red. (Taxi cab drivers were among our best friends. One bought 25 copies and sold them to his customers, right in his cab.)

At this point I consulted a sharp attorney, who advised me to get nasty. I wrote another letter demanding a permit, with copies of the letter to Herb Caen and Ernest Besig, director of the Northern California ACLU. Chief Cahill then reversed policy and approved my application for a permit. When I applied I asked the officer in charge how long it would take for the permit to be approved. He replied: "Oh, that's impossible to say—weeks." Undoubtedly my permit would be approved on November 7. So, I became even nastier, threatening to swear out a warrant for Chief Cahill's arrest if I were not given permission to sell the magazine without a permit. My chief argument was that the daily news-

papers had permission to sell their publications without a permit. On the basis of this argument, Inspector Arnaud of the legal division gave me permission to sell the magazine.

THE WINNER IS APATHY

HAD THE POLICE and the Christopher forces known how few copies of the Christopher issue were printed and how few of those would be purchased, they might not have become so excited. Only 5,000 copies of the issue were printed. Of these only 3,500 had been sold as of this writing (Oct. 9). Of course, perhaps as many as 25,000 San Franciscans have read the issue because it has been placed in offices and passed around in various groups to a great extent. But San Francisco has a population of 750,000—so, why should Christopher worry? With the exception of Herb Caen, no daily newspaper man had guts enough to mention the article. So, most Californians don't even know it is in existence.

Nor did our attempts to break through the wall of silence by peddling on the streets succeed. My wife, a model, attracted considerable attention because she's good looking. But in an hour and half on a busy corner of Montgomery Street, we could sell only 12 to 15 copies. Many people stopped to ask questions, but would not buy the issue—\$1 was too much to pay to get the facts about their city administration and the man who is about to become their lieutenant governor (he is leading the Democrats' candidate, Anderson, in the polls). After a few days of this, we quit.

About the only one who really got excited over the whole issue was a "Democrat" named Ed Heavey, appointed by Christopher to the Library Commission and blasted by *The Californian* and his fellow Democrats for his red-baiting. Heavey walked in my office one day to buy a copy and question my views on communism. When I gave him a liberal viewpoint, he asked: "What's the difference between that and communism?" After I tried to explain, he said to me—without any relevance at all to my arguments and without my having mentioned J. Edgar Hoover or anyone like him even once—"I consider anyone who would criticize J. Edgar Hoover to be un-American and disloyal." I told him I disagree with him. He then looked at me with an expression full of hatred that I thought would be reserved for Khrushchev himself, and said:

"I've just begun. I have the organization and the weapons to see to it that before long we will kick people like you into the gutter where you belong, hard and fast." He repeated the last two words—"hard and fast"—in a snarl and then walked out.

That's George Christopher's friend, just appointed by Christopher to our library commission.

Men like Heavey may find their way into state government if Christopher wins the election. I've given the Anderson forces the ammunition to defeat Christopher, but they won't use it. Nor is anyone around San Francisco sufficiently interested in the corruption of city government to take any action.

So, there's your answer to what happens when a man fights city hall in 1962. Nothing. There's a little bit of harassment, but then those in power can rely on apathy to do the rest.

I'm still trying, by the way. We're planning to hit the streets with some leaflets advertising the issue and blasting Christopher. Any volunteers to help pass them out on the streets of California's big cities? Or are all of the California readers of this magazine apathetic, too?

Investigate That Typesetter

Dr. Joost Sluis will tell the San Mateo Rotary club this Thursday noon about "Communism, the Americas, and You." . . . He also directs the Northern California branch of the Christian Anti-American Crusade. The meeting will be at the Ben Franklin hotel.

—*San Mateo Times, Sept. 13, 1962*

HEROES OF OUR TIME

(Excerpted from the May 1962 issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists)

The world has a new set of heroes whose fame extends far beyond their native countries. They are called cosmonauts in Russia and astronauts in America.

John Glenn, and probably other American astronauts as well, are faithful churchgoers: Gagarin and Titov are good communists. Far be it from me to equate religion with the secular creed of communism, but both connote conformism to the approved national attitude.

The Gagarins, the Titovs, the Glenns, well deserve their status of world heroes; but in their achievements they were servants of their states and of the societies which produced them.

None of the three heroes is an originator or creator. They are typical of a whole generation of heroes of our time—drivers of race cars, fliers of fighter planes, test pilots. They are daring handlers of machines designed by the genius of others. Typically the names of the builders remain unknown.

The clean-cut, sympathetic family men, the astronauts and the cosmonauts, resemble each other closely, whether they come from America or from Russia.

