

## 8 PAGES OF PHOTOS: THE ONLY CONVENTION THAT MEANT WHAT IT SAID

### WAR & PEACE

# Bosses & Dixiecrats take over the Democratic Party

**E**ARLY in the Democratic Party's convention last week a mule named Elmer (brought to Chicago by a South Dakota delegate) held a solemn news conference in the press room of the Conrad Hilton Hotel and, in response to a query, gave the nod to Gov. Adlai Ewing Stevenson of Illinois. In the convention's closing hour on Saturday, as the last weary, contrived "demonstration" filled the aisles of the Stockyards Auditorium, candidate Stevenson (who by then had got the nod from the boys in the back room) told the delegates:

"You have seen the finest political livestock in the United States."

The big parties had offered these

Mexican-Americans. Maverick warned: "The liberals have cut our throats. And they are cutting their own throats too."

• They were then defeated on the platform, which includes a civil rights resolution "everyone could live with."

• They attempted to enforce an oath of loyalty to the national candidates. But even when watered down to utter meaninglessness the South, riding high, refused the pledge and won out. In that fight the final deal became apparent when the Illinois (Stevenson) delegation voted to seat the unredeemed Dixiecrats. Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., speaking for the liberals, was quoted then by a CBS commentator:

"We've had the double-cross of our lives. There's a coalition working against us here and I don't have to tell you what it is."

**SIGNED AND SEALED:** The coalition was plain: the northern bosses and the Dixiecrats vs. what Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia called "the little group of radical schemers."

Stevenson, originally tolerated by the Fair Dealers though he had pussy-footed on civil rights and Taft-Hartley repeal, had now made a pact with the enemy. The Fair Deal fringe backed Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and millionaire Mutual Security Administrator Averell Harriman of New York. On Friday night came the final humbling.

Harriman had already surrendered to Stevenson. Kefauver walked on to the platform during the roll call of the third ballot, still in the lead. Delegates, while telling radio reporters they had no idea of what was going on, were still waving Kefauver coon-skin caps. But there was the leading candidate trying to concede, with some dignity, his defeat in the hotel rooms. He was to be denied even that privilege. The N. Y. Post's Robert Spivack reported:

The beaten candidate was half-led, half-shoved to the rear of the platform.

CBS commentators described him "in tears, like an ill man . . . in a daze."

**HAVE A COKE, JAWN:** "Fair Dealers" then scrambled aboard the Stevenson bandwagon, trying to salvage the Vice-Presidency. But at 4:20 a.m. Saturday morning, Sen. Sparkman, reading the newspapers in his hotel room, received a telephone call informing him that later that day the delegates would nominate him by acclamation. The rout of waning liberalism in the Democratic Party seemed complete. Significantly, Boss Jim Farley moved the resolution for acclamation.

Negro delegates were angry. Not one (Continued on Page 3)



THOMAS J. GAVIN

He was the President's alternate—the man who knew somebody else's mind.

prize steers for President and Vice-President:

- Republicans: Gen. Dwight David Eisenhower (see p. 13) and California witch-hunter Sen. Richard Milhous Nixon.
- Democrats: Stevenson (see below) and Sen. John Sparkman from Jim-crow Alabama, representing the Southern bloc that has frustrated every effort at federal civil rights guarantees.

**THE ALTERNATIVE:** Americans would have to look away from the stockyards to find a hope for peace or civil liberties: to a federal prison where Progressive Party Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan is serving a six-months sentence (one more month to go) on a contempt of court charge growing out of his defense of labor leader Harry Bridges; and to the campaign stops of PP Vice-Presidential candidate Mrs. Charlotta Bass, Negro leader.

What happened to the Democratic Party at Chicago seemed very likely to help the PP in November. Here's how:

There were three contenders for control of the Democratic Party: (1) northern bosses like Coca Cola's Jim Farley and Chicago's Jake Arvey who, in F.D.R.'s time, rode the New Deal bandwagon uneasily; (2) Southern Dixiecrats; (3) Truman "Fair Dealers," "young Turks," Americans for Democratic Action, CIO, Liberal Party, pale ghosts of the real New Dealers who had been forced out of the government.

**SOME SLIT THROATS:** Strategy of the Fair Dealers was to make the South knuckle under and transform the Democratic Party into something faintly resembling the British Labor Party. In the end they were the ones who were routed.

• They lost first when they yielded on seating the jim-crow delegation from Texas, ousting Maury Maverick's delegation which included Negroes and



MAURY MAVERICK

He got shut out of the Texas delegation by the Dixiecrats led by Gov. Shivers.

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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How reluctant can you get?

The man reaching for the wine flask is Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic candidate for President, the man who said he would "shoot myself" if he were nominated. Doesn't look like a likely suicide, does he? Looking on is Sen. Lyndon Johnson (D-Tex.). Do have some caviar, won't you?

### THERE IS NO LESSER EVIL

## Who is Adlai Stevenson? He's everybody's boy

By Lawrence Emery

**THE MAN** nobody knows (even Illinoisans never heard of him before he was boomed for their governor four years ago) last week became the Democrats' jack-in-a-box candidate for President of the U.S. Most delegates knew as little about him as anyone else.

Who is he, where does he come from, what does he stand for, who boosted him to such sudden prominence?

Adlai Ewing Stevenson was born on Feb. 5, 1900, in Los Angeles, where his father at the time was an executive for mining, ranching and newspaper properties belonging to William Randolph Hearst. When he was six he was taken to the Stevenson ancestral duchy of Bloomington, Ill., where for at least four generations his family on both sides have been wealthy, famous, and as nearly patrician as families can get in the down-to-earth Midwest.

He was named for his grandfather who served as vice-president in Cleveland's second administration. A great-grandfather helped found the Republican Party and was a close associate of Abraham Lincoln. His father later became prominent in state politics.

**VERY JOLLY TIME:** Adlai spent his boyhood in fine old ancestral mansions, summered at fashionable Charlevoix, Mich., attended an exclusive prep school, entered Princeton, class of '22 (Brooks Bros. shirts, yearning for the

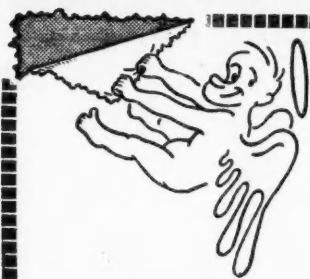
literary life, long weekends in New York, high life at the Plaza). For a time he worked for the family newspaper, the Bloomington *Pantagraph* (an inherited fourth interest in it today accounts for a fair portion of his independent income of around \$40,000 a year; the paper is vigorously Republican).

Under parental prodding he went to Harvard Law School, graduated from Northwestern Law School, settled down as a socialite corporation lawyer in Chicago writing briefs in the daytime and dancing with debutantes at night. In 1928 he married Ellen Borden, heiress to the huge dairy products fortune; she divorced him in 1949 because, family friends say, she dislikes the political life. There are three sons.

**IKE-LIKERS LIKE AD:** For a 1952 Democratic standard-bearer, Gov. Stevenson has some pretty extensive and powerful Republican support. The *Wall St. Journal* (July 23) quoted one of his "stoutest supporters" on the "real reason" he couldn't seek the nomination: commitments he had made to a group of "reform" Illinois Republicans and independents who have helped finance his campaign. Robert G. Spivack wrote in the *N. Y. Post* (July 24) that during the Stevenson build-up.

... Republicans . . . continued their pleas that he not take himself out of the race altogether. Paul Hoffman, one of the

(Continued on Page 4)



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**Marcantonio's speech**

**IOWA CITY, IA.**  
Last night, a fearfully hot night, I and two observers who went to the Progressive Party convention from Iowa City packed our living room with 20 friends and acquaintances to hear our report. Only two of these people were previously committed in their sympathies to the PP. At the end of last evening we had skeletal beginnings of a PP organization for the election campaign and new subscribers to the GUARDIAN!

The single biggest factor in convincing these people, most of them "lesser evil" Democrats, was the convention speech of Marcantonio. Other speeches seemed more inspirational to me when I was at the convention. But when you get down to the "nitty gritty," the factual speech, the speech which really gave a first-hand picture of Democrats and Republicans in Washington collaborating for war and a wrecked economy, was the speech of Marcantonio.

I write you all this as a delegate from the hard-headed state of Iowa, where we need facts in addition to inspiration.

(Mrs.) Mary Springer

**The enlightened path**

**HILLSBORO, N. H.**  
Vito Marcantonio's statement on the start of the Korean War (GUARDIAN, June 26) is the finest I have read for a long time and I read a lot. May he find the physical stamina to continue in his enlightened path.

M. S. Mills

**Boo!**

**ROSLYN, S. D.**  
All the towns and villages are getting orders to spend from \$200 to \$1,000 or more to build a watch tower and expect to have volunteers to sit there around the clock for something that just ain't there.

If there were any such enemy aircraft coming, they would be so high up that we would not even hear them, say nothing about see them.

G. B. Hong

**Ambidextrous Harry**

**OLD MATCHLOCK, CONN.**  
Have just noted, in a syndicated cartoon, that HST (code for Hysteria, Inc.) is ambidextrous—pitches horseshoes and baseballs left-handed and writes vetoes with his right. Now we're getting somewhere.

We've all noticed, I guess, how the Little Giant has talked stentoriously against Taft-Hartley, against the last bill for taking the lid off prices; has gone to Key West to cool off during the crucial fight in Congress; has returned to veto; has retired to rest up from Key West during the ensuing battle in Congress; and then has come forth with an air of a champion justified, when the anti-labor, anti-consumer bills have become law in the absence of opposition.

**How crazy can you get Dept.**

"If these [flying saucers] are man-made, whoever is making them is way ahead of us technologically. . . . We can deal with these things if they are from Russia. If they are from Mars I don't know what we will do. . . ."

1st. Lt. Edw. J. Ruppelt, quoted in an article on Flying Saucers, LOOK, July 1, 1952.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner this week: Jean H. Pike, San Jose, Calif.

The McCarrion Allen & Sedition act brought out the quintessence of this strategy—loud denunciation of the project, and an utter absence of efforts to block the vote that overrode the veto.

But the Natural Gas grab was maybe better yet. He vetoed the grab, and then, without waste motion, planted Mon Waigren on the enforcement commission. Mon gutted the control plan of the commission, and so, while the Little Giant from Impotence got credit as a champion of the people, he managed without adverse publicity to cause his veto to get vetoed, so that now the stuck consumers in the Northeast are starting to cry their heads off against the inordinate overcharges, and practically speaking are without redress.

M. Goodwin

**Where's Doug now?**

**MARTINS FERRY, O.**  
Three times the late W. J. Bryan ran for the Presidency and three



"ACHTUNG! Don't you Americans know enough to salute an Allied officer?"

times was he snowed under. After the third snowstorm he was reported to have remarked: "I'm beginning to think that maybe the people of this country don't want me for their President."

Bob Taft, after his third try, might well remark that "Thim's me sentiments too." He might have stood a chance had he seen to it personally that both Herb Hoover and Dugout Doug, the Hero of Anacostia Flats, were "locked in the smokehouse cellar and the key thrown in the well."

George F. Curry

**Jehovah's Witnesses' stand**

**MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.**  
Although I deeply appreciate your courage in printing the stand of Ida Stover Eisenhower, mother of Gen. Eisenhower, in regards to fleshly, worldly conflicts between the nations (July 17), nevertheless I would like to state that neither she while living or any of Jehovah's witnesses proclaim themselves to be pacifists. We are ministers and conscientious objectors on Scriptural grounds. In taking this stand the boards have been enabled to see that Jehovah's witnesses stay neutral toward this world and that they remain God's ministers and ordained preachers of the good news of his kingdom under Christ, with Scriptural and conscientious objection to their participation in worldly war in any form.

As defined by Webster pacifism means: "Opposition to war or to the use of military force for any purpose; especially an attitude of mind opposing all war, emphasizing the defects of military training and cost of war, and advocating settlement of international disputes entirely by arbitration." Such pacifism not even the Bible itself can be charged with teaching, and neither can Jehovah's witnesses, who stick most scrupulously to the Bible.

I for one will certainly be glad when war is no more, and I am also glad to know that there are others who likewise hate war.

