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FACTS FORUM



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CONGRESSMAN FRANCIS E. WALTER
Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities

The Great Pretense

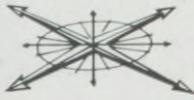
A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism

Prepared and Released by the
Committee on Un-American Activities,
U.S. House of Representatives

SUPREME COURT UNDER FIRE

Condensation of
SCHOOL OF DARKNESS
by BELLA V. DODD





Editor's

Mail Basket



Communism Defined

You may be interested in my definition of communism.

Communism is a Marx-inspired, Moscow-directed, international conspiracy of lawless men against civilization, based on a God-denying philosophy of life, sustained by faith in the dialectic, backed by the devotion of fanatical believers and the might of the Red armies.

JAMES D. BALES
Bible Department
Harding College
Searcy, Arkansas

A Pat on the Head

Whenever a friend disturbed by the perils endangering our nation says, "But what can I do about it?" I answer, "The first thing you can do is add yourself to the group of well-informed, sound-thinking, and sound-talking alert patriots. Anything you do must start with your being informed. Read documented material from reliable sources. Get the facts."

The article, "What's the Hullabaloo About Mental Health?" (July issue), is a good example of comprehensive factual presentation of a subject. In this piece the "who, when, where, what" of good reporting is augmented by background material, projection into future effects, and a masterful correlation of events, all this plus a flair for interesting presentation for good measure.

If reprints of "What's the Hullabaloo About Mental Health?"* are available, please send me copies to mail to friends.

LORAIN OAKES
3915-A Buena Vista St.
Dallas 4, Texas

*ED.'S NOTE: It is regretted that reprints of this article are not available to date.

"Of, By, and For" Attributed To Webster

I have read with interest the June issue of *Facts Forum News*, and particularly the article entitled, "Interposition." The three views of those who are for, those who are against, and the moderates, are well presented and summarized in the article.

Today, most of us are so busy with our respective daily activities that it seems well-nigh impossible to find time to do any fundamental reading — so far as the fundamentals of our government

are concerned. I do not know whether this is true of editors. In any event, if you haven't had time to re-read Webster's reply to Hayne within recent years, I would like to be presumptuous enough to suggest that you devote a leisurely and delightful evening re-reading what is perhaps the greatest speech ever delivered in America. It is an amazingly up-to-date analysis of many of the principles involved in our present day problems — particularly the problem of interposition. It is likewise a powerful reminder that in our democracy all power resides in the people and not in federal or even state governments. Incidentally, it is interesting to observe that Webster enunciated the "trinity" in our government 35 years before Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.

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Helms & Mulliss
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Reading the Score on Foreign Aid

Whatever action we take, we expect certain results. In spending 55 billions of taxpayers' money on foreign-aid giveaway, we expected to promote friends and hinder communism. Have we or have we not promoted those ends?

Competent authorities have reported that we have fewer friends in countries over which these vast sums have been scattered, than we had before, and any observer can see for himself that communism has advanced apace.

Take France and Italy for instance, where we have spent enormous sums. Here in some places we find signs posted "Americans Go Home." As to communism in these two countries, they have gained strength year by year in their legislatures until today they are a real menace to the governments. Also, consider Yugoslavia into which we have poured one billion seven hundred millions of taxpayers' money — just what benefit have we received from that expenditure, with Tito back in the arms of Russia?

Now, I may strike an unpopular note here and I may be wrong, being human, but I cannot resist visualizing this \$55 billion being spent in our own country. Aside and in addition to vast internal improvements, it could fortify and protect us by air, land, and sea to such an extent that it would not pay for any enemy to attack us. We would thus have

the protection which we paid for and did not get under the giveaway program.

If we have to keep on giving away money, let's give it to our next-door neighbor, Latin America. Being neighbors, they would be the logical ones to look to for help if we ever needed it. They also are menaced by communism.

S. M. MANN, M.D.
10 East Fifth Street
National City, California

What Might Have Been

Communism in Yugoslavia, China, India, France or Russia is the same. It is out to destroy all the freedom that now remains in this world, ours included.

Here are a few items that we could have had for the billions or more we squandered on Comrade Tito: five million families could have had a new gas or electric stove, often badly needed; half-million students could have had a college education, an education that those young people could not get for lack of money; two thousand schools of a half-million each could have been built. We need new schools desperately; two million teachers could have had an increase of \$500.00 per year, often the difference between staying in the teaching profession or going elsewhere.

When you aid the Communist in Yugoslavia, you aid the cause of communism in Russia.

S. C. SORESENSEN
41 W. Erie St.
Painesville, Ohio

Alternative for Income Tax?

Congratulations on article in July issue, "Will Income Taxes Destroy Capitalism?"

With the first portion of the article, I have no comments other than it seems to be fair and truthful. With the second part — arguments of those who feel that the income tax is the most equitable means of accumulating revenue — to me it has some truths, but mostly half-truths and outright false statements.

To begin with it is stated: "Elimination of the income tax would force the federal government out of business." This is an untrue generalization. It could, and I think should, force curtailment of federal government.

Next the statement is made: "Alternatives would be giant increases in excise

(Continued on page 54)

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Don't Miss . . .



OF

Facts Forum News

Freedom's Fortress and Chiang Kai-shek

John Caldwell, well-known newsman and author, gives first-hand account of Formosa's resistance to Red China.

This is particularly newsworthy due to widespread rumors that Red China will be admitted to the United Nations following the elections in spite of the protests of the United States and despite congressional disapproval.

Interview of A.D.A.'s Joseph L. Rauh, Jr.

Are the Americans for Democratic Action aligned with the Democratic Party?

Does A.D.A. advocate a new major party?

With these and other questions as ammunition, and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., National Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, as target, a team of sharp-shooting newsmen pinpoint the aims and purposes of the A.D.A.

Pro and Con on Status of Forces Treaty

Congressman Frank T. Bow (R-Ohio) denounces the treaty while Congressman James P. S. Devereux (R-Maryland) defends it. An engaging battle of words is encountered in their conflicting opinions.

Do Vets Need a New Pension Law?

Crediting and discrediting the need for additional veterans' benefits are two of the foremost authorities on this subject.

Mr. T. O. Kraabel, Director of National Rehabilitation Department of the American Legion, urges the adoption of the American Legion-sponsored War Veterans Security Bill. Congressman Olin Teague (D-Texas), a veteran and member of the House Veteran Affairs Committee, opposes this legislation. Facts are the reagent used in clarifying this clouded issue.

SELECTIONS FROM

The Great Pretense

A Symposium on Anti-Stalinism and the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party published by the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives

Many of the writers who contributed individual articles to this symposium are familiar with the inner workings of the Soviet Union and international communism. Chairman of the Committee, Francis E. Walter, points out the fact that "while [the thirty-nine contributors] vary in approach and emphasis, they agree, without exception, that the ultimate importance of anti-Stalinism will derive not from the disposition made of Joseph Stalin but from the reaction to it by the West."

Foreword

By FRANCIS E. WALTER, *Chairman*

When bourgeois diplomats are preparing for war they begin to shout more strongly about "peace" and "friendly relations." If any Foreign Minister begins to defend to the death the "peace conference," you can be sure "his government" has already placed its orders for new dreadnaughts and airplanes. A diplomat's words must have no relation to action — otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask for the concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or iron wood. — JOSEPH STALIN, *Elections in Petersburg*.

THE campaign of anti-Stalinism proclaimed by Nikita Khrushchev at the recent 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party has shaped itself into what may emerge as the most formidable challenge ever presented to the West by the Kremlin.

The spectacle of Joseph Stalin's posthumous purge is all the more dangerous because of the confusion and deception which it engenders. At once, it reflects both the strength and the weakness of the present Soviet system; the mounting confidence of the Soviet rulers who have succeeded

Stalin and their concern with the variety of stresses which have resulted in the latest and most remarkable of the many convolutions of Soviet policy.

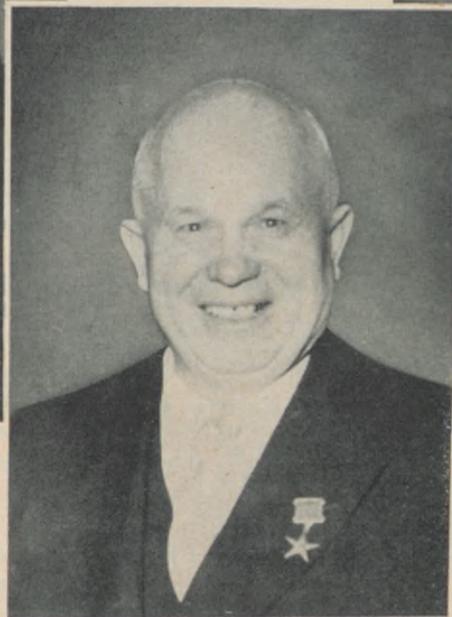
The paradox at the heart of the anti-Stalinist campaign is best symbolized, perhaps, by the giant tomb of Stalin and Lenin on Moscow's famed Red Square. Inside it lies the body of Joseph Stalin enshrined as a demigod of Soviet communism. Outside it, unleashed by the very men he raised to power, rage denunciations of him as a madman guilty of the most horren-

dous crimes that history has ever known. The giant pile of marble commanding the walls of the Kremlin does more than honor the two heroes of communism. It stands as a memorial to the vast empire which Stalin created and to the equally vast apparatus of power which his successors are perpetuating at the very time they revile the man from whom they inherited it.

The desanctification of Stalin has understandably stimulated a furious debate about its causes and its results. The free world has good reason



(Below) Nikita Khrushchev, leader of the Soviet Communist Party, wore the Russian smile while attending a reception during his visit to England last April.



(Above) Georgi Malenkov, former Premier of Russia, strikes a Napoleonic pose upon his arrival in London last March. This is quite a contrast to the kewpie doll smile he gave to all females encountered during his three-week tour of British power plants.

(Above) Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin presented this curled lip countenance to the camera at luncheon at Birmingham, England, last April. Bulganin, who had been startled by the photo-flash, requested a retake which shows his face wreathed in the cherubic smile so familiar to Western audiences.

WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

to try to ascertain the significance of the current developments in Soviet Russia, for the questions which they raise contain the key to the great issue of freedom or enslavement, the essence of the atomic age.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has organized this symposium in an endeavor to provide an adequate explanation of, and an indication of, what the world may expect from the Soviet Union's new course. The contributors are specialists in all the many aspects of the Soviet Union and the global conspiracy which it directs. Some of them are former officials of the Soviet government and have seen both Stalin and his successors at close range. Others have been important figures in the Communist apparatus in America. Those who themselves have not participated in the Soviet program of conquest are qualified to speak authoritatively on it by reason of direct personal experience or by long research and study. It is instructive that, while they vary in approach and emphasis, they agree, without exception, that the ultimate importance of anti-Stalinism will derive not from the disposition made of Joseph Stalin, but from the reaction

to this by the West.

Does the disenthronement of Stalin signify the abandonment of the Communist goal of world revolution? Is communism beginning a metamorphosis into a respectable political enterprise? Have Khrushchev, Bulganin, and the men who rule with them and who share the odium for the crimes which they now lay upon Stalin suddenly become men of good will, renouncing violence and aggression?

Stalin's successors would like to hear a chorus of affirmative answers to these questions, and there are many who are willing to oblige them. It is these people, drawn to the supposed idealism of communism but repelled by the excesses of Stalin, that anti-Stalinism stretches forth to embrace. But it is evident, even this early, that, irrespective of the causes which may have produced it, anti-Stalinism is but a political artifice, fraudulent and more dangerous than any other produced by the Kremlin thus far. If it succeeds, history may some day replace the monuments to Stalin with more enduring monuments to human gullibility.

The significance of anti-Stalinism cannot be discerned in the specific in-

ternal conditions which may have precipitated its adoption: a rivalry for power within the Kremlin, severe pressures arising from a conflict between the army and the Party, deep rumblings in the areas incorporated forcibly into the Soviet political structure and still aspiring for a return to independence. None of these in itself, nor all together, provides a total explanation despite the appeal they have to those who are inclined to regard the slightest tremor as presaging the disintegration of the Soviet totalitarian state.

An examination of anti-Stalinism must first take into account the simple truth that, while it may be aimed against the memory of Joseph Stalin, it is not aimed against his legacy. While Khrushchev may repudiate Stalin as his political ancestor, he has not repudiated Stalin's establishment of the vast Soviet Communist empire which he himself now rules. The basis of Khrushchev's power, the basis from which he seeks to project new advances against the free world, is Stalin's Russia; and the means by which he seeks to accomplish it, are Stalin's means. As long as this is true, the per-

petuation of Stalin's memory or the annihilation of it can be of no real importance. The clue to this is a fact which too many in the free world have too long tried to ignore: Stalin was communism, as Lenin before him was communism, and as Khrushchev, after him, is communism, and all that has been done in their names is communism.

The purported renunciation of Stalinism and the proclaimed return to Leninism can be regarded only as a piece of dialectical sleight of hand. Even to speculate about it implies a differentiation that, in reality, does not exist.

The Same Pattern

Ever since Stalin's accession to power, various observers have debated in all seriousness whether Stalin's program represented a continuation of Lenin's or whether that which Lenin had inaugurated was being corrupted by an irrational despot. The disputation is a sterile one. The threads of Stalinism and the threads of Leninism have been woven so tightly together into the fabric of communism as the world now knows it that they can be separated only if the entire fabric itself is torn apart. The Soviet and Communist empire which Stalin created stands firmly upon the foundations left to him by Lenin. To speak of a Stalinist "counterrevolution" is to discard history; the "counterrevolution" was Lenin's seizure of power from the Russian Social Democrats and the implantation of dictatorship upon the Russian people. The development of the Soviet Union since that time has been consistent and continuous.

The goal of Lenin, and the goal of Stalin later, was to bring the rest of the world into the orbit of Communist power. The methods which Stalin used to accomplish this were not invented by him, but only perfected. Stalin's great contributions to the theory of communism dealt with the *Problems of Leninism*. The purges, the famines, the mass oppression of Stalin's reign, were all part of the Leninist program, too. It was Lenin who, at the Second World Congress of the Communist International, formulated the *Blueprint for World Conquest*, as William Henry Chamberlin has aptly

designated it: a detailed description of Communist objectives and the methods for implementing them. And it was Lenin who formulated the "colonial" strategy, still followed at this very moment by the Soviet Union, of striking at the major Western nations from behind, by provoking uprisings in Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

To regard Leninism as a supposed program of peace and Stalinism as one of war would be to blunder into a morass of fatal speculation. Neither was a program of war or peace in itself. They utilized one or the other as political exigencies required. It was Stalin who liked to pose as the great man of peace and who, in the course of this imposture, justified his pact with Hitler and the Red Army's invasion of Poland and Finland as part of the pattern of bringing peace, Soviet style, to one nation after another. It was Stalin, too, who introduced the concept of collective security which gave rise to the ill-famed popular-front governments of the thirties. This was the prototype of the kind of "parliamentary democracy" which later brought the nations of Eastern Europe under the Soviet heel and which today Khrushchev is busy reviving. It is Stalin who must be credited with the creation, too, of the Communist-led "Partisans of Peace" movement which Khrushchev is refurbishing as a colossal front organization for gathering in neutralists throughout the world.

Alternatives: "Capitulate or Perish"

Just as "peaceful coexistence" has its origin in Stalin's reign, so, too, the concept of "collective leadership" represents no innovation. Stalin himself established collective government after the death of Lenin as the first step in his consolidation of power. With his liquidation of the men with whom he shared power, the device quickly became obsolete.

To differentiate Leninism and Stalinism is to obscure the essence and substance of communism itself: the denial of God and the manifold values by which men must live if they are to remain civilized. The evil of communism does not depend upon the man, or the men, who rule in its name. By its very character it is capable only of breeding further evil, regardless of who occupies the throne.

When the verbiage is swept away Khrushchev can be seen to offer the same alternatives that the Kremlin has always offered — capitulate or perish. His purposes are not to abandon the policies of Stalin but only to effect them better, and to extend the achievements of Stalin still further. To do this it is necessary to replace the crudeness of the Stalin era with craft and subtlety, to transform its wintry climate into sunny blandishments.

Khrushchev already claims the right to speak for a majority of the world's population. Should one more country fall under his sway, that right will be incontestable. This is the great danger of the sweet reasonableness of anti-Stalinism. For there are many among this country's allies — and many within this country itself — whose sympathies, consciously or unconsciously rest with the Soviet Union and the humanitarianism to which it pretends

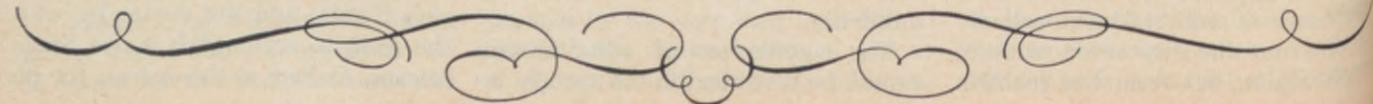
Performance . . .

Fantasies on the Kremlin Stage

It is Khrushchev's hope that the audience of the free world in its longing for an end to the threat of war will accept whatever fantasies are enacted on the Kremlin stage, and that it will forget that in the wings, committed to the service of Soviet peace, the military might of the Soviet Union remains intact.

Interpreting the meaning of Khrushchev's statements properly requires perhaps a kind of simultaneous-translation machine. What comes through when the headphones are attached to the true cry resounding in the Kremlin: "The Vozhd is dead. Long live the Vozhd. Stalinism is purged; Stalinism endures." If we fail to heed that cry, Stalin, purged, will have won a victory greater than any which he consummated as Russia's master.

The Committee on Un-American Activities wishes to thank the contributors to this symposium for their splendid efforts to create an understanding of the Soviet Union's new policy. It is the hope of the committee that their analyses may aid in establishing an effective program which to countervail the dangers of anti-Stalinism — and in maintaining reason and vigilance in that diminishing part of the world that is still free.



FROM *The Great Pretense*

"Khrushchev and company are revamping tactics and slogans, while standing pat on strategy and goals."

No Softness in the Kremlin

By EUGENE LYONS



Eugene Lyons served from 1928 to 1934 as United Press correspondent in Moscow. An astute student of communism in Russia and in America, he is the author of "Assignment in Utopia"; "The Red Decade"; "Stalin, Czar of All the Russias"; and most recently, "Our Secret Allies: the Peoples of Russia." He was one of the founders and the first president of the American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism, which now operates radio station "Liberation" in Munich. Formerly editor of the "American Mercury," Mr. Lyons is at present a senior editor of the "Reader's Digest."

a firmer and more self-confident dedication to the world-wide triumph of communism than ever before.

The policies set forth at the congress amount to an adaptation of Stalin's party line of the mid-thirties — the period of united fronts and peaceable coexistence which in our country went under the slogan "Communism is 20th Century Americanism." Those who profess to see something new and unprecedented in recent developments simply have failed to do their homework in Soviet history.

Take the statement that war is not inevitable. Moscow was saying that very thing twenty years ago. There was even talk of awarding the Nobel Peace Prize to Stalin's front man abroad, Maxim Litvinov.

The same is true of the pronouncements about achieving communism through parliamentary methods. Such methods have been used for nearly forty years, through Communist Parties in democratic countries posing as conventional political parties. Has the world forgotten that this is precisely how Hitler took over in Germany? The force and violence comes after the victory at the ballot box to make it permanent.

The present change in line is intended, precisely as in the 1930's, to facilitate the infiltration of free governments; cynical united fronts with left-wing but non-Communist groups; the subversion of trade unions; the luring of well-meaning but soft-headed individuals into camouflaged Communist outfits.

Beware of Self-deception

There is only one real and meaningful difference. It is that Soviet Russia and its world apparatus of power are today vastly stronger, larger, more self-confident than two decades ago. Their menace to everything we cherish is therefore incalculably greater. We cannot afford soporific self-deception.

The recent riots in Soviet Georgia and disturbances elsewhere in the Communist prison-land are significant. They show that despite nearly forty years of terror and indoctrination, the peoples of Russia have retained a capacity to protest — and remember that in demonstrating against the regime a Soviet citizen risks his life.

Our obligation is to deepen the gulf that divides the Kremlin oligarchs from their subjects; to let the masses behind the curtains know that free and civilized men outside will settle for nothing less than their liberation from the Red yoke. The changes in party line, especially the denunciation of Stalin, are symptoms of internal tensions, not only in the general population but in the military ranks and in the ruling Communist Party. If we have any political sense and some remnants of the will to survive, we will exploit the situation by stepping up political and psychological warfare.

Those who want us to relax, who counsel policies of accommodation that would freeze the status quo of a world half enslaved, are betraying our civilization.

END

THE free world must be on guard against being confused, divided, and psychologically disarmed by recent gestures of moderation in the Kremlin. We must avoid mistaking a change of line for a change of heart. The fact that the Red dictatorship will temporarily have several heads instead of one doesn't make it any less despotic at home or any less of a menace to what remains of the free world.

The high command of world communism has not retreated one inch from its immediate objective of expanding its Red empire — by bloodless seizure of power where possible, by force and violence elsewhere — or its ultimate objective of world domination.

These fixed commitments have not been renounced or reduced by anything said at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev and company are revamping tactics and slogans, while standing pat on strategy and goals. If anything, the proceedings of the congress reveal

A Talk with Voroshilov

By WILLIAM C. BULLITT

"Any who are inclined to believe that there has been a change of heart in Moscow should remember that the men who are now attempting to prove themselves amiable souls are the same men who carried out murders, tortures, and mass starvation for Stalin."



William C. Bullitt served as American Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1933 until 1936. His distinguished career in government service has also included the post of Ambassador at Large in 1941-42 and of special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy in 1942-43. Mr. Bullitt began his career as associate editor and foreign correspondent for the "Philadelphia Public Ledger" and, in 1944, returned to this field as foreign correspondent for "Life" magazine. That same year he enlisted in the French Army as an infantry major. He was decorated with a Croix de Guerre with palm and was made commander of the French Legion of Honor. He is the author of "Report to the American People" and "The Great Globe Itself."

THE present attempt of the Moscow commissars to masquerade as innocent victims of Stalin's sadistic brutality should deceive no one. A hyena that laughs remains a hyena. A wolf in sheep's clothing changes his coat but not his heart. Americans have been bamboozled so often by this Communist tactic that few are likely to be impressed by the present smiles and bleatings of the Kremlin gang. Any who are inclined to believe that there has been a change of heart in Moscow should remember that the men who are now attempting to prove themselves amiable souls are the same men who carried out murders, tortures, and mass starvations for Stalin. To me they seem more repellent now when they are professing that they were always horrified by Stalin's lying and blood-thirsty brutality than they seemed when they were frankly gangsters.

