

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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## WAR & PEACE

### Stevenson on foreign policy —and the facts of our time

ON Sept. 9, in San Francisco, Democratic Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson delivered a major foreign policy speech. His main points are summarized thus:

"... 85 per cent of our budget [is] allocated to defense" because America is threatened by the Soviet Union ... communism



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch  
RECKLESS PERFORMANCE

threatens both Europe and Asia. In Europe, U.S. foreign policy has been successful because "the Marshall Plan has brought ... a striking improvement in the political and economic conditions. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is building a strong system of military defense." In Asia, where "land reform is [a] fundamental problem," Asians want "a chance to stand on their own feet ... to govern themselves ... to develop their resources for their own welfare," to eliminate discrimination based on color, to acquire "pride, spirit, faith."

Communism "is attempting to give direction ... to the multiple revolutions going on in Asia today by identifying itself with the deeply felt needs and hopes of the Asian peoples." But "in Korea we took a long step toward building a security system in Asia" against the threat of communism. Instead of "post-mortems about China" the U.S. should do "something for India today."

By aiding India and other such underdeveloped countries "we can enlarge our export markets and develop new sources of the products we need to import. We must face some of "the hard, the ugly questions" of assistance to the British in Malaya, the French in Indo-China, to the Philippines, Formosa, Japan and Korea and to "the emerging system of Pacific defense."

We must answer "the inhumanity of communism" with "humane respect for the individual. Co-existence is ... waging the contest between freedom and tyranny by peaceful means," calling for "negotiation and adjustment."

(Continued on Page 3)



#### In Chicago they talked back

The House Committee on Un-American Activities blustered into Chicago this month bent on kicking the teeth out of two militant unions—the Farm Equipment section of the United Electrical Workers and the Packinghouse Workers—but got some kicks in its own teeth. These grim faces belong to pickets who met the committee on its arrival, haunted it during its stay. A scheduled two-week stand was abruptly abandoned after three and a half days. Next roadshow stop for the committee is set for Los Angeles on Sept. 29. There show people, lawyers, doctors, newsmen, teachers, union leaders and others (some 115 are under subpoena) are planning an even hotter, rougher reception with a mass rally on Sept. 19 at Embassy Auditorium for an advance curtain-raiser.

## THE CONVENTION OF A FIGHTING UNION

### Mine-Mill declares war on the witch-hunters

"I never died, says he."  
Joe Hill, a ballad.

By Elmer Bendiner

THE PANELS of the Governor's Room in New York's Governor Clinton Hotel last week were decorated with illustrated verses of Joe Hill. Joe's own union, the 59-year old Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (Ind.) was meeting.

The copper, zinc, lead and silver miners, who gave the U.S. labor movement Big Bill Heywood, are U.S. labor's traditional incorruptibles: tough, seasoned in the hardest battles U.S. labor has ever fought.

They met after a year of victories against CIO raiders, the wage freeze, and company, municipal, state and federal intimidation. They came out of it with 100,000 members, a program for winning a livelihood out of mine owners, for labor unity and the realization that world peace is an essential demand in any union's fight.

**SUBPENAS:** The break-through on the wage freeze came just before convention time with the signing of new agreements with Phelps Dodge, Anaconda and American Smelting and Refining Companies, all providing an across-the-board 8c raise, improved vacation and health plan clauses.

Also right before the convention opened came the latest Congressional assault on Mine-Mill: subpoenas for the four top officers to appear before the McCarran Senate Internal Security subcommittee in October. The union responded with a summons (unanswered) to Sen. McCarran to appear before the convention to answer anti-labor charges. The union's paper the

Union, carried an expose of Nevada's "Sagebrush Caesar."

Pres. John Clark detailed for the delegates the steps by which McCarran and the McCarran Bill lead to a Nazi-type labor front, the blacklist and the destruction of unions, then warned:

"Membership in a conservative union is no longer any 'protection' against an invasion by the House Un-American Committee, the Senate McCarran Committee, the police frame-up. You have only to take a quick look at the behavior of Congress and U.S. industry during the last few months to realize that somewhere a big decision has been made. The decision was to pull the trigger aimed at launching a major attack on all of labor, from left to right, from top to bottom."

**CONNECTICUT STORY:** On labor unity Clark pointed to Connecticut's brass valley where a month earlier officials of Mine-Mill, AFL metal workers and CIO United Auto Workers which



JOHN CLARK  
A vote against hysteria

had been raiding Mine-Mill up to then, conferred together on ways to save jobs and standards.

"In Connecticut the campaign for labor unity has been around the very elementary issue of jobs. In Montana it has been around a campaign for improved workmen's compensation laws. In Utah it has been around bargaining. The key fact to bear in mind here is that we must learn to work with the members of other unions on the things we have in common."

On politics Clark suggested that the McCarran Bill be a test put to all Democratic candidates, a criterion by which they are judged. He assailed the Republicans, criticized Stevenson for failing to denounce the Smith Act, the McCarran and Un-American Activities Committees. He defined Mine-Mill's tradition of independent political action:

"It means that we and the rest of the American people will be satisfied with nothing less than an end of the cold war and of the hot Korean war. It means that we will accept nothing less than a genuine 100% effective FEPC, nothing less than a better standard of living for our members, nothing less than the abolition of the McCarran Committee, the House Un-Americans and all the other evidences of cold war and anti-democratic hysteria. These are the standards by which we will measure all candidates, regardless of which party they represent, regardless of which office they are running for."

In later discussion many delegates called for Progressive Party endorsement. A few argued for a "practical" pro-Stevenson support. The final resolution criticized Republican and Democrat platforms, praised the PP but made no official endorsement, concentrated on local campaigns. The resolution declared that

"... in the coming campaign our members must help to hold the political fort until the day comes when united labor can join with small farmers to cast off the chains

of subservience to the old parties and help inaugurate a truly independent people's farmer-labor party.

**PLAN FOR PEACE:** The union did more than call for peace. It documented its demand with a book, *A World at Peace*, which in text and charts shows that the security of the U.S. workers rests not in an armaments boom but in peaceful construction. Metal miners, of all U.S. workers, are most directly affected by war booms. But here were the miners outlining the expenditures for peaceful projects that can be substituted for war preparations; the foreign trade that can replace the cold war and avoid a depression.

Delegates who discussed the program at length heard only three guests: United Electrical Workers president Albert J. Fitzgerald, who told of greater working unity between the two unions, both sharing the same program of peace, independent political action and labor unity; Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, who warned that all U.S. labor standards are affected by the oppression of workers in colonial areas, and actress Karen Morley, who said:

"The intellectuals and middle-class people can't stop them. It can be done by the working class."

#### Sanity corner

**BLOOMINGTON, IND.**—Speaking for 700,000 U.S. university students, the Natl. Student Assn. congress Aug. 27 passed a resolution condemning Universal Military Training since it would "institutionalize military service as a part of American life"—thus reversing an earlier stand for UMT, passed last year.

During Congressional debates on the plan early this year, pro-UMT lobbyists had pointed to the 1951 resolution as proof that students favored UMT.

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Vol. 4, No. 48

178

SEPTEMBER 18, 1952



**The governor-general**

STAUNTON, VA.  
It will make little difference to the American people whether Gen. Eisenhower or Gov. Stevenson is elected in November, for Big Business and Monopoly will continue to be their rulers.

As it has been in the past, the American government will continue to be the captive and servant of the barons of industry and production. Our government will continue to cooperate with the business barons in keeping the war scare intact and the profits rolling in.

What difference does it make about the G.I.'s in Korea, as long as they can be kept ignorant of what they are fighting for!

T. Y. Steptoe

**Dr. Berger's remedy**

CLEVELAND, O.  
I got a letter from Rep. Daniel A. Reed and I suppose so did many readers. Well, as the postage was paid by us, the people, he may as well hear what we think:

He talks about the present government's sins, and there are quite a few. I can only agree with him that a Democratic administration should not be re-elected, but the devil is that the Republican administration had even more mud on their stick. Just think of Harding's Coal Oil Dome, Hoover's adjusting the Panic, Eisenhower using left-over war material to shoot away petitioning war veterans from the White House. That makes you sick, doesn't it? Me too. So, the Republicans should not be elected either.