Farrell Salverson

**New "Savior"**

**LOS ANGELES, CALIF.**  
The Republican Convention in Chicago gave us a gorgeous technicolor picture of the "Savior of the World" dressed in Army uniform and wearing a new pair of brass knuckles (Eisenhower & Nixon). Any church which does not immediately repudiate and reject this picture of Christ will be justly condemned by the world of today. I am a Presbyterian. Winton A. Smith

**That first paycheck**

**NEW HAVEN, CONN.**  
Having just turned 16 I am holding my first summer job. Out of my first week's pay which definitely doesn't reach astronomical figures, I enclose \$1 for the support of your excellent newspaper. I will try to keep something coming out of each week's paycheck.

Hersh Kaminsky

**A GUARDIAN file**

**LOS ANGELES, CALIF.**  
The undersigned would be happy to give a file of GUARDIANS (June 1950 to the present) to anyone in this area who could use it. To a pretty girl we shall deliver; any one else can come and get it.

Jerry Cohen  
212 E. 4th St.

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JULY 31, 1952

**REPORT TO READERS**

**Tom O'Connor**

A GOOD NEWSPAPERMAN and a fine human being died at his city room desk last Thursday—too many years before his time. He was Tom O'Connor, managing editor of the N. Y. Daily Compass, who would have been 38 years old July 28. He leaves his wife Anne and two children, Shannon, 4, and Daniel, 1½.

I knew Tom a long time. We were classmates at college—and even then one knew he was not a person to accept things as they are. With a few other classmates he started the Harvard Journal, an outspoken college daily, to compete with the stodgy Harvard Crimson, which had been in existence many generations. The Journal didn't last long and the editors spent a lot of time out of class dodging bill collectors; but in its brief career it caused some ivy to cling a little closer to the walls.



**TOM O'CONNOR**  
There was pressure

A native of Idaho, Tom went to California to live. He began his newspaper career in Los Angeles on the Post-Record and the News and helped give life there to the Newspaper Guild. In 1940 he joined the staff of Ralph Ingersoll's newspaperman's dream—PM—(the GUARDIAN's John T. McManus was also a charter member) and stayed till it ceased publication in 1947. In 1948 he joined the N. Y. Star and then went to work for the Compass when T. O. Thackery founded it in 1949.

THAT'S THE OUTLINE and that's probably the way Tom would tell it to you, because he was a shy and modest person. But there's more to the story. He was a brilliant reporter who won the American Newspaper Guild's first Heywood Brown Memorial Award in 1944 for outstanding reporting for his PM series on unsafe conditions in the coal mines. The series forced Congress to enact new mine safety regulations. He specialized in writing about the things that may not be the most dramatic, but which affect the most people: telephone and gas rates, milk prices, housing. His work was thorough and careful, his writing straight and clean. He knew what every good reporter knows: you have to understand what you're writing about before you can make your reader understand it.

There was another side to Tom O'Connor—or was it part of the same thing in different form? He was as stubborn and meticulous about his beliefs as he was about his work. He showed that last May when he was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities after he had been mentioned by a stool-pigeon at a Los Angeles hearing. He told the Congressmen he didn't like what they were doing one bit. He objected

... as a working newspaperman because an inquiry into the past or present beliefs, politics, associations and opinions of a newspaper writer or editor seems to me a clear interference with, and limitation of, the free functioning of the press—a freedom with which Congress and its committees may not under the Constitution tamper. . . . My concept of the meaning of the constitutional guarantee of freedom of the press is that I am guaranteed the right to write as I please, to think as I please, and to edit a newspaper as my conscience dictates, without hindrance, pressure or interrogation as to my motives or decisions, from Congress or any of its committees."

BUT THERE WAS hindrance and there was pressure, and who can say whether or not such pressure was one factor that induced a stroke in a hard-working and sensitive person? Just a few days ago Tom called to ask a question on a series he was thinking about for the Compass. He said: "This is the Committee to Defend Tom O'Connor. . . ." He did things like that, and often they were very funny. But this time the humor had a bitter tinge, and it showed that the hounds had bitten deep.

—James Aronson

**Mary Mason Bacon**

**CHICAGO, ILL.**  
I think your readers will be interested to know of the passing of that stalwart for peace and social justice, Mary Mason Bacon, whose tireless efforts for the good cause it has been my pleasure to know about and to make known to a great many Guardianites.

Dr. Ralph R. Sackley

**A friend in Israel**

**MISHMAR HAEMEK, ISRAEL**  
I have been hearing of your magazine from Spenser Kennard who has just been visiting us and we should like both to subscribe and to give some small help to your cause. Truth in international affairs is so very hard to discover nowadays. We enclose cheque for \$50.

B. B. C.

# The Democratic Platform: The unions, liberals and Negroes lost out

By Victor Perlo

JOHN Foster Dulles left Chicago in body with the Republicans but remained in spirit with the Democrats, who virtually copied the foreign policy planks he wrote for Gen. Eisenhower. The only real dispute is that each party claims major credit for carrying the war program to its present dangerous position.

Most significant is the abandonment of the "defensive" appearance of the containment policy; the Democrats joined the cry for the "liberation" of Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia, "and other nations in Asia." The platform called for extended alliances with Chiang Kai-shek, support for a remilitarized Western Germany and Japan to lead the "liberation" movement.

**NO TABLE TALK:** Like the Republicans, the Democrats stressed "peace with honor" and avoidance of World War III. But there was silence on discussions with the U.S.S.R.



Wall Street Journal  
"Didn't you ever hear of a smoke-filled room?"

to seek a peaceful settlement of differences. They matched the Republicans in anti-Soviet incitations and in a repetition of Goebbels' Katyn Forest charges against the Russians.

They pointed to more crippling budgets with a refusal to "imperil our nation's security by making reckless promises to reduce taxes." Designating disarmament as a goal, they promised to build all the atomic and hydrogen firepow-

er needed." Nowhere was there a proposal to outlaw these or other weapons of mass destruction at any time.

The Democratic platform vaguely promises benefits to almost every group in the country, including fishermen and hunters. But the overriding reality of the war program continually intervenes, as in the advocacy of more government power projects without which "our atomic weapons program could never have been achieved." There are no ideas on how to improve social security, medical care, aid to education and housing while "the great bulk of our national budget consists of obligations incurred for defense purposes."

**3 SLAPS IN THE FACE:** On the three most vital domestic issues, the platform was a slap in the face for labor, liberals and Negro Americans.

● The promises to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act had two jokers: (1) a demand for Presidential power to "deal with" strikes, implying strike-

breaking plant seizures; (2) a call for substitute labor legislation of unspecified character. This would open the door to passage of more stringent anti-labor bills introduced in the last Congress.

● The liberal call for a denunciation of "McCarthy-

ism" was rebuffed. The platform's silence on the growth of repression implied continuation of the Justice Dept. witch hunt through the Smith Act and McCarran Act.

● Because of pressure from Negro organizations, there was a semblance of struggle at the convention on civil rights which dominated the platform hearings. But advocates of a compulsory federal FEPC lost. The word "enforceable" was dropped in favor of a promise of federal legislation "effectively to secure" civil rights. For a sweetener, there was added a special paragraph hinting at anti-filibuster legislation.

The civil rights plank reportedly spoke of "equality" but had not a word against segregation. It should be quite acceptable to the rationalizers of "separate and equal" school systems in the South and other sections.



Atlanta Constitution  
Setting out the decoys

VICTOR PERLO, economist and political analyst, is a frequent contributor to the GUARDIAN.

## Bosses and Dixiecrats take over Democrats

(Continued from Page 1)

was on hand to acclaim Sparkman (even so, scattered "No's" were clearly audible). Rep. Adam C. Powell of N. Y., one of the two Negro congressmen, said:

"With a weak civil rights platform and a totally uncommitted Presidential candidate, it will be sheer death in the North to try to sell anyone from the South except Vice President Alben W. Barkley to the Negro voters. . . . They can cram a candidate down our throats but they cannot make us vote for him. I personally will not campaign for the national ticket. I will help in the election of state and local tickets where I am asked but I will not say a word for the national ticket. This has been cooking since Monday. That's why I refused to vote for Gov. Stevenson yesterday. . . . For me this puts the election of Ike on ice."

Walter White, exec. secy. of the NAACP, agreed it would "be difficult if not impossible" to sell Sparkman to Negro voters.



RICHARD M. RUSSELL  
There were no Dixieland Blues

**HARRY'S PATENT MEDICINE:** President Truman, introducing Stevenson to the convention, set the campaign note on the 1948 success formula—shirt-sleeve campaigning for all the things he had failed in seven years to achieve: peace, civil rights and repeal of "that good-for-nothing Taft-Hartley." Stevenson set a different note, disclosed with some pomposity that he had consulted God, told the delegates:

"If this cup do not pass from me except I drink it, Thy will be done."

The big city bosses and the Southern bourbons bade him drink.

**THE ENGINEER:** Mr. Truman, a politician of ample resources, had timed his tactics well:



Drawing by Walter Her

● While Keynoter Gen. MacArthur was telling the Republicans that the Democrats were too timid to seek peace through war with China, U. S. air fleets in record numbers smashed Korean power plants on the Manchurian border.

● As his own party met, on the eve of Puerto Rico's "independence," he commuted the sentence of Oscar Collazo, Puerto Rican nationalist sentenced to die for the death of a guard in an assault on Blair House in October, 1950.

● He announced settlement last week of the 53-day steel strike. (GUARDIAN, July 21, predicted the settlement might coincide with the Democratic convention.)

The terms gave to the union 5c less than the Wage Stabilization Board had decreed; to the steel companies a price

### Massachusetts: 82,313

The Massachusetts Progressive Party last week filed election petitions totaling 82,313 names gathered in 60 cities and towns throughout the state. Boston alone furnished 25,000. Election laws require only 58,000. C. B. Baldwin, PP natl. campaign manager, wired congratulations, saw in the signatures not only PP's place on the ballot but an indication of popular support for a peace ticket.

rise of \$5.20 a ton, \$2.38 more than Price Administrator Arnall said only last week was possible under the stabilization law.

**BEN & PHIL ARE HAPPY:** Steelworkers' wages would go up 16c. Fringe benefits total 5.4c an hour. The union shop, a major issue, was watered down to this:

Old employees need not join the un-

ion. New ones must sign application cards but their membership will not take effect if, during the last 15 days of their first month on the job, in writing they tell the company they do not want to be members.

Nothing was said about the "management rights" section which, according to the last issue of the union's paper **Steel Labor** (published before the settlement):

. . . would have the union roll over and play dead while it [the company] whacks off crew members, imposes speed-up on those who would be left and installs a company-dictated incentive system.

U. S. Steel president Benjamin Fairless said he was "very happy" with the settlement. Steelworkers' Pres. Philip Murray said: "I echo the sentiments of Mr. Fairless."

Under the agreement Fairless and Murray will make a joint speaking tour to improve relations in the steel plants.

## THE WORLD

### Behind the fall of King Farouk

**M**OST of the headlines and the stories out of Egypt in the past two years have concerned the grossly unromantic night-clubbing and wife-hunting exploits of fat King Farouk, a shabby Hollywood version of a Middle Eastern potentate.

But, beginning last October when Egypt's Wafdist government (the Wafd Party is Egypt's biggest, most closely resembles in its program the Congress Party of India) denounced the treaty of 1936 and set out to drive the British from the Suez Canal Zone and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the stories have become more serious.

Nationalist feeling was rising; Egypt threatened to become another Iran. The 20,000,000 peasants, for centuries ground under the heel of the landlords—in turn controlled by foreign capital—were becoming restless. The people were beginning to see the ties of the landowners and the cotton and grain speculators with the British overlords; anti-British feeling was growing.

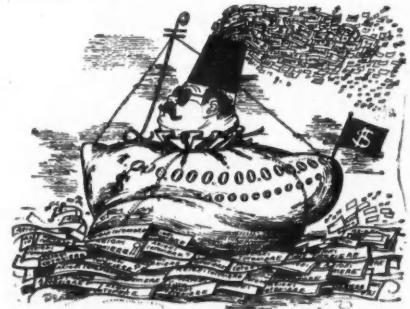
**THE RIVALS:** There was vast corruption in politics and in the army. As the protests became more vocal the Wafdists, the King and the Army each tried to use the people's grievances for their own purposes: Last January, demonstrations broke out in Cairo and the people took up arms against the British. Farouk fired the Wafdist government. There began a series of changes in the premiership which came to a climax

last week.