Many of them were murderous criminals on their own hook long before Stalin achieved supreme power. For example, Marshal Voroshilov, who is today the Soviet Chief of State — the Soviet Union's Queen Elizabeth — has always been able to smile disarmingly and to pat children affectionately on the head, and is no doubt the nicest of the Communist lot. Just how nice he is seems to me worth relating at this time.

Quite a Character

One night in the winter of 1934 he was seated on my right at dinner and Marshal Budënyy was on my left. They had drunk a bit of vodka and both were relaxed and gay. "You know, Bullitt," said Voroshilov, Budënyy is the man who won the civil war without ever knowing what he was fighting about."

"That's true," laughed Budënyy. "My motto has never been proletarians of the world unite; it has always been cavalrymen of the world unite. I don't care why I fight so long as I have a good war."

We laughed, and Voroshilov then said, "I think the most extraordinary thing we ever did together was to capture Kiev without fighting."

"What happened?" I asked.

"Well," said Voroshilov, "there were 11,000 Czarist officers with their wives and children in Kiev and they had more troops than we had, and we never could have captured the city by fighting, so we used propaganda and we told them that they would be released and allowed to go to their homes with their families and treated as well as possible by our army, and they believed us and surrendered."

"What did you do then?" I asked.

"Oh," said Voroshilov, "we shot the men and boys and we put all the women and the girls into brothels for our army."

"Do you think that was a very decent thing to do?" I asked.

"My army needed women," said Voroshilov, "and I was concerned with my army's health and not with the health of those women; and it didn't make any difference anyhow, because they were all dead within three months."

Voroshilov no doubt deserves his position as Chief of State of the Soviet Union, and is no doubt the most honorable and charming of Communists but that is exactly how honorable and charming he is.

I hope that Americans who may become inclined to believe any promise now made by the Communist leaders will remember the fate of the Czarist officers and their wives and sons and daughters in Kiev.

The present Soviet objective is clear. It is to lull us into a sleep of death while the Soviet Union achieves control of new areas without war, and prepares sufficient hydrogen bombs and intercontinental jet bombers to destroy our retaliatory power by sneak attack, so that some day it will be in a position to blot us out with impunity.

Is Stalin's Russia Weakening?

By
WHITTAKER CHAMBERS



Whittaker Chambers, a former courier for the Soviet underground espionage apparatus in America, is known to millions of Americans for his courageous exposure of Soviet underground activities in the United States, particularly in the United States government, and for his identification of Alger Hiss as a secret Soviet agent. A distinguished writer and a former senior editor of "Time" magazine, Mr. Chambers has told the story of his years with the Communist Party and the motives for his final break with it in his compelling autobiography, "Witness."

CURRENT developments in communism, following the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, appear to divide anti-Communist opinion chiefly on two questions: (1) Will this weaken communism? (2) Will it strengthen communism? I belong among those who answer: "Yes, over the long pull," to question 2. I simply believe that, nine times out of ten, tanks and automatic rifles are more effective than stones, or pop bottles, even though the stones are thrown at the Communist tanks by desperately valiant anti-Communists. I believe, too, that, nine times out of ten, organization defeats no organization, that a tight, aggressive organization, such as the Soviet government, defeats diffuse unrest or even such anti-Communist underground organization as we are sometimes told exists within the Communist empire. I do not, in general, believe that spontaneous revolts, even if locally ferocious, can succeed against a modern police state, like the Soviet Union. That is why I held the unpopular view that the West was right not to encourage the outbreaks in East Germany and elsewhere in 1953. For, unless we meant to support the insurrectionists with armies, they must fail. Reprisals would be gruesome. Resentment against the West would have been widespread and specific since our verbal encouragement of those whom we did not mean to

support with force would have seemed irresponsible. Imagine yourself to be a Soviet national facing a Soviet tank with nothing in your hand but a stone, and the whole problem will be much more vivid than words can make it.

Above, I have carefully said: nine times out of ten. The question then becomes: Are the current developments in the Communist empire the tenth time that throws out all conventional reckoning? It would be wrong to dismiss lightly the views of those who hold that the Communist empire is now crumbling slowly or crumbling fast, or any view in between. It would be just as wrong not to ask for a careful audit of the evidence supporting those views. So far, what evidence I have seen seems to me sketchy, contradictory, or highly speculative. Riots in Soviet Georgia and elsewhere in Transcaucasia (we have almost no details) followed the official demolition of Stalin. To many perfectly sensible people, they looked like the beginning of the end for communism. To me they looked like riots in Georgia. Recently students rioted at the University of Madrid. Other sensible people forecast the beginning of the end for the Franco government. Of the two cases, I should expect the Spanish riots to be more of a danger for the Spanish government than the Georgian riots for the Soviet government, although the anti-Communist riots may well have

been much bigger and the whole context more precarious. The difference lies not only in the riots, but in the fact that a vast power of public opinion in the West has consistently beset the Spanish government while practically the same body of the Western opinion has pretty consistently favored the Communist government. I am not talking, of course, about Communist opinion in the West, but about so-called enlightened opinion in which Communists make, at most, a tiny activating force. Do left liberals ever weary of pointing out that American Communists, for example, are statistically negligible?

In the body politic any unrest registers a degree of fever — perhaps more than one degree. But most of us cannot make an accurate reading because most of us cannot even see the thermometer. We can simply, using our good sense, remember that even a temperature of 105 does not necessarily mean that the patient will die at dawn. In the case of communism, most of us would like the patient to die sooner. But that is a pious hope, not a reading of reality.

In the absence of hard facts about what is happening in the Communist empire we can only: (1) check our views daily against such facts, or seeming facts, as leak through censorship; (2) bear in mind that, even so,

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Stalinism Continues

By GEORGE MEANY

TODAY, the gravest threat to freedom of thought and all other basic human freedoms is to be found in the totalitarian philosophy and movement fostered and financed by the Soviet dictatorship. The genuine fighter against conformism must recognize that communism is its most perilous expression. In our opposition to even the slightest conformism in our own country, we must therefore guard against cooperating with Communists, whose dogmas and deeds are the very negation of freedom of thought.

Our country plays a vital role in the international arena. The eyes of the world are on all our institutions. We must spare no effort and lose no time in eliminating any anti-democratic expressions in our way of life. In this connection, I can assure you that labor will yield to none in acting to eliminate from our country race prejudice in every form, in every field of human endeavor, in every part of the land.

Thank God that in our democracy no one has to conform even with the highest government official. Wishful thinking and leap-year political partisanship have caused some to paint a distorted picture of the last congress of the Communist Party Soviet Union.

We have been asked to believe that the free world — in comparison with the Communist orbit — is today stronger than it was a year ago; that Moscow has been forced, as a result of our increased strength, to revise its strategy and go about the world seeking friends on a new basis. Frankly, I do not believe this is true. In addition, I find it hard to believe anyone in official positions or responsibility in our government really thinks this is true.

What are the facts? Despite all the world-shaking noise made at the 20th Communist Congress, and, on many occasions before, about reforming the Soviet system, it remains the same — a monolithic one-party dictatorship in the hands of a narrow clique whose policies are always unanimously approved by those hand-picked by the Communist ruling group to represent the people. This system is maintained by a ruthless police state. It holds many millions in slave-labor camps and prisons. It maintains its stranglehold through a continuing purge by firing squads and a complete denial of the democratic rights of labor, and the fundamental human rights proclaimed in our country's Bill of Rights. For the people behind the Iron Curtain, the

dictatorship is no less oppressive when it is run by 11 tyrants trained in the Stalinist school than when it was run by a single despot.

The Soviet system is today further away from ours than it ever was, because in our country democracy has been making headway. Hence, there is no basis whatsoever for the conclusion that the Kremlin now realizes that it must bring its system closer to ours.

Surely we must realize this is not the first time that the Russian Communists have revised their strategy. Surely there are some of us who remember June 21, 1941, when Moscow changed its mind about Hitler being a great patriot defending the German people and world peace.

A New Maneuver

The Russian Communists have been constantly revising their strategy. But neither at the 20th, nor at any other Party congress have they changed their basic and ultimate aim — the conquest of the entire world and its transformation on the Soviet slave pattern.

If the present world crisis could be dealt with simply on the basis of diplomatic pacts between nations, it would not be so serious. We would then be dealing with paper perils and a pen-and-ink crisis. I do not belittle the value of pacts — especially if and when they are genuinely in the service of peace and freedom. But the mere conclusion of a pact is in itself no proof of its effectiveness as a force for peace. The Molotov project for a "collective security" pact as well as the Warsaw pact do not mean that Moscow is copying our mutual-security program. NATO seeks peace and has helped preserve peace and security. Their "mutual security" programs aim at strengthening the forces of Communist aggression and dividing the democratic world.

Russia, without doubt, has many serious weaknesses in agriculture, in

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George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, ranks as one of labor's most forthright spokesmen against communism. Recognizing the importance of maintaining free labor movements abroad, Mr. Meany was instrumental in the establishment of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He was chosen president of the AFL in 1952 to fill the post left vacant by the death of William Green, and was unanimously elected president of the combined AFL-CIO at its first convention in New York City in December, 1955.

FROM *The Great Pretense*

"With reference to the United States, the Soviet objective is to smear leading anti-Communists, discredit the loyalty-security program, dismantle the framework of anti-Communist legislation, and demand an end to further nuclear weapons tests."

THE leaders of the Soviet Union have launched a new tactical maneuver which is fraught with dangers for the United States. As a result of the February, 1956, meeting of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the forces of international communism have adopted new tactics to accomplish three objectives: (1) Appeasement of discontent within the Soviet sphere; (2) extension of neutralism abroad through a united front with socialism; (3) weaken and discredit anti-Communists within the United States.

for the revolutionary transformation of capitalist society into Socialist society. This is what distinguishes revolutionary Marxists from reformists and opportunists. There is not a shadow of doubt that for a number of capitalist countries the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship by force and the connected sharp aggravation of the class struggle is inevitable." Khrushchev went on to point out that Communist conquests of countries like France and Italy might be accomplished peacefully through the formation of popular fronts with the Social-

The Lure of Peaceful Coexistence

By ANTHONY T. BOUSCAREN

Communist leaders hope to convince non-Communists that "peaceful coexistence" is possible, and not only that, desirable. Soviet dictator, Nikita S. Khrushchev, told the 20th Congress that "war may not be inevitable." By this he meant that "peaceful coexistence" is possible if the United States does not resist future Soviet aggression and Communist subversion. In other words, we can have coexistence by making the same kind of concessions that were made at Munich, Yalta, Potsdam, Panmunjom, and Geneva.

Unfortunately, wishful thinkers and advocates of peace-at-any-price misconstrued Khrushchev's remarks to mean that the forces of international communism had abandoned Stalin's doctrine of force and violence against non-Communist states. Nothing could be farther from the truth. On February 14, 1956, dictator Khrushchev told the 20th Congress in Moscow: "It is true that we recognize the necessity

ists. This has particular relevance to Italy, where most Socialists have already placed themselves at the disposal of the Italian Communist Party.

Insofar as Soviet foreign policy is concerned the general approach of the 20th Congress doctrine is to appear to be more conciliatory, and to encourage non-Communist states to make concessions in the name of "peace." In this way, the Communists hope to gain control of the Chinese Nationalist islands of Quemoy and Matsu, obtain diplomatic recognition for Communist China, extend Nehru-style neutralism throughout all Asia, neutralize Germany through promises of unity, exploit Middle East tensions by inciting both sides, and gain respectability and prestige by visits to Western countries on the pattern of the Malenkov-Khrushchev-Bulganin visits to Great Britain. It is likely that the USSR will suggest such a visit to the United States in the not too distant future. This together with the recent visits of



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Soviet farm and cultural delegations to the United States serves to strengthen the Soviets not only from the point of view of prestige in foreign policy, but from the point of view of strengthening their position at home. When the peoples behind the Iron Curtain realize that the United States is less and less interested in their plight, and more and more interested in fraterniz-

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NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV's "new line" is of a similar character to the successful maneuvers by Joseph V. Stalin in 1936 and in World War II. In other words, Khrushchev, the new Stalin, is attempting to cover up the Communist wolf with sheep's clothing.

In 1936, Stalin produced the Stalinist constitution for Soviet Russia, which "guaranteed" freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assemblage, and freedom of demonstration. This was an ironic travesty, as the present Communist leaders now acknowledge, as none of these "guaranties" was granted any of the enslaved peoples under Soviet rule. At that time, Stalin was pictured as "becoming democratic" and communism was represented as "changing."

In World War II, Stalin "dissolved" the Communist International. Again this act was represented as a profound "change" in communism. As a matter of fact, Moscow's control of the Communist Parties of the world remained the same as ever, and the alleged "dissolution" of the Communist International was a tragic farce.

The Same Old Line

Both of these Stalinite maneuvers prepared the way for the debacles of Yalta and Potsdam, and the conquest of one-third of the world by Soviet power.

Khrushchev's "new line" is given to a Communist international apparatus as well disciplined and blindly obedient to Moscow's directives as it was under Stalin. The Cominform organ, *For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy*, of February 24, signalizes this fact by announcing that Khrushchev's report was adopted by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union "unanimously," just as Stalin's reports were previously adopted. The Communist Parties of the world, including that of the United States, are immediately conforming to "the new line."

Khrushchev's talk of taking over certain countries by parliamentary means is merely the old tactics under a new guise, the tactics of the "popular front." Even here Khrushchev indicates that he is resorting to Aesopian language, for he declares in effect for

Khrushchev Copies Stalin

By LOUIS BUDENZ



Louis Budenz, former managing editor of the official Communist newspaper, the "Daily Worker," is one of the highest-ranking American Communists to break with the Party. He has since made invaluable contributions to America's security by providing detailed information about Communist policies and leaders. A native of Indianapolis, Indiana, Mr. Budenz holds a law degree from Indianapolis Law School, and has taught at Notre Dame, Fordham, and Seton Hall Universities. Based on his personal experience as a Communist official, he is the author of several books on communism, among them, "This Is My Story," "Men Without Faces," and the "Techniques of Communism."

the violent overthrow of the government of the United States, just as Lenin does specifically in *State and Revolution* and Stalin in the *Foundations of Leninism*.

The new Stalin repeats this thought when he says that "in countries where capitalism is still strong and where it controls an enormous military and police machine, the serious resistance of reactionary forces is inevitable. There the transition to socialism will proceed amid conditions of an acute class revolutionary struggle." And this "revolutionary class struggle" or "class war" according to Marxism-Leninism must end in the establishment of the Soviet dictatorship by violence.

The one country above all which is clearly indicated in Khrushchev's words — the country "where capitalism is still strong" — is the United States of America.

Schemes Unlimited

The present tactics of the Kremlin, as those of the "popular front," are therefore designed to beguile America again into unguardedness regarding the "peaceful coexistence" schemes of Soviet Russia and to bring about the collapse of nation after nation under Soviet power as took place as the result of the "popular front," particularly after World War II.

The so-called "devaluation" of Stalin is for the same purpose. Khrushchev does not repudiate the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, as set down by Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. To the contrary, he reaffirms them, stating that he stands on "Lenin's principles" and on "the bedrock principles of Marxism-Leninism." Khrushchev does not even repudiate the great purge trials. On this he says: "The Trotskyites-Bukharinists, and the champions of bourgeois nationalism, sought to break the Leninist unity of our party and got it in the neck."

The sole criticism of Stalin is that he forwarded "the cult of the personality," but that cult is still being advanced in the laudation of Khrushchev's report by the Communist press of the world as "a profound analysis" and in other similar terms.

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Should cities put TEETH in their laws through . . .



FLUORIDATION ?

If not — why not? And, if so — can the beneficial effects of fluorine in public water supplies be documented? Where should the burden of proof rest? These vital questions concern all Americans, as community after community throughout the nation considers the controlled addition of fluoride to water supplies in an effort to lessen dental decay.

ector of the U. S. Public Health Service, and Chief of the Division of Dental Public Health, states:

The Public Health Service approves adjustment of the fluoride content of public water supplies as a safe, effective, and economical procedure for the partial prevention of tooth decay. It should be emphasized that the decision on whether to adjust the fluoride content of water supplies rests entirely with local communities.

This issue, directly involving millions of Americans, has ramifications which include delicate points of finance, religious freedom, minority rights, and constitutional law. Perhaps the only unchallenged fact of the entire debate is the enormous extent and damage of tooth decay among our citizens in every walk of life. Dental decay afflicts more than 80 per cent of our youngsters, even before they begin their first grade in grammar school. It accounts for a staggering proportion of this nation's yearly dental bill of more than \$100 million.¹

Nor is the toxicity of sodium fluoride open to question insofar as the chemical itself is concerned. If anyone doubts that it is a deadly poison, he can quickly end the doubt — and risk doing the same with his life — by swallowing enough of the white powder to cover a nickel, a lethal dose.²

Those who favor fluoridation point to the desirability of active attack against dental decay. Their carefully compiled statistics of test cities cover a ten-year period. In the pro-fluoridation ranks may be found many doctors, dentists, and dental and health

organizations of acknowledged integrity and repute. These authorities, convinced that the fluoridation process is a boon to our population, label the claims of anti-fluoridationists as "unqualified," "hysterical," and, in many cases, as "scaremongering." They point to the chlorination of water supplies as an established precedent.

Those who oppose fluoridation of city water supplies fall in many categories. Officials of water companies protest expense and point to the virtual impossibility, in some instances, of maintaining a safe mixture of this toxic chemical compound. Other voices raised against fluoridation include those of doctors and dentists whose integrity and standing equal that of their professional brothers in the opposing forces. Many patriots, also, feel that compulsory medication which does not deal with a contagious disease is incompatible with the American system of government. Some are convinced that the process of fluoridation violates one of our first lines of defense — the protection of water supplies.

Many who oppose fluoridation claim this is "the camel's nose in the tent" which will serve as a forerunner for more compulsory medication, and eventually socialized medicine.

Let us take a look at the opposing claims on this vital subject.

¹Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air, May 20, 1956, Vol. 22, No. 3.

²Leitch, Dr. Gordon B., "Fluoridated Water," The Freeman, July, 1956.

IN CITY after city throughout the nation, artificial fluoridation of water supplies continues to be a debated issue. Even in those cases where the issue has been decided, the files cannot be stamped "CASE CLOSED," for, if fluoridation is accepted, the anti-fluoridationists continue to wage unceasing war and have been successful in many instances in causing the discontinuance of the fluoridation process. When fluoridation is rejected by a community, pro-fluoridationists refuse to let the issue die. Thus, as city after city considers fluoridation, the battle cries of the "pro's" and "anti's" swell in an ever-increasing volume.

The United States Public Health Service, spearhead organization for the pro-fluoridators, reported that on March 15, 1956, 1,140 communities were fluoridating their water supplies, a total of 22,553,366 American citizens now drinking artificially fluoridated water. Communities whose water supplies are being so treated represent every state in the union with the exception of Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah.

Indicative of the division into "communities" rather than into city water systems to which fluoride is being added, is the fact that the District of Columbia is shown in the Public Health Service compilation as comprising six communities, a total of 980,000 in population.

Mr. Thomas L. Hagan, Dental Di-

THE CASE AGAINST FLUORIDATION

NO ONE disputes that fluorides are deadly poisons. However, some of the recommendations which accompany definitions of fluorides are of interest in the current controversy. Among these are the following:

The noted authority on fluorine poisoning, Leo Spira, M.D., says: "Poisoning the drinking water, or contaminating it with a highly potent toxin, would be the correct description of what is now being done."³

The 24th edition of the *U. S. Dispensatory* (p. 1456), a reference used extensively by pharmacists and druggists, shows that "Fluorides are violent poisons to *all living tissue* because of their precipitation of calcium. They cause fall of blood pressure, respiratory failure and general paralysis. Continuous ingestion of *non-fatal doses* according to Sollmann (*J. Pharmacol.*, 1921, 17, 197) cause general cechexia and permanent inhibition of growth."

This reference also states that fluorides cause "analogous changes in teeth," and that through ingestion of fluorides "bones become hard and fragile." It further states, "The use of fluoride-containing dentifrices and internal medicants is not justified."⁴

While those who urge fluoridation emphasize that children from the ages of birth to 12 years will receive the greatest benefits in elimination of dental caries through the ingestion of fluoridated water, the *U. S. Department of Agriculture Year Book*, 1939 (pp. 212 and 213), under the title "Food and Life," states: "Fluorine has been shown to be the cause of disfiguring dental disease known as mottled enamel or fluorosis. Fluorine interferes with normal calcification of teeth during the process of their formation, so that teeth, in addition to being usually discolored and ugly in appearance, are structurally weak, and deteriorate early in life. For this reason it is especially important that fluorine be avoided from birth to the age of 12 years."⁵

1952 Fluoridation Hearings

The House Committee to Investigate the Use of Chemicals in Foods and Cosmetics, headed by Representative James J. Delaney of New York, heard the testimony of eighteen pro-

fessional witnesses on fluoridation in March, 1952. The committee itself was exceptionally well-qualified, as were the witnesses, which included one or more representatives of all organizations that have endorsed the program: the United States Public Health Service, the American Dental Association, the American Medical Association, the Association of State and Territorial Health officers, and the National Research Council.

It was the *unanimous* recommendation of this committee that "a sufficient number of unanswered questions concerning the safety of the fluoridation program exists to warrant a conservative attitude."⁶

Dr. A. L. Miller, a member of the committee, and formerly Public Health Director of Nebraska, had only the year before initiated the proposal to fluoridate the water in the nation's capital. Following the Delaney hearings, Congressman Miller said: "I believe that the dental profession and other public-minded individuals like myself have been misled by the Public Health Service, because all of the facts have not been made available on this subject."⁷

Recently fluoridation in Tulsa, Oklahoma, has been halted by Water Commissioner Pat Maguire. The *Tulsa Tribune*, which favors fluoridation, reports the charge that the Rockefeller money, through grants, controls what medical schools teach about the value of fluorides and that the same "empire" controls the chemical companies that sell the additive.

USPHS Reverses Former Aims

One editor, himself a student of chemistry, points out that sodium fluoride compounds are one hundred times as deadly as calcium fluoride compounds found in natural fluoridated water supplies, and fifteen times more deadly than arsenic.⁸

He emphasized that until the current drive for fluoridation the U. S. Public Health Service and others were concerned about the fluoridation in natural water supplies and were attempting to discover methods of removing the fluorine compounds.⁸

Major George Racey Jordan, under whose supervision airborne shipments of fluorides were sent to Russia during World War II, learned that this sub-

stance was used in the drinking water of Siberian prisoners, to dull their thinking processes and force resignation of prisoners to slavery.⁹

Speaking recently at a patriotic conference in Washington, D. C., Major Jordan referred to the test cities of Newburgh and Kingston, New York, where the U. S. Public Health Service has recently completed ten-year comparative tests. In these tests, the city of Newburgh was fluoridated, while Kingston maintained a water system free of artificial fluorides. The so-called pilot test, Major Jordan claims is invalidated by the fact that Kingston water contains almost five times as much natural calcium as does Newburgh water.