By name we have two parties, but by action and voting in Congress we have only one. They themselves tell us how rotten they are. So the remedy lies in the Progressive Party.  
Max Berger

**Old folks in Iowa**

DES MOINES, IA.  
Can and will the Progressive Party help us old-age people keep the wolf of poverty from our door in this greatest of all countries?

Here in the richest agricultural state in the Union, where the tall corn grows, we oldsters are just barely existing from one month to another under a Republican administration. Yet the administration has \$5,000,000 to spend on a huge building to house some of the State employes. This could have helped a lot of old fathers and

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good; it leaves the unthinking reader wondering what you are driving at.

Our schools haven't educated our citizens for carrying on a democracy. In not teaching the science of money or sound economics they have produced a nation of monetary morons and economic illiterates who have become so involved in war and debt that they are incapable of extracting themselves.

O. B. Bragshaw

**Behind Chambers**

LEXINGTON, VA.  
I suggest the formation of a Committee to Expose the Framers of Alger Hiss. Anyone with the least insight knows that a psychotic liar like Whitaker Chambers, or a professional climber - over - other-people's - necks like Congressman Nixon, were nothing but puppets in the case. The real principals were certain monopolists who are gambling on a war with the Soviet Union and who had to have one more "traitor" for their horrible hysteria campaign.  
Emma M. Olive

**"White chauvinism"**

BROOKLYN, N. Y.  
Good to see someone like Mrs. Eslanda Robeson express her opposition to the wrongly done subject of "white chauvinism." I'm also sick of the intellectually sensitive windbags who weigh each word and suddenly turn on you because of any ordinary criticism or word directed to a Negro brother and then kill an entire evening with a pro and con discussion of "why the manner in which the brother's remarks were made should be regarded as an attack against the Negro people."

The worst manifestation of this "militant erudition" is the new policy of blindly supporting the candidacy of any Negro—Republican or Democrat—via the Progressive Party. What a strange contradiction. We used to condemn the major parties for the policy of denying Negroes equal opportunity to hold office because of the color of their skin. Now voters are asked to support Negro candidates without any knowledge of their record on peace, Taft-Hartley, loyalty pledges, etc., but only because of the color of their skin. What an insult to Negro and white voters.  
Paul Meyerson

**Errand of light**

ORLANDO, FLA.  
What a splendid paper you are getting out. Remember the old song of the Indian woman as she released the dove carrying a message to her daughter, the "Day Star?" She sang: "Speed away! Speed away on thine errand of light. There's a young heart awaiting thy coming tonight."

As we send you 12 new subs, my friend and I are singing in our hearts, "Speed away! Speed away on thine errand of light."  
Bertha W. Howe

**A slogan for us**

BLACK MOUNTAIN, N. C.  
It seems to me a tremendous thing you are trying to do for us in printing the day-by-day truth about the vast crisis of human existence in our time. A newspaperman once printed at the top of his paper year after year "Tear down the fences!" It gradually worked on his readers and stayed with them - when much else was probably forgotten.

Like the cry in France of Liberty, Fraternity, Equality, could we not have a slogan that might take hold of man's emotions and then his mind?  
Sarah Kitchen

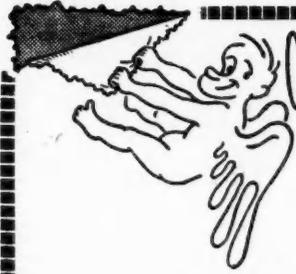
**The Christophers**

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.  
In his letter in the August 14 Mail Bag it is apparent that Mr. Grant does not know what the Christophers really are or else he is deliberately misleading your readers.

The Christophers is an organization made up of Catholics and non-Catholics alike, therefore it is not a propaganda organization of the Roman Catholic Church and was never meant to be.

Their purpose is to encourage many people to undertake a personal responsibility in restoring the spiritual truths upon which this nation is founded and without which it cannot survive. The most important among these being the "self-evident truth" that each human being derives his rights from God, not from government, and that the purpose of government is to protect these rights.

They take the position that less than 1% of humanity has caused most of the world's major troubles and that this small number, "regardless of their labels," shares a militant hatred of the basic truth upon which our nation was founded. It is or has been for some time a well known fact that people



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**A REPORT FROM HIS HONOR**

**The Guardian's Birthday**

SULLIVAN, IND.

Reading through my back files of the GUARDIAN the other day, I realized that the paper is about to begin its fifth year of publication in November.

This is an anniversary that deserves real celebration by progressives all over this coun-

day present.

I feel sure that such great Americans as Dr. DuBois, Vincent Hallinan, Charlotta Bass, Elmer Benson and many, many others would be proud to head up a National Birthday Committee to pay tribute to the GUARDIAN in this very practical way.

In no time at all we could have a GUARDIAN Birthday Committee of a thousand, including both national and community leaders, which would stage rousing celebrations by GUARDIAN readers in every city and whistle-stop in the U.S.A.

If you think well enough of this idea to print this letter, I feel sure that thousands of "constant readers" like myself will quickly jump on the bandwagon to get local committees started, as I intend to in my bailiwick.

All in favor say aye!

Norval K. Harris

try. I can think of no better way of saying "Happy Birthday" to the GUARDIAN and its valiant staff than to organize a Birthday Committee in every community in the country, whose aim would be to shower the GUARDIAN with thousands of new subscriptions as a birth-



Judge Harris's proposal is just what the doctor ordered! We are already planning a citywide birthday shindig here in New York for the week of Nov. 16, when we will be exactly one month into our fifth year of publication (and well beyond the election campaigns). The idea of a national round of GUARDIAN birthday parties is a real rouser.

What do you think of the idea? Let's hear from you.

THE EDITORS

**A good sign**

PORTLAND, ORE.  
We are gaining ground every day, some of our local warmongering daily papers are beginning to squawk about the GUARDIAN, which is a good sign in our favor, and only drives decent Americans, who are seeking the truth and peace, to dig in that much harder.  
Chas. E. Woodward

**Prisoners of war**

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.  
The dispute over war prisoners is still being used as an excuse for prolonging the war in Korea. A little less than 100 years ago the U.S. was similarly divided. Suppose that the slave states had given the many prisoners they took from the North the choice of going home or of remaining in a "free" slave society, where the whites had a sufficient number of blacks to do all the hard work. How many Yankees would have refused to go home?

Whether one's country is red or white or yellow or (like many countries, very very green in political and economic questions), still "there's no place like home." A good deal of persuasion will be needed to persuade the North Koreans otherwise.  
Eric A. Starbuck

**Expose of militarism**

EAST PALATKA, FLA.  
At last an expose of U.S. militarism that anyone can safely distribute right and left! Tell your readers to write to Rep. H. H. Buffett, Washington 25, D. C., and ask for 100-200 copies of his speech of Jan. 22, 1952, reprinted from the Congressional Record.  
Frederick A. Blossom



"What happens if I don't sign it?"

Drawing by Fred Wright

# Adlai Stevenson on foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

**"NO WORLD WAR":** How valid are Stevenson's assumptions? The GUARDIAN has printed, over the last year, scores of stories, documented by quotations from conservative sources, testifying that neither America's allies nor many top U.S. officials believe that the U.S.S.R. has plans for aggression against the U.S. or the West. U.S. News & World Report (9/12) wrote:

Britain's top officials, from Winston Churchill on down [believe that] Stalin wants no world war. . . . Priority in Russia goes to raising living standards. . . . Paris, Rome, Bonn see it this way, too.

Western Europe's economy—with the exception of pampered West Germany (which, however, has a serious unemployment problem)—has been moving from crisis to crisis. Britain has been forced by U.S. dollar pressure to assume a rearmament program beyond its means, prevented from trading on a large scale with the socialist world. It has been limping along on U.S. grants (paid for by the American taxpayer); control over the dollar earn-



Los Angeles Times

THE FRUITS OF LABOR

ings of colonies such as Malaya and Commonwealth members such India, and lowering the living standards of the British people.