On Monday Premier Sirry Pasha, three weeks in office, was dismissed by Farouk and replaced by Hilaly Pasha, a former premier, who named a relative of the King as war minister to make sure that the graft-ridden army would undergo no serious change.

**THE COUP:** On Wednesday Maj. Gen. Mohammed Naguib Bey, a thrice-wounded veteran of the Palestine War whom Farouk recently had rejected as a candidate for war minister, proclaimed himself army commander-in-chief and surrounded the royal palace and government buildings with tanks and armored cars. A few hours later Hilaly Pasha resigned and Farouk named in his place Aly Maher Pasha, another former premier. It was Egypt's fifth government since January.

On Friday it was reported that Gen. Naguib asked the King to renounce his power to dissolve Parliament and name premiers and that the King refused. Naguib's troops broke into the summer palace at Alexandria and the general ordered Farouk to abdicate in favor of his seven-month-old son. Before the six-hour ultimatum was up, Farouk



Vie Nouve, Rome

(with remarkable and unaccountable speed) had left Egypt by yacht with his wife and son for Italy. It was reported that he was coming to the U. S. A reGENCY was set up. The people of Egypt enthusiastically celebrated his departure.

**BACKGROUND:** Behind the events of last week was a picture of a nation with a steadily worsening economy, a collapsing cotton market and foreign currency reserves cut in half (UN Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, July, 1952). Wealthy Egyptians, the *London Economist* said (7/12), were sending their money abroad. Farouk was reported (NYT 7/28) to have a pile in the U. S.

Overriding all this was an increasingly familiar factor: U. S. manipulation

(Continued on Page 14)

## Is Adlai Stevenson the lesser evil?

(Continued from Page 1)

Eisenhower managers, journeyed secretly to Springfield and begged Stevenson to remain in the picture as a kind of scarecrow to frighten doubtful delegates who might be leaning toward Taft. . . . Pro-Eisenhower Republicans, including several prominent publishers and columnists, asked him to become a candidate. They feared they would fall in their efforts to nominate Eisenhower and that the Democrats would have only weak candidates available to oppose Taft.

**A COIN WITH TWO HEADS:** The staunchest backers of Eisenhower are delighted with the Stevenson nomination. The N. Y. Times on July 26 reported itself "enthusiastically committed" to the General, but added

... this does not prevent us from congratulating the Democratic Party upon its choice of a standard-bearer. . . . We welcome and applaud the nomination of Gov. Stevenson.

The N. Y. Herald Tribune, a strong Eisenhower supporter, also applauded, said "it looks with complete confidence to the people's verdict in November."

The Chicago Tribune put it more bluntly:

The eastern crowd can take either Adlai or Eisenhower and feel assured that they have one of their own.

**BYRNES' BOY:** It was the Republican George N. Peek (John Deere farm machinery), an old family friend, who first introduced Stevenson to government service; as Agricultural Adjustment Administrator in 1933, he took the future Governor to Washington as his special counsel. It was another Republican, Col. Frank Knox, who as Navy Secy. took him to Washington again in 1941 as his special assistant, a post he held till Knox's death. In 1944 Stevenson was named head of the Economic Mission to the European Theater.

From 1945 to 1946 he was special assistant to Secretaries of State Edward R. Stettinius and James Byrnes (it was Byrnes who in 1947 first called Stevenson to the attention of Illinois Democratic boss Jake Arvey, who then didn't even know the man he was to make Governor a year later). Working under Stettinius and Byrnes, Stevenson was a leading figure in drafting the Truman cold war program, which he vigorously supports. He was adviser and press spokesman with the U. S. delegation to the San Francisco Conference on International Organization, senior adviser to the U. S. delegation to the first UN General Assembly, and a delegate to the



**Q: ARE THESE MEN AT A MORTICIANS CONVENTION?**

**A:** No, they are not. They are in the procession at the Harvard commencement. But they ARE undertakers, in their way—helping many American youths to their grave. They are (1) John Foster Dulles, spiritual leader of Ikism; and Defense Secy. Robert A. Lovett.

General Assemblies in New York in 1946 and 1947.

**TRUMAN'S BOY:** In January this year Arthur Krock, sage of the N. Y. Times, said of him:

His foreign policy is substantially that of President Truman, and, except for the Far East, he helped to formulate it and represent it in the UN. . . .

On July 26 the Times described him as "forthrightly in favor of the Administration's present course on foreign affairs."

In a speech at the Northwestern U. Centennial, Jan. 8, 1951, Stevenson stressed the theme of "confronting Russia with a preponderance of force" and said:

"America, rich, peaceful and undisciplined, finds itself face to face across both seas with an inscrutable, ruthless conqueror, strong, cunning and armed with the egalitarian idea that has great appeal for the miserable masses of humanity. No longer is there anyone to protect us. No longer can we sow when and where we are certain to reap. There is no safe investment, no certain harvest any longer."

In an article in *Foreign Affairs* (April, 1952), Stevenson enthusiastically listed the gains to the U. S. from the Korean war, including its usefulness as a proving ground for U. S. weapons and tactics for "long testing under actual combat conditions." He has also said:

"I am opposed to the admission of Red China into the United Nations."

**FARLEY'S BOY:** On domestic issues,

Stevenson has a reputation as a liberal, but he could better be described as a very careful conservative. Dorothy Schiff, wealthy publisher of the N. Y. Post, an early and eager Stevenson rooster, said of him in her paper (July 27):

He is a liberal, but not too liberal. He doesn't scare anybody. It doesn't look as though he would upset any applecarts. Even Jim Farley goes for him.

So do the Dixiecrats; North Carolina's Byrnes is still loyal to him; Alabama's Sparkman is his running mate; Georgia's Talmadge said at the recent convention that his choice was either Georgia's Russell or Stevenson.

The platform upon which Stevenson was elected Governor contained a strong civil rights plank (there are 500,000 Negroes in Illinois) calling for a compulsory Fair Employment Practices law, to be enacted by executive order if necessary. After a four-year term, the state still has none; an FEPC bill was defeated by one vote—a Democratic absentee vote which state observers insist Stevenson could have commanded if he wanted it. He has consistently maintained that FEPC is a matter for the states, not the federal government.

**DOMESTIC ISSUES:** He is strongly against repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, but thinks it might be modified or amended. Other Stevenson stands on domestic issues:

## How Truman deserted Truman's Fair Deal

**THAT BAD SMELL** in Chicago last week was the moldering corpse of Harry Truman's Fair Deal which was mauled, mangled and finally murdered by a Congress controlled by Harry Truman's own party. The Democratic convention didn't even bother to bury the remains; it just pretended the smell wasn't there.

But the record of the 82nd Congress, with Democrats holding a controlling majority in both houses, was plain. The Washington Post found it "hard to think of a more sterile Congress than the 82nd, noted that

... frustration could scarcely have gone further if this Congress, like the 80th, had been controlled outright by the Republicans. . . .

Even Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) tagged the 82nd as "an utter flop." He thought its record on foreign affairs was "pretty good," but "on domestic legislation it was buried in a driving snowstorm of special interests."

**OR WHATEVER . . .** The Wall St. Journal found consolation in the 82nd's record. Abandonment and defeat of Fair Deal measures by the Fair Deal party

... show the Congress in the point of turning away from the trend of the past two decades—the "liberal," "Fair Deal" or whatever-you-want-to-call-it trend. In fact, they may show that the Congress has already turned.

The 82nd killed all civil rights legislation, all but wiped out the Fair Deal's public housing program, shunted aside compulsory health insurance.



Down from the Hill

Federal aid to education was blocked. The Taft-Hartley Act was not only not repealed, but the 82nd Congress twice called upon the President to use its injunction powers to break the steel strike. The McCarran and Smith Acts remain on the books. The Brannan Plan for farmers was quietly forgotten.

**PORK BARRELS STAY:** Statehood for Hawaii and Alaska was defeated. Congress again refused to authorize the St. Lawrence Seaway. Tax loopholes were left wide open. Huge subsidies for favored interests and pork-

barrel projects were continued. A bill to outlaw tax abuses uncovered by scandals in the Bureau of Internal Revenue was killed. Three proposals to eliminate patronage in key jobs were killed.

The Congress passed a law to give the rich tide-land oil deposits to the states; proponents of the measure didn't fight too hard to overrule a veto because they can afford to wait out the issue. Resale price maintenance laws were passed, permitting private price fixing.

Universal military training, sponsored by the Administration, was defeated, but only because public opposition took on unprecedented breadth and scope.

**MCCARRAN RIDES HIGH:** The 82nd's crowning glory was passage of the McCarran-Walter immigration bill, described by many of its opponents as modeled after Hitler's racial laws. President Truman's veto was handily overridden with many of the Administration's staunchest supporters voting for the measure, and many more failing to make any but the feeblest token fight against it.

To many, the 82nd's grim record was rung up by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition, but the sad fact is that Administration stalwarts not only failed to fight the bloc, but more often than not joined with it. It was a Democratic Congress that killed every vaunted Democratic promise of 1948.

**HOUSING:** "It is clear the problem is inherently one for private enterprise."

**SOCIAL WELFARE:** "Government, through its public assistance and social welfare programs, should seek to enhance but not to supplant the duty of the individual and of the family to provide for their own health and welfare."

**HEALTH INSURANCE:** "I am against the socialization of the practice of medicine as much as I would be against the socialization of my own profession, the law."

Stevenson is boastful of his support of legislation to make public the names of relief recipients; of his own state's investigation of families benefitting by the aid-to-dependent-children program, he has said:

"I think we have barely begun. We found some surprising things by chasing deserting husbands and looking under the bed."

**NO REAL QUARREL:** Part of Stevenson's liberal reputation comes from his veto of the Broyles Bill, a little McCarran Act. But popular opposition to the bill was enormous and well-organized. The veto message implied sympathy with the motives for the bill ("the direct result of the menacing gains of Communism in Europe and Asia"); Stevenson said:

"No one attached to the principles of our society will debate this premise or quarrel with the objectives of this bill. . . . We already have sedition laws prohibiting the offenses to which these provisions relate."

To Stevenson enthusiasts, the man is variously a "Chicago Sir Galahad," a "Prairie Roosevelt," or even "Abe Lincoln in a buttoned-down shirt." His stand on foreign affairs and domestic issues hardly qualify him for such fanciful titles.

Future issues of the GUARDIAN will examine Stevenson and labor (with particular reference to the West Frankfort mine tragedy in which 119 men died), Stevenson and the Jake Arvey political machine, and Stevenson and his industrial and financial backers.

## THE LAW

### Hiss denied hearing for a new trial

**ALGER HISS**, former State Dept. official accused by Whittaker Chambers of passing on government documents to a Communist spy ring 15 years ago, has been in a federal prison for 16 months of a five-year sentence for perjury. For most of that time his defense, headed by the prominent and conservative attorney Chester T. Lane, has worked diligently to prove that Hiss was framed and last January filed a motion for a new trial.

Among the new evidence it hoped to be able to present is a specially-constructed typewriter the typescript of which cannot be distinguished by experts from the documents offered as proof by Chambers, proving that "forgery by typewriter" is possible. The defense has also found a discrepancy in key dates testified to by Chambers, and insists it can prove that a key witness—a maid who said she worked for the Chambers family—never was in their employ at the time or place she claimed. The maid was produced as a surprise witness on the last day of the trial, leaving the defense no time then to check her testimony.

**NO HEARING:** Last week, after studying the defense affidavits since January, trial Judge Henry W. Goddard not only rejected the plea for a new trial, but refused to grant a hearing at which the defense contentions could be heard and argued. The judge ruled:

"There is no newly discovered evidence which would justify the conclusion that, if it were presented to a jury, it would probably result in a verdict of acquittal."

But when the defense affidavits were first made public, many conservative newspapers around the country were so impressed that they editorially held that a new trial was a necessity to clear up the powerful doubt they cast upon the government's case.

By last week Mr. Lane had not yet decided on an appeal from the ruling.

## Progressive Party 1952 Convention

# The people launch their campaign for Peace, Freedom, Security



**O**N this and the following seven pages is the story of the Third National Progressive Party Convention held on July 4 weekend in Chicago—the only 1952 convention which meant what it said.