That plans to fluoridate American water systems could be any part of a Communist master plan, that many of our eminent dentists, physicians, and health organizations could be misled to the extent of honestly recommending furtherance of a procedure which constitutes a Communist plot, is unthinkable to the average American. Here appears the area of thinking which pro-fluoridationists would hardly label . . .

"Scaremongering"

Yet, is it scaremongering to acknowledge that we have within our borders people who advocate the overthrow of the United States government by force and violence and who would seek the support of sincere, loyal Americans to further their sinister plot? Military strategy sets forth the protection of water supplies as one of the first principles of defense. With the information documented by Congress that some of our most outstanding officials have been misled through agents of foreign powers, that these agents are present in many areas of government and civilian life where they can most readily in-

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³Franzen, Mrs. Golda, *Fluoridation Is a Menace to the American People*.

⁴Bulletin No. 480, Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, Setauket, L. I., N. Y.

⁵Franzen, *op. cit.*

⁶Rorty, James, "The Truth About Fluoridation," *The Freeman*, June 29, 1953.

⁷Miller, Congressman A. L., "Fluoridation of Water," *Congressional Record*, Mar. 4, 1952, p. A1900.

⁸Educational News Service, July, 1956.

⁹Jordan, Major George Racey, Speech at Twentieth Women's Patriotic Conference, Hotel Statler, Washington, D. C., Feb. 17, 1956.

THE CASE FOR FLUORIDATION

THOSE who are opposed to fluoridation have not produced on their own any evidence that fluoride is not efficacious or that it is harmful. Their objections are mainly theoretical and, to paraphrase an old Chinese proverb, one good experiment is worth one thousand opinions.²⁹

The conscientious and highly trained members of federal, state, and local public health professional associations study critically the investigations in their field and do not lightly or carelessly endorse proposals for preventive health measures whose conceivable harm might outweigh the benefits.³⁰

Dental caries has been described as the most prevalent disease in the United States today. Decayed teeth are a major school problem.

A measure to control dental caries is now available in the fluoridation of community water supplies. Water fluoridation is economically feasible, and its effectiveness has been demonstrated — it is no longer in the pioneering experimental stage.³¹

How We Learned About Fluorides

A search for the cause of "mottled enamel" led to the discovery of fluoride in water supplies in 1931. Research demonstrated that the severity of dental fluorosis, as this disease came to be called, is proportional to the amount of fluoride present in drinking water during that period of childhood when the teeth are being formed, and that, in the temperate climates of the United States, endemic dental fluorosis does not begin to constitute a public health problem until the fluoride in the water supply exceeds 1.5 parts per million.

A comprehensive epidemiological study by the research staff of the National Institute of Health established (a) that children 12 to 14 years of age who have continuously, since birth, used water with an optimal fluoride concentration, have in general about two-thirds less dental decay than do children who have used fluoride-free drinking water, and (b) that this lessened amount of dental caries follows the use of domestic water containing as little as 1.0 ppm of fluorides — a fluoride concentration low enough not to cause dental fluorosis or mottling.³¹

Fluorine a Familiar Dietary Substance

Fluorine is present in so many common foods that the average adult diet throughout the United States contains from 0.25 to 0.30 mg. of fluorides per day. Fish is relatively high in fluorine. Pablum, a widely used baby food, has or has had from 8.0 to 15.0 ppm. Tea leaves have a high concentration, ranging from 30.0 to 60.0 ppm. Liver, which is prescribed as one of our health-giving foods, contains fluorine.³²

However, these food-borne fluorides are insufficient for optimal dental health, and many persons consider it practicable to make up this deficiency by adjusting the fluoride concentration of the public water supply.

At least three million people in the United States, residents of 845 communities in twenty-seven states, use a community water supply in which fluorides in concentrations of 1.0 ppm or higher are naturally present. In many cases these water supplies have been in use for generations. Except for dental fluorosis when the fluoride concentration is high, the health of these people is apparently comparable to that of people who reside in nearby fluoride-free communities. Studies reveal that cumulative toxic effects following the use of such water are highly improbable. A review published in 1950 summarized the evidence pointing to the conclusion that there is no public health hazard in the use of drinking water containing 1.0 ppm of fluorides.³³

Newburgh-Kingston, N. Y., Tests

Newburgh and Kingston, New York, located about thirty-five miles apart on the Hudson River, each with a population of about thirty thousand and each using a fluoride-deficient water supply, were chosen for comparative study of the effects of fluoridation. Newburgh's water supply was treated with sodium fluoride on May 2, 1945, bringing its fluoride content up to 1.0, while Kingston served as the control area, continuing to use fluoride-deficient water without change.

After ten years of fluoride experience, dental clinical and roentgenographic examinations reveal that chil-

dren ages six to nine in Newburgh who had been drinking fluoridated water all of their lives had a DMF (Decayed, Missing, and Filled) rate for permanent teeth 58 per cent lower than did Kingston children of the same age.

There were about six times as many children in Newburgh, ages six to nine, who had all their deciduous cuspids and deciduous molars present and caries free than noted in Kingston.

Among the 438 children in Newburgh who had had continuous residence since fluoridation began, forty-six children had questionable fluorosis, twenty-six had very mild fluorosis, and six showed mild fluorosis. There were no instances of moderate or severe mottling. Questionable, very mild, and mild fluorosis involve slight whitish flecks or opaque areas on the enamel surface without any breaks in surface continuity, excessive wear or staining. Classification of fluorosis in these degrees is based wholly on the extent of the tooth surface involved, and only a highly trained eye can detect these stages of mottling. None of the instances of dental fluorosis in Newburgh children was disfiguring.

The Newburgh-Kingston study has demonstrated beyond question the effectiveness and safety of water fluoridation as a public health procedure.³⁴

Natural vs. Controlled Fluoridation

The only difference between natural and controlled fluoridation from a chemical standpoint is that natural fluoride enters the water supply through leaching of fluoride-bearing rock traversed by water, as compared to the controlled addition of fluoride compounds by machinery. The form of the fluorine in the water in either case is that of the fluoride ion. It is of

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²⁹Ubell, Earl, Science Editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, from *Town Meeting*, Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air, May 20, 1954.

³⁰St. Louis Medical Society, "Water Fluoridation," *Missouri Medicine*, February, 1954, pp. 124-142.

³¹Dean, H. Trendley, D.D.S., former dental director of U. S. Public Health Service, "Fluoridation: Mass Control for Dental Caries," *American Journal of Nursing*, February, 1952.

³²Knutson, John W., D.D.S., Dr. P. H., "An Evaluation of the Grand Rapids Water Fluoridation Project," *The Journal of The Michigan State Medical Society*, September, 1954.

³³Dean, *op. cit.*
³⁴"Newburgh-Kingston Caries-Fluorine Study: Final Report," *The Journal of the American Dental Association*, March, 1956, pp. 290-325.

The Primrose Path

By W. G. VOLLMER

President, Texas and Pacific Railway

THE concept of national economic planning for the people's welfare had its inception in the twenties, long before World War II or the Korean conflict. Since that time, it has gained steadily in strength, in scope, and in adherents.

In the turbulent and tortuous history of nations, the principle of economic planning is nothing new. It is the very keystone of communism, just as it was of nazism and fascism.

When any government takes over the peacetime planning of the economic affairs of its people, it becomes also the high executioner of individual freedom and opportunity.

In the drafting of the Constitution, our Founding Fathers must have recognized the inherent evil of national economic planning for they made no provision for such governmental activities. As a matter of fact, many of them fled their native countries to escape the serfdom which such planning imposed.

In times of peace no economic plan of the federal government is worth the paper it is written on unless it is supported with the power of execution. And the power of execution carries with it the power to control individual action and to destroy individual freedom.

A planned economy by a central government means precisely what the word "planned" implies.

It means that the federal government assumes the right of exercising control over certain phases of the economic affairs of the people. Governmental officials and bureaucrats decide what they conceive to be good for the people and then issue orders telling them what they can and cannot do.

Our farm program is a case in point.

The once rugged and independent farmers have surrendered a considerable measure of their freedom of action upon the altar of artificial security disguised as a "fair return" for their products.

The farmers now plant whatever crops the government decides upon. And they also market their products in a manner carefully prescribed and rigidly administered by the government.

Planned Economy Destroys Freedom

The farm program is but one segment of our national economy which has given way to national planning. Numerous programs control in various ways the supply and the price of food, clothing and shelter, while controls of one form or another are exercised over employment and wages.

In times of peace if we accept the principle that the federal government possesses the right to plan any segment of our economic welfare, then we must be prepared to relinquish the right to individual freedom.

We cannot have both. Any disposition to temporize or compromise the principles of freedom merely strengthens socialistic planning.

Every real American has within his heart a sincere desire to see everyone properly fed, clothed, sheltered, educated, employed at good wages, secure in his job, in his health, and in his old age.

There is a wide difference of opinion, however, as to how all of these things can be obtained. Some people look to the government to provide them. They expect the government to produce an economic miracle.

It cannot be done that way. The government itself produces nothing. It

Mr. Vollmer, associated with the railroad industry since 1902, has been president of Texas and Pacific Railway Company since 1945. Among other activities, he is a director and vice-president of the Community Chest and Councils of America, Inc. He has won wide recognition for his company's institutional type of advertising, stressing the highest ideals of the American way of life.

is the people who produce the goods and services that make life richer, more comfortable, and more enjoyable.

The only way to provide more things for more people is for the people themselves to produce more. The solution thus rests with the people, not the government.

In times of peace the national planners of our nation have supported and advocated the principle that the government, when vested with the power to distribute income and productivity, can bring about an improvement in the material welfare of all the people. This is economic nonsense, for the more the government provides, the more it impoverishes the people through increased taxation.

Government Must Take Before Giving

It is the belief of those who still subscribe to our constitutional democracy, and thus often are accused of being reactionaries, that it is the responsibility and the right of the individual to produce according to his capacity and to consume or dispose of what he produces according to his own judgment, provided he respects the similar rights of others.

The Constitution does not say that the federal government, acting in the capacity of an economic planner, shall promote the welfare of one person at the expense of another.

Nor does the Constitution provide that the federal government has the power to capture through taxation a portion of a person's income and then distribute it, in the form of grants-in-aid, to others.

A government which promotes and practices in times of peace, through

taxation and national economic planning, the distribution of the nation's income and productivity ceases to be a defender of equality and justice and of the life and property of the people. It becomes, instead, a government dedicated to taking one man's earned security and giving it to others without regard to the desires or wishes of the earner.

Those who contend that the government of the United States owes a living to any citizen, or group of citizens, or that it should provide special privileges and benefits to various communities, are contributing to the destruction of freedom of action and of opportunity.

Those who contend that federal economic planning is superior to that of individual planning are advocating the supremacy of the state over man.

Those who contend that the government should engage in national economic planning are advocates of a "share-the-wealth" principle. This principle is predicated upon the false assumption that private saving is a sign

of greed, and that the accumulation of wealth is a sign of selfishness. As these are precious rights the government should never use its power in times of peace to seize the fruits of one person's labor and distribute them among those whom the government deems worthy of its benevolence and its bounties.

Those who contend that the federal government should provide the man's material welfare overlook the vital fact that the only security any person can have lies within himself.

Government Can Distribute Only Poverty and Enslavement

Unless man is free to act as an individual, free to be productive in his own behalf, free to determine what part of his production he will consume and how much he will save, and free to protect his savings and his property, he will have neither freedom nor security.

It should be repeated over and over again that the federal government cannot provide the people either with

goods or services, or with real security.

The government cannot make people rich. But it can make the rich poor by taxing away their substance and by stifling their initiative and their incentive to work, to produce, and to save.

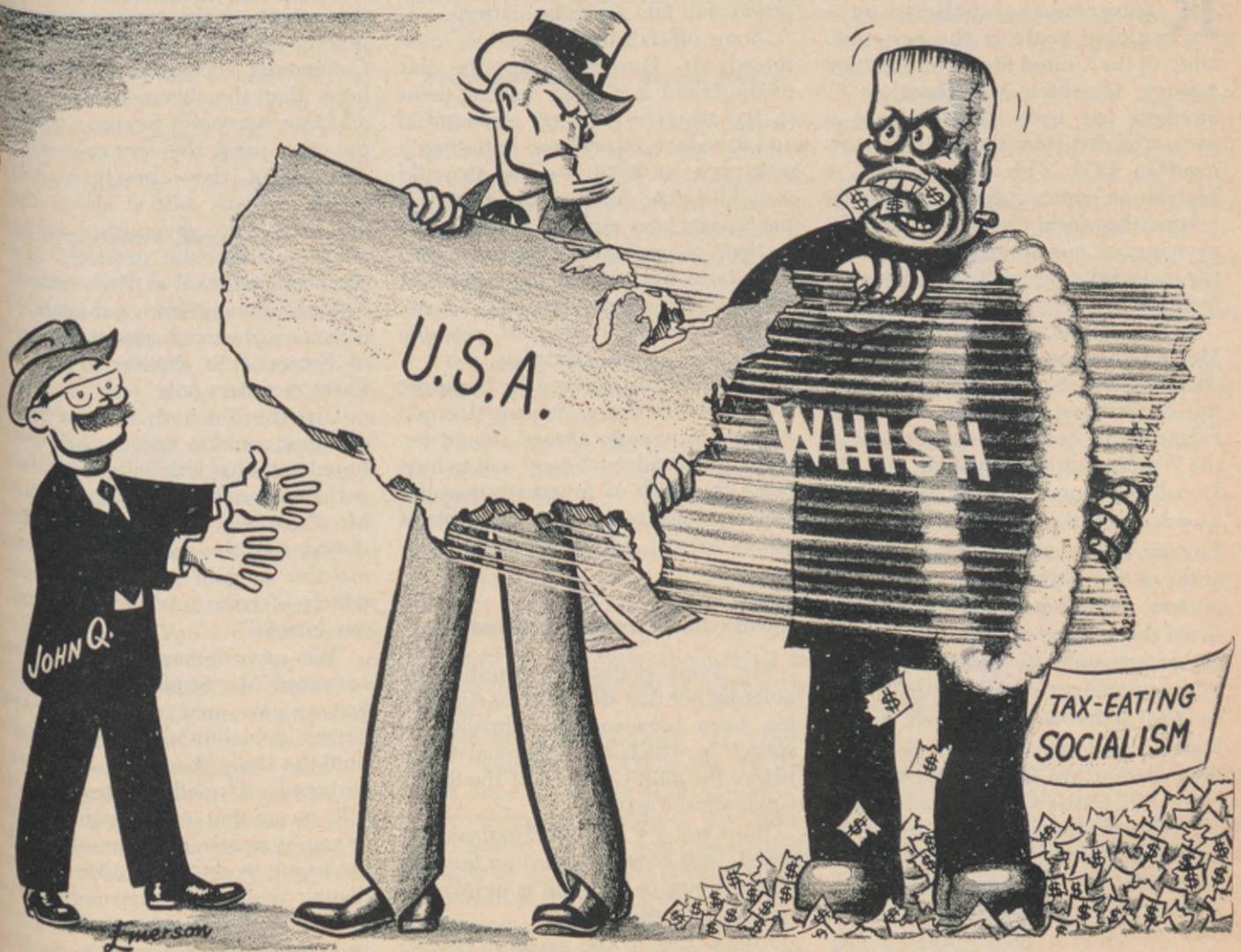
The only thing the government can distribute evenly is poverty and enslavement. These things are achieved through excessive taxation and regimentation, both of which are the principal tools of all economic planners.

It is worth recalling here what the Greek writer Plutarch, who lived nearly nineteen hundred years ago, had to say about benevolent governments. He made this observation:

"The real destroyer of the liberties of the people is he who spreads among them bounties, donations, and benefits."

All economic planners should heed that great truth before the principles of our constitutional democracy have been weakened and made impotent. The people of the nation also should heed it.

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LET'S GIVE OUR COUNTRY BACK TO THE TAXPAYER

REPORTERS' ROUNDUP INTERVIEW OF

Theodore C. Streibert

Director of the U. S. Information Agency



Characterizing as "wholly irresponsible" Mr. Eugene Castle's charge in a recent Reporters' Roundup interview that we have spent 700 million dollars on worthless propaganda without improving the situation, this official spokesman for USIA disclosed "the other side of the coin."

Mr. Streibert points out the necessity for a reasoned approach to the circumstances of each foreign country through USIA's many media of communications.

REPORTING American facts and governmental policies on a global scale is the responsibility of the United States Information Agency, of which Mr. Theodore C. Streibert has been director since it was separated from the State Department in 1953. This agency plays a key role in communicating to peoples around the world the content and the meaning of our foreign policies and the principles by which Americans live.

As a guest of Reporters' Roundup, Mr. Streibert was shown traditional courtesy, and accepted in good grace the challenging questions of Mr. L. Edgar Prina, Senate correspondent of the *Washington Evening Star*, and Mr. Donald O'Connor, Washington correspondent of the *Detroit Times*. Mr. Eugene Castle, author and outspoken critic of the USIA, in an earlier Reporters' Roundup interview had insisted that a more efficient propaganda campaign could be conducted if the informational activities now dealt with by the USIA were returned to the State Department. Many of the questions fired at Mr. Streibert were based upon Mr. Castle's statements.

Moderator Robert F. Hurleigh, commentator and director of Washington operations for Mutual Broadcasting Company, stated that Soviet Russia is now pursuing a dual foreign policy which at first glance may appear con-

tradictory, but in which all individual actions fall into a regular pattern.

"Some officials in Washington," continued Mr. Hurleigh, "describe this readjustment as a major turning point in the struggle between communism and freedom — perhaps initiating a new phase in what is called the cold war. This phase is new only insofar as the Soviets have added a new element to their old policy. That policy, pursued from the start of the Bolshevik regime, uses propaganda, force, threats, and infiltration to promote world-wide Communist ends.

Mr. Hurleigh referred to President Eisenhower's suggestion that all Americans who go abroad should become ambassadors of good will to help make the truth of America's peaceful goals and our respect for the rights of others known to more people overseas.

Khrushchev's Speech a Good Tool

Mr. Prina prefaced a question by pointing out that the Voice of America has been broadcasting Khrushchev's speech in which he deglorified Stalin before the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

"Can you tell me, Mr. Streibert," he asked, "just how this effort on the part of the Voice of America is aiding our propaganda effort?"

"Well, this is the greatest confessional for our purposes," replied Mr.

Streibert, "that has ever been. It shows the extent of the terrorism and the tyranny that is practiced under Communist dictatorship. It is the hope that the denunciation may be effective internally in some areas; on the other hand, the very ones who are denouncing these practices participated in them. Also it shows that a non-democratic government can carry on these terroristic practices against the people as well as Party members. This pronouncement is not against terrorism as practiced against the people of Russia. It is directed against the Party members only."

That the Voice of America did not comment on the speech, but simply broadcast what was believed to be the authentic version, was pointed out by Mr. Prina, who asked, "Is there not a danger that the present regime might use this to gain sympathy for itself, which, of course, would not work to our benefit?"

"We are commenting on it now," corrected Mr. Streibert, "although at first we gave only comments of newspapers and editorials on it. We waited until the *Daily Worker* printed it as an authentic, if unofficial, text. We are fully aware that it is their real purpose to gain sympathy for themselves. They are trying to get in a position of repudiating Stalin and exposing the bad things he did as compared with the good things they are going to do. However, I don't think the satellite people

and those of the free world are going to be fooled by that in the slightest. I doubt if it even fools the people of Russia itself."

"As a matter of fact, Mr. Streibert," inserted Moderator Hurleigh, "hasn't it been said that the speech by Mr. Khrushchev — the downgrading of Stalin — was actually leaked in some degree to the outside world in order to help their present propaganda — and that behind the Iron Curtain, where you are beaming this information, it has not been allowed to be published?"

Mr. Streibert acknowledged that this was correct. "They try to keep it secret," he stated, "and obviously for a purpose. In fact, most surprisingly, an editorial in the *Daily Worker* criticized the Kremlin for handling it in this way."

"Well, actually, though," asked Mr. Prina, "wasn't it supposed to be Khrushchev's idea to give it to the people of the Soviet Union piecemeal, as a measured campaign?"

"It may be that," replied Mr. Streibert. "You can't fathom their purposes. Khrushchev did say at the end of his speech, as you know, that it must be kept from the press. What their purpose was, or how devious their means of accomplishing it, we do not know. All we know is that this is an enormous risk that they are taking."

VOA Broadcasts Jammed

In answer to Mr. O'Connor's question regarding whether the Russians were attempting to jam the Voice of America broadcasts of Khrushchev's speech as they have other USIA or Voice of America broadcasts, Mr. Streibert answered in the affirmative.

"That prompts the question," put in Mr. O'Connor, "how effective do you think that the Voice of America broadcasts are? Are the Russians succeeding in jamming them?"

"Yes," replied Mr. Streibert, "but we get through. You see, we have so many frequencies and there are so many different reception conditions. We get constant reports from people coming out of the Soviet as well as the satellites — newspaper people — which indicate that we do get through jamming. Our own program director was there only a few weeks ago. He heard the Voice right in the middle of Moscow."

Mr. Streibert, asked by Mr. O'Connor for an estimate of the size of audience being reached behind the Iron

Curtain, said that there is no means of telling. However, it is a regular practice, he disclosed, to ask everyone coming out of Russia, diplomatic people, visitors, newsmen, etc., whether they have heard anything about the Voice. "We find," he concluded, "that people are aware of what is said on the Voice, and that people do hear it. We have regular meetings of our agency personnel to appraise information received which leads to this definite conclusion."

"You mention, for the most part, people coming out of Moscow," Mr. O'Connor said. "I am wondering in the vast steppes of Southern Russia, and in the sections which we would probably term 'rural areas' in this country — is the average peasant or Russian person getting these . . ."

"No," replied Mr. Streibert, "we don't think that the average peasant owns a receiving set. We are getting to a higher grade of person, who may be a manager or submanager, or a Party functionary of some kind. These are probably Party people for the most part, but not exclusively so by any means."

"Propaganda" vs. Factual News

"Do you think that our propaganda has much effect upon the average Party member?" asked Mr. O'Connor.

"Well, you misunderstand what we are trying to do," Mr. Streibert replied. "We are not trying to propagandize those people against the Communist Party when they are members of the Party. . ."