**EVER DEEPER:** The September Labour Monthly (London) reported:

We have had a series of economic crises since 1947 . . . each one deeper than the last. We are now told by [Chancellor of the Exchequer] Butler and Churchill that [the crisis] is deeper than ever before. . . . The ruinous costs of the war in Malaya and Korea . . . the new, terrific drive by German and Japanese industry under the domination of American capital at the expense of Britain—these are the unassailable facts of the present situation facing Britain.

France, on the verge of bankruptcy, has been desperately pleading for further U.S. aid. The various governments have shown no political stability since 1945. The Communist Party, drawing over 25 per cent of the votes consistently, has been barred from participation in government.

As to NATO "building a strong system of military defense," the Lisbon commitments for 1952 have been admittedly over-optimistic. U.S. News (9/12) said: "Prospects for 1953 worry informed officials more than the lag in 1952."

**MEXICAN PROPOSAL:** On Stevenson's view of the Korean war, there has been no evidence that Asia subscribes to his concept of the historic importance of the war. The indiscriminate warfare has caused revulsion among the colored peoples there.

Last week at the UN Mexican representatives put forward a proposal—largely ignored in the U.S. press—to solve the POW deadlock in the truce negotiations. The plan was to repatriate prisoners willing to go home and to grant asylum to the others temporarily in the territory of UN member states (Reuters 9/11). The proposal was reported to be under serious consideration by Britain and Canada. Leon Edel, N.Y. Compass UN correspondent, reported (9/11) that, according to "a reliable neutral diplomatic source," the discussion in London of the Mexican proposal among UN Secy. Gen. Lie,

Anthony Eden and Lester Pearson of Canada was "designed to find some way to 'get the U.S. off the hook' at Panmunjom."

On Sunday the policy-making committee of the India Congress (governing) Party, unanimously adopted a resolution calling on the big powers to seek a peaceful solution to their differences by negotiation. The resolution was drafted by Premier Nehru.

## Asia's "needs and hopes"

The U.S. has already "done something" for India, as it has for other so-called underdeveloped countries, in the form of American capital investment. This process extracts raw materials at cheap cost and huge profit to the American investor and hinders, rather than promotes, well-rounded economic development. U.S. oil and Coca-Cola are well entrenched in India. By contrast, the GUARDIAN received last week reports of the development of an industrial economy as the result of Socialist co-operation. At the International Industrial Fair at Leipzig, East Germany, Reuters (9/8) reported:

. . . China is showing modern machines, including 20 weighing 10 tons each, as well as its traditional porcelain, tea and rice, while Bulgaria exhibits machines and electrical goods in addition to her usual wood, glass, ceramics and agricultural products. . . . Hungary offers machines and railway coaches.

**FINLAND TO INDIA:** GUARDIAN special correspondent Cmdr. Edgar P. Young, R.N. (Rt.) wrote from London:

Finland is making available to India steel files, farming machinery, pulp, paper and millboard machinery, sawmill and other wood-working machinery, glass-making machinery, excavators, cranes, tugboats, fishing trawlers and electrical cables—goods Finland did not previously manufacture.

When their production by Finland was insisted upon by the U.S.S.R. [in payment of reparations] there was much grumbling. Now Finland has the way open before her to unprecedented prosperity. By Sept. 19 the reparations period will have finally expired. Henceforth the products of the new factories established in Finland will be entirely at the disposal of the Finns, who are already exporting more than they did in 1938.

The U.S.S.R. has undertaken to take, and pay for, any industrial products which Finland may wish to dispose of. No obstacle is being placed in Finland's way—not even on "strategic" grounds—if she wishes to export these elsewhere.

Bulgaria, eight years ago a poor country with a mainly agrarian economy, in 1952 alone will have sent to China more goods than in the entire 50 years before. It is supplying China with industrial equipment (machine tools, electrical machinery and instruments) and heavy chemical products, products of the new socialist industry of the Republic which has been established with assistance from the U.S.S.R. in the shape of capital equipment and technical advice.

Reuters reported (9/8) that . . . Bulgaria is almost a year ahead of her state targets for industrial and agricultural production.

## The humanities in China

What of Stevenson's "inhumanity of communism?" The distinguished Indian scholar and economist V. K. R. V. Rao, who is opposed to communism, reported in the Nation (4/5) after a trip through China:

Elected people's congresses . . . constituted on . . . multi-party lines . . . function actively, directing their attention to the concrete problems of daily life, [discussing] their own faults and ways of helping themselves, as well as the faults of the government officials and ways of obtaining more effective government aid. . . . China has become . . . a multitude of little discussion clubs; and there is an undeniable feeling in the air that the people are participating in the government.

Whether this is democracy or dictatorship I do not know. I do know that the political liveliness, the widespread knowledge of and interest in details of government activity, and the government's sensitivity to the need for educating public opinion and enlisting public support make an overwhelming impression even on a comparatively hard-boiled and much-traveled visitor. . . .

Soldiers were little in evidence in the cities and villages . . . and the police of the cities generally carried no arms. One could sense in the people walking on the street, hurrying to their work, crowding into department stores, or returning from movie houses, that intangible something which betokens confidence in the maintenance of law and order. Women moved about as freely as men. There were no black-outs and neon lights livened up the streets at night.

Another reason for the government's popularity is the sense of national dignity and pride it has promoted among the peo-

ple. . . . Women are finding opportunities for work and self-expression they never had before. Young people are taken more seriously and allowed to play a more important role in national reconstruction than they had ever thought would be open to them.

## Land reform—the cry in Asia and Africa

LAND reform—to which Stevenson referred but from which he offered no plan—has become the slogan of all public officials in Asia and Africa today. But the land tenure system in feudal and colonial countries cannot be changed to benefit the majority of the peoples of these countries unless the whole social and economic system of which it is a part is changed.

**MOSSADEGH:** In Iran, land reform has been largely on paper. The N.Y. Times (9/9) reported a "difference of opinion" among the U.S. Embassy staff in Teheran. One group supported the landlords as a "guarantee against the spread of communism"; another group favored an "independent peasantry."

Last week Premier Mossadegh, without plans for a diversified economic development, went into a huddle with U.S. Ambassador Henderson, later with British charge d'affaires Middleton on the Truman-Churchill proposal to settle the oil dispute. Behind the scenes there still flitted the mysterious figure of Cities Service Oil Co. president W. Alton Jones, who visited Mossadegh late one night to make an oral report of his survey, reportedly to take over and run Iran's oil industry.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, president of the Reichsbank from 1933 to 1939 and financial "genius" of Hitler's Third Reich, arrived in Teheran at Mossadegh's invitation to try to solve Iran's economic problems (N.Y. Times 9/9). He offered his advice, at an unknown salary, left after a few days.



Tvorba, Prague

The ever-closer Anglo-American friendship.

**NAGUIB:** In Egypt Gen. Naguib took over as Premier and formed a cabinet. One of its first acts was to limit individual land ownership to 200 acres. The government was to buy excess land and sell it to peasants who were to pay for it in 30 years (Wall Street Journal 9/8). There was no explanation as to where the government would get the money to pay the landlords, or where the peasants would get the money to pay the government.

Meanwhile the Naguib government had already opened the door to U.S. economic control by raising the limit of stock ownership by foreign investors to 51 per cent. In a brutal crackdown on trade unions, two union members were executed last week for participating in a demonstration against mill owners.

**BEHIND THE SCENES:** Naguib arrested 50 leading politicians. The Wall Street Journal's correspondent Edward Hughes reported (9/8):

The cabinet approved a decree which in effect wipes out all political parties in Egypt and sets up stiff rules for creation of new groups. Stiffest rule: A provision which in effect gives Naguib's government power to choose new party founders and officers. The measure bans any "corrupt" person from political life and provides that Naguib can decide who is corrupt.

According to Hughes, the real power behind Naguib is nine army officers, led by "a tall, husky, thirty-ish colonel named Gamal Nassir."