Although virtually uncovered by the press, and the radio-TV networks which granted more than 150 hours of time to the two old parties, this convention was attended by almost as many delegates as the two old parties together.

More than 2,500 Americans from all corners of the country, from all walks of life, from labor, farm, the Negro, Mexican and Puerto Rican people, came to Chicago and demanded—with no ifs, and buts:

- Immediate end to the Korean War. A Big Five peace parley to end the cold war, restore vital world trade.
- Federal guarantee of full Negro rights and full representation of Negroes in government.
- Repeal of Taft-Hartley, defeat of the Smith Anti-Labor Bill, real collective bargaining, support of the striking steel workers, full security for all Americans and an end to witch hunts.

**T**HESE and dozens of other vigorous planks truly reflected the needs of all the people in this broad land, discussed, drawn up, voted unanimously by the people themselves and not by uneasy, plum-seeking politicians.

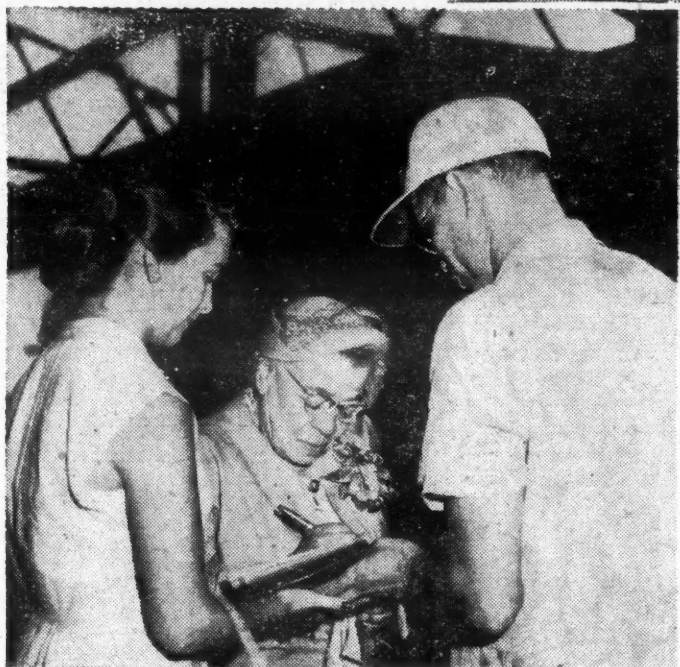
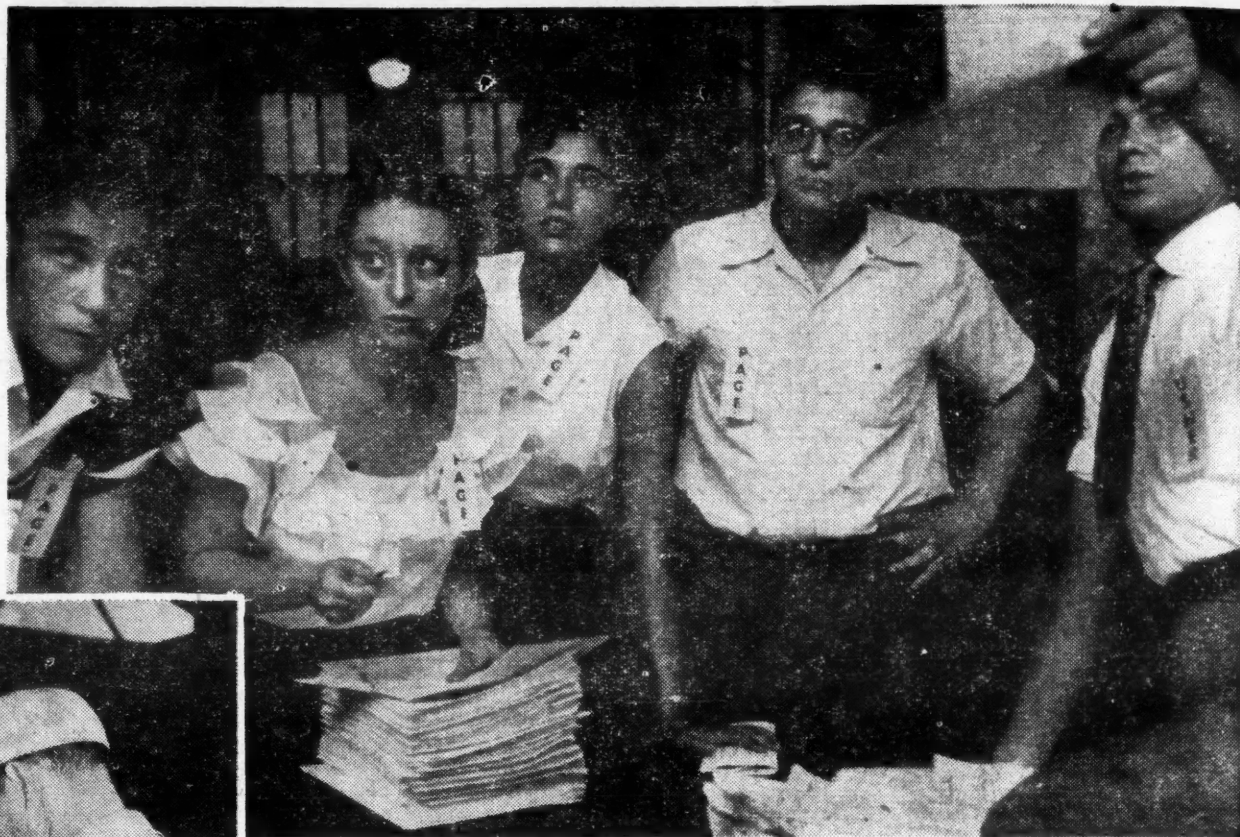
As standard-bearers for this platform, these 2,500 chose:

• For President—Vincent Hallinan of California, fighting California lawyer who cast his first vote for Eugene Debs who ran for president from jail in 1920. Hallinan himself was nominated while in jail, where he had been sent for contempt of court in defending labor leader Harry Bridges against his government's fourth attempt to frame and deport him.

• For Vice-President—Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass of New York, the first Negro woman ever nominated for top office by any political party; a onetime regional campaign director for the Republican Party who broke with that party in 1948 over its refusal to wage a fight for peace and civil rights. Publisher for 40 years of the West's oldest weekly newspaper, THE CALIFORNIA EAGLE, Mrs. Bass came out of retirement to join the Progressive fight in '52.

**T**HE DELEGATES who fashioned this ticket and platform in Chicago in '52 are the hardened veterans of the Gideon's Army of '48—with the summer soldiers left behind and with the added strength of youth and those drawn to the Progressives for the purpose of seeing political promises fulfilled. Their determination is the accomplishment of the truly democratic goals envisioned in the Bill of Rights and the other great, forward-looking documents of America's growth. The instrument they hope and plan for is the new realignment of political forces originally projected by Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie to break the hold of monopoly and machine politics on America and to free the real drive of the people for world peace and human progress.

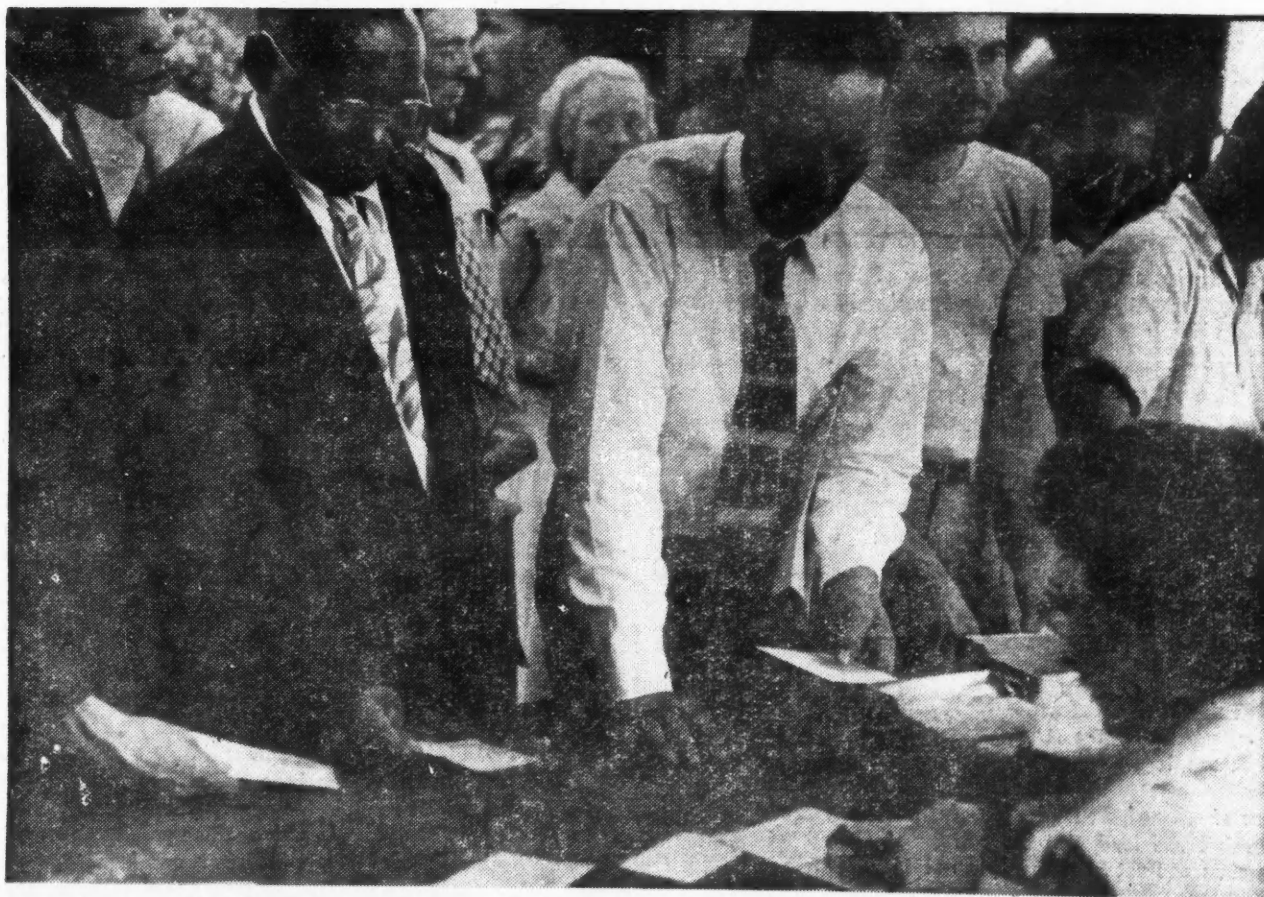
**The convention  
opens  
for business**



A railway worker (right) got the autograph of vice-presidential candidate Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass as she arrived in Chicago on the Santa Fe Chief.