"You say we don't hope to influence them or change their minds?" interrupted Mr. O'Connor.

"That would be like propagandizing us against freedom and democracy," replied Mr. Streibert. "It would fall on deaf ears. What we are trying to do is to give them the news of the outside world as it really happens — particularly the news about the United States and about Western powers so that they will get the facts about what is happening and what our policies really are."

"But for what purpose, Mr. Streibert," inquired Mr. O'Connor, "if we don't hope to change their minds?"

"A very specific purpose," Mr. Streibert insisted. "If they find that what is actually going on in the outside Western world is different from what they are learning from the Kremlin, it begins to open up doubts as to the validity of the Kremlin's statements on all

matters having to do with foreign policy and perhaps will ultimately shake their faith."

"Then we *do* hope," Mr. O'Connor said, "that it's not falling on deaf ears — that we may influence them to some degree."

"Well, yes, but we are not doing it by exhortation and by what you call 'propaganda,'" stressed Mr. Streibert. "We think, as I say, that news of the outside world and commentary, or explanations of what is going on in the United States, and what we are like — that those things have an effect."

Stalin's Demotion Shakes Faith

Mr. Prina questioned Mr. Streibert regarding recent reports that reveal worry on the part of satellite Communists over the deglorification of Stalin. "Communists outside Russia are asking the question," he stated, "why did these people laud Stalin until very recently, and now start saying that he was such a tyrant?"

"It causes great confusion in Communist Party ranks, which makes it a very fine development," said Mr. Streibert. "We are trying to promote it all we can."

Moderator Hurleigh and Mr. Prina joined in bringing up the point that this has been true in Italy, in this country, and in France, as well as in Communist China, — that it is almost akin to the Stalin pact with Hitler.

"Yes, it's a complete switch," Mr. Streibert agreed, "and a different line. I don't see how it can fail to shake the faith of any intelligent person."

"Mr. Streibert, may I ask you one more question on the handling of this speech?" asked Mr. Prina. "Obviously you were in on the ground floor of high government discussions as to how to handle it — the State Department announcement, and so forth. There have been reports that there was a considerable body of opinion among the top government officials that this speech should not be put out by the Department, but that it should perhaps be leaked out, or handled informally. Can you tell us anything about that?"

Mr. Streibert explained that he participated only in the decision that it should be released in total. Although there was some question of whether to release parts of the speech at a time, in his opinion there was general agreement that the whole document should be released at once.

(Continued on page 47)

The Supreme Court Under Fire

High-level criticisms of recent Supreme Court decisions have helped foment nationwide protests from those who are zealous in their defense of states' rights. *Facts Forum News*, presenting the customary pro and con sides of this controversial issue, feels that the case for the Supreme Court can best be argued by publishing resumes of two of the Court's better-known decisions.

COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA V. STEVE NELSON

SUMMARY: In this case the question was whether the federal Smith Act, prohibiting the knowing advocacy of the overthrow of the United States government by violence and force, superseded the Pennsylvania Sedition Act. The defendant, a member of the Communist Party, had been convicted in the Pennsylvania state courts.

Chief Justice Warren's opinion held that Congress had occupied the field to the exclusion of parallel state legislation. The opinion of the Court, then, was that the dominant interest of the federal government precluded state intervention; moreover, administration of state acts would conflict with the operation of the federal plan.

Justices Reed, Burton, and Minton dissented. They asserted that the Court should not void state legislation unless there was a clear mandate from Congress.

Chief Justice Warren delivered the opinion of the Court.

The respondent, Steve Nelson — an acknowledged member of the Communist Party, was convicted in the Pennsylvania court for violation of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act¹ and sentenced to imprisonment for twenty years and a fine of \$10,000. The Superior Court affirmed the conviction. . . . The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, recognizing but not reaching many alleged serious trial errors and conduct of the trial court infringing upon respondent's right to due process of law, decided the case on the narrow issue of supercession of the state law by the federal Smith Act.² In its opinion, the Court stated:

And, while the Pennsylvania statute proscribes sedition against either the government of the United States or the government of Pennsylvania, it is only alleged sedition against the United States with which the instant case is concerned. Out of all the voluminous testimony we have not found, nor has anyone pointed to, a single word indicating a seditious act or even utterance directed against the government of Pennsylvania.³

The precise holding of the Court, and all that is before us for review, is that the Smith Act of 1940,⁴ as amended in 1948,⁵ which prohibits the knowing advocacy of the

overthrow of the government of the United States by force and violence, supersedes the enforceability of the Pennsylvania Sedition Act, which proscribes the same conduct.

It should be said at the outset that the decision in this case does not affect the right of states to enforce their sedition laws at times when the federal government has not occupied the field and is not protecting the entire country from seditious conduct. . . . Nor does it limit the jurisdiction of the states where the Constitution and Congress have specifically given them concurrent jurisdiction as was done under the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. . . . Nor does it limit the right of the state to protect itself at any time against sabotage or attempted violence of all kinds.⁶ Nor does it prevent the state from prosecuting where the same act constitutes both a federal offense and a state offense under the police power . . .

Where, as in the instant case, Congress has not stated specifically whether a federal statute has occupied a field in which the states are otherwise free to legislate, different criteria have furnished touchstones for decision. Thus:

This Court, in considering the validity of state laws in the light of . . . federal laws touching the same subject, has made use of the following expressions: conflicting; contrary to; occupying the field; repugnance; difference; irreconcilability; inconsistency; violation; curtailment; and interference. But none of these expressions provides an infallible constitutional test or an exclusive constitutional yardstick. In the final analysis there can be no one crystal-clear, distinctly-marked formula.⁷

. . . Congress determined in 1940 that it was necessary for it to re-enter the field of antisubversive legislation which had been abandoned by it in 1921. In that year it enacted the Smith Act. . . .

The Internal Security Act of 1950 is aimed more directly at Communist organizations.⁸ It distinguishes between

¹Pa Penal Code Section 207, 18 Purd Pa Stat Ann Section 4207.

²377 Pa 58, 104 A2d 133.

³377 Pa, at 69, 104 A2d, at 139.

⁴54 Stat 670.

⁵18 USC Section 2385.

⁶377 Pa, at 70, 104 A2d, at 139.

⁷Hines v. Davidowitz, 312 US 52, 67, 85 L ed 581, 586, 61 S Ct 399.

⁸50 USC Section 781 et seq.

⁹Id., Section 782 (3), (4).

¹⁰Id., Section 786.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Members of the Supreme Court of the United States. Left to right, seated: Felix Frankfurter, Hugo Black, Chief Justice Earl Warren, Stanley Reed, William O. Douglas. Standing: Sherman Minton, Harold H. Burton, Tom Clark, and John M. Harlan.

“Communist-action organizations” and “Communist-front organizations,”⁹ requiring such organizations to register and to file annual reports with the Attorney General, giving complete details as to their officers and funds.¹⁰

... The Communist Control Act of 1954 declares “that the Communist Party of the United States, although purportedly a political party, is in fact an instrumentality of a conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States” and that “its role as the agency of a hostile foreign power renders its existence a clear, present, and continuing danger to the security of the United States.”¹¹ It also contains a legislative finding that the Communist Party is a “Communist-action organization” within the meaning of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and provides that “knowing” members of the Communist Party are “subject to all provisions and penalties” of that Act. . . .¹²

We examine these Acts only to determine the congressional plan. Looking to all of them in the aggregate, the conclusion is inescapable that Congress has intended to occupy the field of sedition. Taken as a whole, they evince a congressional plan which makes it reasonable to determine that no room has been left for the states to supplement it. Therefore, a state sedition statute is superseded, regardless of whether it purports to supplement the federal law.

Sedition against the United States is not a local offense. It is a crime against the nation. As such, it should be prosecuted and punished in the federal courts where this defendant has in fact been prosecuted and convicted and is now under sentence.¹³ It is not only important but vital that such prosecutions should be exclusively within the control of the federal government. . . .¹⁴

Enforcement of state sedition acts presents a serious danger of conflict with the administration of the federal

program. Since 1939, in order to avoid a hampering of uniform enforcement of its program by sporadic local prosecutions, the federal government has urged local authorities not to intervene in such matters, but to turn over to the federal authorities immediately and unevaluated all information concerning subversive activities. The President made such a request on September 6, 1939, when he placed the Federal Bureau of Investigation in charge of investigation in this field:

The Attorney General has been requested by me to instruct the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice to take charge of investigative work in matters relating to espionage, sabotage, and violations of the neutrality regulations.

This task must be conducted in a comprehensive and effective manner on a national basis, and all information must be carefully sifted out and correlated in order to avoid confusion and irresponsibility.

To this end I request all police officers, sheriffs, and all other law enforcement officers in the United States promptly to turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained by them relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities and violations of the neutrality laws.¹⁵

In his brief the Solicitor General states that forty-two states, plus Alaska and Hawaii, have statutes which in some form prohibit advocacy of the violent overthrow of established government. These statutes are entitled anti-sedition statutes, criminal anarchy laws, criminal syndicalist laws, etc. Although all of them are primarily directed

(Continued on page 38)

⁹50 USC (1955 Supp) Section 841.

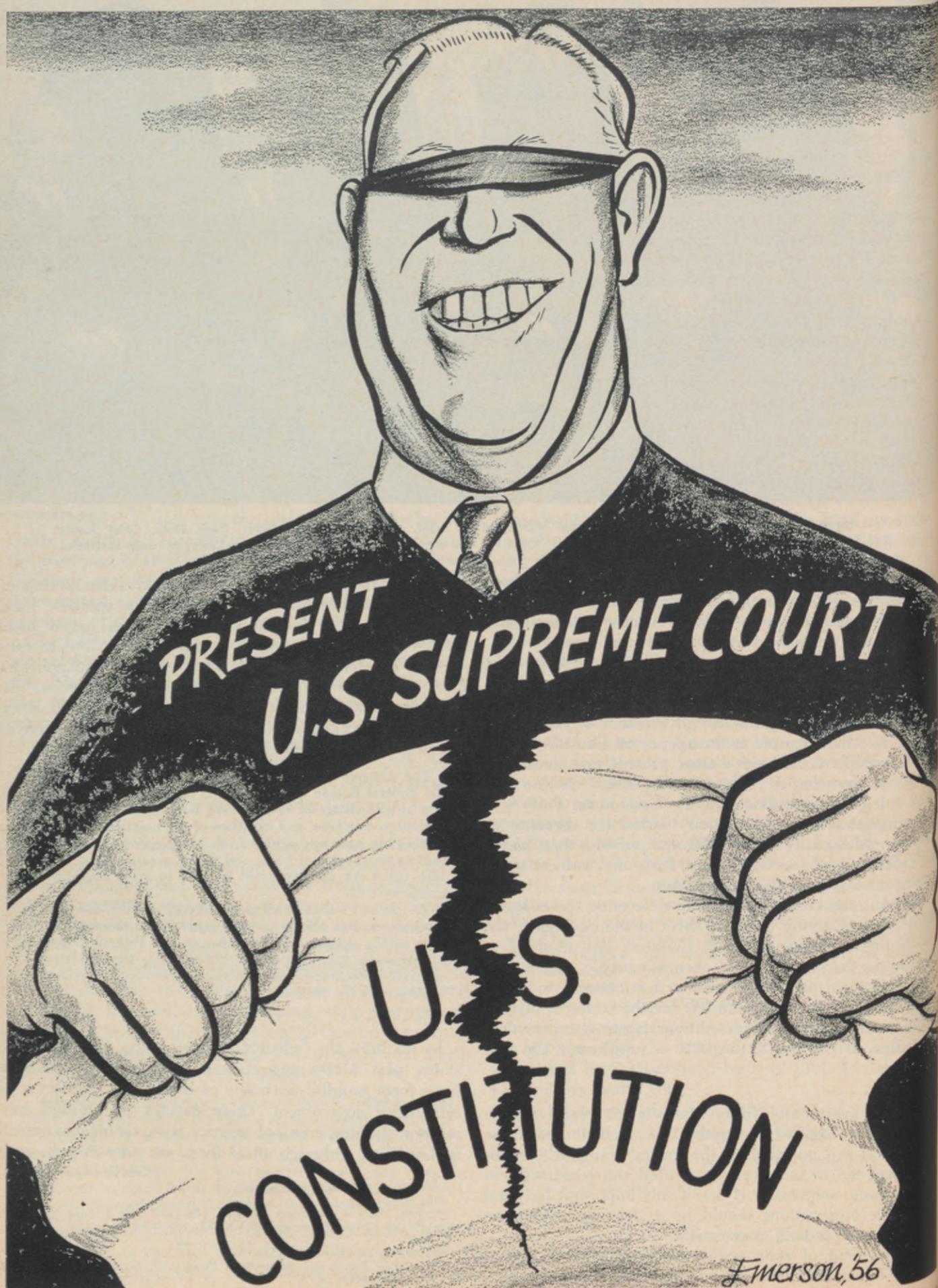
¹⁰Id., Section 843.

¹¹United States v. Mesarosh [Nelson] (DC Pa) 116 F Supp 345, affd. (CA3d) 223 F2d 449, cert gr 350 US 922, 100 L ed (Advance p 137), 76 S Ct 218.

¹²377 Pa, at 76, 104 A2d, at 142.

¹³The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1939 Volume, pp. 478-479 (1941).

Critics charge that recent decisions manifest a blind disregard for the Constitution



Presented below are the arguments of those who maintain that the Supreme Court is substituting psychology for law and sociology for the Constitution. These disturbed critics hold that federal preemption has sounded the death knell for states' rights.

JUSTICES of the United States Supreme Court have been accused of amending the Constitution rather than interpreting it, substantiating their decisions by citing sociologists and psychologists.

Irate citizens, seeing what little remains of states' sovereignty and cognizant of the rapidity with which the remaining mite is being dissipated, are saying that the judicial line is forming to the left.

Much of the present widespread criticism of the Supreme Court comes from high places. The National Association of Attorneys General, by a vote of 28 to 12, adopted a resolution favoring limitation of the power of the United States Supreme Court to determine whether federal laws supercede state laws.

Governors Rap Court

Also, the forty-eighth conference of governors at Atlantic City in June ended with a rap at the Supreme Court. The governors adopted a resolution saying that conference members were concerned by decisions of the Court, which have held that congressional enactments supercede state laws and thus preempt those fields. Members called on Congress to frame laws that cannot be construed to preempt any field against state action unless such an intent is stated.

Senators James O. Eastland (D-Miss.) and Joseph McCarthy (R-Wis.), before a Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hearing on June 26, stated that although they did not accuse Chief Justice Earl Warren of being a Communist, his expressed judicial opinions have certainly been "following the Communist Party line."

McCarthy said at the beginning of his testimony that the Court was manned for the most part by "incompetent, irresponsible, left-wing Judges who regard themselves as a super Congress." He added he thought that the decision in the *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Steve Nelson* case showed a "rock-bottom low in judicial irresponsibility."

A disturbed public has begun to

view the Court as an uncommon denominator, and feels that the newly-minted laws of aforesaid Court are contributing to a Disunited States of America.

Representative E. L. Forrester (D-Ga.), speaking before the House of Representatives, quoted George Washington in his "Farewell Address":

If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be, in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment, in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed.¹

Our revered first President was warning the people against the very thing which many persons say exists today. Critics maintain that the Supreme Court is usurping functions which belong exclusively to the states and to Congress.

The time was when the Court justified the confidence of the people; it was a veritable roadblock in the pathway of any group seeking to weaken the American government. However, time changed things, say present-day critics. Vacancies occurred, and court-packing became the vogue. Then came an era of usurpation, an era which saw a rewriting of the Constitution. The Court decided that changed conditions called for changed laws, and began to read into the Constitution meanings which many people say were not intended by those who wrote the Constitution.

Members Dissent

Dissenting members of the Court have themselves cried out against the Court's seemingly irresponsible actions in reversing not only long-standing decisions, but even in reversing its own previous decisions. Justice Roberts, in the case of *Smith v. Allwright* (321 U. S. 649), stated:

The reason for my concern is that the instant decision overruling one announced about nine years ago tends to bring adjudications of this tribunal into the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, "good for this day and train only."²

Supreme Court Justice Reed, in a publication entitled *Current Biography*, is quoted as follows:

If by interpretation based on moderation, social and economic experiments, we can advance steadily toward our objective, we can avoid dangerous experiments of fundamental constitutional change.³

In view of the foregoing it has been claimed by many that there is an intention to change the Constitution, not by amendment, but by interpretation predicated on economic and social experiments. William O. Douglas has stated that instead of being bound by the Constitution, the Supreme Court may change its meaning to something more in line with the Court's ideas of modern needs. In his recent book he stated that the charter of government must be kept current with the times, and that it should not be allowed to become archaic or out of tune with the needs of today. Douglas mentioned, further, that it takes a new generation to catch a broader vision, and that this might require the undoing of the work of predecessors.⁴

Question Is Raised

The question is then raised by critics whether, under such a system, the Constitution would come to have no meaning.

In the past there has been a hesitancy to take the Supreme Court to task. Being "supreme," it was thought that its members could do no wrong, that the Justices were worthy of respect and above criticism.

Now, however, some people are saying that the Justices have gradually arrogated unto themselves executive and legislative powers. It is charged that they are attempting to run the government in accordance with their own philosophies. Representative Francis E. Walter (D-Penn.), chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, has said that sometimes Supreme Court Justices seem to live in ivory towers, with the blinds drawn.⁵

¹84 *Congressional Record* (1956), pp. 8507-8.

²*Ibid.*, p. 8508.

³*Ibid.*, p. 8509.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 8509-10.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. A4332.

A recent newspaper editorial stated that the constitutional question before the American people, since Earl Warren became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was whether the Court was a third house of Congress that is legislating on its own.⁶

The Tenth Amendment states that powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. According to critics, the Supreme Court has ignored this amendment, for in case after case the Court has whittled away the basic rights of the states.⁷ The Bill of Rights notwithstanding, it has come to pass that if Congress legislates even on the fringe of any field, the conclusion by the Court has been that such field will be occupied by federal law. This would allow the Supreme Court to divine the intent of Congress.⁸

Suppose, then, that Congress passed an aid-to-education bill — might not the Court maintain that Congress intended to preempt the field of education, even to the selection of textbooks? The same holds true for the field of labor.

H. R. 3, introduced by Congressman Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), would restore some measure of independence to the states. Briefly, this bill states that no act of Congress shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which the act operates, to the exclusion of state laws on the subject, unless such act contains express provision to that effect.⁹

Man Has Struggled

Throughout history man has struggled for freedom. And, in reality, there can be no freedom unless there is freedom from government. When the government acquires power, no matter what the pretext, it is always at the expense of individual freedom. When governmental power goes up, the power of the people goes the other way.¹⁰ In view of this a great many persons are saying that the "nine-man-theme" being "played" by the Supreme Court is in reality a dirge for states' rights.

Former President Franklin D. Roosevelt on March 9, 1937, commenting on a decision of the Supreme Court, said:



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Chief Justice Earl Warren, an Eisenhower appointee, had no previous experience as a judge.

The Court, in addition to the proper use of its judicial functions, has improperly set itself up as a third House of the Congress — a super-legislature, as one of the Justices has called it — reading into the Constitution words and implications which are not there. . . .

Our difficulty with the Court today rises not from the Court as an institution but from human beings within it.¹¹

Not only have former Presidents taken exception to Supreme Court usurpation, but there are any number of men high in governmental circles who are worried by the way that the Court has disregarded precedent and sallied forth upon the "uncharted seas of pseudosociology and neo-Freudian psychology."¹²

Senator James O. Eastland, Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, stated in a speech before the Senate that the only time when the high appellate court of any Western nation resorted to textbooks and the works of agitators to sustain its decision was when the high court of Germany sustained Hitler's racist laws.

Senator Eastland went on to say, regarding the school segregation case, that the United States Supreme Court cited "modern" authorities as its authority to change the constitutional guarantees of the reserved natural right of the people to freedom of choice and of the states to regulate their public schools. One such authority on psychology to override the Constitution was Theodore Brameld. He is cited as having been a member

of no less than ten organizations declared to be communistic, Communist-front, or Communist-dominated.

Eastland stated that one E. Franklin Frazier was another authority cited by the Court. The files of the Committee on Un-American Activities reflect eighteen citations of Frazier's connection with Communist causes.

Another authority cited by the Court, according to Eastland, was one K. B. Clark, a Negro so-called social science expert employed by the principal plaintiff in the segregation cases, the NAACP. Eastland said it was "unusual" procedure for any court to accept a litigant's paid employee as an authority on anything, let alone as an authority to be put above the Constitution.¹³

Additionally, the Supreme Court, to support its findings, referred to Myrdal's *An American Dilemma*, 1944. Myrdal wrote that the Constitution of the United States is impractical and unsuited to modern conditions. And, additionally, that its adoption was almost a plot against the common people.¹⁴

Loyalty Questioned

It is a matter of record that some of Myrdal's associates are members of organizations which have been cited by the Department of Justice as subversive. In fact, sixteen names are associated with Myrdal in the writing of *An American Dilemma*, 1944 — all "social experts." The Communist and Communist-front organizations with which the Myrdal advisers were affiliated are numbered in the dozens. It would seem, then, that the Court has reversed the law of the land upon the authority of men whose loyalty to the United States is subject to grave question.¹⁵

Representative Henderson Lanham (D-Ga.), speaking before the House on May 22, stated that the trouble with the Court is not political corruption; rather, it is corruption of ideas

(Continued on page 39)

⁶Los Angeles Herald-Express, May 15, 1956.

⁷Ibid., p. 8373.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Frank Chodorov, "Supreme Court Against Bill of Rights," *Human Events* (May 26, 1956).

¹¹84 Congressional Record (1956), p. 7887.

¹²Ibid., pp. 7887-8.

¹³"What's the Story Behind the Segregation Authorities," *Facts Forum News* (September, 1955), pp. 28-29.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵James F. Byrnes, "The Supreme Court Must Be Curbed," *U. S. News and World Report* (May 18, 1956), p. 54.

a Facts Forum News
condensation of the book...

School of Darkness

by **BELLA V. DODD**



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INTRODUCTION

This is a true story of well-nigh incredible events as they took place, and of the progress of a sensitive soul from the torments of darkness into the relief of light.

The narrator is Dr. Bella V. Dodd, formerly a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A.; later transformed by analytical intellect and searching conscience into a loyal American citizen.

SCHOOL OF DARKNESS

A CONDENSATION

I WAS BORN in October, 1904, in Picerno, southern Italy. I am really an American born on Italian soil as the result of a series of accidents; it was also an accident which kept me in Italy until I was almost six years old.