The Egyptian army has been training under German Lt. Gen. Wilhelm Fahrmbacher, Maj. Gen. Oskar Munzel and SS officer Hans Voss; the Syrian army has been under Gen. Stutterheim and Col. Kriebel and former Gestapo



NAGUIB IN CONFERENCE  
With Egypt's Coptic patriarch

Col. Rapp (Newsweek 8/25).

Hughes reported that some of Egypt's most important behind-the-scenes policy makers visualize future Egypt as . . . a republic with a puppet executive, a puppet legislature and a puppet judiciary. Behind that, a permanent military dictatorship pulling the strings.

## Justice Douglas assents

A striking example of the decline of high-placed opposition to U.S. policy was provided last week by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, who in books and speeches has pointed to the revolutionary character of the changes taking place in Asia and Africa. He has supported land reform there, has called for the recognition of Peking. Three years ago he wrote off Chiang's Nationalist regime as "corrupt" (N.Y. Times 9/6).

On Sept. 6 in Formosa, Douglas declared that "free China will succeed" in its fight against communism. He praised the Chiang regime for a "fine and valiant job."

The next day, in Korea, Douglas declared that the UN in Korea had saved Asia from communism (N.Y. Times 9/7) and had saved the Asiatic rice bowl. He listed these five fronts of "democracy's battle" against communism in Asia: Korea, the Philippines, Burma, Malaya and Indo-China.

On Sept. 5, Overseas News Agency correspondent Robert Elegant described Chiang's rule on Formosa as "complacent," lacking in "inspired determination," filled with "only resigned waiting," restricting civil liberties and undertaking no "fundamental working reforms."

## East-West trade

In his speech in San Francisco Stevenson did not discuss international trade—an essential to peaceful co-existence of capitalism and socialism. The influential Journal of Commerce (9/10), finding that "extension of the foreign aid program . . . promises nothing but added burdens on the American taxpayer," came to the conclusion that . . . sooner or later, and we hope sooner than later, Congress and American public opinion generally must accept the fact that an exchange of goods between Western areas and the Soviet bloc is not necessarily nefarious, if held within limits, but a virtual necessity.

. . . In nearly every case Western Europe and Japan need the supplies they are obtaining from the Soviet bloc through this trade as badly as the Soviet bloc needs the capital equipment it is seeking to obtain abroad. We may regard it as unfortunate that the industries of Western Europe and the transportation network of that continent developed to a very considerable degree from East-West trade and require its sustenance.

But to regret these circumstances is not to change them.

**WHY:** These are some of the factors which may have motivated the J of C's conclusions:

- Growing defiance by European countries of U.S. restrictions on East-West trade.

- The coming British Commonwealth economic conference, which could set off sharpened economic warfare between the sterling and the dollar blocs.

- A drop in U.S. exports to \$1,053 million in July, lowest in 18 months and 20 per cent below the monthly average of the first half of 1952, because

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 3)

... import restrictions adopted by the sterling area countries, several Latin American republics and other nations because of balance of payments difficulties have begun to bite in earnest (J of C, 8/2).

● Reviving German and Japanese exports, cut off from normal East European and Chinese markets, are capturing traditional U.S. foreign trade positions at a very rapid rate.

**PEACE**

**Peking awaiting All-Asia parley**

LAST week many rulers of the white world were upset by another spectre of peace: the Peace Conference of the Asian and Pacific Regions to be held in Peking the last week of this month. Australia's Prime Minister Robert G. Menzies denounced it as a "fake" and an "instrument of war," told Parliament passports will be denied Australian delegates. But the Rev. G. Van Eerde, Australian peace leader, talked back:

- "Some people want to go and they are going. We have ways and means of getting around the problem."
- Delegates were expected from at least 32 countries, including the U.S., Canada and most of the Latin-American countries, a preparatory meeting in Peking last June drew 47 delegates from 20 countries. It was agreed then that major topics of discussion will be:
- A halt to the wars in Korea, Vietnam and Malaya;
  - An improvement in trade relations in the Pacific region;
  - A halt to the remilitarization of Japan;
  - An improvement in cultural ties throughout the region.
- More than 50 delegates are expected from India, led by Dr. S. D. Kitchlew who ended 20 years of close association with Nehru's Congress Party to found the All-India Peace Council.



**NEW YORK MEETING:** A New York-Peking Peace Meet will be held in New York's City Center Casino, 135 W. 55th St., on Thurs., Sept. 25, by the N.Y. Sponsoring Committee for the Peking Conference. The committee declared: "... 1,600,000,000 people of the Asian and Pacific countries joined together can speed the day when American boys will return home, when peace will be assured in Korea, and all the other countries of Asia, as well as in our country, their neighbor across the Pacific."

Speakers will include Peter Hyun, Korean-American peace leader; Dr. John Adams Kingsbury who attended the Peking preparatory meeting, and Charles Mabrey, member of the Packinghouse Workers Union. The Sponsoring Committee has offices at 257 Seventh Av., (2d Floor) N. Y. 1.

**PROGRESSIVE PARTY**

**Pennsylvania plans post-card campaign**

IN PHILADELPHIA, Trenton and Boston over last week-end Progressives were holding working conferences, rallies, dinners. In Philadelphia the PP convention adjourned, turned its convention over to the 240 PP and non-partisan delegates of Pennsylvania's Peace convention.

The delegates gave themselves 10 days to gather 10,000 postcards ad-

ressed to President Truman calling for peace now in Korea. Pennsylvania PP officials were to deliver the cards personally to the President.

Speaking at Town Hall Saturday night, PP Presidential candidate Vincent Hallinan took on the "lesser evil" argument for Stevenson, detailed U.S. policy in Korea, Europe, Asia, Africa and said: "Stevenson applauds all these things." He tallied the even score of Eisenhower and Stevenson on civil rights, posed McCarran alongside McCarthy. Warning that labor faced a threat to the right to strike, he said: "If the Republicans bring that in, it will be over the united objection of labor. If the Democrats bring it in, it will be with the connivance of labor itself which will be snapping the manacles on its own wrists."

**AT THE ROOT:** Dr. W. E. B. DuBois traced the nation's crisis in education, economy morals, liberties and the world's colonial crisis to U.S. corporate greed, warned that unless the voters called a halt,

"... men like McCarran and McCarthy are leading American civilization today and leading it down to certain disaster and destruction."

PP delegates elected UE leader Tom Fitzpatrick chairman. Fitzpatrick is a Westinghouse worker.

PP candidates in Philadelphia include David P. Wideman, for Congress from the 50% Negro 4th C.D. (backed also by the Non-Partisan Committee for Negro Representation), and Catherine Hanrahan for the State Legislature from the 1st District, Philadelphia's crowded slum area known as "the graveyard."

Hallinan and Dr. DuBois carried their messages from Philadelphia to Boston for the Massachusetts convention (see next week's GUARDIAN for report.)

**NEW JERSEY:** In Trenton N.J. Progressives in a "working convention" nominated Katharine Van Orden for the U.S. Senate. Speaking before 300 delegates at the Hotel Hildebrecht Mrs. Van Orden called the Korean War "the touchstone by which all candidates must be judged in 1952." PP state chairman James Imbrie said a PP vote was the only chance "New Jersey citizens have for not wasting their votes."

**PP on ballot in Maine, Washington, Delaware**

THE PP made the ballot last week in Maine, Delaware and Washington, was expected to get on in Utah. Maine canvassers gathered 1,700 signatures (1,000 required) and welcomed the only Presidential candidate to swing through the state: Vincent Hallinan.

**WASHINGTON:** The Washington PP at its state convention in Seattle not only secured the ballot for the national ticket but filed a full slate of local candidates:

For Governor, L. C. Huntamer; U.S. Senator, Thomas C. Rabbit. For Congress: at large, Mrs. Ruby Davis, initiator of Peace referendum, Initiative No. 183; 1st Dist., James McDaniel; 2nd, Elgar Houghton; 3rd, Robert Dokter. For the Legislature: 33rd Dist. Mrs. Wortha Campbell; 37th, Mrs. Vincent Davis; 38th, Mrs. Florence Morrissey and Mrs. Bonnie Jean Pease; 26th, Don C. Winchester; for State Senator from the 22nd Dist., Mrs. Vivian Gaboury.