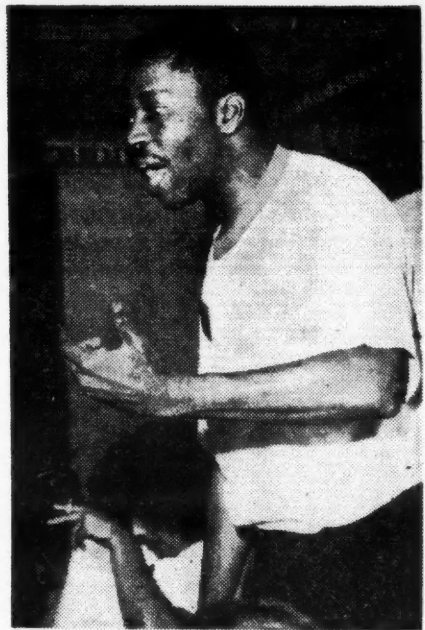
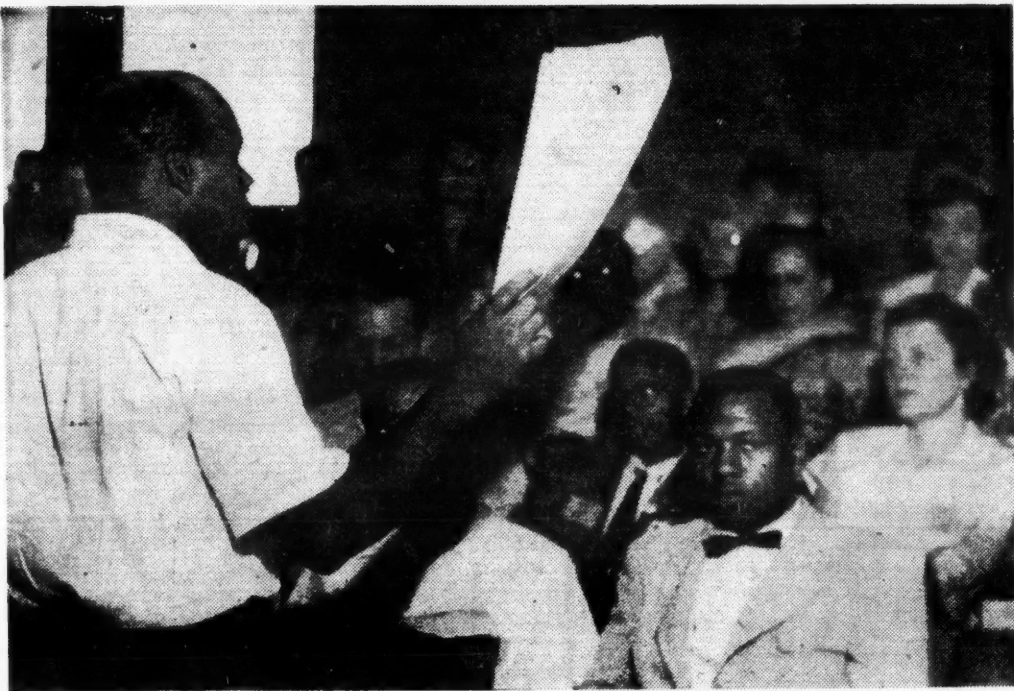
A volunteer corps, 200 strong, including a tireless team of youthful ushers and pages, made the 3-day convention run smoothly and economically.

Chicago's Ashland Boulevard Auditorium, scene of the 1952 Progressive Party Convention, is a historic trade union edifice which cradled the Bull Moose Progressive Party of 1912, the LaFollette Progressives of '24 and other reform movement, none of which survived for a second national campaign. The 1948 Progressive Party held its second national Convention in Ashland Auditorium in 1950, returning to hold its third National Convention this year to launch the Hallinan-Bass Peace ticket.



At the housing desk, delegates got non-jimcrow lodging in hotels or were welcomed for the weekend in some 400 Chicago homes.

**'The floor is open for discussion'**



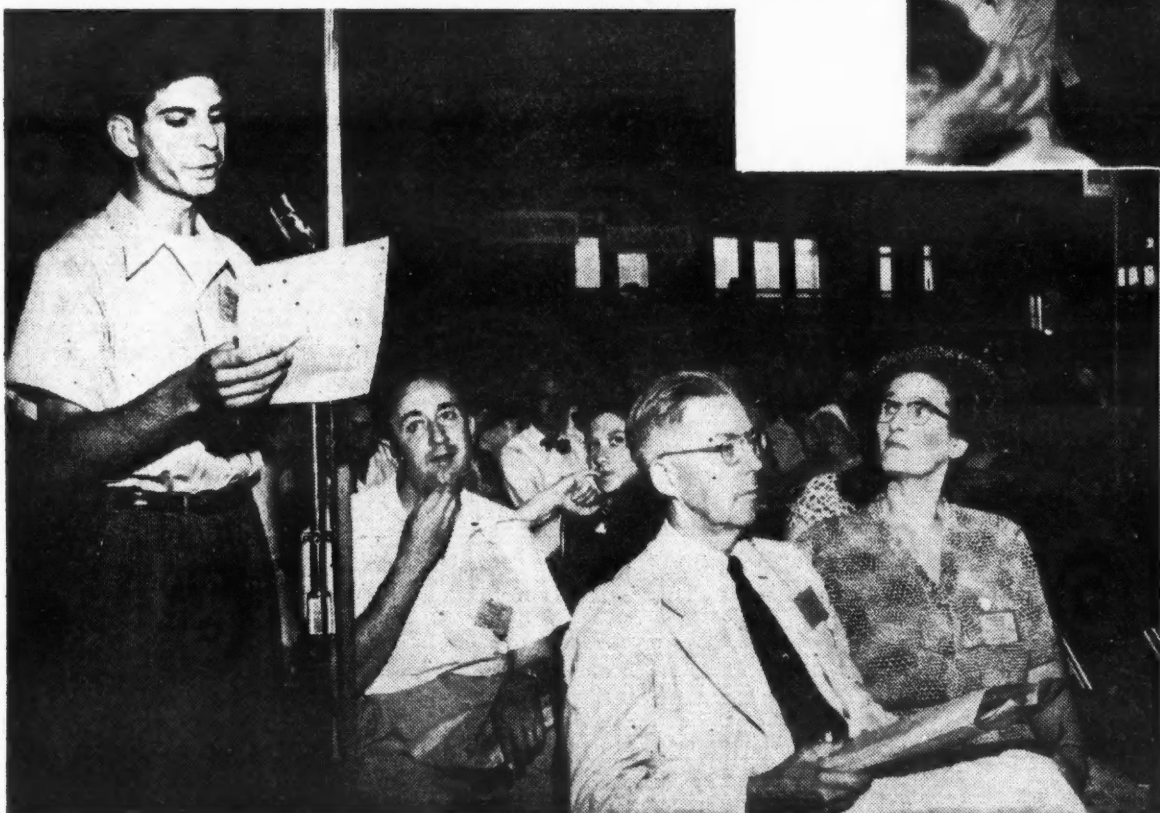
The panel on Negro and Minority Representation was chaired jointly by Willard Ransom of Indiana and Mary Natividad Barnes of California. Mr. Ransom, top NAACP leader in his state and head of the National Committee to Elect Negroes to Public Office, is shown speaking (left).

Horace Alexander, California Congressional candidate, is seated at his right. Above (right) delegate Louis Wheaton of New York addresses the panel.



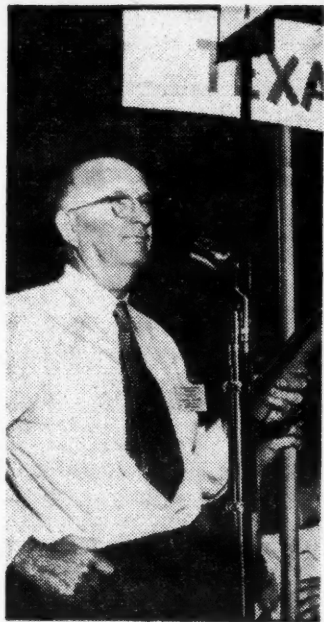
The Women's Panel: "Remove all social and economic restrictions."

The Farmers: "100% Parity . . . Halt the draft of farm youth . . . Federal development and conservation of soil, water and power resources . . . Publicly owned, low-cost power and irrigation water . . . Reduce taxes on farmers and cooperatives . . . End sharecropper peonage in the south."



Korean War vet, Irwin Zuckerman of Pittsburgh, offers a peace plank.

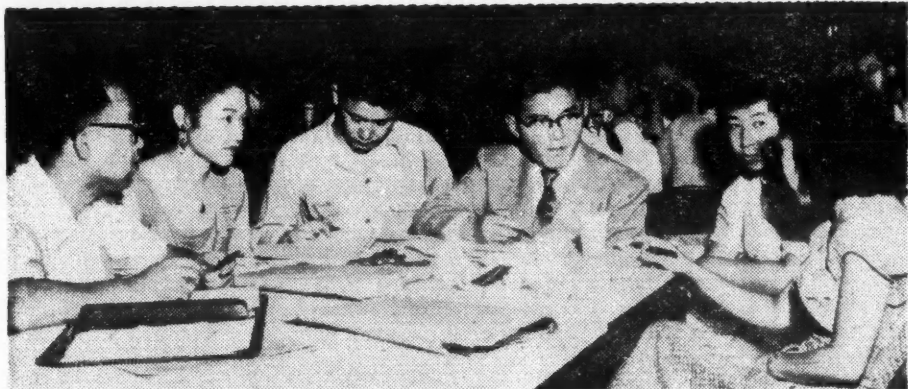
# 'Free speech and free and equal men, li



*With belief in our fathers, and faith in our people, we here at this Convention constitute the people's opposition to the juggernaut of war, oppression and reaction, and we today, the political lineal descendants of the Free Soilers of over 100 years ago, raise our banner on which are inscribed the words: "FREE SPEECH AND FREE AND EQUAL MEN, LIVING IN A WORLD OF PEACE."*

*I say we are not wasting time; we are not fighting in vain. For as we battle in 1952, to that extent will we earn the right to be the hard core of the great political party that will follow in the realignment which will inexorably ensue from the disintegration of the Democratic Party.*

—From the address of Convention Chairman Vito Marcantonio of New York (shown at far right conferring with Arrangements Chairman Clifford E. McAvoy).



Top left: Texas Delegate Harry Kroger, takes the floor. Above: Art Takei of California with a group of Nisei delegates pledge a fight against concentration camps in America.



Rev. William Howard Melish of New York addresses the Church Panel. At his left, Rev. Edward D. McGowan, Secretary of the N. Y. American Labor Party.



An Ohio Get-Together: Former Congressman Hugh DeLacey greets Mrs. Pauline Taylor of Youngstown as she takes her place as permanent secretary.



... living in a world at peace'



*We fear not the epithets  
nor the distortions, nor  
the lies...*

—Vito Marcantonio



... secretary.  
... Convention Story



Mack Ingram, twice convicted of "rape" in N. Carolina for looking at a white girl, tells his story to the press.



"There Once Was a Union Maid": Mrs. Marie Reed Haug of Ohio, a UE administrator; and Mrs. Herman Klott, wife of Mine-Mill's Wash., D. C. Representative, with her children.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

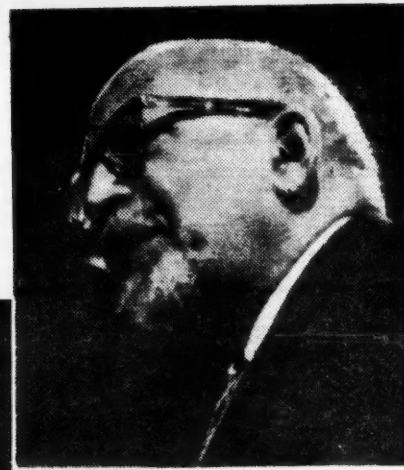


The mighty voice of co-chairman of the Progressive Party, Paul Robeson, stirred the delegates and a huge audience at the Convention's big Saturday night public session.

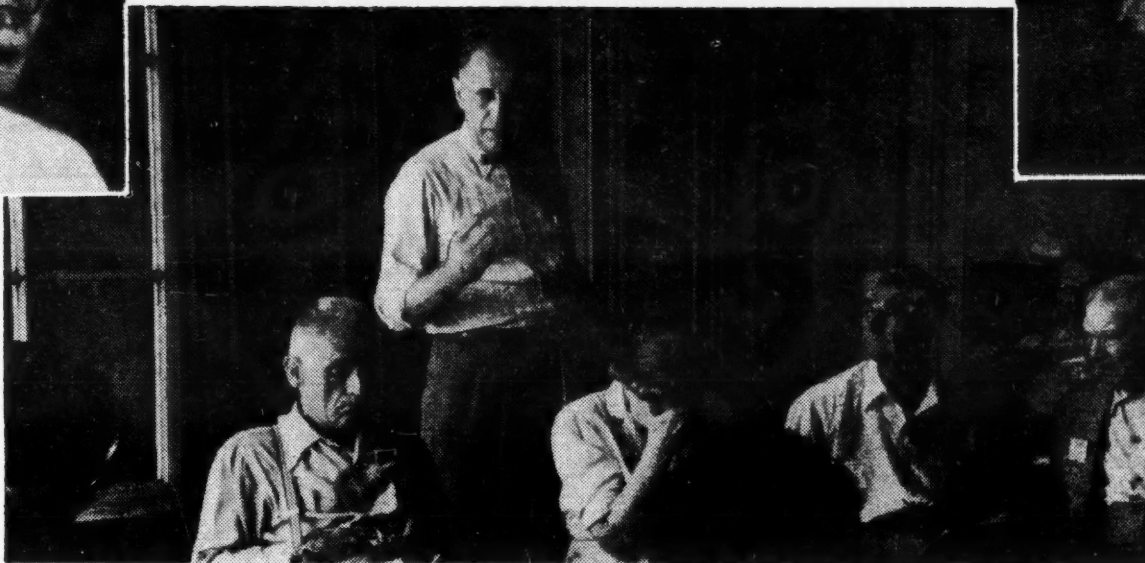
**We cry aloud to those sleeping in the wilderness, Awake, Awake!**

**The Progressive Party is your only alternative for doing what the world must do. And that is, stop war and control the power of corporate wealth over the production and distribution of goods, and over telling the truth."**

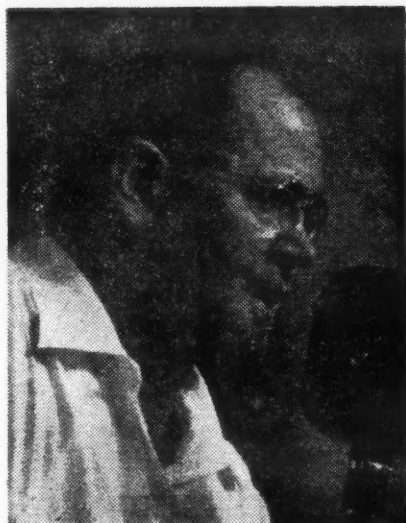
—From the Keynote Speech by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois



Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, scholar, historian and world peace leader, is an honorary chairman of the Progressive Party.