My foster mother was the wife of a shepherd in Avialano. Her own baby died and she was happy to have me. For five years I lived with these simple people. Though there was little luxury in the small stone house, I received loving care. In later days, when life was difficult, I often wished I were again the little child who sat there snug in the protecting love about her.

My mother sent money regularly, and gave my foster parents more comforts than the small wages of a hill shepherd could provide.

I have vague memories of the things of religion. Mamarrella said though I was young she was going to have me confirmed because the bishop was coming to our town to perform the ceremony. This called for great preparations. I had a new red dress with a high neck made "princess style."

When the great day came I was at church early. It was still almost empty save for the restless group of children awaiting confirmation. The few seats in the big church were placed toward the altar. You did not sit in those; they were for the gentry of the town. Everyone else knelt on the stone floor.

I knelt, too, and looked around me at the statues. I had a favorite — St. Anthony, with the tender smile and the Christ Child on His arm.

I was glad when my mother came for me, and we sailed for America. The reason my mother had not returned to Italy for five long years, my father later explained, was that there had been a terrible depression in America. It had been impossible for him to raise the money for Mother to make the trip, and a small child could not travel alone. I was shy in meeting my father. He was blond, blue-eyed, and reserved, the opposite of Mother. But despite his quiet, undemonstrative manner I felt that he loved me. He was kind and made a pet of me.

There were only four children at home; the rest had married and had homes of their own. They came to see the new sister and made a fuss over me. But they all made fun of my best dress — my red confirmation dress which every child in Avialano had admired. They laughed at me and insisted I be rushed to a store to buy an American dress. With great reluctance I put away the beautiful red princess dress and with it the last of my Italian years. And I turned with zeal to the task of becoming an American child.

MY seventeen-year-old sister, Caterina, called by the American name of Katie, took me in hand. She was beautiful, kind, and gentle. She insisted on calling me Bella [short for Isabella].

Katie took me to school. She had made up her mind I was a smart little thing and so she got me in a grade ahead by saying I was born in 1902. In those days she had no difficulty in having me enrolled in the second grade. For a few days I was pursued by cries of "wop-wop," but I paid no attention. I did not know what they meant. By the time I did I had been accepted as a leader in my class.

In four months I was able to speak English well enough to enjoy the school I attended — Public School Number One. When I was ready for the third grade we moved from East Harlem to Westchester, and several years later to a big rambling house and sixty-four acres of land, near Castle Hill. In this home the rest of my youth was spent. Life in that community was peaceful.

In the fall of 1917 I started at Evander Childs High School. The student body then numbered more than a thousand boys and girls. We were alike in that we were children of parents in modest circumstances, neither rich nor poor. No one attempted to accentuate our differences or to exploit them.

One day a girl from the East Bronx with whom I had talked about politics, a subject which was beginning to

interest me, brought me a copy of *The Call*, a Socialist publication. That paper gave a new turn to my thinking. I sought other copies. I felt my heart beat with excitement as I read the articles on social justice. For the first time I felt a call, a vocation. Unconsciously I enlisted, emotionally, in the army of those who said they would fight social injustice.

During my four years at Evander Childs, I received good marks in English history and science, and won a state scholarship which helped me to go to college. In the autumn I entered Hunter, the New York City college for women. I had decided to become a teacher. I started with a determination to learn. There were many fields I wanted to explore. I lived at home and traveled back and forth each day on the new Pelham Bay Subway.

My religious training had been superficial. As a child I had gone to church with Mamarella. I had been taught to say my prayers. In our house hung various holy pictures and the crucifix. But I knew nothing of the doctrines of faith. If I held any belief it was that we should dedicate ourselves to love of our fellow man.

THE teacher who affected me most was Sarah Parks, who taught English. From her I first heard favorable talk about the Russian Revolution. She compared it with the French Revolution which she said had had a great liberalizing effect on European culture, something which the Revolution in Russia would also one day accomplish. She brought to class books on communism and lent them to us.

To us who loved her Sarah Parks brought fresh air into a sterile intellectual atmosphere where scholarship sometimes seemed pointless and where Phi Beta Kappa keys were garnered by grinds. She led a busy life because so many of us wanted to consult her. She was an important factor in preparing us to accept a materialistic society. I am sure she did help some students, but she did little for those who were already so emptied of convictions that they believed in nothing. They could only turn their steps toward the great delusion of our time, toward the Socialist-Communist philosophy of Karl Marx.

In my junior year I was elected president of my class. Several of my friends and I became involved in student government. To Student Council meetings bright young girls brought all sorts of dazzling proposals and I, ready to support the experimental and the new, listened eagerly. We had, all of us, a strong will to goodness. We saw a bleak present and wanted to turn it into a wonderful future for the poor and the troubled. But we had no foundation for solid thinking. We had no real goals because we had no sound view of man's nature and destiny. We had feelings and emotions, but no standards.

In my senior year I was elected president of Student Council. That year I led the movement to establish the honor system at Hunter. Also I brought politics into student government by conducting the first straw vote in the presidential election. A little later I upset the Dean by insisting on a series of lectures on social hygiene. I was supported by a group of school politicians and I learned the value of a tightly organized group and was exhilarated by the power it gave.

In June, 1925, I was graduated with honors. I obtained a position as substitute teacher in the History Department of Seward Park High School. The school term was to end at the beginning of February. Some time after the turn of the new year in 1926, Dr. Dawson, chairman of the Politi-



WIDE WORLD PHOTO
Raphael's "Sistine Madonna," an altar piece of which Bella V. Dodd wrote, "It was worth the long trip to see the lovely Virgin and Child and the cherubs at their feet looking like gay little urchins." This priceless painting was removed from Dresden by the USSR at the end of World War II. Its fate was unknown until November, 1955, when it was placed on exhibit in the Soviet sector of Berlin.

cal Science Department at Hunter College, called and offered me a post at the college. I began teaching freshman political science at Hunter College in February, 1926. I enrolled in the graduate school at Columbia University for graduate work in political science.

ONE of my courses at Columbia was a study of the United States Senate and its treaty-making powers. Some of the professors wondered why Lindsey Rogers, who taught it, regarded this topic as important enough to devote an entire course to it. It was then only a few years after the *Missouri v. Holland* decision based on a treaty relating to migratory birds — and the pattern of treaty law had not yet become apparent to many. I was fascinated by the subject and its implications.

There were other refreshingly new courses that year and new professors, among them Raymond Moley, not yet a Roosevelt brain truster. We young people were intrigued by the possibilities of participation in government control and the various means of achieving this. In our enthusiasm we passed on to our students at Hunter what we had learned. We challenged the traditional thinking they had brought to college with them.

Before long we were saying that the radicals today are the conservatives of tomorrow, that there could be no progress if there were no radicals. I have since had many occasions to see that this cataloguing of people as either "right" or "left" has led to confusion. It sounds so simple

and so right. By using the schematic device one puts the Communists on the left and then one regards them as advanced liberals — after which it is easy to regard them as the enzyme necessary for progress.

Communists usurp the position of the left, but when one examines them in the light of what they really stand for one sees them as the rankest of reactionaries and communism as the most reactionary backward leap in the long history of social movements. It is one which seeks to obliterate in one revolutionary wave two thousand years of man's progress.

During my thirteen years of teaching at Hunter I was to repeat this semantic falsehood many times. I did not see the truth that people are not born "right" or "left" nor can they become "right" or "left" unless educated on the basis of a philosophy as carefully-organized as communism.

I was among the first of a new kind of teacher. The mark of the decade was on us. I read widely on imperialism. I discovered the John Dewey Society and the Progressive Education Association. I became aware of the popular concept of the social frontier. I repeated glibly that we had reached the last of our natural frontiers and that new ones must be social. There would be, we were told, in the near future a collective society in our world and especially in our country, and in teaching students one must prepare them for that day.

That year I learned that George Counts, an associate of John Dewey, like him a philosopher and theorist on education, had gone to Russia. He had, of course, been there before. In fact, he had set up the educational system of the revolutionary period for the Russian Government. He had translated the Russian Primer into English and was eager to have American teachers study it. He promised a report on Russian schools when he returned.*

I began to feel in me a desire to become a citizen of the world. It was a desire that made it easy and natural for me to accept communism and its emphasis on internationalism.

I did not realize what I now know, and have come to know through much turmoil of spirit, that significance is all about us and that it comes from order. There was no order in my life. I had no pattern by which to arrange it. I was moved by feelings and emotions and an accumulation of knowledge which brought me no joy of living.

IN the summer of 1927 I received my Master of Arts degree. That fall I made a sharp switch in my career. Tired of graduate work, I entered New York University Law School. I taught morning and evening classes at Hunter College and attended my law classes in the afternoon. I liked the study of law; it was a discipline worth mastering. I did not expect to practice law. I thought of myself as a teacher.

As a young instructor disturbed by the conflicting currents among the intellectuals, I turned to Sarah Parks for advice. But now her absorption with college politics had a quality of desperation. I did not feel that the situation warranted the extremes of emotion she poured into it. I did not know then that I was to follow in her footsteps.

When in January, 1928, she committed suicide I was thrown into an emotional tailspin. Her death had a pro-

*ED.'s NOTE: The influence of George Counts and John Dewey on public schools in the United States is further described in *Facts Forum News* condensation of the book, *Education or Indoctrination*, by Mary L. Allen. See issue for April, 1956, beginning p. 40.

Earl Browder, leader of Pan Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, a subsidiary of the Comintern, 1927-1929; General Secretary of the Communist Party of America, 1929; Communist Party presidential candidate, 1936 and 1940; President Communist Political Association, January, 1944 to July, 1945; expelled from the Party, February, 1946; thereafter, represented Soviet publishing firms in the United States; presently a consultant to the Fund for the Republic.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

found effect on those of us whom she had influenced. We felt that she thought as a collectivist but lived as an individualist and that this was her failure. We did not recognize that life had become unbearable to her because of the disorder of her thinking which inevitably led to self-destruction. Careful not to continue on the path which led to her suicide, I was to take a longer, more deceptive, yet parallel road toward annihilation.

During the spring of 1930 I prepared for the examination for admission to the New York Bar. The examination over, I requested a leave of absence from the college and with my friend Beatrice left for Europe. I wanted to escape from responsibility. I was young; I wanted to enjoy life.

It was a trip rich in new contacts. With a capacity to make friends I found people of interest in every walk of life in the different countries we visited. It was on this trip that I was to meet my future husband, John Dodd.

I found friends from Hunter College at the University of Berlin. I was conscious of the fact that here politics had become a matter of life and death. I did not then, as now, realize that for close to a century the educational world of Germany had been subjected to systematic despiritualization which could result only in the dehumanization now apparent. This made it possible for such despiritualized men to serve both the Nazi and later the Communist power with terrifying loyalty and efficiency.

And now I insisted on a trip not on our schedule — I wanted to go to Dresden and see the Sistine Madonna. It was worth the long trip. The day in Dresden was my happiest in Germany.

In Vienna, I was struck by the fact that those who deplored the blight that was upon them had no standard to which to rally. They were frightened. There was a longing to return to the past, but not the slightest awareness as to where they were going.

Venice was a highly sophisticated, gay, brittle, materialistic city. It was overrun by men in uniform. Practically one out of three was a soldier.

When we reached Florence I found that even fascism was unable to corrode the unbelievably beautiful symbols of the past. I loved being in Florence. The delicate restraint of its scenery and of its architecture seemed to

reflect the character of the people. The simplest shopgirl looked like one of Raphael's models.

I was continually amazed to see the diversity and the beauty of the past culture of the cities of Italy. Venice was unlike Florence. Verona and Bologna were a world apart from Rome. In this day, when there is so much talk about mass culture and so many worship, or are frightened into, an acceptance of the idea of world government, I look back to the joy I had in the past culture of these little city-states and wonder if the art and architecture of our day will ever achieve the beauty of that of earlier times.

Beatrice and I went to Paris, where I picked up my mail at the American Express office. Ruth [a classmate] had cabled, "You passed both parts of the bar exam." My mother and father wrote, "Come home. We are lonely without you."

On the boat returning home I met a group of New York City schoolteachers, who told me they belonged to the Teachers Union. I promised to join as an evidence of my willingness to throw in my lot with the working class, even though I did not think the Union could be of help to me personally.

In New York I went to meetings of the Teachers Union. There was much strife between groups seeking control. I did not see why intelligent adults should struggle so hard to control an organization which was in numbers small and insignificant. I was dumfounded to find distinguished professors such as John Dewey and George Counts involved in the controversy. Later, when I understood left-wing politics, I became aware of the significance of this beachhead.

The collapse of the stock market did not immediately affect my family for we had no money invested in stocks or bonds. Therefore it was not difficult for me to leave my post at Hunter College in 1930 to serve a clerkship for my admission to the New York Bar. I worked at a nominal salary in the office of Howard Hilton Spellman, who was an excellent lawyer and was writing several texts on corporation law.

I saw a great deal of John Dodd whom I had met in Europe. John's family lived in Floyd County, Georgia.

One morning in late September, John and I were married. I knew how devoted he was to the South and its people. We went to visit his home. I had never been South before. John's people were not plantation owners nor did they have sharecroppers. They owned a lot of land and worked it themselves. The women worked as hard as the men. I was struck by the independence and sturdiness of the people. Never after that first visit did I read morbid literature on the South without a sense of resentment at the twisted picture it gave of a section which has great reservoirs of strength, based not on material wealth but on the integrity of its people.

By 1932 my family felt the results of the depression. My father's business had come to a standstill. John, too, was meeting financial difficulties. I therefore decided to return to my post at Hunter College.

I was stunned by the fury of the impact of the depression on my family and those around me. I watched the line of pale, pinched faces of people who stood before the closed doors of the Bowery Savings Bank on Forty-second Street. They reminded me of the anxious faces I had seen in Hamburg and Berlin a few years before. I saw men obviously once in good circumstances line up around the

block for soup and coffee at mission houses. I saw them furtively pick up cigaret butts from the streets.

I had not been back at Hunter long before I found myself involved in discussions on the economic problems of the staff below professorial ranks. Many instructors and other staff members were underpaid and had no security of tenure or promotion. We organized the Hunter College Instructors Association and I became one of the leading forces in it.

The election in 1932 of Fiorello LaGuardia as mayor was to New York City what the Roosevelt administration was to the country.

The recognition in 1933 in Washington of the USSR brought a tremendous change in the activities of the Communists on our college campus. Recognition brought respectability; it led to the organization of such groups as Friends of the Soviet Union, which was led by engineers and social workers and which soon extended to the world of art and science and to education in general.

One hears a great deal about the influence of teachers on their students. During this early period of communistic influence on the campus, Hunter students and City College students had a much greater effect on their teachers.

Almost overnight and seemingly from nowhere organization arose. Groups of the Young Communist League and the League for Industrial Democracy — an organization originating in England among the Fabians — appeared in our midst, small dedicated bands of young people. This soon led to mass groups.

I was very conscious of one thing: These organizations were not springing up spontaneously; some creating group was behind them. But the student answer was spontaneous, immediate.

In the early thirties, people who were in unorthodox movements, or who had lost their ties with society, were pulled along by the cyclonic fury of the Communist movement. Without a positive program of their own, they were drawn into the well-integrated, well-financed movement which was suddenly legalized with the American recognition of the Soviet Union.

In preparing a country for revolution, the Communist Party tries to enlist the masses, the unattached people; they have less to lose and are first to capitulate to organized excitement. Many who were caught up in the Party, either from need or from desire, included the unemployed, the fighters against fascism, the foreign-born, the racial and religious minorities. Even today I can understand the attraction it had for intellectual proletariat. It was as if a great family welcomed them as members.

I often marveled at the sacrifices made by these Communist Party members. In my classes at Hunter were Young Communist Leaguers who would go without lunch to buy paper and ink and other items for propaganda leaflets. Their emaciated faces made my heart ache. Their half-hearted participation in their studies, their frequent cutting of classes, their sacrifice of academic standing to fulfill some task assigned, were sad to see. I saw college girls exploited by cold Party hacks. They were expendable — in their places would come other wide-eyed, eager young people with a desire for sacrifice.

It was an infectious thing, this comradeship; it often helped in dire need such as "rent parties," where Communists gathered money to pay the rent for some comrade. Personal aid did much to overcome the doctrinaire aridity

of orders by the bureaucrats (the skeleton staff of which stands ready to take over when revolution comes to pass).

The Class Room Teachers had two tasks: to convert teachers to a revolutionary approach to problems, and to recruit members for the Communist Party. It became clear that before long the Teachers Union, including the Class Room Teachers, would be controlled by the Reds.

I DID not become a Communist overnight. It came a little at a time. I had been conditioned by my education and association to accept this materialistic philosophy. Now came new reasons for acceptance: I was grateful for Communist support in the struggles for improved economic conditions of the Instructors Association. I admired the selfless dedication of many who belonged to the Party. I was not interested in long-range Party objectives but I did welcome their assistance on immediate issues. I respected the way they fought for the forgotten man. So I did not argue about the "dictatorship of the proletariat" or its implications.

I was not the only American who thought one could go along with the good things the Communists did and then reject their objectives. It was a naïve idea and many of us were naïve. I learned over the years that if you stumbled from weariness they simply marched over you. I became the tool of a secret, well-organized world power.

I learned that Lenin held in contempt unions interested only in economic betterment of workers; that unions which followed a reformist policy were guilty of "economism"; that trade unions are useful only when they win workers' acceptance of revolution. I saw senseless strikes called and prolonged.

Communists have no hesitation about bringing unknown people forward into leadership — the more callow or ill-equipped the better, since they will be more easily guided by the Party. If tactics change, they drop them quickly.

The Communist Party used the emotional appeal of anti-fascism to bring people into acceptance of communism, by posing fascism and communism as alternatives. Some of the same forces which gave Hitler his start also started Lenin and his staff of revolutionaries to St. Petersburg to begin the Revolution which was to result in the Soviet totalitarian state. I, myself, swallowed the Party's lies in the Spanish Civil War. The Communist publicists took for their own the pleasant word of Loyalist and called all who opposed them "Franco-Fascists." This confused many.

EARL Browder, as chief of the Communist Party, emphasized the importance of relying on Stalin who was building socialism in Russia, and only on Stalin because of his shrewdness in dealing with all, even with enemies of the working class, such as English and American capitalists.

Attending conventions took much of my time. No convention of teachers in the United States went unnoticed by the Communist Party. Particular attention was given to pushing federal aid to the public school program. Quiet Albert Blumberg from Johns Hopkins University was the shrewdest Communist agent in the American Federation of Teachers.

There is no doubt that Earl Browder was close to the seats of world power. The men who paid their hundred-dollar admissions and contributed thus to school funds became part of the group which Earl Browder was to call "progressive businessmen," meaning those willing to go

along with an international program of communism. The lure was expanded profits from trade with the Soviet. The price paid was unimportant to these well-fed, well-heeled men, who felt the world was their oyster. The price was respectability for communism at home and leadership of the Soviets abroad.

I gave up my Hunter College work; I felt I could not serve two masters. I did not see communism as a conspiracy; I regarded it as a philosophy of life which glorified the "little people."

My father died in 1939, my mother in 1941. My husband had obtained a divorce; shortly thereafter I heard he remarried. These events led me to throw myself completely into my work for the Party.

By January, 1944, I was firmly established at Party headquarters on the ninth floor of the building owned by the Party at 35 East Twelfth Street. There I organized the legislative program of the Party; but, more important still, I supervised the legislative work of the unions, chiefly the unions of government workers on a state, local, and national level, of the mass organizations of women, and of the youth organizations.

All over the building there was a noticeable feeling of excitement and optimism. Browder's book, *Victory and After*, placed Communist participation in the mainstream of American life. At a state board meeting Gil Green, New York State chairman of the Communist Party, gave a talk on the new era at hand, and startled us with perspectives new to those who been brought up on Lenin's thesis that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. Gil now said that the age of imperialism had come to an end, that Teheran had canceled out Munich, and that Soviet-American unity would continue indefinitely after the war. Together, he added, the United States and the Soviet would solve the world's colonial problems and indeed all other world problems.

THROUGH December, 1943, we at headquarters had heard nothing but Teheran. What had happened at that conference was by no means clear to us. We did know that Browder was writing another book dealing with it. We also knew that Teheran was now the password, that it meant maximum cooperation of Communists with all groups and all classes. The artists and writers who followed the Communists began to interpret Teheran in their work. For every activity Teheran was the key. Huge murals commemorated it as well as café-society songs and political skits. For some time this line brought a pleasant sense of security, but by January we heard rumblings of trouble from the ninth floor as they prepared for the coming Party convention.

Dissension had arisen among the leaders. Sam Darcy, the Party organizer from California, disagreed with the proposed change of Party line and Gil announced the Politburo decision to expel Darcy. A vote was taken supporting the action of the national Politburo. Like all votes in the Communist Party, it was unanimous. I was startled by the anger displayed against this man. Only a few days before they had all called him "comrade." With the expulsion of the dissident Darcy, peace reigned again. We were confident of the Party's importance in the current American scene.

The convention that year was held at Riverside Plaza, a hotel on West Seventy-second Street. The Party machine worked with planned precision. The American Communist

Party dissolved itself and then by another resolution the delegates re-established it under the name of the Communist Political Association, which brought me to its top leadership. I was now supposed to be part of the inner circle.

The new change of name puzzled many both in and out of the Party. I knew that one immediate reason was to lay the basis for leadership of the Communists for the re-election of Roosevelt, since Earl Browder was the first to call publicly for his re-election to a fourth term. I also knew that the new name had a less ominous sound to American ears. Even so, it had been a drastic thing to do.

Those who thought they knew the reason explained it to me thus: The current line in world communism was now based on the Roosevelt pledge to the Soviet Union of mutual coexistence and continued postwar Soviet-American unity. If that pledge were kept and if the march to world Communist control could be achieved by a diplomatic unity arising out of official Soviet-American relations, then there would be no need of a militant class-struggle party. The Communist Political Association would become a sort of Fabian Society, doing research and engaged in promoting social, economic, and political ideas to direct America's development into a full-fledged Socialist nation.

THE convention over, we turned to the most important item on the Party's agenda, the re-election of President Roosevelt for a fourth term. For this end the National Committee met immediately after the convention.

My duties were various. I continued to exercise control over the Communist teachers. I had been able to lay the basis for affiliation of the Teachers Union with the NEA. As an official member of the New York State Board of the Party and on the state committee, I was second to Gil Green in charge of political campaigns. I was assigned two immediate tasks: the defeat of Hamilton Fish in the Twenty-ninth Congressional District and the building of a New York division of the progressive farmers and businessmen for re-election of Roosevelt. In this election the Communists served as the major co-ordinating factor.