The convention elected two Negroes to party office; three were on its slate.

**ILLINOIS:** In Illinois ballot chances looked dim. The PP had been ruled off as the result of challenges by Democratic Party officials. Gov. Stevenson, entitled to a vote on the Illinois Election Board (since he is not running for state office) declined to take part in the decision. The PP expected to be heard by an Illinois Supreme Court justice in Springfield.

**Nobody laughed**

Two unidentified comic books were banned by Navy censors from stores at the Naval Training Base at Moffett Field, Calif., because they "stressed fear." A Navy spokesman refused to discuss the ban but offered a significant example of what the brass now considers inadmissible. It was a panel sketch in one of the books showing two servicemen digging graves for fellow soldiers.

**HOW TO BUST A UNION**

**McCarranville, U.S.A.**

IN WASHINGTON last week Atty. Gen. McGranery was considering the record of hearings by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee ostensibly inquiring into the operations of the McCarran Act. Inquirers were part of Senator McCarran's Judiciary Committee. McGranery had been asked by the senators to check the record for possible perjury prosecutions of officers of the Distributive, Office and Processing Workers.

The same group last week held hearings on the Teachers Union in New York (see p. 5), had subpoenaed officers of the Mine-Mill and Smelter Workers. Other Congressional committees around the country were summoning officers of other unions, frequently at the critical point of contract negotiations. This seemed a new way of union-busting.

The verbatim record on McGranery's desk revealed not perjury but racist arrogance, intimidation and deceit by the senators themselves.

**THE WARNING:** This is the way they operated in Memphis, Tenn., in October, 1951, as reported in the official record: Sen. Eastland (D-Miss.) in the



SEN. EASTLAND "Boy!"

chair; the witness, Lee N. Lashley, Negro, president of DOPWA, Local 19; his lawyer, Victor Rabinowitz. Eastland warns the witness:

"Before you decline to answer any questions, I want you to think, because you could get into some very serious trouble. We just want you to tell the truth, and I want you to realize that people who give you advice and try to use you are not trying to help you, but trying to help themselves, and protect people high up in the ring that wants to overthrow this Government. . . . It makes sense for you not to let people use you."

The Senator asks if the witness ever was a communist. Lawyer Rabinowitz tries to advise his client and the Senator tells him:

"You keep quiet. . . . You will keep your mouth shut. . . . I will put you out of here."

The witness refuses to answer questions about his political affiliations on grounds of possible self-incrimination. The committee brings on a government agent who testifies Lashley had told him he was a member of the CP. Eastland turns to Lashley: "Boy, is that true?"

**THE HELPING HAND:** Lashley refuses to answer. Grilling covers other unionists, the Willie McGee case, finances. Again and again attorney Rabinowitz is told to "shut up." The committee's investigator asks whether Arthur Osman, DOPWA president, "gives the orders to you." Lashley answers: "I have membership to give me orders for what orders I get."

Lashley's ordeal continues the following day. At first Eastland cajoles:

EASTLAND: "Now you are making a mistake, Lashley [The Senator never says 'Mr.' Lashley.] I was just trying to help you. . . . I know that you don't know and you know you don't know. You know we do not want to hurt you. . . . You have already told these men [agents] you belong to the party. I just want to get it on the record there now from you."

LASHLEY: "This is the first time I have ever been on a witness stand and . . . I tried to do the thing that I knew is right and nothing to violate the laws of the

land. . . . If I have violated the law of this land, then I want to be brought to justice and dealt with according to the law and start life all over again, if I have done that."

EASTLAND: "You have not violated any law, Lashley. That is the reason that this might-incriminate-you stuff does not apply to you. It is the people in New York that we are after. They are using you. . . . You are about to violate the law now. You are about to. [By invoking the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer]. . . . I am giving you your last chance. . . . You are hurting your family now. And you are hurting your union. . . ."

LASHLEY: "As I say, this is the first time that I have been brought before trial." [It is not a trial.]

EASTLAND: "You have not violated the law now, but you are about to; you are about to when you say that you are not going to testify. I do not want to do it, but I am going to have to turn you over to the U.S. Marshal. I just called you back to give you another chance because I knew that you had some bad advice. . . . Will you talk to me privately now?"

LASHLEY: "I would talk to you."

EASTLAND: "All right, let us go back in Sen. McKellar's office now."

**ON THE RECORD:** Lashley plainly expects an off-the-record conversation, but the verbatim record carries this parenthetical note:

At this point, Sen. Eastland and Mr. Lashley retired to Room 310, followed later by Mr. Arens (committee interrogator) and the reporter at which time the following testimony was taken.

The entire conversation goes into the record. Lashley tells of his own affiliations, those of one other unionist. Lashley says he went to PP meetings: Eastland says:

"Well, I say they were Communist Party meetings regardless of whether it was called Progressive Party or Republican or Democrat."

The committee is through with the witness.

The Senator continues his inquiries, reserving the most abuse for Negro and Jewish witnesses. To storekeeper Simon Kasset of Memphis, member of the Workmen's Circle, non-communist, mutual benefit insurance group, he puts the \$64 question this way:

"Instead of being a damn slurring, slinking Communist and refuse to come out and make a full breast of activities that will help your country . . . now I want you to answer the question."

**THE USHERING OUT:** After the subcommittee in an illegal raid seizes the financial documents and membership lists of Local 19, union attorney Rabinowitz begins a protest but is interrupted by the Senator:

"Throw that damn scum out of here. Get rid of him."

The record here notes parenthetically: "At this point Mr. Rabinowitz was



ushered out of the hearing room."

The local's business agent Edwin Kay McCrea, under protest, identifies the membership lists after the Senator declares on the record that they are

"... for our own information and not for the information of any competitive union or employer."

But that same afternoon Eastland declares:

"We have the membership records which were seized and I am going to order these records to be made part of the permanent record and thrown open to the public. I think that the public interest requires that the names of people who belong to organizations such as this be made public and the public can get the full information about them."

Of Negro witnesses the Senator comments for the record:

"I think that the Negro officials who testified here are dumb. I do not think they know what has happened."

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EDUCATION

6.4 million pupils in peril in school

LAST WEEK 32,300,000 of the nation's children (a record number) went back to school or to school for the first time. One-fifth of them (6.4 million) are in deadly danger. These are the ones assigned to structures officially designated as firetraps, structures in which there has been an average of



Herblock in Washington Post "I'm in the fourth grade, third shift, second layer."

2,100 fires a year for the last 15 years. Before school opened U. S. Commissioner of Education Earl J. McGrath warned:

"We threaten the lives of thousands of our boys and girls daily by sending them into firetraps and unsafe structures."

Of the other children, 1.8 million went to school in store buildings or similar makeshifts, according to U. S. government estimates; 1.9 million to one-teacher schools; over one million to "short days" with two or three classes using the same room in shifts; 14 million to classes of over 30 children; of these 800,000 went to classes of over 50. Enrolled in any school were 1,410,000 between the ages of 7 and 17.

**POOR GRADES ARE MADE:** The

The herring's trail

In Sydney, Australia, Robert Clifford, 29, was arrested after a short fling at an up-to-date racket. Four times he obtained work, then telephoned anonymously to warn the employer that he had just taken on a Communist. Each firm sacked him at once with a week's pay in lieu of notice.

—United Nations World

dangers U. S. children faced were varied. In New York Raymond F. Halloran, president of the High School Teachers Assn., said last week:

"Dreadful conditions will face boys and girls returning to the city's high schools. Overcrowded classes will be the worst since 1948. Big classes endanger the health and safety of students, contribute to juvenile delinquency and impair instruction. Too few teachers, out-of-date textbooks, lack of equipment will surely help to build up a pile of poor report cards."