And yet these heroes serve, faithfully and intelligently, two political powers that face each other with deep enmity and hope for the collapse of each other. It is easy to imagine the same type of man carrying, if so ordered, megaton nuclear bombs to obliterate Moscow or to incinerate New York.

—EUGENE RABINOWITCH

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REPORT ON CUBA

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Dissecting the Press

THE MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS IS HAVING ITS IMPACT

One of the most powerful forces in the uprising of Negroes in Mississippi is a weekly newspaper started by Negroes this year in Jackson—the *Mississippi Free Press*. It is having dramatic effects not only on the people of Mississippi, but on government officials in Washington, D. C. News of the incredible brutality and inhumanity which is a part of life in Mississippi is now being published for all to see. Leaders in the Negro rights movement in other parts of the nation are reading this news and are making politicians in Washington feel the pressure.

A recent example is the reporting by the *Free Press* of the shooting of two young Negro girls, the daughters of a leader in the Negro voter registration movement. This followed threats by a plantation owner who said to one of the Negro leaders: "I have a plantation and don't try and register anybody on that plantation. I got a shotgun waiting for you." This incident was reported to the Department of Justice, which was asked for protection on the grounds that the lives of Negroes were in danger. No protection was provided, and the shooting occurred. The *Free Press* poured it onto its front page, then followed up with interviews to find out whether or not the shootings had intimidated Negroes in Ruleville, Miss., the town where the violence occurred. These answers are reported:

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THE ART AND SCIENCE OF LOVE . . .
by Dr. Albert Ellis (\$7.95)

STRANGE PEOPLE . . . by Frank Edwards (\$4.95)

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"Not turning back."

"Going all the way; we are working for nothing as it is now anyway."

"Ain't going to turn me about!"

"This just shows that we have to change things around here. And we are going to though it may take some time."

(Note: The *Free Press*, consistent in its policy that everything must be reported exactly as it is in reality, is making full use of Negro vernacular.)

Reporting of this kind has stunned the people of Mississippi. They have never seen anything like it in print before. The results can be imagined. On the way back to his newspaper in Jackson after covering the incidents in Ruleville, Charles Butts, editor of the *Free Press*, was beaten by a gas station attendant in a Delta town where he stopped for gas and a drink of water. The attendant recognized Butts from a photo on the front page of the *Jackson Daily News*, which had conducted a smear campaign against leaders in the Negro voter registration movement. Butts offered no resistance, and was not seriously injured. He was cut and bruised, and his glasses were knocked off and broken.

In view of these incidents, it can be understood that the *Free Press* has not cheered President Kennedy for sending federal troops to Mississippi. After stating in an editorial that this was the very least to be expected, the *Free Press* demanded all-out protection from the federal government on the grounds that the lives of Negroes in Mississippi are in constant danger. Following this blast from the *Free Press*, Kennedy said at his press conference: "I commend those that are making the effort to register every citizen. They deserve the protection of the United States Government, the protection of the states, the protection of local communities, and we'll do everything we possibly can to make sure that that protection is assured . . . And if it requires extra legislation, and extra force, we shall do that."

The *Free Press* is having its effects on whites and Negroes alike. For in addition to informing Negroes of their legal rights and getting them to vote, the *Free Press* is now carrying on a campaign to unionize Negro workers. This has already been effective in some industries in Mississippi. And, of course, if the Negroes succeed in organizing and obtaining higher wages, they will drag some of the "poor white trash" up with them. It may be that the *Free Press*, founded by Negroes, will one day gain support from lower economic segments of the white communities of Mississippi—for economic, if not moral, reasons.

(A subscription to the FREE PRESS is \$4 a year. Make checks payable to HiCo Publishing Co., Inc., 1253 Valley St., Jackson, Miss.)

THIS WEEK PERPETRATES A FRAUD ABOUT RUSSIANS

In its edition of Sept. 23, 1962, *This Week* magazine, Sunday supplement that has achieved a circulation of 14 million because it is stuffed into the middle of Sunday newspapers, published an article called "Khrushchev's Enemies Inside Russia." It was written by Allen Dulles, former director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and was designed to show that communism is falling apart and life inside Russia is drab.

Through lack of documentation and specific facts, Dulles failed to prove his point. So, the editor of *This Week* decided to do it for him by publishing an accompanying photograph by the famous French photographer Henri Cartier-Bresson. It showed grim-faced Russians standing in Red Square and was captioned: "Somber Soviet: Communist life is drab compared to our own."

There was something about the photograph that struck a reminiscent chord. It seemed to be an old photo, published many times, of Russians queuing up to have a look at Stalin's bier shortly after his death. If so, the somberness of the Russians shown in the photo would be attributable to a cause other than the "drab life" in the Soviet Union, and *This Week* would be guilty of fraud.