New York, because of its large voting power, was the directive center of the campaign. Press releases from New York, enlarged on by the leading New York papers, set the line for hundreds of newspapers and radio stations in the hinterland.

For the success of this election the American Labor Party moved into high gear. The New Liberal Party, organized by Alex Rose and David Dubinsky, along with George Counts and John Childs, also played an important role. This latter group differentiated itself from the Communists and often attacked them. In reply the Communists attacked them, even though they were on the same side in the election campaign. It was fascinating to see how easily the Party personnel acclimated itself to its new role of pulling all forces together. They rubbed elbows with district leaders, with underworld characters, and with old-line political bosses.

While I was in active work I was reasonably happy, but when the campaign was over and Roosevelt re-elected, I found myself depressed. One reason was a peculiar struggle for power which I saw emerging. Disputes began to develop between open and concealed Communists. These disputes were resolved by Browder himself, if necessary, and always in favor of the concealed members. I felt a



Building owned by the Communist Party, at 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City. First floor: Workers' Bookshop and entrance to elevators. Second floor, leased to other business. Third floor: New York County Communists. Fourth floor: storage rooms of International Publishers, the Communist book-publishing firm headed by Comrade Trachtenberg. Fifth floor: New York State Communists. Sixth floor: Jewish Commission, and offices of Yiddish paper, the "Freiheit." Seventh and eighth floors, "Daily Worker." Ninth floor: Headquarters of the Communist Party, U.S.A.

growing competition between these groups, and I wanted to run away from it.

I worked for a while with the Communist Youth who were just starting a campaign in favor of universal military training. This campaign did not seem to fit in with the Teheran perspective for a long-term peace, nor with the happy optimism that was promoted when the Nazi armies were broken and peace seemed near. All straws in the wind pointed to ultimate state control of the people.

When the Yalta conference had ended, the Communists prepared to support the United Nations Charter which was to be adopted at the San Francisco conference to be held in May and June, 1945.

The two campaigns were geared to two different purposes: the need to control the people in the postwar period, and the need to build a world-wide machine to preserve peace. The Communist leaders were not envisioning a peace mechanism without armies.

BY April, 1945, there was evidence of trouble in the Communist Party. Two foreigners appeared in our midst, recently come from Italy: Berti and Donnini, a smooth, attractive pair. They represented the international Communist movement and it was clear that Browder's approach to the national problem was in disfavor with some sections of world communism. These two men were responsible for translating and giving to the Scripps-Howard press a

letter by Jacques Duclos, published previously in a Communist magazine in France. This letter was to change the whole course of the Communist movement in this country.

The letter, which appeared in the *World-Telegram* in May, 1945, ridiculed the Browder line of unity, his Teheran policy, and charged the American Communists with having betrayed the principles of Marx and Lenin. It branded Browder as a crass "revisionist" of Marxism-Leninism, and called for his removal from office. Immediate confusion and hysteria permeated the Party.

A palace revolution was taking place at Twelfth Street, with William Z. Foster leading the forces of Marxist fundamentalism. The large corps of job-holders in the Party, frightened, confessed in private and in public meetings that they had been remiss in their duty; there were demonstrations of public self-flagellation that stirred in me feelings of disgust and pity.

It was clear that we were now to believe again that imperialism was the last stage of capitalism, that it would inevitably lead to war and the Communist revolution, and that the United States was the worst offender. Again we were to despise our own country as an exploiter of the workers.

This was certainly a turn-about-face, a complete repudiation of a policy which [previously] had not only the unanimous support of Communist leadership in the United States, but the open support of the Soviet Union. We had even been told that the Teheran policy had been prepared with the assistance of Ambassador Oumansky, the accredited representative from the USSR to the United States.

Today it is obvious that after Stalin had gained diplomatic concessions at Yalta, and after the Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks conferences had placed concealed American Communists in positions of power, world communism did not want the patriotic efforts of Earl Browder and his band of open Communists who longed for participation in American affairs. Only later did I learn that Foster's belated opposition to the Teheran line the year before had been suggested through private channels from abroad, as preparation for the upheaval of 1945. Browder was caught off guard and unprepared.

The National Committee met for three days; meetings began early, lasted late; excoriated Browder. I was named to serve on a temporary committee of thirteen to interview members, estimate the extent of their revisionist errors, and recommend to the National Convention those who should be dropped and those who should be retained.

My work on that committee I shall never forget. The procedure was fascinating, fantastic — the nearest thing to purge trials I have ever seen.

One by one the leaders appeared before this committee. We waited for them to speak. Men showed remorse for having offended or betrayed the working class. They tried desperately to prove that they themselves were of that working class, had no bourgeois background, were unspoiled by bourgeois education. They talked of Browder as if he were a bourgeois Satan who had lured them into error. Now they grieved over their mistakes and unctuously pledged that they would study Marx-Lenin-Stalin carefully, and never betray the working class again.

It was weird to see tall, raw-boned Roy Hudson (from the Central Committee, and Browder's labor specialist) pick and choose his words with pathetic care, to hear him plead, as if it were a boast, that all he had was a third-

grade education and that he came from a poverty-stricken background. It was weird to hear Robert Thompson, a prominent Communist leader, talk about his proletarian father and mother.

As I listened to this insistence on poverty and lack of formal education as the qualifications for admission to the Party, I turned to Alexander Trachtenberg, one of the Committee.

"I don't think I belong here," I said. "My father became a successful businessman and we owned a house and I went to college."

Trachtenberg, himself a well-educated man, caught the irony. He stroked his walrus mustache and said reassuringly: "Don't worry about that. Remember Stalin studied to be a priest and Lenin came from a well-to-do family and studied to be a lawyer. You must be a proletarian or identify yourself with the proletariat. That's all."

As the comrades continued to come in before the examining committee the thought came to me that there was not one real worker among them. Foster, though he affected the khaki shirt of a workman, hadn't done a stroke of work in a long time. He had been sitting in little rooms and planning revolutions and conniving for power for twenty-five years. Thompson and Gil Green had graduated from school right into the Young Communist League. Thompson had gone to Spain as a commissar of the Lincoln Brigade and when he returned he worked for the Party, and Gil became a functionary at an early age.

That was the pattern of these American revolutionaries and I felt as I looked at them that they really could know little about the ordinary worker.

At the end of June the Emergency Convention met. The debate and argument that went on I can compare only to conversation in a nightmare. Confusion and universal suspicion reigned. Close friends became enemies. Little cliques sprang up everywhere. Browder appeared briefly at the convention to address it. He was most conciliatory, saying he approved the establishing of a new line. He promised to cooperate. When he finished, there was scattered applause in which I joined. I was sitting at a table with Israel Amter, a Party leader, and I caught his beady black eyes fixed on me. Months later he brought me up on charges of having applauded Browder.

The convention voted to dissolve the Communist Political Association and to re-establish the Communist Party. It voted to rededicate itself to its revolutionary task of establishing a Soviet America. It voted to intensify Marxist-Leninist education. It voted to oust Browder as leader. It voted to return to the use of the word "comrade." As for me, I became allergic to that word. I had seen too many uncomradely acts.

When Browder left for Moscow with a Soviet visa I hoped a change would come on his return. So I held on. Strange as it seems, the last illusion to die in me was the illusion about the Soviet Union. I did not know then that the new line was made in Moscow. Faith in the Soviet Union was deeply etched.

I ran into conflict after conflict with Thompson. He was Moscow-trained, morose, and unstable. He surrounded himself with strong-arm men and moved in swiftly to destroy anyone who thwarted him.

As 1945 dragged into spring, 1946, it was clear that William Z. Foster and Eugene Dennis had been ordered to take over the Party but did not know what to do with it.

The depression in the United States predicted by a Soviet group had not materialized and Foster and his aides, all poised for the revolutionary movement, were unable to agree on what to do. It became obvious there would be no Party convention in 1946.

In January, 1946, the National Board decided to expel Earl Browder from the Party. The charges were that he advanced and maintained Keynesian ideas, that he had been politically passive, and had failed to attend local meetings. His expulsion was approved by the National Committee. The cruelty of such treatment for a past leader can be possible only in this strange movement, where there is no charity, no compassion, and, in the end, total elimination of those who have served it.

LATE in 1945 had come word from Moscow it was important that America be organized into an international movement, ostensibly for peace. So during the next months I helped organize the United States branch, called the Congress of American Women.

Since it was supposedly a movement for peace, it attracted many women. It was really only a renewed offensive to control American women, a matter of deep importance to the Communist movement, for American women do 80 per cent of the family spending. In the upper brackets they own a preponderance of capital stock and bonds. They are important in the making of political decisions. Like youth and minority groups, they are regarded as a reserve force of the revolution because they are more easily moved by emotional appeals. So the Soviet campaign for peace was especially geared to gain the support of women.

From the day of the Emergency Convention there had been efforts to bring every Party member into support of the new leadership. From 1945 to 1947 several thousands were expelled, individually, with the refinement of terror in the purge technique. Two main reasons were given for expulsion: One was guilty either of leftism or of rightism.

A stealthy campaign had begun against me. Twice they concocted a charge of white chauvinism against me. These charges were too slim to be sustained, but they concocted others. Bill Norman, the state secretary, called me to his office. I told him frankly that I wanted to get out of the Party. He fixed his eyes on me and said, "Dodd, no one gets out of the Party. You die or you are thrown out. But no one gets out."

The work of the 1946 elections was masterfully contrived. The Republican Party had decided on a strong campaign against Vito Marcantonio, one of the ablest men in Congress, but also the recognized voice of the Communists. There were others in Congress who served them effectively, but none so capable or so daring in the promotion of Party objectives. I was put to work in the primary and election campaign in Marcantonio's district — the upper Tenth, from Ninety-sixth Street to 106th Street, and from the East River to Fifth Avenue. It was one of the worst slums in New York; the one oasis was the new housing project on the East River.

In the registration campaign the teachers helped hundreds to pass the literacy tests. Many hours were spent helping these adults to qualify for the right to vote. We practically doubled the registration figures. The election campaign was bitter. Among our opponents was Scottorriggio, who interfered with our campaign workers; hatred reached a high pitch.

On election day I opened my headquarters at five in the morning, served coffee and buns to my captains and then proceeded to make assignments. While we were drinking coffee we listened to the radio on my desk, and heard that Scottorriggio, on his way to the polls, had been assaulted by four men and was in a hospital with a fractured skull.

WE won the election. Scottorriggio died of his injuries. The district was thrown into uproar. All my captains were called in for questioning, among them little Tony Lagana, who was taken to the 104th Street station and held for many hours. What happened there I do not know nor whom he implicated, nor how fast the information got to those he implicated. They finally let him go. That night he disappeared; several months later his body was found in the East River.

I was interrogated at the district attorney's office. Asked why I had become a Communist, I said with the practiced intensity of long habit: "Because only Communists seemed to care about what was happening to people in 1932 and 1933." But I no longer had the same deep conviction about the Party's championship of the poor and dispossessed. I know now that its activities were conceived in duplicity and ended in betrayal.

The sessions of the December, 1946, National Committee were notable for their long-spun-out, fantastic justification of the line of "self-determination of the Negro in the black belt." Only the intelligence and patience of Negro leaders in America have made possible resistance to this michievous theory, contrived by Stalin, and now unleashed by Foster.

Briefly told, it is the theory that the Negroes in the South form a nation, a subjugated nation with the desire to become free, and that the Communists are to give them all assistance. The Party proposed to develop the national aspirations of the Negro people so that they would rise up and establish themselves as a nation with the right to secede from the United States. It was a theory not for the benefit of the Negroes but to spur strife, and to use the American Negro in the world Communist propaganda to win over the colored people of the world. Ultimately, the Communists proposed to use them as instruments in the revolution to come in the United States.

DURING the latter months of 1947 my world was shifting all about me. The certitude I had known so long in the Communist Party was gone. I was ill in mind and often in body, too, for I had a constant and terrible fear that every effort was being made to destroy me. I had watched the pitiless and methodical destruction of others.

I turned to my law practice and sought to forget my fears by immersing myself in work, but inwardly I was so disturbed that my work suffered. I did not know how and when the ax would fall. I knew my office was still under constant surveillance and I had no way of stopping it. Certain agents from Communist headquarters made a practice of visiting me at regular intervals trying to get me to take part in some meaningless activity. I knew well that was not the reason they came.

The finances of the Party were never discussed at state or national committee meetings. No financial reports were given. Periodically we planned drives to raise money, usually by asking a day's or week's wages from workers. Of

course I knew that the Party had other sources of income.

During the war I became aware that the Party had an interest in a certain machine plant engaged in war contracts and that it drew revenue from it. I had long known that the Party had an interest in printing and lithograph plants, and in stationery and office supplies — shops where all the unions and mass organizations directed their business through office managers who were Party members.

Several night clubs were started with the assistance of wealthy political figures snagged by some of the most attractive "cheesecake" in the Party. I used to sympathize with these pretty Communists when some of them rebelled because they said they were not being given sufficient Marxist education. Instead, their time went into calling on men and women of wealth, in an effort to get them to open their pocketbooks. These girls, nearly all of them college graduates, and some of them writers for slick magazines, were mostly from out of town and still had a fresh-faced look and an innocent charm.

I noted that after a while they forgot their eager desire for more Marxist education and developed keen competition for private lists of suckers and private telephone numbers. These young women were capable of raising fabulous sums. They raised the first money for the night clubs which have been called Bill Browder's Folly, Bill being Earl's brother. But these night clubs paid off in money and in political prestige. They were also the means of attracting scores of talented young people who got their first chance to perform, and at the same time had the excitement of knowing they were part of a secret movement.

THE Party boys who had worked on congressional committees, like the Truman committee which investigated the condition of the small businessman, had made valuable contacts for the Party in the business world. They steered the establishment of the Progressive Businessmen's Committee for the election of Roosevelt. Through them the Party had entree into local chambers of commerce and conservative business organizations like the Committee on Economic Development, in which Roy Hudson's wife held an important research job. Party economic researchers, accountants, and lawyers got jobs with various conservative planning groups in Republican and Democratic Party setups and in nonpartisan organizations.

The director of much of this activity was William Wiener, head of Century Publishers, who was known as the top financial agent of the Communist movement, and also operated a large financial empire. Wiener had a number of financial pools operating to gather in capital from wealthy, middle-class Party people. They maintained offices with scores of accountants and attorneys from whom the Communist movement drew reserves. There were doll factories, paint and plastic-manufacturing firms, chemical firms, tourist travel bureaus, import-export companies, textiles and cosmetics, records for young people, theatrical agencies. In 1945 several corporations were established for trade with China. Under direction of Wiener and others, such corporations hired and maintained a different type of Communist, better dressed, better fed, more sophisticated, and much more venomous.

The export-import group was especially interesting. I met one man who was making regular flying trips to Czechoslovakia, engaged in the deadly business of selling arms and ammunition, for today the Communist agent engaged in international trade is far more effective than

the old-type political agitator.

That spring I worked at my law practice and tried to build a private life for myself. I outwitted a number of well-laid plans to injure me. I hoped against hope that I would be permitted to drift away from the Party. After all a million and more Americans had drifted into and out of it. But I knew they were not likely to allow anyone who had reached a position of importance to do so.

I had withdrawn from most activity with them, except that I continued as Party contact for the Party teachers' groups. Now I was replaced even there, I was not attending Party meetings. Nevertheless, when I received a notice I decided to go to the state convention held that year in Webster Hall on the East Side. There I found I was a marked person, that people were afraid to be seen sitting with me.

As a member of the National Committee I had an obligation to attend the National Convention of 1948, but I decided I had punished myself enough. There was no reason for me to go; there was nothing I could do. Perhaps when that was over, when I was no longer a member of the National Committee, they would drop me entirely. Evidently some of the leaders had thought I might go to the convention and had planned a means to silence me. Just before the convention the discipline committee ordered me to appear before it on the ninth floor.

I knew I did not have to obey. I was an American citizen with the right to be free of coercion. I did not have to go to Twelfth Street and ride the dingy elevator to the ninth floor. I did not have to face the tight-lipped men and women who kept the gates and doors locked against intrusion, or meet their scornful eyes. I did not have to go, but like an automaton I went.

When I left the elevator I went through the long, dark corridor into an untidy room. Suddenly I all but laughed with relief, for there sat three old men — I knew them well. Alexander Trachtenberg, with his little walrus mustache and his way of looking down his nose, said nothing as I came in. Pop Mindel, hero of the Communist training schools, whose bright brown eyes were usually merry, had no smile for me. The third was Jim Ford, a Negro leader whose look at me at distant and morose.

I greeted them and sat down. I waited for them to speak, but they sat there in silence until finally I grew uneasy. "Will this take long?" I asked Trachtenberg.

"How are you feeling?" he asked with no concern whatever in his voice.

I hedged. "I've been ill, Comrade Trachtenberg."

"But you are all right now?"

"Yes," I said. "I guess I'm all right now."

"We want to ask you a few questions."

"Here it comes," I thought, and braced myself. And then I found myself saying inwardly, "Dear God, dear God," with such intensity that it seemed I had spoken aloud. "We hear you attacked the Cominform," said Trachtenberg, half-asking, half-accusing me. Then he stated the time and place where I had done it.

This I could answer. I explained carefully that I had criticized the *Daily Worker* statement which said the reason the Communist Party in America had not joined the Cominform was that it would be dangerous to do so. I had pointed out that this was a false statement and that no one would believe it.

They listened to my brief explanation. They did not say

yea or nay. Pop Mindel's eyes got smaller, his lips more tightly compressed. There was another interval of silence; then Trachtenberg said, "We hear you do not like Thompson."

"Really, Comrade Trachtenberg, whether I like Thompson or not has nothing to do with the case," I said. Nevertheless I went on to explain my feeling about him: that he was a menace to the lives of American workers; that he endangered the safety of our members.

The next question was unexpected.

"Were you born a Catholic?"

"Yes," I said. The three shrewd men knew I had been born a Catholic; they knew I had followed no religion for many years. Why the question?

They did not continue the inquiry. Suddenly Trachtenberg asked why I was not active any longer in membership.

I hedged. "I am still not quite well, Comrade Trachtenberg. And I have personal problems. Let me alone until I can find myself again."

There was another long silence. "Shall I go?" I asked at last.

"You will hear from us again," said Trachtenberg.

I was dismissed, and walked out, still wondering about this strange interrogation that had no beginning and no end.

A NEW plan against me developed in the following weeks, a strategy of slurs, character defamation, harassments. The Party decided to blacken my character publicly.

The incident used as an excuse for my formal expulsion from the Party was of no importance in itself. The way in which it was handled was symptomatic of Party methods.

A Czechoslovakian woman lived in a small three-story building on Lexington Avenue, where she served as janitor from 1941 to 1947. Her husband was permanently incapacitated and she was the sole support of the family. Acting as janitor and working as a domestic, she managed to keep her family together.

In 1947 the owner of the building decided to sell it. The woman, afraid she would lose both her apartment and her job, made up her mind to buy it, and borrowed the money to do so. Thus she became technically a landlord; her daily life remained the same. She became involved with her tenants and came to me for help. I agreed to represent her. The court granted my plea.

One thing was clear: Only technically could she have been called a landlord. But the Communist leaders heard with delight that Bella Dodd had appeared as "attorney for a landlord." At last they had the excuse for getting me politically. Of course they could have simply expelled me, but they were looking for an excuse to expel me on charges that would besmirch my character. They must add something unforgivable: A charge of anti-Negro, anti-Semitism, and anti-working class was thrown in for good measure.

On May 6 a round-faced youth leader of the Communist Party came to my house; handed me a copy of written charges. When I said something about their falseness, after I glanced through them, he gave me a sneering look and instructed me to appear for trial the next day at the local section commission, a block from my house.

I climbed the endless stairs to the drab, dirty room with its smell of stale cigarets. A group was waiting for me; I

saw it consisted of petty employees of the Party, those at the lowest rung of the bureaucracy. The three women among them had faces hard and full of hate — Party faces, I thought, humorless and rigid. They sat there like fates ready to pass on the destinies of human beings. One woman, the chairman, was Finnish. Another, a Puerto Rican, began shouting [in] English too hysterical to be understood. The pudgy-faced boy was there. Of the three men I recognized one as a waiter and the other as a piccolo player whom I had befriended.

THIS was an odd kind of trial. The Commission had already made up its mind. I asked whether I could produce witnesses. The answer was "No." I asked if I might bring the woman involved in the case to let her state the story. The answer was "No." I asked if the Commission would come with me to her house and speak with her and the tenants. The answer was "No." Then I asked if I might bring a Communist lawyer. The answer was "No."

As simply as possible I tried to explain the facts. I realized I was talking to people who had been instructed, were hostile, and would continue so despite arguments or even proof. The Finnish chairman said that I would be informed of the result.

I was dismissed. My heart was heavy. The futility of my life overcame me. For twenty years I had worked with this Party. Now at the end I found myself with only a few shabby men and women, inconsequential Party functionaries, drained of all mercy, with no humanity in their eyes, with no good will.

I thought of others who had been through this; of others still to go through this type of terror. I shivered at thought of harsh, dehumanized people like these, filled with only the emotion of hate. I sorrowed for those who would be taken down the long road whose end I saw, now, was a dead end.

When I reached my own house and went in, I was tired and spent, as if I had returned from a long, nightmare journey.

Of course I was certain more trouble was in store. This step had been preliminary. For this expulsion had not originated in the dirty rooms of the Harlem Commission, but from Party headquarters on Twelfth Street, and perhaps from more distant headquarters. I dreaded the coming publicity.

On June 17, 1949, my telephone rang. "This is the Associated Press," said a voice. "We have received a statement from the Communist Party announcing your expulsion from membership. It says here that you are anti-Negro, anti-Puerto Rican, anti-Semitic, anti-labor, and the defender of a landlord. Have you any statement to make?"

"No comment," was all I could manage to say.

The New York papers carried the story the following day and three days later the *Daily Worker* reprinted the long resolution of expulsion, signed by Robert Thompson.

I BRACED myself for further attacks from the Party, and they came soon in terms of economic threats. Some of my law practice came from trade-union and Party members, and here action was swift. The union Communists told me there would be no more referrals to me. Party members who were my clients came to my office, some with their new lawyers, to withdraw their pending cases.