A delegation of 25 mothers led by Parent-Teacher Assn. officials visited Board of Education offices to protest that their children were attending a 95-year old school so overcrowded that children had to sit on the floor. More furniture was no answer; there was no space to put more desks. The school, P. S. 19, is near the giant housing project, Stuyvesant Town.

One reason for the situation was plainly stated by U. S. News and World Report (Sept. 1):

Building programs [referring to schools] slowed by shortages of materials required for defense.

A N. Y. Times school survey said "defense mobilization has made an impact on the schools."

**COINCIDENCE:** On back-to-school day the Senate Internal Security sub-committee opened hearings on the nation's schools in New York. It made no mention of fire-traps, overcrowding, understaffing, lack of materials. Sen. Ferguson (R-Mich.) said his committee would determine

"... whether or not organized subversion is undermining our educational system."

The subcommittee's apparently exclusive concern was the political opinions of the city's teachers, particularly members of the Teachers Union.



"When We Grow Up"

In Brooklyn, at Holy Trinity Church, a remarkable neighborhood project was undertaken recently which resulted in a film with the title above. It is a children's plea for peace so they may have a chance to be what they want to be. Above Earl Robinson gives last minute instruction to a group of neighborhood children in the making of the film which was first shown last week during the Episcopal General Convention under the auspices of the Episcopal League for Social Action in Boston. For information on the availability of the film, write: Neighborhood Films, Inc., 157 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.

Star witness was Dr. Bella V. Dodd, one-time political science teacher at Hunter College and legislative representative of the Teachers' Union, later a member of the natl. committee of the Communist Party. She recently joined the Catholic church after taking instructions from Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, who also brought Louis Budenz back into the Church. Dr. Dodd told the committee there were 1,500 Communist teachers in the country, said that to name them would be "very painful" to her. The committee subpoenaed 10, asked the familiar questions.

After Dr. Dodd's appearance, the N. Y. Herald Tribune reported 100 teachers under investigation.

**IT'S ON AGAIN:** On the hearing's second day George A. Timone, chairman of the N. Y. Board of Education law

committee, reported that the city's hunt, stalled since last April by order of the State Education Dept., would be resumed full blast. A halt had been ordered pending adjudication of an appeal by 8 teachers fired in Feb., 1951.

Immediately eight teachers suspended last January were ordered to departmental trials and, according to the board, Supt. of Schools Jansen was expected to act against witnesses who refused to answer all the Senate subcommittee's questions.

Having set the witch-hunt rolling again, Ferguson adjourned the hearings, left a special investigator to gather data in the city.

The hearings brought vigorous denunciation from the Teachers Union, the American Labor Party, the Natl. Council of Arts, Sciences, Professions.

Eye-witness report on Greece: 5 years after the Truman Doctrine

By Royal Wilbur France

ATHENS, GREECE

WHEN I arrived in Greece Aug. 23 to attend the trial of Antonius Ambatielos and 18 other members of the Greek Maritime Union at the request of several American labor unions, I asked a newspaperman how the Germans had behaved during the occupation. "Badly," he replied, "but the terror under the Germans was not as bad as now."

On May 12, 1947, in announcing the Truman doctrine for Greece and Turkey, the President declared:

"Assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation."

More than five years of military and economic intervention by the U. S. in the name of freedom have made Greece a disgrace to our pretensions. To the thousands of political prisoners who still people the Greek prisons and camps of exile, and to their families and friends, the Voice of America proclaiming that we are fighting for a free world is cynical mockery.

**FIVE IN UNIFORM:** When I reached Athens the trial of the Greek Maritime Workers had already started. It was a military court martial, a re-trial of the case in which Ambatielos and nine co-defendants were condemned to death, the others given long sentences. The retrial resulted from world-wide protest.

Three of the five presiding judges had sat in the original case. The trial was rushed through at terrific speed in a room with scarcely an inch of standing space; the temperature was mostly above 110 degrees. There were only brief adjournments. Late Saturday afternoon the defense lawyers threatened to walk out if no recess were granted (the court had met till midnight Friday). Court



TONY AMBATELOS They will never give up

adjourned until Sunday morning and required the defense lawyers to present their arguments then. There was no recess until 3 p.m. when the case was finished. At 9 p.m. the court gave life sentences to Ambatielos and the nine others previously sentenced to death, and slightly reduced the nine other life sentences.

**THE FAMILIES:** When I arrived in the courtroom, Oliver Stocker, an English barrister sent over by the Welsh coal miners, was already there. A place was made for me on the crowded bench where defense lawyers and the press sat.

Behind us were seated the 19 prisoners and a heavy military guard. Stand-

ing, packed in with scarcely room to breathe, were the spectators: relatives and friends, plentifully sprinkled, I was told, with police spies.

The faces of the families, as they stood hour on hour in the suffocating heat, would have made a study worthy of a Rembrandt. A great Greek artist was present early in the trial but he did not stay; I was told that the spectacle so moved him he could not work.

**FOUR LONG YEARS:** I was permitted during the recesses to talk freely with the handcuffed prisoners. Ambatielos speaks excellent English. He was in England during World War II, fighting fascism then as he says he is now. His English wife flew from London to Paris to see me on my way to Athens. She is a former school teacher, a most intelligent and attractive woman. Tony was deeply moved by her messages. He drew a laugh from his fellow prisoners by saying he was jealous of me (he had not seen his wife for 4½ years). He was also touched by a gift wrist watch from the American unions.

Despite his long imprisonment, he seemed in excellent health (many prisoners suffer from TB because of inadequate diet) and his poise, grasp of the case and sense of humor were remarkable. He is a strongly-built, unusually impressive man.

**THEY TALKED BACK:** The trial was not a trial in the accepted sense. The five judges harried the defendants and their witnesses. One judge in particular, a general in uniform, by word and contemptuous gesture, made no pretense of being judicial.

I must say the defense lawyers shouted back, often talking down the judges in a manner that would have resulted in judgments for contempt in the U. S.

They were eloquent and earnest. Each prisoner was permitted to speak. There was no crawling or recanting. They protested that the trials were political, that they had committed no crime, that no amount of imprisonment or torture would change their conviction.

**U. S. TAKES A HAND:** The result was pre-determined. When Mr. Stockers and I later visited Minister of Justice Papasgyrou to protest against life sentences by Military Courts where no rules of evidence of law applied and the bias of the judges was transparent, he agreed. But, he said, the government could do nothing about it. The law under which these courts martial are held was passed by Parliament; the government coalition's majority is such a razor's edge that it could not risk a showdown on so touchy a question, with so much sniping going on from the right. The government is the prisoner of Gen. Papagos and the Greek Rally, in the same way that Dean Acheson became a prisoner of the McCarthys and McCarrans.

Papasgyrou said that he would like to see a general amnesty, hinted that it would help if the American ambassador would stop patting the back of General Papagos.

It would certainly help if more Americans could see the Truman doctrine at work in the place where it was formulated. Perhaps they would demand that we spend some of our money and effort in giving real, not lip service to freedom and human dignity.

Dr. France, recently retired after 25 years as professor of law at Rollins College, Fla., has returned to practice to devote himself to civil liberties cases. He has joined the defense to argue the appeal of the Baltimore Smith Act victims.

THE WAR AGAINST THE FOUNDING PRINCIPLES OF UN

# Behind the attack on UNESCO

Story heard at the UN: A U. S. Congressman visiting UN headquarters stopped a member of the secretariat, obviously not an American, and asked: "Where are you from?" "UNESCO," came the reply. The Congressman beamed his best global smile and said: "Brave little country, that."

By Lawrence Emery

IN 1949 the U. S. Dept. of State offered a description of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization:

UNESCO was created in 1945 to advance through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind. To this end it has promoted international exchange of persons, ideas, and written materials, with particular emphasis on interchanges that increase one people's knowledge of another or promote a broader sharing of the world's knowledge.

Most U. S. educators have hailed UNESCO's work, see in it a means to acquaint their students with an understanding of the world's peoples and the world's problems; many have cooperated actively in UNESCO activities and have integrated UNESCO material in their teaching.