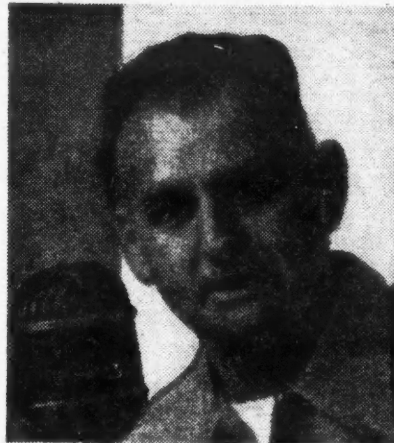
Fred Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union, stresses the urgency of peace at the Farm Panel.



The Delegates take the floor: Tom Fitzpatrick, chairman of the P. P. of Pennsylvania, UE rank and file leader.



Ida Alvarez, Mexican people's leader.



George Walsh, ILWU rank-and-filer.



James Dixon, Ford Local 600, UAW-CIO.



A Thomasville (N. C.) furniture striker (left) was introduced to the Convention by the N. Carolina chairman (right).

Extra copies of this Special Convention Story issue of National GUARDIAN are available at five cents each or \$2.50 per hundred. Order through National Guardian, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.



Prof. Curtis MacDougall, Illinois, confers with Chairman Elmer Benson.

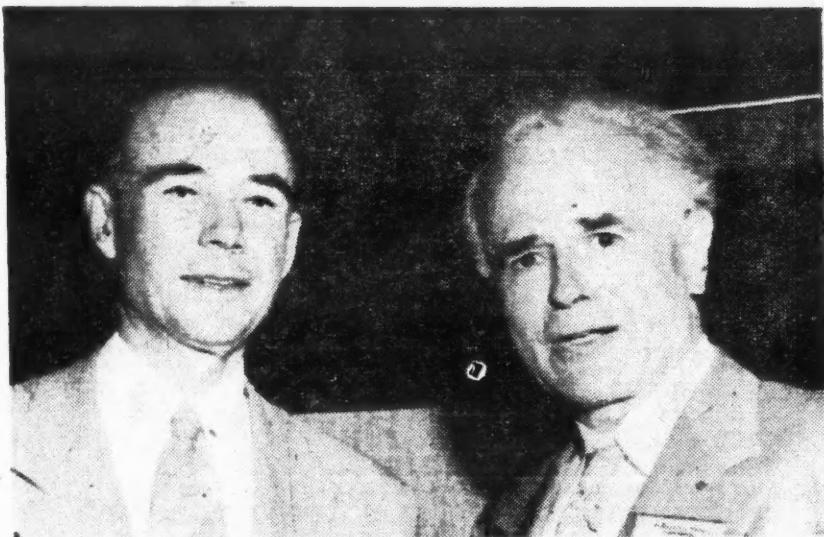


New Englanders Florence Luscomb and Ruth Wilson, Massachusetts, and Helen MacMartin, Vermont.

**The  
● challenge  
is sounded**



Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass accepts the vice-presidential nomination: (left to right) Mrs. Senora Lawson, Virginia; Dr. Clementina Paolone, New York; Mrs. Vivian Hallinan, California; Joseph Larvaquette, Illinois; Mrs. Bass, C. B. Baldwin, Marie Haug, Ohio.

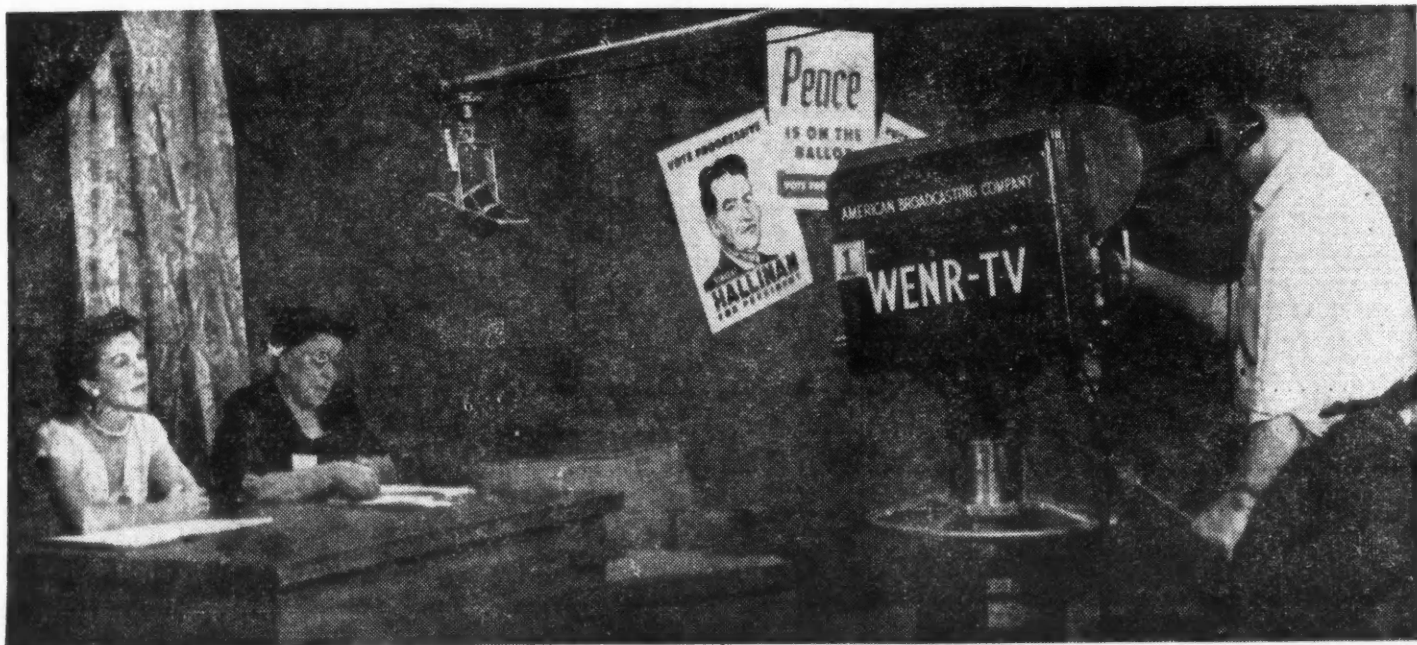


Senatorial candidates: Corliss Lamont, New York; Reuben Borogh, California.



Rev. Charles A. Hill of Michigan, placed the name of Mrs. Bass in nomination for the vice-presidency.

Earl Dickerson, president of the National Lawyers Guild, keynoted the Convention discussion of civil rights.



The acceptance speeches by Mrs. Bass and Vivian Hallinan for her husband, Vincent, got on television after a legal fight before the FCC.



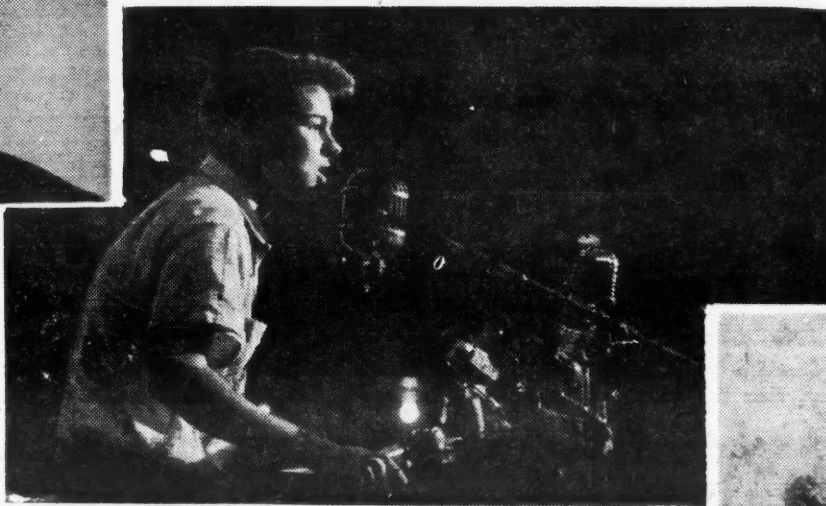
**FOR PRESIDENT**  
Vincent Hallinan of California

*It's a great privilege to be present when your father is nominated for the presidency of the United States. It fills me with pride that I am his son.*

*The apple falls not far from the tree. All over the world a new generation is rising . . . even more militant and more sure of success than were our parents.*

*We are growing into manhood. We cannot be intimidated. We cannot be silenced. We cannot be defeated. And we will add to your efforts a new and irresistible force starting as of NOW. On behalf of my father, my brothers and I will accept both the honor and the responsibility involved in this nomination and you may be sure that he will carry both as far as human energy and courage can—and we, his sons, will help him.*

—From the acceptance speech by 17-year old Patrick Sarsfield ("Butch") Hallinan, eldest of the six sons of Vincent and Vivian Hallinan.



"Butch" Hallinan

**FOR VICE-PRESIDENT**  
Mrs. Charlotta A. Bass  
of New York



Convention photos by NATIONAL GUARDIAN and ASP Photography Workshop.

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WHO LIKES IKE—AND WHY

# This is the real power behind Gen. Eisenhower

Because we had so much favorable reaction to the article, and because of its value as a campaign weapon, we are reprinting below a condensation of Tabitha Petran's expose of the forces behind Gen. Eisenhower, first printed in the GUARDIAN, May 15, 1952.

By Tabitha Petran

ALL the nation's top financial groups are—for perhaps the first time in U.S. history—united behind one Presidential candidate: General of the Army Dwight D. Eisenhower.

In 1947 one of the biggest Morgan operators in the country—Thomas J. Watson, pres. of Morgan's Intl. Business Machines, director of Morgan's Guaranty Trust, trustee of Columbia University—undertook to groom the general for the Presidency. Conferences between the two, already going on in Sept., 1947, resulted in Eisenhower's appointment as president of Columbia in June, 1948.

**EMANUEL & ALLEN:** At that time, Eisenhower acquired two powerful sponsors and advisers: Victor Emanuel, financier and political manipulator, whose meteoric rise in U.S. finance was backed by the international Schroeder interests (Cologne, London, N.Y. and Buenos Aires); and George E. Allen, "court jester to Presidents," director of Emanuel companies and then top Rockefeller man in Washington.

The importance of Eisenhower's "bi-partisan" sponsorship already in 1948—the Morgans and Rockefellers, and key interests behind both big parties—can be gauged by the high posts held by Watson (still the general's chief guide) in all the top reactionary business organizations, and in the broad network of interests embraced by Emanuel and Allen.

**WATSON:** Who's Who devotes nearly two columns to Watson, who holds these key posts:

- Pres. (1937-39), now hon. pres., of the Intl. Chamber of Commerce, an organization of the world's most reactionary businessmen, dominated in the 1930's by Nazi big business. During and after World War II, it blueprinted and became one of the chief forces behind the rebuilding of a neo-Nazi Germany.