Reprisals came, too, in the form of telephone calls, letters, and telegrams of hate and vituperation, many from

people I did not know. What made me feel desolate were the reprisals from those I had considered friends. While I was busy with Party work I sometimes thought proudly of my hundreds of friends and how strong were the ties that bound us. Now those bonds were ropes of sand. I had failed to understand that the security I felt in the Party was that of a group, and that affection in that strange Communist world is never a personal emotion. You were loved or hated on the basis of group acceptance, and emotions were stirred or dulled by propaganda made by powerful people at the top. If rejection by an individual can cause the emotional destruction which our psychiatrists indicate, it cannot, in some ways, compare with the devastation produced by a group rejection. This, as I learned, is annihilating. I vainly told myself that this was a big world and that there were many people other than Communists in it. The world was a jungle in which I felt lost, hunted.

Before long my office was empty except for snoopers and creditors. I gave up my home and moved into a dingy room near my office. I would go to my office, sit and look out at Bryant Park and the Public Library. I had spent many hours in that library as student and teacher, hungry for knowledge. Unfortunately I never really satisfied that hunger — my reading in later years had been only Communist literature and technical material. There is no censorship of reading so close, so comprehensive, as that of the Party. I had often seen leaders pull books from shelves in homes and warn members to destroy them.

I had no desire to read now. The one book I did open was the New Testament which I had never stopped reading even in my days of darkest Party delusion.

I still remember the misery and darkness of the first Christmas alone. I stayed in my room all day. I remember the New Year which followed, when I listened with utter despair to the gaiety and noise from Times Square and the ringing bells of the churches. More than once I thought of leaving New York and losing myself in a strange town. But I did not go. Something stubborn in me told me I must see it through.

It was a strange and painful year. The process of freeing oneself emotionally from being a Communist is a thing no outsider can understand. But I had begun the process of "unbecoming" a Communist. I had to learn to think. I had to learn to love. I had to drain that hate and frenzy from my system. I had to dislodge the self and the pride that had made me arrogant.

ONE afternoon in March of that year an old acquaintance, Wellington Roe, breezed into my office. He asked if I had ever known Owen Lattimore. I said I had not. Had I ever known him to be a Party member? Again, no. I had heard of him vaguely, I said, as a British agent in the Far East.

A few weeks later he came again, with a man he introduced as Abe Fortas, Lattimore's attorney. The attorney asked if I would give him an affidavit saying I had not heard of Lattimore while I was a leader in the Communist Party. So I signed an affidavit to that effect, and thought that was the end of it.

I was naïve to think so. A few days later I was served with a subpoena by the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate. At the hearings I saw Lattimore for the first time. At a table with Senator Tydings sat Senator Green of Rhode Island, Senator McMahon of Connecticut, Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, and Senator Hickenlooper of Indiana. Back of them sat Senator McCarthy and Robert

Morris, whom I had known in 1939 and 1940 as one of the attorneys for the Rapp-Coudert Committee which had investigated New York City schools.

When Senator Hickenlooper began to throw questions at me I reacted with the hostility of a Communist, and gave slick, superficial answers, for I did not want to be drawn into what I regarded as a Democratic-Republican fight. On facts on which I had knowledge I told the truth. But when it came to questions of opinion I still reacted emotionally as a Communist and answered as a Communist. I had broken with the Party but was still conditioned by its thinking.

Something, however, happened to me at this hearing. I was at last beginning to see how ignorant I had become, how long since I had read anything except Party literature. I thought of our bookshelves stripped of books questioned by the Party, how when a writer was expelled from the Party his books went too. I thought of the systematic re-writing of Soviet history, of the successive purges. Suddenly I wanted the truth. I found myself hitting at the duplicity of the Communist Party.

MY appearance before the Tydings Committee renewed my interest in political events. I had at last spoken openly and critically of the Communist Party. I could now breathe again. I could read critically, and I lived again in the world so long lost to me. I found I was again able to interpret events. Now I realized that, with the best motives and a desire to serve the working people of my country, I, and thousands like me, had been led to a betrayal of these very people. I saw now that I had been poised on the side of those who sought the destruction of my own country.

I thought of an answer Pop Mindel, of the Party's Education Bureau, had once given me in reply to the question whether the Party would oppose the entry of our boys into the Army. I had asked this question at a time when the Communists were conducting a violent campaign for peace, and it seemed reasonable for me to draw pacifist conclusions. Pop Mindel sucked on his pipe and with a knowing look in his eyes said:

"Well, if we keep our members from the Army, then where will our boys learn to use weapons with which to seize power?"

I realized the Soviets had utilized Spain as a preview of the revolution to come. Now other peoples had become expendable — the Koreans, North and South, the Chinese soldiers, and the American soldiers. I found myself praying, "God, help them all."

What now became clear to me was the collusion between these two forces: the Communists with their timetable for world control, and certain mercenary forces in the free world bent on making profit from blood. But I was alone with these thoughts.

The year dragged on. The few people I came in contact with were as misplaced as myself. There were several, out of the Party like myself, struggling to find their way back to reality. One was being psychoanalyzed. Several were drinking themselves into numbed hopelessness. Sometimes I went to visit my family, my brothers and their children. But from these visits I returned more desolate than ever. I had lost my family; there was no returning.

Early in the fall of 1950 I went to Washington to argue an immigration appeal. I ran into an old friend, Christopher McGrath, the congressional representative of the Twenty-seventh District, the old East Bronx area of my

childhood. He greeted me warmly, invited me to his office. I was glad to go. He asked me if I wanted FBI protection, and I must have shivered noticeably. Though afraid, I was reluctant; he did not press the issue. Instead, he said: "I know you are facing danger, but if you won't have that protection, I can only pray for your safety."

He looked at me a moment, then asked: "Bella, would you like to see a priest?"

Startled by the question, I was amazed at the intensity with which I answered, "Yes, I would."

"Perhaps we can reach Monsignor Sheen at Catholic University," he said. An appointment was made for me late that evening at the Monsignor's home.

I was silent as we drove to Chevy Chase. A thousand fears assailed me. By what right, I thought, was I seeking the help of someone I had helped revile, if only by my silence? How dared I come?

I rang the doorbell and was ushered into a small room. Monsignor Fulton Sheen walked into the room, his silver cross gleaming, a warm smile in his eyes. He held out his hand.

"**D**OCTOR, I'm glad you've come," he said. His voice and his eyes had a welcome I had not expected, and it caught me unaware. I started to thank him for letting me come but I realized that the words did not make sense. I began to cry.

Monsignor Sheen put his hand on my shoulder to comfort me. "Don't worry," he said. "This thing will pass." He led me gently to a little chapel. We both knelt. The battle within me ceased, my tears were dried, and I was conscious of stillness and peace.

[Later] I began to receive instructions in the Faith. Week after week I listened to the patient telling of the story of God's love for man, and of man's longing for God. I read often long into the night. There were so many things I had to know. I had wasted so many precious years. In April I was baptized by Bishop Sheen at the font in St. Patrick's Cathedral. Afterward Bishop Sheen heard my first confession. He had noted that I was nervous in making my preparation, for I had to cover the many years in which I denied the truth. I meditated on the mockery I had made of my marriage; how I had squandered my birthright as a woman; on my twisted relationship with my parents; on the exaggerated pride of my mind; on the tolerance I had for error. He realized my despair and said comfortingly: "We priests have heard the sins of men, many times. Yours are no greater than those of others. Have confidence in God's mercy."

At Mass next morning I received Communion from his hands. And I prayed as I watched the flicker of the sanctuary lamp that the Light that had reclaimed me might reach the ones I loved who still sit in darkness. I was never to be lonely again, and when I prayed there was always the Presence of Him I prayed to.

As order and peace returned to my life I was able to face intelligently the difficult ordeal of appearing before governmental agencies and investigating committees. I dreaded hurting individuals who were perhaps as blind as I had been and who were still being used by the conspirators. I dreaded the campaign of personal abuse which would be renewed against me.

I formulated and tried to answer three critical questions: Does my country need the information I am called upon to give? Will I be scrupulous in telling the truth?

Will I be acting without malice?

I knew that honest citizens of our country were uninformed about Marxism and I recognized that in the best sense of the word, to "inform" means to "educate." Since avenues of education are blocked and twisted into propaganda by the agents of this conspiracy, my country needed the information I had to give.

When a person conditioned by a totalitarian group talks about the right not to incriminate himself, he really means the right not to incriminate the Communist group of which he is only a nerve end. When he talks of freedom of speech, he means freedom for the Communist group to speak as a group through the mouth of the individual who has been selected by the higher intelligence.

Now I saw in true perspective the contribution that the teachers and the schools of America have made to its progress. Justice Jackson has said it is the paradox of our times that we in modern society need to fear only the educated man. It is very true that what a man does with his knowledge is that which, in one sense, justifies or indicts that education. A glance at the brilliant scientists who served the Hitler régime, and the Soviet scholars who serve the Kremlin, a look at the men indicted for subversion in our own country — all lead us to re-estimate the role of education. We are told that all problems will be solved by more education. But the time has come to ask: "What kind of education?" "Education for what?" Rounded education includes training of the will as much as training of the mind; and mere accumulation of information, without a sound philosophy, is not education.

I saw how meaningless had been my own education, how like a cafeteria of knowledge, without purpose or balance. I was moved by emotion and my education failed to guide me in making sound personal and public decisions. It was not until I met the Communists that I had a standard to live by, and it took me years to find out it was a false standard.

There now emerges a new phenomenon. Students today are beginning to realize that training of the mind is of little value unless it is placed in the framework of eternal truths. Once again we witness an insistence upon the union of knowledge of the things of the spirit with those of the world. There is a growing demand that they no longer be severed.

I know that even if the Communists were sincere in the glittering promises they make, they would be incapable of fulfilling them, for they cannot create the kind of man needed for the task. Whatever apparent good the Communists have achieved has come through human beings who, despite the harsh materialism taught them, still retained a memory of God and who, even without realizing it, drew on eternal standards of truth and justice. But their store of such men is dwindling and, in spite of their apparent victories, men schooled in darkness are doomed to defeat.

New armies of men are rising, and these are sustained not by the Communist creed but by the credo of Christianity. And I am keenly conscious that only a generation of men so devoted to God that they will heed His command, "Love one another as I have loved you," can bring peace and order to our world.

END

NOTE: The complete book, *School of Darkness*, comprises 264 pages, is meticulously indexed, and is priced at \$4.00.

Book Reviews

VIOLENT TRUCE

By E. H. Hutchison

Devin-Adair Co., 23 E. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y., 1956, 199 pp. \$3.50.

Commander Hutchison, after service as an observer in the Mixed Armistice Commission in Jerusalem from November, 1951, took over the appointment as Chairman of the Commission in the summer of 1953, which post he held until November, 1954, all under the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization. In early 1956 he completed this record of his experiences in the Middle East — a record rounded out with maps, tables of statistics, camera shots, and specific case histories.

The new nation of Israel is on terms just short of all-out warfare with the three border states, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt. Why?

Because, says Hutchison, Israel's neighbors are dissatisfied with the existing Arab-Israel border line, which is guaranteed by the Tripartite Powers — the United States, the United Kingdom, and France; and which in many instances separates non-Israelis from their farms and from their sources of water and livelihood. Dissatisfaction exists because infiltration, smuggling, and reprisals have become commonplace; because Israel "refuses to talk of repatriation or territorial adjustments."

Commander Hutchison thinks the danger of war is imminent because to the Arab Nations "Israel's constant call for immigration — the ingathering of all Jews — means just one thing: eventual expansion." He says the danger is great because world Zionists have given Israel's "activists" a false sense of security, hence Israel claims "world political pressure that will bring backing for her every demand."

Communists in the USSR and in Czechoslovakia are more than interested spectators. They have shipped

arms to the Arabs, made overtures to Egypt, are obviously trying to move in on the rich oil fields, the productive lands, the convenient seaports of this favored area. The major deterrent to the spread of Sovietism is religious, not political, Middle Asia being preponderantly Moslem.

The following quotations from his book sum up Commander Hutchison's observations:

"An inescapable impression of the traveler in Israel is that the military takes precedence over everything. . . . With all that stands to Israel's credit today, a close study reveals some dis-

turbing facts. Here is a small country, armed to the teeth, strong in national spirit but sorrowfully lacking in foresight. With little to offer in natural resources, Israel is today tottering on an economic structure that is totally dependent on outside financial and technical aid, primarily furnished by the United States."

"The Powers who, with the desire to furnish asylum for Jewish refugees, backed the establishment of the State of Israel, now realize that by doing so they did not reduce the number of displaced persons in the world. The 900,000 Arab refugees, living in misery, are a grim reminder of this fact."

"The task of Israel today is to seek recognition as an asset rather than a threat to the Middle East."

SOCIAL SECURITY—Fact and Fancy

By Dillard Stokes

Henry Regnery Co., 20 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill., 1956, 208 pp. \$4.00.

Here is a concise history and exposition of Social Security as a whole subject, not just a fragment of certain aspects of the matter, as has been set forth in a total of 86,655,000 copies of thirty different booklets and leaflets put out by the Social Security Administration between 1950 and March 1, 1955.

The first Social Security law was voted by Congress in 1935 and, though limited, was definite and sound; there was no way a worker could lose money he paid into the system. The Act guaranteed that he or his estate would get it back with interest, while the 1935 Act was in force. Congress, however, reserved the right to alter the Act at will. This reservation kept Social Security from being a genuine contract between worker and government — a provision which many did not grasp.

The second Social Security Act

(1937) was of brief duration. It was an alteration of the first, and officially represented the theory that Social Security was not an insurance-and-annuity setup, but rather a public general-welfare program — on a tax, not a premium basis. On the theory that Social Security was a benevolence instead of a business, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Act. Strange to relate, the public was immediately thereafter informed that Social Security meant *insurance*; it is understandable that the typical American would not relish the idea of receiving charity in return for payment of forced, inescapable taxes.

With the greatly-changed third Social Security Act of 1939, "the money-back guarantee disappeared and its body has never been found." The requirement of actuarial soundness carefully written into the law of 1935 took wings in 1939, according to Mr.

(Continued on page 60)

Khrushchev Copies Stalin

(Continued from page 10)

It must be remembered that Stalin came into power by stressing that "the will of the party" must be observed, making certain that "the will of the party" was his will. In a similar manner Khrushchev now talks of "collective leadership" while making certain that the "collective leaders" are under his control.

That the criticism of Stalin is merely a maneuver is brought forth strongly by the article in *Pravda* of Moscow of March 28 and William Z. Foster's article in the *Daily Worker* of the same date. *Pravda* refers to the "great services" rendered by Stalin to "our party, the working class, and the international labor movement." It declares that "he fought actively, especially in the first years after Lenin's death, together with the other members of the central committee, for Leninism, against the distorters and foes of Lenin's teachings. Stalin was

one of the strongest Marxists. . ."

In a like vein, Foster writes that "Stalin, in his earlier years, earned an outstanding reputation as a Marxist. . ."

It is therefore clear that Stalin's "classic" works for guiding the Communists — the *Foundations of Leninism* and the *Problems of Leninism* written in his earlier years — remain guides for study and action for the Communists of the world. This is important, for it shows that communism remains the same in its determination to establish the world Soviet dictatorship, first undermining this nation by putting it in an unguarded position in its attitude toward Soviet Russia and its fifth column in this country.

It is obvious, then, that the Communists will seek:

1. To persuade American opinion and American leadership that "more and more Genevas" are advisable, to

bring about "peaceful coexistence."

2. That "peaceful coexistence," as the Communists have previously stated over and over again, can be assured only by the installment plan surrender by the United States of its defenses, including an expansion of "East-West trade" to build up the Soviet war machine, recognition of Red China, and the seating of that regime on the Security Council—which would be the greatest blow the United States ever gave itself. To these would be added the necessity for the disarming of the United States, including the giving up of our airbases abroad.

3. To persuade the American nation that the Communist Party is a genuine party and not a conspiracy — which tactic if it were successful, would lead to the restriction of congressional inquiries into subversion and a weakening of security regulations.

END

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FACTS FORUM NEWS

THE SUPREME COURT UNDER FIRE

Opinions of the Court

(Continued from page 19)

against the overthrow of the United States government, they are in no sense uniform. And our attention has not been called to any case where the prosecution has been successfully directed against an attempt to destroy state or local government. Some of these Acts are studiously drawn and purport to protect fundamental rights by appropriate definitions, standards of proof, and orderly procedures in keeping with the avowed congressional purpose "to protect freedom from those who would destroy it, without infringing upon the freedom of all our people. . . ."

Since we find that Congress has occupied the field to the exclusion of parallel state legislation, that the dominant interest of the federal government precludes state intervention, and that administration of state acts would conflict with the operation of the federal plan, we are convinced that the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania is unassailable. . . .

SLOCHOWER V. BOARD OF HIGHER EDUCATION OF CITY OF NEW YORK

SUMMARY: *In this case a New York City college professor was discharged from his job. He had refused to answer questions about past Communist Party membership when he appeared before a congressional committee investigating matters of national security. A New York City municipal charter provision requires the discharge, without notice or hearing, of a municipal employee for such refusal.*

It was pointed out that the employee had testified fully in response to similar questions in earlier appearances before an investigating body; also, that the municipal authorities had this information at the time of the employee's discharge.

Five members of the Supreme Court held that the dismissal was improper. It was held that the municipal charter provision worked a denial of due process of law. Dissenting were Justices Reed, Minton, Burton, and Harlan.

Mr. Justice Clark delivered the opinion of the Court.

This appeal brings into question the

constitutionality of Section 903 of the Charter of the City of New York. That section provides that whenever an employee of the city utilizes the privilege against self-incrimination to avoid answering a question relating to his official conduct, "his term or tenure of office or employment shall terminate and such office or employment shall be vacant, and he shall not be eligible to election or appointment to any office or employment under the city or any agency." Appellant Slochower invoked the privilege against self-incrimination under the Fifth Amendment before an investigating committee of the United States Senate, and was summarily discharged from his position as associate professor at Brooklyn College, an institution maintained by the City of New York. He now claims that the charter provision, as applied to him, violates both the Due Process and Privileges and Immunities Clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment.

On September 24, 1952, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate held open hearings in New York City. The investigation, conducted on a national scale, related to subversive influences in the American educational system. At the beginning of the hearings the chairman stated that education was primarily a state and local function, and therefore the inquiry would be limited to "considerations affecting national security, which are directly within the purview and authority of the subcommittee." Professor Slochower, when called to testify, stated that he was not a member of the Communist Party, and indicated complete willingness to answer all questions about his associations or political beliefs since 1941. But he refused to answer questions concerning his membership during 1940 and 1941 on the ground that his answers might tend to incriminate him. The Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee accepted Slochower's claim as a valid assertion of an admitted constitutional right.

It had been alleged that Slochower was a Communist in 1941 in the testimony of one Bernard Grebanier before the Rapp-Courdert Committee of the New York Legislature.¹ Slochower testified that he had appeared twice before the Rapp-Courdert Committee,

and had subsequently testified before the Board of Faculty relating to this charge. He also testified that he had answered questions at these hearings relating to his Communist affiliation in 1940 and 1941.

Shortly after testifying before the Internal Security Subcommittee Slochower was notified that he was suspended from his position at the college; three days later his position was declared vacant "pursuant to the provisions of Section 903 of the New York City Charter." It appears that neither the Subcommittee nor Slochower was aware that his claim of privilege would result in his discharge, and bar him permanently from holding any position either in the city college or in the city government.

Slochower Had Experience

Slochower had twenty-seven years' experience as a college teacher and was entitled to tenure under state law.² . . . Under this statute, appellant may be discharged only for cause, and after notice, hearing and appeal. . . . The Court of Appeals of New York, however, has authoritatively interpreted Section 903 to mean that "the assertion of the privilege against self-incrimination is equivalent to a resignation."⁴ . . . Dismissal under this provision is therefore automatic and there is no right to charges, notice of hearing, or opportunity to explain.

The Supreme Court of New York County of Kings, concluded that appellant's behavior fell within the Scope of Section 903, and upheld its application here. . . .⁵

Slochower argues that Section 903 abridges a privilege or immunity of citizen of the United States since it in effect imposes a penalty on the exercise of a federally-guaranteed right in a federal proceeding. It also violates due process, he argues, because the mere claim of privilege under the Fifth Amendment does not provide a reasonable basis for the state to terminate employment.

¹Report of the Subcommittee of the Joint Legislative Committee to Investigate Procedures and Methods of Allocating State Moneys for Public School Purposes and Subversive Activities, Legislative Document (1942), No. 49, State of N. Y., 318.

²McKinney's New York Laws, Education Law Section 6206(2).

³Section 6206(10).

⁴Daniman v. Board of Education, 306 NY 538, 119 NE 2d 373.

⁵202 Misc. 915, 118 NYS 2d 487.



Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, a Roosevelt appointee, has served 17 years on the Court.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

attempt to gain needed and relevant information.

Without attacking Professor Slochower's qualification for his position in any manner, and apparently with full knowledge of the testimony he had given some twelve years before at the state committee hearing, the Board seized upon his claim of privilege before the federal committee and converted it through the use of Section 903 into a conclusive presumption of guilt.

Since no inference of guilt was possible from the claim before the federal committee, the discharge falls of its own weight as wholly without support. There has not been the "protection of the individual from arbitrary action" which Mr. Justice Cardozo characterized as the very essence of due process.⁷

This is not to say that Slochower has a constitutional right to be an associate professor of German at Brooklyn College. The state has broad powers in the selection and discharge of its employees, and it may be that proper inquiry would show Slochower's continued employment to be inconsistent with a real interest in the state. But there has been no such inquiry here. We hold that the summary dismissal of appellant violates due process of law.

⁷Brown v. Walker, 161 US 591, 610, 40 L ed 819, 825, 16 S Ct 644.

⁸Ohio Bell Tel. Co. v. Public Utilities Com. 301 US 292, 302, 81 L ed 1093, 1100, 57 S Ct 724.

minate his employment. . . .

The problem of balancing the state's interest in the loyalty of those in its service with the traditional safeguards of individual rights is a continuing one. To state that a person does not have a constitutional right to government employment is only to say that he must comply with reasonable, lawful, and nondiscriminatory terms laid down by the proper authorities. . . .

.....

At the outset we must condemn the practice of imputing a sinister meaning to the exercise of a person's constitutional right under the Fifth Amendment. The right of an accused person to refuse to testify, which had been in England merely a rule of evidence, was so important to our forefathers that they raised it to the dignity of a constitutional enactment, and it has been recognized as "one of the most valuable prerogatives of the citizen."⁸ . . . The privilege against self-incrimination would be reduced to a hollow mockery if its exercise could be taken as equivalent either to a confession of guilt or a conclusive presumption of perjury. . . . A witness may have a reasonable fear of prosecution and yet be innocent of any wrongdoing. The privilege serves to protect the innocent who otherwise might be ensnared by ambiguous circumstances.

.....