**THEY HATE THE UN:** But there are forces in the U. S. that abhor the UN in its entirety; recently they have coordinated and centered their attacks upon UNESCO. The N. Y. Times' Anne O'Hare McCormick wrote on June 30 this year:

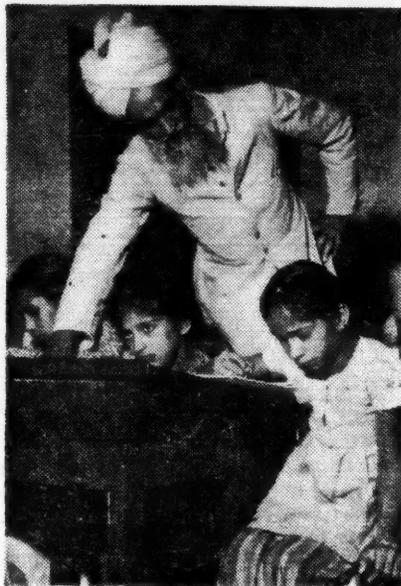
The groups attacking UNESCO are using it to undermine the whole concept of the UN.

The Washington Post on Sept. 1 cited some of the recent attacks:

A member of Congress recently introduced into the Congressional Record a scurrilous attack on some UNESCO educational materials. A number of resolutions proposing withdrawal from the UN have been adopted by citizens groups, and a member of Congress recently attacked two of his colleagues—a Democrat and a Republican—for having served on the U. S. delegation to the UN.

Recently a rider was attached to a Senate appropriations bill which, if successful, would have barred the use of funds by "any international agency that directly or indirectly promoted one-world government or world citizenship"—UNESCO was the target.

**DON'T THINK:** The constant sniping around the country has had its effects. This March the Houston, Tex., school board banned an essay contest conducted annually by the American Assn. for the UN; all told, 100 fewer schools participated in the contest this year than last. In a Pawtucket, R. I., high



United Nations photo  
**MAN AGAINST IGNORANCE**  
UNESCO helps an Indian school

school a student group known as "UNESCO Thinkers" was banned.

Dr. Willard E. Givens, exec. secy. of the Natl. Educational Assn., has stated that the scope of efforts to link UNESCO with "subversive" groups is "almost unbelievable"; he ascribes much of the criticism to the "lunatic fringe who just don't believe in democracy." But more than the lunatic fringe is at work. In Los Angeles last month James W. Newman of Toledo, natl. dir. of Freedom Clubs, told a Lions Club:

"The ultimate purpose of UNESCO philosophy is to reduce all mankind to complete regimented uniformity."

The state convention of the California American Legion charged that UNESCO

"... teaches one-worldism, socialism and collectivism . . . the back door to communism."

**DON'T INDICATE:** The national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars denounced UNESCO as

"... advocating the destruction of our public schools by indoctrinating . . . the children . . . that their first loyalty is to a world government, and that they must think of themselves as world citizens."

The Supreme Council of the Knights of Columbus, meeting in Los Angeles, denounced UNESCO for following

"... a course contrary to natural law and the deeply religious disposition of the founders of our nation."

It also damned what it considered "indications" of UNESCO support of birth control.

Last month, after a raging battle that began in January, opponents of the UN won their biggest victory to date: by a vote of 5 to 1, the Los Angeles Board of Education, controlling one of the nation's biggest school systems with 370,000 students, banned UNESCO from the curriculum. Last week the battle was carried to nearby Long Beach, Calif., was expected to spread across the nation.

**HOW IT BEGAN:** Two years ago Alexander J. Stoddard, superintendent of schools in Los Angeles and a delegate to UNESCO, prepared a scholarly manual and teaching guide called "The E In UNESCO." The manual suggested that students cooperate in international holidays such as UN Week, Brotherhood Week, World Trade Week, Pan-American Day, Good Will Day, and that school activities include assemblies, UN bulletin boards, library exhibits and participation in Junior Red Cross programs. It cited one school's example:

It affiliated with a European school under an arrangement conducted by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) for an exchange of cultural ideas; its World Friendship Club conducted a drive to send CARE packages overseas; its Future Homemakers Club "adopted" a German school's economics department and raised funds to send it supplies; its International Relations class studied UN activities; it formed a UNESCO Committee to attend local UN functions and to promote better pupil-teacher and school-community relationships.

**WORSE THAN REDS!** To L. A. super-patriots, this was treasonable. Attacks began in the press and on the radio; one commentator charged:

"UNESCO is a movement greater and more dangerous than communism."

Finally, in January, UNESCO teaching materials were withdrawn from the schools and a committee of curriculum heads, superintendents, principals and teachers was set up to study the charges. After six months investigation, it recommended reinstatement of UNESCO studies and the battle was on that ended in what the L. A. Daily News called

"... undoubtedly the rowdiest Board of Education meeting in Los Angeles history. Some might even have called it the most disgraceful."

**DROWNED OUT:** Speakers favoring UNESCO were drowned out with boos

## Long Beach fights back

There was good news in Long Beach, Calif., last week. A delegation sponsored by the American Assn. for the UN—composed of groups ranging from the YWCA to the CIO—appeared before the Board of Education Sept. 8 to support the board's resistance to dropping the study of UN and UNESCO in Long Beach schools. The anti-UNESCO group failed to show up at the hearing, but they made it known they would not give up. One of the anti group said: "We would be better off with no school at all, rather than allow UNESCO to be preached in them."

and catcalls; even Paul G. Hoffman, head of the Ford Foundation, former chief of the ECA and a top adviser to Dwight Eisenhower, was prevented from making this argument (which he later presented as a letter to the press):

"The Kremlin considers UNESCO one of its most dangerous opponents. . . I, for one, think we should join UNESCO in declaring war on that Iron Curtain."

Station KFVB was deluged with angry phone calls when a newscaster described the meeting as "rowdy"; he reported later:

"About 50 screaming women called . . . and demanded that they throw that dirty communist off the air."

**GERALD L. K. SMITH:** He wasn't thrown off the air, but the screaming



women had won their fight against UNESCO. Typical of their arguments at the rowdy hearing was this by a Mr. Leigh F. Birkeland:

"It will make our bright-eyed American children into illiterate, sex-perverted morons."

(One of UNESCO's biggest world projects is the elimination of illiteracy; in its latest report published last week it estimated that more than 1,200,000,000 people, half the world's population, cannot read or write.)

John W. Ervin, professor of law at the University of Southern California, sadly summed up the outcome:

"I feel that the attack on Los Angeles city schools is part of a national attack on freedom of thought and freedom of education. And this attack was spearheaded by Gerald L. K. Smith. . ."

## FARM

### Why Ike and Adlai met acres of silence

Will farm people continue to be skeptical about the ability or willingness of the major parties to do anything about big problems of the day? If so, a lot of farmers will stay home on election day.

—Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead, Sept. 6

**THE APPEARANCE** of both major candidates before a farmer audience of more than 100,000 in Minnesota a week ago deepened the skepticism. All on-the-spot reports recorded the cold treatment given both speakers; Eisenhower's aides were reported "full of worry" and wondering "What's wrong?" (Baltimore Sun, Sept. 7) because the great throng stood silent through his speech. Stevenson drew little more applause, but his backers were cynically unworried; columnist Marquis Childs (Sept. 9) quoted a top Stevenson aide:

"What can they [the Republicans] offer them that we aren't already giving them? And why should they take a chance on a change?"

**IKE AND MIKE:** Some attitudes toward Eisenhower's performance bordered on contempt; the five-star

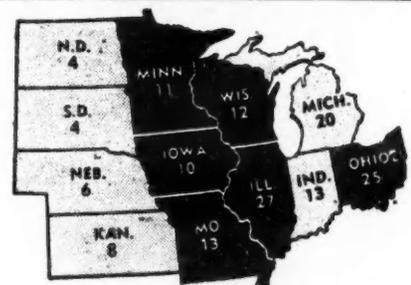
candidate was forced to abandon his party's farm plank, described by the Wall St. Journal (July 19) as "meaningless," and to try to out-promise Stevenson; columnist Joseph Alsop (Sept. 8) called it "me-too-ism," naked and unashamed." He noted the fact that both candidates "made almost identical promises to the farmers." The Chicago Tribune observed:

With a few incidental changes, the Eisenhower speech could have been read by Stevenson, and the Stevenson speech by Eisenhower without perverting the thought of either.