To check, WIP wrote to Cartier-Bresson in care of Magnum Photos at 15 West 47th St., New York City. Back came this reply from Gedeon de Margitay, Magnum's New York Bureau Chief:

Mr. Cartier-Bresson is traveling in Europe and cannot be reached. Hence I have taken the liberty of answering your letter of September 25 myself.

Magnum Photos, Inc. is exclusive agent for Mr. Cartier-Bresson and all sales of his pictures are made by us. The photograph in *This Week* magazine was taken in 1954 and shows Russians queuing up to pay homage to Lenin and Stalin at their mausoleum.

When some ridiculous Russian propagandist sent out a phony photograph to prove that NATO General Adolf Heusinger committed atrocities as a Nazi—which he certainly did—it enabled newspapers all over the United States to dismiss Heusinger's Nazism as a communist hoax. Americans were well informed of it.

It is doubtful that anyone other than readers of *The American Liberal* will be informed of this hoax perpetrated on the 14 million Americans who get *This Week*—and it is typical of material about Russia appearing in U.S. newspapers. When WIP wrote to William I. Nichols, editor of *This Week*, the following answer came back from his picture editor, Roberta Ashley:

"I am sorry to say you are quite right in assuming that the photograph used in our September 23rd issue was of Russian people lining up to see Lenin's tomb. The photograph was not captioned [Oh, yes, it was—Editor] but I assure you that had we known we most certainly would have explained or, better still, chosen another photograph."

In other words, there won't be any retraction or correction of this phony line about drabness of the Russian people and the imminent collapse of the communist state from within. WIP suggests to the editors of *This Week* that they take a ride on the New York subway and have a look at some American faces. Pretty drab, too, aren't they? Things must be tough all over.

THE POWER OF THE PRESS

In San Francisco, the Pacific Telephone Co. tasted the power of the press as the *Chronicle* staged its most concerted editorial campaign of recent years. The campaign was against all-digit dialing, and the *Chronicle's* editorials on the subject were written in bolder, blunter and more crusading terms than its editors have used for any other current topic of controversy. Neither nuclear testing, war, peace, unemployment, birth control, poverty among farm laborers, Richard Nixon, Pat Brown, nor any other subject has aroused such passion in the editors of the *Chronicle* (although since this writing there has been a powerful editorial against segregation in San Francisco schools).

The result showed up in a poll taken by the *Chronicle*. Previously, the *Chronicle* had polled its readers on many vital topics—e.g. fallout shelters. Despite the vast importance of the issues in the other polls, the less forceful treatment by the *Chronicle* resulted in less response; the vigorous treatment of the telephone dispute made readers respond as though this were the most earthshaking of all issues yet polled. As the *Chronicle's* editorial put it: "readers responded to this issue in far greater numbers than they had to any previous poll." And they responded precisely as the *Chronicle* wanted them to—overwhelmingly against all-digit dialing and in favor of letters.

Thus, the *Chronicle* demonstrated that a daily newspaper still has the power to arouse the citizenry whenever its editors decide to step out of their role of literary prostitutes and become crusaders. In this case, the *Chronicle's* editors cast aside any fears of losing the advertising of the big AT&T subsidiary, Pacific Telephone Co. Its editors blasted management of the phone company in terms most newspapers reserve exclusively for Jimmy Hoffa and Walt Rostow (for different reasons). While they did so, the editors of the two Hearst newspapers in San Francisco kept quiet. According to the theory of many newspaper editors, this should have resulted in the phone company's diverting its advertising to the Hearst papers, away from the *Chronicle*. That has not happened. To the contrary, Pacific Telephone answered the *Chronicle's* editorial campaign by placing advertisements of identical size in Hearst's *Examiner* and the *Chronicle* (and these political advertisements, by the way, were paid for by everyone in the San Francisco Bay Area who uses a telephone).

The *Chronicle* continues to be the fastest-growing newspaper in northern California and the one with the most display advertising—because it has the biggest circulation. At any time the *Chronicle's* editors wish to do so, they can arouse the people of northern California to action on the most pressing issues of the day. They can do so without losing advertising revenue; in fact, they will gain more as the circulation of their newspaper grows. They have proven it in their intense campaign against all-digit dialing and against the Pacific Telephone Co. While the most crucial problems in the world mount with ever-increasing explosive potential, it remains to be seen whether the editors of the *Chronicle* and other newspapers will cast off the old, old role of prostitutes for big business interests and crusade on the issues that affect our lives.