- Member of the Dept. of Commerce's hush-hush Business Advisory Council, probably the nation's most powerful big-business outfit.

- Councillor of the Natl. Industrial Conference Board, biggest big-business research outfit; member of NAM and the Committee for Economic Development (CED), more representative of real big business than NAM since it includes only big corporate interests, has no state chapters.

- Member or officer of a host of other organizations ranging through the Nazi-tainted Steuben Society (see Carlson's Under Cover) to the Friends of Greece and Pan-American Union.

**HITLER HANGOVERS:** Emanuel, with backing of the Schroeders, is a power in public utilities, ship-building (N.Y. Shipbuilding Corp. with the Harrimans), aircraft, Avco Mfg. Co., Crosley Mfg. & Broadcasting, Republic Steel. The German Schroeders directly negotiated Ruhr backing for Hitler in 1932, were chief backers of the Nazi regime. The J. Henry Schroeder Banking Corp. of N.Y. (associated with the Percy Rockefeller interests) was U.S. financial agent for the German steel trust I.G. Farben, other top German cartels, and indirectly for the Nazi government. Long intimately linked with the N.Y. Schroeders is John Foster Dulles, whose corporation law firm Sullivan & Cromwell serves nearly all the major capital groups.

**THE JESTER:** George E. Allen is a director of more than a score of corporations including the Hugo Stinnes Corp.; he was involved in Emanuel's manipulations to get control of I.G. Farben's U.S. front, General Aniline & Film, richest property seized here by the Allen Property Custodian (for a time an Emanuel man, Leo Crowley, whose adviser on foreign-owned property was J.F. Dulles). Allen and Ike operate a farm together in the East.

As Columbia U. president Eisenhower

Watch for articles on the Vice-Presidential candidates—Sparkman and Nixon—in future issues of the GUARDIAN.

Watson; James G. Blaine, then pres. of the N.Y. State C. of C. and director of the Marine Midland Trust (see below) and of Remington Rand; Maj. Gen. James Doolittle, vice-pres. of Shell Union Oil (British Shell & Morgan) etc.

### In the back room

During his absence in Europe as NATO Commander, Eisenhower's backers were busy. In late 1950 his candi-



YAY!

Eisenhower, glowing in victory, pays a courtesy call on a "great American," Sen. Taft, who waves enthusiastically for the television camera.

made public appearances in company with, among others: John D. Rockefeller Jr.; Winthrop Aldrich, board chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Natl. Bank; dacy was launched (ostensibly without his participation) by a group of politicians, business and military men, many of whom later assumed top posts in his organization. They were:

- N.Y. GOV. THOMAS DEWEY: His political career has been backed by the Am. Smelting & Refining Co. (AN&R), important because it brings together Rockefeller, Guggenheim, and Morgan interests, has always played an aggressive political role. Its pres. Roger Straus, married to Gladys Guggenheim, who is on the Eisenhower advisory committee, is Dewey's close advisor. To the Eisenhower organization Dewey later contributed his former campaign manager HERBERT BROWNELL JR., member of the law firm Lord, Day & Lord—close to the Rockefeller interests—which once sponsored Merwin K. Hart.

- SEN. HENRY CABOT LODGE JR. (R-Mass.): A top political lieutenant of the Morgan interests, who became Eisenhower's campaign manager.

- SEN. JAMES DUFF (R-Pa.): Who owes his political career to the Mellons.

- GEN. LUCIUS CLAY: As occupation chief in Germany, supervised preservation and expansion of U. S. financial interests there, biggest being that of the Morgans into Ruhr steel; was rewarded with the board chairmanship of Continental Can (Morgan-Goldman Sachs-Lehman Bros.), directorships in Morgan's worldwide Newmont Mining Co., and in Marine Midland Trust. Dominant interests in this N.Y. State banking group are the Schoelkopf family of Buffalo (associated with Morgan and Mellon in Niagara Hudson Power) and the Rands of Remington Rand (James Rand has been close to Merwin K. Hart and Frank Gannett). Paul Hoffman and Blaine have been or are now directors of Marine Midland along with the senior Dulles law partner, Eustace Seligman.

- JOHN J. McCLOY, U.S. High Commissioner for Germany: In the '30's as a partner of the Kuhn Loeb law firm, Cravath, de Gersdorff, Swaine & Wood, he worked on claims resulting from the World War I Black Tom explosion, recovering \$2,000,000 for Rockefeller - Mellon - controlled Bethlehem Steel, and becoming an expert on German espionage. Asst. War Secy. during World War II, he appointed Clay head of Military Government, just before quitting to join the Rockefeller family law firm Milbank, Tweed, Hope, Hadley & McCloy. Later he became head of the World Bank. In 1949 High Commissioner. Married to Ellen Zinsser, whose brother John is a J. P. Morgan director, and whose late cousin was Chancellor Adenauer's wife. (Adenauer also supports Eisenhower.)

- PAUL HOFFMAN: Organizer and first chairman of the Committee for Economic

Development, and until he became head of the ECA, pres. of Studebaker. (Studebaker's board brings together representatives of the Rockefellers, Kuhn Loeb, Lehman Bros., the Cleveland law firm of M. B. & H. H. Johnson, and the Chicago Corp., of which Hoffman is also a director.) Was also director of Morgan's N. Y. Life Insurance Co. As CED chairman he said: "I don't believe it is even socially desirable to have jobs for every man and woman who may want a job" (N.Y. Post, 3/28/45). (The CED supports Eisenhower.) A member of the Commerce Dept.'s Business Advisory Council, United China Relief, and on leave as head of the Ford Foundation, he now heads Citizens for Eisenhower.

- ARTHUR VANDERBERG JR.: The Vandenberg family political fortunes have had the backing of the Newberry, Hadley and Blodgett families of Michigan. The Newberrys

firms, dominated by the Bank of America.

Western packers, grain speculators, milling and cattle interests and big farm operators are represented by Rep. Clifford R. Hope, Farm Bureau Congressman from Kansas; Sen. Frank Carlson, also of Kansas, co-chairman of the Natl. Eisenhower for President organization; former U.S. Sen. Harry Darby of Kansas City, wealthy oil man; and Philip D. Armour Jr., of Armour & Co. (Morgan-Kuhn Loeb). The Chicago finance group and the Morgans are dominant in most of these fields.

**BREAD AND BANKS:** Minnesota milling interests (Morgan, Goldman Sachs, etc.) are represented by Elmer Anderson, Governor of Minnesota, and Rep. Walter Judd, a prominent member of the China Lobby. (Mrs. Oswald Bates Lord, co-chairman of Citizens for Eisenhower, is the former Mary Pillsbury, of the Minneapolis flour Pillsburys. Her husband's firm is Gayley & Lord, cotton textile firm.) The timber interests of the northwest are represented by Douglas McKay, Governor of Oregon; of New England, by Sherman Adams, Governor of New Hampshire.

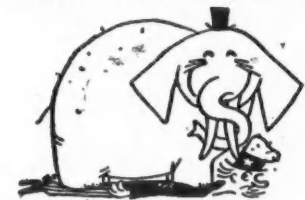
The Boston banking group, which usually operates close to the Morgans, is represented by Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R. Mass.), Sen. Lodge and Gov. John Lodge of Conn., who is active in the American Legion. Another American Legion backer is Past Commander Frank W. Belgrano Jr., Portland, Ore., banker.) The pressure of the N.Y. Boston bank axis is reflected in the endorsement given Eisenhower by Erwin Griswold, dean of Harvard Law School.

### Chorus of Morgans

The Morgan interests are represented, among others, by:

- PHILLIP REED, board chairman of Morgan's General Electric, director of Morgan's Bankers Trust, past pres. of the Intl. C. of C., trustee of CED, NICB; he is on the board of Citizens for Eisenhower.

- JOHN L. COLLYER, pres. of B. F. Goodrich, director of J. P. Morgan & Co., member of the CED, and a founder of the American Legion. FRANKLIN D'OLIER, retired pres. and director of Morgan's Prudential Life Insurance Co., director of Rockefeller's Chase Natl. Natl. Biscuit, Pennsylvania Railroad and one of the kingmakers of the American Legion. CLARENCE FRANCIS, board chairman of General Foods (Morgan-Goldman Sachs), CED, NAM, director of Northern Pacific, Chemical Bank & Trust, Air Reduction Co. GARDNER COWLES, publisher of Look, and midwest papers, a leading Morgan spokesman. THOMAS B. McCABE, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. JAMES BAXTER, pres. of Williams College, for more than 20 years a spokesman for Morgan foreign policy. J. CAMERON THOMSON, pres. of Northwest Bancorporation, which operates for the northwest milling



interests. MRS. HARPER SIBLEY, whose husband was a director of Morgan's N.Y. Life and Kuhn Loeb's Western Union, associated with the Eastman group around Rochester and with right-wing farm outfits.

**ROBBING TAFT:** Most interesting is the fact that the Eisenhower backers succeeded in breaking into the so-called Chicago midwest "isolationist" group, the mainstay of Taft's support. Hoffman himself links into this group through the brokerage firm of Glorie, Forgan & Co. which is interested in the Chicago Corp., a holding company, and owns large blocks of public utility companies and industrial companies. Hoffman is a director of the Chicago Corp.

An early and important Eisenhower sponsor is Henry Ford II, trustee with Benson Ford of the Ford Foundation, "biggest gift organization in the world" (U.S. News 1/18), which owns 90% of the stock of the Ford Motor Co. and whose income from the ownership is tax exempt.

are involved in Packard, Cleveland Cliffs Iron, Michigan Bell Telephone, and various Michigan banks. Members of the Hadley family have been associated with the Rockefellers in Webb, Patterson & Hadley, with the Morgan law firm Winthrop, Stimson, Putnam & Roberts; one married into the Standard Oil Pratt family. The Blodgetts are big lumber people in Michigan, Oregon and Washington, once active in the Liberty League. Vandenberg Jr. is assistant to Lodge.

### Everybody who's anybody

State committees for Eisenhower reveal similar composition. In Delaware, for example, the committee includes:

- DONALD R. CARPENTER, former vice-pres. of duPont's Remington Arms, chairman of the Pentagon's Military Liaison Committee on Atomic Energy, then head of the Munitions Board, now back with duPont.

- JOHN B. JESSUP, pres. of duPont's Equitable Trust Co.; W. RALPH MCINTYRE, director of the same company; J. SELLER BANCROFT, vice-pres. of duPont's Delaware Trust Co.

In Michigan, the Eisenhower Committee includes:

- THOMAS H. REID, Ford Motor's chief lobbyist in Washington; EDWARD E. WILSON, son of C. E. Wilson, pres. of General Motors (Morgan-duPont); COY G. ECKLUND, state manager of Rockefeller's Equitable Life Assurance Co.; JOHN HANNAH, pres. of Michigan State College, which is controlled by Michigan's Board of Regents, in turn controlled by the auto industry; JOHN A. DODDS, retiring head of the Detroit Real Estate Board, etc.

In Texas, Eisenhower is backed by publisher Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, former member of the Democratic Natl. Committee, former head of the WACS, and one of the leaders of the Texas millionaire group around Jesse Jones. He is also backed by the oil industry including wealthy oilmen like his friend Sid Richardson and H.J. Porter of Houston.

**LUMBER & SPAM:** Eisenhower organizations—his advisory committee, Citizens for Eisenhower, Young Industry for Eisenhower, etc., reveal a formidable array of high finance and big business from all parts of the country.

Giannini's Bank of America, chief West Coast supporter of Crusade for Freedom and of vigilante groups, is represented by James D. Zellerbach, pres. of Crown Zellerbach, one of the nation's biggest lumber and paper

(Continued from Page 3)

tion. Quietly, the Economist said, U. S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery has been promoting a deal to relax sole Egyptian control over the Sudan in exchange for U. S. troops and U. S. capital in Suez. It was another squeeze play on the British.

Premier Sirry Pasha, business partner of Egypt's biggest millionaire, Abboud Pasha, was close to Caffery. He was dropped the day after Al Misri, Wafdist organ, broke the story of a secretly-negotiated treaty opening Egypt to U. S. capital. The treaty, the paper said, would permit the U. S. to "swallow up" Egypt (NYT 7/12).