On a key issue, the famed Brannan Plan which won many a farm vote for Truman in 1948 and then was abandoned, Stevenson had not a word to say; Eisenhower called it a "political monstrosity." On other major issues for farmers, both men were silent; their speeches were most remarkable for what they didn't say.

**NEITHER:** Farmer skepticism noted by Wallace's Farmer was based on a recent poll conducted by that journal; it asked which was thought the biggest national problem: inflation, depression, or risk of World War III. Then it asked which major party could be expected to cope best with each.

World War III was listed as the major problem by 72%; 14% feared depression most; 11%, inflation. On the question of which of the two parties are most



New York Times  
The U. S. farm heartland is a 12-state belt which has more than one-fourth of the nation's 531 electoral votes. States in black went Democratic in the 1948 election. Figures denote states' 1952 electoral votes.

likely to keep the Korean war from expanding into World War III, 41% voted "neither party"; 49% thought neither party could be expected to head off a depression; 36% thought neither party would do anything about inflation. One farmer was quoted:

"If we could head off war, we could get rid of depression and inflation too."

Neither candidate had a word to say about any of these three issues in their farm speeches.

**DROUGHT & COSTS:** Neither mentioned this summer's drought, rated the worst in 25 years with losses estimated in the billions. Neither mentioned the

soaring cost of farm production which the Federal Reserve Board itself recently declared was "set in motion or magnified" by the war in Korea "and by the subsequent acceleration and expansion of defense activities." Neither commented on the fact that the farm share of the national income is today at the lowest point since the depression days of the early '30s; a recent Dept. of Agriculture Farm Paper Letter reported that in 1947 the farm population was 18.2% of the nation's total with the farm share of the national income 12.9%, or 70% of "equality"; last year the farm population was 15.1% of the total and the farm income ratio was down to 9.5%, or only 60% of "equality." Neither quoted the Federal Reserve Bulletin for July which reported:

Farm debts have increased about 80% since Jan. 1, 1946.

**NEW RECORD:** Neither referred to the fact that food costs today are at a record high, with the big food processors and handlers getting the increase; the N. Y. Journal of Commerce (Aug. 1) reported:

Charges for marketing farm-produced foods hung up a new record in June, showing a 7% jump over the level of June a year ago. . . . Nearly all of this increase was reflected in higher retail prices.

For the ballyhooed farm speeches of the two candidates in Minnesota, it was simply a matter of silence greeting silence.



IS THERE A LESSER EVIL?

Stevenson and the smart Mr. Harriman

By Arthur Dlugoff  
(Second of a series)

THE events leading up to the Democratic convention's nomination of Adlai Stevenson for the Presidency—and in particular the maneuverings around of W. Averell Harriman, touted as the most "liberal" candidate for the job—are already dim in the public mind. But this was Act I of the drama as told by Joseph Alsop (Sat. Eve. Post, 6/28):

As the President leaves the rostrum of the Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner (Mar. 29) the thoughts of his dazed audience turn to his successor. Democratic leaders gather significantly around Gov. Stevenson. Harriman, himself an aspirant, even follows Stevenson to the club where he is staying to plead with him until long into the night to become a candidate. . . . Stevenson roundly replies that he "would damn well like to chuck the whole thing." But early next morning the deputations from important states begin to call, and are not turned away. That evening, Walter Lippman, urges Stevenson to leave his party to a "caretaker candidate" but Stevenson replies with the contrary arguments supplied by Harriman. He departs from Washington as the odds-on favorite in the Democratic Presidential race.

The scene of Act II is a \$100-a-plate dinner given Harriman by the N. Y. Democratic Committee to boom him for the Presidency, April 17. Stevenson, who the day before in Springfield, Ill., told newsmen he "could not" run, arrives at the dinner, gives a short speech. The audience of 1,500 politicians goes wild. Harriman is almost forgotten as the dinner to launch his candidacy is "turned into a love feast for Stevenson" (Newsweek, 4/21).

"WOOLERS" EMERGE: Act III

is at the Chicago convention, where before the start of voting on the second ballot Harriman meets with Stevenson. Harriman emerges to announce his withdrawal and throw his support behind Stevenson. And the liberal N. Y. Post (7/24), comments:

If Harriman had not been in the picture, the conservative firing-squad might have been able to aim more effectively at Stevenson. With Harriman in the exposed position, Stevenson steadily assumed the character of a "unity" candidate; his woolers emerged in almost every camp.

Thus in the shrewdest political maneuver in 50 years a man pictured as uncommitted to anyone—even to the Democratic Party—emerges a Presidential candidate in 1952. Walter Reuther's statement that Stevenson is "perhaps the most independent candidate" ever to run (N. Y. Times, 8/25) is fantastic considering Stevenson's ties to big-businessmen Harriman, Baruch, others.

WRECKERS OF PEACE: Back in 1945 when UN was being born, the newspaper PM (see GUARDIAN, 8/23/50) observed that Harriman

... had hardly arrived in San Francisco when he began his warnings that Russia was on the march and had to be checked. . . . His warnings were delivered in private to the then Secy. of State Stettinius and other members of the American delegation [later to] selected lists of influential observers and newsmen. In these selected seances, he had the most dire predictions as to Russian imperialism. . . .

Contact man for these "seances" was the U.S. delegation's press spokesman, Adlai Stevenson.

GILT EDGES: Harriman—now Mutual Security Administrator

in charge of spending \$8 billion next year—has been in government service so long that many have forgotten he is the personification of big business itself. Before entering the Administration in 1934, he held directorships in 46 corporations, including Morgan's Guaranty Trust Co., Union Pacific R. R. (Kuhn, Loeb), American Hawaiian Steamship (Morgan).

Still holding stock in many of the corporations he once directed, he now lists himself modestly as a "limited partner" of Brown Bros., Harriman, investment bankers. This firm, closely tied to the Morgan empire, has donated the services of another partner to government service—Republican Robert A. Lovett, Secy. of Defense.

"STEMMING" FDR: For years built up as a "New Dealer," multi-millionaire Harriman was perhaps more accurately appraised by Ernest K. Lindley of Newsweek—a magazine originally financed by Harriman himself together with Vincent Astor—who wrote (4/28), that Harriman's

... dissents from the policies of the Administrations with which he has been associated are not widely known. As chairman of the Business Council of the Dept. of Commerce, 1937-39, he sought to stem some of the extremist tendencies of the New Deal.

According to Drew Pearson it was Stevenson's key backer Harriman who, while Secy. of Commerce in 1948, "did his best to persuade the President not to veto" Taft-Hartley.

"My own personal belief," Harriman told a group of Young Democrats, "is that the Soviet does not want war"

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(NYT, 5/17/52). The year before he said that, Harriman was working on a master-plan to "prevent Soviet aggression" by rearming Western Europe. Working closely with Gen. Eisenhower whom he admires greatly, he proposed "inclusion of a W. German defense force and utilization of German industry to speed the rearmament of her European neighbors" (L. A. Times, 1/30/52). Harriman's concern for Germany is not strange: he was one of the authors of the Dawes-Young Plans to rebuild

the Reich after World War I, along with Eisenhower's adviser on "liberation," John Foster Dulles.

Theodore White (NYT magazine, 3/16/52) related how, before Wendell Willkie set out on his "One World" trip, President Roosevelt told him to "be sure to call on Averell Harriman" in London:

"Mr. Harriman is a very smart man, you know—he contributed \$5,000 to my campaign fund."  
"Oh yes," said Willkie, "Harriman is a very smart man, indeed. He contributed \$5,000 to my fund, too."

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