**WASHINGTON STRINGS?** In the light of the developments of the last year, the most likely theory on the military coup was that it was an attempt by Egyptian reaction to divert popular discontent. It was felt that the move might be part of a plan to force Egyptian acceptance of Washington's proposal for a joint defense system in Egypt—adding U. S. and French troops to the British already in the Canal Zone. Neither this plan nor the treaty on American capital had a chance of parliamentary approval under ordinary circumstances (NYT 7/21).

Upon coming to power Naguib assured the U. S. and British embassies that foreign interests would be protected (AP 7/23). The Wall Street Journal's Edward Hughes reported from London (7/24) that the army group favors the joint defense plan.

### Mossadegh returns as Iran's premier

**ANGLO-AMERICAN** hopes for a favorable settlement (to them) of the Iranian oil issue received a jolt with the swift downfall of Premier Ahmad Ghavam, were jarred even more when the National Front's resilient Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh returned as Premier, with complete control over the nation's economy and its armed forces. He was on even firmer ground last week when the International Court of Justice

### Miss Petran in Northwest

GUARDIAN'S associate editor Tabitha Petran will be speaking in Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Wash., the first part of August. Her dates are:  
Portland, Aug. 6 to 9. For information: Mrs. Morris Malbin, 7356 S. E. 30th St., Portland 2.  
Seattle, Aug. 11 to 14. For information: Tom Rabbitt, 417 Eitel Bldg., Senec 6506.

at the Hague ruled that it had no jurisdiction in the British-Iranian dispute over oil nationalization. Britain had asked for a ruling.

Thousands of Iranians in Teheran took part in mourning demonstrations for those killed by the police and the army during the brief premiership of Ghavam, who disappeared in face of demands for his punishment. The left-wing Tudeh Party, officially banned (but Iran's largest), offered further support to the National Front.

Anti-American feeling ran high, fed by the fact that the sole American judge of the International Court had voted with the minority supporting the British and the feeling that the U. S. had supported Ghavam. E. F. Tompkins wrote in Hearst's N. Y. Journal-American (7/16):

Whether Dr. Mossadegh or someone else is Prime Minister of Iran is now unimportant—the Shah's realm has become an American satrapy and his army is part of our military forces.

A. N. Y. Times editorial (6/25) described the Iranians' reaction to Ghavam's suppression as "pathological."

Whether Mossadegh, with unlimited power, would undertake a genuine reform program still remained to be seen. In elections earlier this year—which Mossadegh had called off when only 81 of 136 members of the Majlis (Lower House) had been elected—the Tudeh Party, led by Communists, presented a program which was described by Albion Ross (NYT 1/18):

... [It] demanded the expulsion of the U. S. military advisory missions ... the rejection of Point Four aid, the closing of the British bank ... the distribution of

private landholdings among the peasants, universal obligatory education and ... nationalization of oil. ... The Communist program contained a long series of demands for concrete reforms dealing with the income tax status of workers, the protection of industry and the like. It was a real party program concerned with the vital issues affecting the life of the Iranian worker and peasant. ... It was again strikingly apparent that the Communist Party was the only one with a genuine program and ideology that went beyond the nationalization of oil and nationalistic enthusiasm.

Obstacles to a united front were already rising. As the British, like King Canute, continued "to claim their rights and oil properties in Iran" (N.Y. Herald Tribune 7/22), Mossadegh's new director of police for Iran warned

... against the efforts of the Tudeh Party to realize their aims under the guise of nationalism (NYT, 7/24).

### UN rejects Africans' plea for own land

**THERE** are perhaps more obvious victims of exploitation even than the Egyptians and Iranians. In the British trust territory of Tanganyika, Africa, the government last year forcibly evicted 3,000 members of the Wa-Meru tribe from 78,000 acres of their land and gave the land to European ranchers. After a series of requests, on July 21 the UN Trusteeship Council finally listened to Kirilo Japhet, speaking in Swahili interpreted by Bermuda-born lawyer Earle Seton, describe the

... hardships they [the Wa-Merus] endured during the evictions, when homes were burned and expectant mothers gave birth to still-born infants [after which the Wa-Merus were settled in land] climatically unfavorable, with meager rainfall and infected tsetse flies (NYHT, 7/23).

With only Soviet delegate A. A. Soldatov dissenting, the Council expressed regret that force was used to evict the Wa-Merus, asked Britain to pay compensation, refused to accede to the request of the Wa-Merus for restoration of their land.

**TUNISIA TERROR:** Also in the UN the Arab-Asian group supporting the cause of Tunisian self-rule failed to get enough signatures to their petition for a Special General Assembly hearing

of the Tunisian charges against France. A GUARDIAN special correspondent reported last week from Tunis:

There are about 19,000 Arabs in concentration camps in the Sahara, surrounded by barbed wire and machine-guns. In the headquarters of the Deuxieme Bureau (French FBI), a third degree takes place every night which rivals any American gangster movie and is more real—the victims actually do die. One man, taken secretly to the hospital the other day, was beaten with rubber stuff that leaves no marks, filled with water, had hot and cold water poured on him alternately, which is awful for the nervous system, and had had an electric current run from his nose to another place more delicate. He died within a few hours.

On Cap Bon, a peninsula at the top of Tunisia, foreign legionnaires who are 83% German (from political schools or members of the SS) pillaged three towns in a terrorist display, shooting, stealing, raping Arab women, etc.

Disturbances continued in Tunisia. Several people recently surrounded the home of French puppet Premier Salaheddine Baccouche—"said to be the chief shareholder of the Tunisian branch of Coca Cola" (London Economist 7/19)—and threw two home-made hand grenades, but they failed.

**S. AFRICA—NO WEAKENING:** In the Union of South Africa civil disobedience by the non-Europeans continued, jails filled up, and fines mounted. In sentencing the well-known people's leaders Dadoo, Bopape, Kotane and Marks, the magistrate in the Johannesburg court said:

"It is common knowledge that one of the aims of communism is to break down race barriers and strive for equal rights for all sections of the people and to do so without any distinction of race, color or creed. This would endanger the survival of Europeans and therefore legislation must be pursued with the object of suppressing communism."

While the U. S. gave tacit approval to the Malan regime by pushing through an Export-Import Bank "strategic materials loan" to the Electric Supply Commission of South Africa "to provide ... additional electric power ... to operate uranium-separation plants" (Wall Street Journal 7/12), in Britain, resolutions to be submitted to the Labor Party's annual convention in September included a group attacking the racist policies of South Africa.

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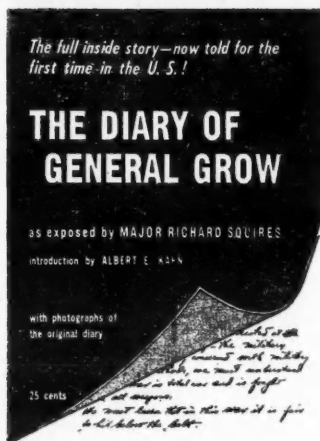
THE GROW DIARY

A true-life spy story

By Elmer Bendiner

SPY fantasies in documentary dress have been assailing people in movies, magazines, and newspapers for a long time. Yet last week a fully-documented spy story, proven beyond doubt, revealing a plot far greater and more significant than any imagined by inventive reporters, was being examined behind closed doors at a court martial hearing at Ft. Meade, Md.—and no one thought to make a movie of it.

The spy in his own handwriting had admitted compiling a careful listing of targets for bombing, had declared, again in his own hand, that the aim of the plotters was: "War as soon as possible! War now!" Yet he was being tried not for spying nor for his hand in a gigantic conspiracy of destruction, but for having given the show away by noting the details of the plot in a diary and allowing the diary to get out of his hands. He was on trial for bungling; the charge itself, seemed to brand those who prosecuted him as accomplices.



**HOW IT HAPPENED:** The admitted spy is Maj.-Gen. Robert C. Grow, member of the U.S. military mission in Iran 1946-48, more recently military attache in Moscow. Last year his diary came into the hands of British journalist Maj. Richard Squires, who photographed its pages and published excerpts along with his own comments in a book (*On the Road to War*, published in Berlin.) The book

ASPReviews elections at Carnegie Hall

"Peace, Politics and Presidential Candidates" is the title of the up-to-the-minute ASPReview being presented Thursday evening, July 31, at New York's Carnegie Hall by the Nat'l Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions.

I. F. Stone, N. Y. *Compass* columnist, will give a reporter's account of the three conventions held in Chicago; Julius Emspak, secy.-treas. of the United Electrical Workers will talk on "Labor's Stake in the Elections."

There will be several first performances by ASPReview, including "The Bill of Wrongs," a satirical song on the issues of the day, and a sketch, "Bedtime Story." Tickets are \$1.20 (ASP, 49 W. 44 St., Murray Hill 7-2161). Program starts at 8:30 p.m.

stirred attention in the U.S. briefly; its contents were reported as a glaring instance of military inefficiency. In fact, it is the dead give-away to the entire Truman policy.

Albert E. Kahn, author of *High Treason*, co-author of *Sabotage and The Great Conspiracy*, pamphleteer in a dozen progressive fights, has done a profound service to the American people by publishing for the first time in this country Squires' account, with the evidence quoted and reproduced from Grow's diary.\*

**THE DIPLOMAT:** Grow's diary records his travels throughout Russia (on diplomatic business) listing targets: bridges, power plants, railroad yards, receiving similar espionage reports from British and Greek "diplomats" whom he names. The U.S. Embassy not only furthered Grow's espionage tours but, according to Grow,

Kirk (U.S. ambassador during Grow's mission last year) desires that all trips should be planned with an important objective, or if that is not the case, they should be omitted.

Grow is not an unimportant fanatic in the cause of war. He writes that it is clear

... my letters are going to all important divisions, even to the President.

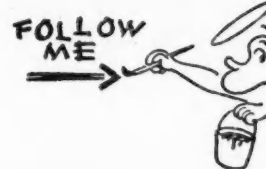
**NOTHING DENIED:** This man, whose activities have not been denied by his superiors nor his views disowned, writes a confession so damning that few others would dare put it on paper:

We must employ every subversive device to undermine the confidence and loyalty of Soviet subjects in their regime. . . . Everything, truth or lies, to poison the minds of the people. . . . Although the military services are primarily concerned with military weapons and methods we must understand that this war is total war and is fought with all weapons. We must learn that in this war it is fair to hit below the belt.

Kahn has opened the doors of the court martial at Ft. Meade, has made public the evidence. It remains for the advocates of peace to take up this evidence and present it to the country in all its naked, damning, undisputed truth.

\* **THE DIARY OF GENERAL GROW** as exposed by Maj. Richard Squires, with an introduction by Albert E. Kahn, Hour Publishers, Box 107, Murray Hill Sta., New York 16, 25; 5 copies \$1; 15c each in orders of 25 or more.

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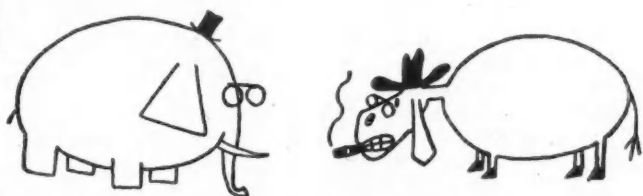
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By Ettore Rella

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For the benefit of the eye they dance a jig, but secretly they plan for that day, after election, when they will plunge the burning tip of the green tree into the unsuspecting eye— all of it engineered by the brain on Olympus, Papa Zeus Aldrich, with the jack assistance of his global flunkey, Hermes Dulles.



While the real convention has been put in jail— HALLINAN FOR PRESIDENT—the people are saying it,—the multicolored people— CHARLOTTA BASS FOR VICE-PRESIDENT—the real convention is in jail—the future is in jail—the delegates to the real convention the delegates of the people, of the multicolored people, are in jail,— in Papa Zeus Aldrich's jail—but they are meeting anyway—no matter what—and however—and despite everything they are meeting in a tent pitched at the center of the United States—from behind those iron bars they have come, they have come to the center of the great plain between today and tomorrow—

Vincent Hallman and Johnny Gates and Steve Nelson and Ben Davis and the others—all the others—firmly in the saddle of time they ride on their proud horses past all the stone and steel, past all the stoolpigeons, they ride to the real convention—no place here for the two-faced cockalorums—this true and difficult and open terrain is only for the swift proud horses taking the delegates of the people, the multicolored people, to the real convention.

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