It is one thing for the city's authori-

ties themselves to inquire into Slochower's fitness but quite another for his discharge to be based entirely on events occurring before a federal committee whose inquiry was announced as not directed at "the property, affairs, or government of the city, or . . . official conduct of city employees."

. . . The questions which Professor Slochower refused to answer were admittedly asked for a purpose wholly unrelated to his college functions. On such a record the Board cannot claim that its action was part of a bona fide

and concepts of justice. He stated, further, that he thought the members had been brainwashed, such brainwashing having been done by the "alleged sociologist and psychologist, Dr. Karl Gunnar Myrdal and his associates." Lanham stated:

. . . It was in his [Myrdal's] book . . . that Dr. Myrdal stated the American Constitution was outmoded; and the other dabblers in the field of sociology and psychology to which the Supreme Court turned instead of to legal precedents . . . were of like mind with Dr. Myrdal. . . . Consequently, the Supreme Court, after its brainwashing by this man Myrdal and his shocking pink, if not Red, associates—some of them indeed are included as members in Communist-front organizations named by our Department of Justice as

such—overturned legal decisions by such giants of previous Supreme Courts as Justices Holmes, Taft, and Brandeis.¹⁶

Representative Lanham went on to say that the people of America were not going to be satisfied until Congress did something to eliminate purely political appointees from the Supreme Court and filled it with men of legal background and training, together with ability, integrity, and character so that they could rise above the winds of politics, wild-eyed Socialists, pinkos, and a dreamworld doctrine of social laws, psychology, and even mythology.¹⁷

¹⁶84 Congressional Record (1956), p. 7888.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 7889.

Criticism of the Court

(Continued from page 22)

One of the principal decisions handed down by the Court, and certainly one which has brought recurring angry storms of protests, was in the case of *Commonwealth of Pennsylvania v. Steve Nelson*. The Court, in this case, exonerated from a punishment of twenty years in prison and a fine of \$10,000 a dangerous and notorious Communist,¹⁸ operating in Pennsylvania in violation of the state's sedition laws. He had been prosecuted and convicted in the lower court. When he appealed, the Supreme Court held that the state's anti-sedition law had been invalidated by federal law, and that Congress had occupied the field to the exclusion of state legislation. This is the so-called federal preemption which, put simply, means that a federal law supercedes all state

laws on the same subject.

The foregoing decision swept aside the provision of the Smith Act in title eighteen of the United States Code, which states: "Nothing in this title shall be held to take away or impair the jurisdiction of the courts of the several states under the laws thereof." And again, this decision was a repudiation of John Marshall in *Cohens v. Virginia*, when he said: "To interfere with the penal laws of a state, when they . . . have for their sole object internal government of the country, is a very serious measure, which Congress cannot be supposed to adopt lightly or inconsiderately."¹⁹

Representative Howard W. Smith (D-Va.), framer of the Smith Act, stated that Congress never meant to write off state sedition laws. Further-

more, he has introduced legislation which would put them back in effect.

In the case of *Slochower v. Board of Education of the City of New York*, the five-to-four decision of the Court nullified a provision in the city charter designed to eliminate from public employment those who would not answer inquiries regarding their Communist affiliations or connections. In effect the sovereignty of a state was overrode when it tried to set up standards of qualifications for those teaching in its public-school system.

Professor Slochower had refused to reply to questions about his former Communist Party membership. He was dismissed by Brooklyn College authorities. The highest court in New York sustained this action. Then the United States Supreme Court held that the college had no right to dismiss him.



VANISHING AMERICANS

Courtesy of John Knott and The Dallas Morning News.

Workers Forced

In the *Hanson* case from Nebraska the Supreme Court upheld the Federal Railway Labor Act. This Act says that railroad workers may be forced to join a union in order to work. It might be pointed out that never before in history has a government assumed the right to tell Americans what their politics must be or to what organizations they must belong, with poverty imposed as a penalty for non-compliance.²⁰

Case after similar case could be cited as examples of the "new look" in supreme judicial interpretation. Some persons declare that the best cure for the situation would be for Congress to tell the Court to stop reading into federal law destruction of state laws, unless Congress spells that out. Also, Congress might pass laws to remedy rulings when it thinks the Court has wandered too far afield.

Critics say it is a point of fact that for the past twenty years appointments to the Supreme Court have been distinctly political, with less attention to experience, and that too often appointments have been on the basis of political debts and for consolidating political support of minority groups. The charge is that "Democratic Presidents have packed, and the Republican President has laid the capstone by stacking." Also, the Senate

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. A3969.

¹⁹*Ibid.*

²⁰John Ben Shepperd, *Texas Committee of Correspondence Handbook*, p. 8.

Selling Our System

From an address by Dr. George S. Benson, Director
The National Program Letter
"The Positive Approach to Citizenship Education"

SOMEONE long ago said that the best defense is a strong offense, and this fact has been demonstrated over and over again. All across America today there needs to be instituted a good offense — for American principles, its governmental and economic system. We need a real selling job to sell an oncoming generation.

And don't forget, each oncoming generation will be sold on some kind of ideology. It is our duty and our responsibility as American citizens to sell an oncoming generation on our American way of life.

We have something to sell, and Americans are great salesmen. But we haven't been working at the job selling our American way of life — not many of us. We have assumed that our children would just catch Americanism like they catch the mumps and the measles. Very early in the history of our country that was probably safe to assume, but it isn't today. We are five generations away from the days of Washington and Jefferson. We are no longer around the family hearth telling stories of Patrick Henry and Abraham Lincoln.

In addition, we now have a great subversive propaganda campaign in our midst, financed with some \$40 million annually, calculated to destroy the faith of all citizens, especially our

youth, in our American way of life. This vast campaign, which reaches into every phase of our life, is especially designed to convince the children and youth of America that our American system is no good, that it is outmoded. . . .

We've the greatest product in the world. Our system makes possible a way of life that achieves the two chief objectives of mankind — freedom and economic well-being.

In America we have the greatest degree of personal freedom that any civilized people ever enjoyed. We have the greatest degree of economic welfare. No one can dispute these facts.

In a world that has been turned toward socialism by power-seeking political leaders and demagogues, our best assurance of maintaining the blessings of the American way of life is for our people, and especially our youth, to understand these great advantages and how they are made possible through the working of our constitutional government and our economic system founded on the principle of private ownership of property. Once they understand, they will become salesmen of the product.

We cannot feel safe in America — safe from socialism in one form or another — until every American becomes sold on our system and a salesman for it.

has not been blameless — its members have not been confirmed appointments with scarcely a passing glance.²¹

As a concrete example of the abysmal lack of judicial experience among the Justices of the Supreme Court, three of them have served on the bench a mere total of ten and one-half years among them. The other six had no previous experience as judges. Chief Justice Warren is among the latter group.

Thomas Jefferson sounded the tocsin against the shape of things likely to come when he stated that the Court could, like a thief in the night, steal away the liberties of the people. He warned posterity:

The legislative and executive branches

may sometimes err, but elections and dependence will bring them to rights. The judiciary branch is the instrument which, working like gravity, without intermission, is to press us at last into one consolidated mass.²²

Senator Sam J. Ervin, Jr. (D-N.C.), in a speech before Harvard Law School alumni, said that the stone lettering over the Supreme Court Building reads: "Equal Justice Under Law." Ervin stated that the following super-scription might be more apropos: "Not justice under law, but justice according to the personal notions of the temporary occupants of this building."²³

END

²¹84 Congressional Record (1956), p. A3969.

²²Senator James O. Eastland, "Era of Judicial Tyranny" (January 26, 1956), *Spotlight*.

²³Manchester Union Leader (N.H.), June 20, 1956.

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THE CASE AGAINST FLUORIDATION

(Continued from page 12)

plement the criminal aims of their mentors and speed the destruction of America, it would seem that to unquestioningly accept as an invalidation the label of "scaremonger" is a luxury which we cannot afford.

Princess Ileana of Roumania tells, in her book, *I Live Again*, of information given to her by Roumanian dictator Ana Pauker that the take-over of the United States will be accomplished by the *acquisition* (not destruction) of the utilities, and by poisoning the water supplies.¹⁰

Lenin said: "Get control of the public health agencies and furnish the keystone in the arch of the socialized state."¹⁰

Harold D. Lasswell has stated in an article entitled "The Garrison State," which appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology* (1941), that "if recent advances in pharmacology continue, physical means of controlling response can replace symbolic methods.

"This refers," he continued, "to the use of drugs not only for temporary orgies of energy on the part of front line fighters, but in order to deaden the critical function of all who are not held in esteem by the ruling state."¹⁰

The use of fluorides for such purpose would, of course, be allied with methods used and recently reported to the American public, in brainwashing American war prisoners in Red China.

Aiding the Enemy

According to Major Jordan, the water supplies of West Point Military Academy come from the artificially-fluoridated water system of Newburgh, New York, from which also emanate water supplies for Stewart Field, a jet plane base for protection of New York City.¹¹

"It is another one of those strange coincidences," states Major Jordan, "that the Pentagon, Annapolis, West Point, ports of embarkation, naval installations were the first to receive this fluoridation, even though there were no children."¹¹

It has recently been announced that Fort Lewis, Washington, expects to be the first army post in the country treated with fluorine. Coupled with the announcement is the statement that "installation of equipment to treat

the water for the benefit of teeth, especially in children, is scheduled as soon as funds are available."¹² Should it be necessary to subject our inductees and enlisted men to the dangers of fluorine toxicity in order to benefit the comparatively few children present, particularly at this embarkation point? It might be well to ask, "How young are they drafting our soldiers these days?"

Mrs. Golda Franzen testified before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce: "I know fluoridation is a Communist scheme — frankly, the Master Plan — but I cannot prove it, for those who have informed me cannot testify; they would be liquidated if they did."¹³

The *Daily Worker*, official publication of the Communist Party in the United States, carried an article on March 13, 1956, lauding the so-called benefits of fluoridation. Commenting upon this in the *New York Herald Tribune* of March 18, 1956, former FBI agent Herbert Philbrick stated: "The Communists, who have been publicly urging that sodium fluoride be placed in our public water supply, are currently intensifying their campaign for this measure."¹⁴

USPHS Tests Questioned

While the Public Health Service points with pride to extensive compilations of statistics based upon their ten-year studies of Newburgh and Kingston, it is noteworthy that the *Newburgh News* of January 27, 1954, stated that Newburgh had a higher heart death rate than "for the nation as a whole."¹⁵ The May, 1954, report of the Public Health Service, "Waterborne Fluorides and Mortality," does not include statistics on their test city of Newburgh. This report also makes no distinction between naturally fluoridated and artificially fluoridated cities, whereas anti-fluoridationists, as in the case of Major Jordan, previously quoted, point to the high content of calcium, as well as other chemical components, present in waters which are fluoridated by nature, which are not present to the same degree in waters to which fluoride compounds are added. It is also noteworthy that extensive tests made by the U. S. Public Health Service in their comparative studies in Newburgh and Kingston

did not include any which would indicate the effects of fluorides on the mentalities of test city residents.

The Public Health Service points to Bartlett, Texas, as proof that twenty to thirty years of fluoridation does not lead to bone disease, nor increase incidence of cancer or kidney trouble. The water in Bartlett has a natural fluorine content of 8 ppm (parts per million), whereas the amount of artificial fluoridation recommended by health authorities is only 1 ppm. A check on inhabitants of Bartlett seemed to give fluoridation a clean bill of health until it was learned that of 116 citizens in Bartlett, only eleven had lived there all their lives.¹⁶

Camel's Nose in the Tent

Dr. Frederick B. Exner of the University of Washington has stated: "Beyond any reasonable question, the sole purpose in wanting to add fluorine to the water supply, rather than offer it in some saner fashion, is so that it can serve as a precedent for compulsory medication in non-contagious disease."¹⁶

This is borne out by the public prediction of Dr. Leonard Scheele, Surgeon General of the U. S. Public Health Service, who told a 1953 Washington conference of state and territorial health and hospital authorities that community-wide attack on "far more serious diseases than dental decay" probably will be forthcoming after laboratory tests have paved the way.¹⁷

Incurable Mottling

One of the dangers of fluoridation, admitted even by its strongest supporters, is that of "mottled enamel," which has been observed even where fluorides in the water are at relatively low levels. Even so-called mild mottling changes the smooth, glossy, creamy whiteness of normal teeth to a dull, unglazed surface with irregular, chalky white patches. In so-called

¹⁰Franzen, *op. cit.*

¹¹Jordan, *op. cit.*

¹²Dallas Morning News, June 18, 1956.

¹³Buckley, Priscilla L., "Freedom From Fluoridation," *National Review*, May 9, 1956.

¹⁴The National Fluoridation News, Apr., 1956.

¹⁵Calif. State Fluoridation League, "Fluoridation Is A Fraud!"

¹⁶Buckley, *op. cit.*

¹⁷Leitch, *op. cit.*

moderate cases, the patches may absorb brown stain. In severe cases, the surface of the enamel is pitted and corroded. It has been predicted that some mild mottling would occur on the teeth of 10 to 12 per cent of those who use fluoridated water. There is no known method of treating or disguising mottled teeth.¹⁸

Dr. Eugene H. Payne, who has spent nearly a quarter of a century studying diseases in South America, reported in an article in *This Week*, August 8, 1954, that in a remote area in Brazil, located in northern Minas Gerais, he found a large section of the populace where only a few people over 15 had more than rotten stubs of teeth. Knowing the territory was highly mineralized and contained many fluoride mines, he had the water analyzed, and found that the fluorine content was high. Elsewhere in Brazil, Dr. Payne found, in areas where waterborne fluoride was absent, were whole communities with lower incidence of dental caries than any reported in the United States.¹⁹

Dr. Margaret Cammack Smith, head of the nutrition department of the University of Arizona, told the Delaney Committee in 1952 that only partial protection against tooth decay can be assured by fluoridation, "at the possible risk of damage of the teeth which is irreparable."²⁰

New York Considers Fluoridation

New York City has had fluoridation of its water supplies under consideration since August, 1954. Dominick Paduano, former Water Commissioner, who had served the New York Department of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity for 25 years, warned that the possibility of mechanical or human failure somewhere along New York's extensive water routes would be unavoidable. With a potentially toxic chemical compound involved, he stressed that the possibility becomes a dangerous risk. Other factors which Mr. Paduano pointed out were the virtual impossibility of preventing concentration of fluoride in some spots, and the varying rate of water consumption by users of various ages, occupations, and states of health in various seasons, which differed so markedly that he felt a single safety level would be impossible to determine. He added that "considerable medical evidence contradicts the

claim that one part per million of fluoride is a safe proportion in any case."²⁰

Grand Rapids, Michigan, was artificially fluoridated in January, 1945, the first city whose water supplies were so treated. According to an Associated Press report on November 15, 1953, the "number one health problem" of Grand Rapids on that date was "mental health."²¹

Other New Health Problems

It was later reported in the *Grand Rapids Press* of July 28, 1955, by Dr. Prothro, health officer, that Grand Rapids has a much higher death rate in heart disease, cancer, intracranial lesions, diabetes and arteriosclerosis than the rest of the state. Dr. Prothro obtained a federal grant of \$5,000 with which to conduct a survey in which it was hoped to "provide an answer to the charge that fluoridation may be the cause of the increases in deaths."²²

It is noted that the city of Grand Rapids, Michigan, is not included in the report of the U. S. Public Health Service of May, 1954, which provides statistical and comparative information under the title, "Waterborne Fluorides and Mortality."

Other fluoridated cities which are confronted with increased health problems in fields other than dental caries are: Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose "infant mortality rate was exceeding other cities" (*Daily News*, April 14, 1955); San Francisco, California, where "Cirrhosis (liver disease) is higher . . . than in other cities" (*San Francisco Examiner*, February 11, 1954); Racine, Wisconsin, which is disturbed about the high increase of artery and cancer deaths and infant mortality; New Britain, Connecticut, where an increase of still births occurred following fluoridation of city water supplies.²²

Certain food processing concerns are voluntarily avoiding the use of fluoridated water in order to assure themselves that the concentration of fluorides in their food products does not rise to toxic levels. The H. J. Heinz Company in Pittsburgh, where fluorine is being added to the city water supply, has been operating with their own deep wells for a great number of years. Mr. C. L. Rumberger, Vice-President of this organization, has assured customers that since they do

not use city water supplies for food manufacturing purposes, no excessive intake of fluoride will result from the use of Heinz products.²³

The Beechnut Packing Company found it necessary to install de-fluoridating equipment at considerable expense due to fluorine deposits on dehydrated cereals.²⁴

It has been estimated that only about 5 per cent of a city's water consumption is used for drinking and cooking purposes. Children between the ages of one and twelve years, whom it is asserted are the beneficiaries of water fluoridation, constitute an approximate 10 per cent of the population. Thus 5 per cent of the water used, taken internally for the suggested good of 10 per cent of the population, results in the effective use of only one-half of one per cent of the fluorides, a waste of 99.5 per cent.²⁵

Tablets at One-Tenth Cost

Applying these percentages to recent estimates for fluoridation of New York City water supplies, it is obvious that this is an extravagant and wasteful procedure. Installation of fluoridation in New York would cost an estimated \$450,000. Yearly maintenance would involve about 9 cents per capita. The maintenance cost, exclusive of installation, rises to 90 cents per capita, since only one-tenth of the population will benefit from the process. For this 90 cents, each child would receive only 8.5 cents worth of "medicine," while 81.5 cents worth of fluoridated water allotted to him would be used for watering the lawn, washing the car, etc.

As compared to the foregoing figures, the report of the Department of Water Supply, Gas, and Electricity of New York estimated that fluoride pills could be furnished to those who wished them for only 8 cents per child per year.²⁶

The leading medical associations in Switzerland, Sweden, and France have all opposed mass fluoridation of water on the ground that it is too hazardous.

¹⁸Benjamin, Lois, "Fluoridation: Menace or Blessing?" *Congressional Record*, Apr. 12, 1956, pp. A2961-64.

¹⁹Citizens Medical Reference Bureau, *op. cit.*

²⁰Benjamin, *op. cit.*

²¹Herrstrom, W. D., "75 Reasons Why Community Water Supplies Should Not Be Fluoridated."

²²Calif. State Fluoridation League, *op. cit.*

²³The National Fluoridation News, Apr., 1956.

²⁴Educational News Service, July, 1956.

²⁵Prestholdt, Henry L., Pres., Monite Waterproof Glue Co., "Fluoridation of Water."

²⁶Benjamin, *op. cit.*

Recently the secret official addition of sodium fluoride to public drinking-water supplies was disclosed by the Municipal Council of Yass, a small up-state city in New South Wales, Australia. This, the first attempt in an Australian mainland state to force fluoridated drinking water on citizens without their prior consent, has brought the matter to public attention. While the question has not been legally tested under the Australian constitution, which is modeled on that of the United States, one Australian newspaper has commented: "Many feel strongly that it is an interference with human rights both to allow experimentation by authority on the individual and to compel the consumption of a chemical which many might

not wish to take."²⁷

When the tumult and the shouting dies, and the anti's and the pro's depart, there still remains the basic question: Is compulsory medication through the addition of fluorides to public water supplies compatible with the American system of government?

Our Own Votes Can End American Dream of Liberty

As Admiral Ben Moreell, Chairman of the Board of Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, has so aptly put it in discussing all phases of paternal legislation: "All these measures — and others of a similar nature — could be enacted legally and democratically under the concept of majority rule. But would any person be so foolish as

to say that they *should* be enacted? Will any thinking person say that a law is "right" merely because a majority has voted for it? *We must always remember that our Constitution was designed to protect the freedom of the smallest possible minority — one person — against the demands of the greatest possible majority — all other persons combined.* That single idea of inalienable rights of the individual person is — or, at least, was — the fundamental spirit of the American tradition of government. And if we lose that concept of government by force or by our own votes, the American dream of liberty will be ended. *And we will not be any the less Communist merely because the majority favors it.*"²⁸

THE CASE FOR FLUORIDATION

(Continued from page 13)

particular importance to those who are concerned about the safety of fluoridation that nature provided an abundant laboratory in which to determine its effects on man.³⁵

While fluoridation importantly reduces the incidence of caries, it is not a treatment or cure. Dental caries is a nonhealing lesion; dental enamel once injured never repairs itself with or without medication. Therefore the application of the term "mass medication" is not applicable. Fluoridation simply prevents the decay from developing. In short, fluoridation of public water supplies simulates a purely natural phenomenon — a protective condition set up by nature itself in those communities that are fortunate enough to have about one part per million of fluoride naturally present in the public water supply, such as, for example, Denver, Colorado, Aurora, Illinois, and others.

Recommendations of Health Authorities

Public health authorities recommend, therefore, that where the fluoride concentration is below the levels for optimal dental health, the concentration be adjusted to about one part per million for the partial control of dental caries. They recommend that

since only 63 to 64 per cent of our population use public water supplies, continuing efforts in basic and applied research must be expanded in order that dental caries, as well as dental conditions other than tooth decay, may be brought under a larger measure of control.³⁶

It is pointed out, however, that fluoridation does not diminish the need for adequate diet, mouth hygiene, and dental inspection at proper intervals.

Since the increased resistance to caries extends at least into middle life, it is incorrect to assert that only children are benefited by such a program; however, the maximum benefit is seen in those persons using fluoridated water from birth, and fluoridation begins to show its effects in a year or two in school children.³⁷

The provision of fluorine intake through tablets, milk, salt, or other means has profound disadvantages peculiar to each one. Topical fluoride application directly to the teeth by skilled personnel cannot be applied universally as a public health measure for the prevention of dental caries, insofar as it is effective, due to lack of personnel and funds. While somewhat less effective than fluoridation of the water supply, it has merit as an alternative public health measure in small

communities without such a common source of water.³⁷

Typical of the excellent results reported from various communities throughout the nation is the recent announcement by the Texas Health Department that fluoridation of water supplies for the city of Marshall, started ten years ago, have reduced tooth decay in school-age children by more than half. Tests conducted annually have shown Marshall children suffering fewer and fewer attacks of decay.

Echoes USPHS Approval

Dr. Frank P. Bertram, dental director of this State Health Department, who conducted the tests, has stated that the use of fluorides in city water supplies is "definitely past the experimental stage." Eleven Texas towns now add fluoride to water, the largest being Corpus Christi.³⁸

While it is true that people drink only about a half-gallon of water per day of an average of 140 gallons produced per person per day, it should be remembered that the water consumed for drinking, cooking, laundry

²⁷Buckley, *op. cit.*

²⁸Moreell, Adm. Ben, *To Communism . . .* Majority Vote.

³⁵Knutson, *op. cit.*

³⁶Dean, *op. cit.*

³⁷St. Louis Medical Society, *op. cit.*

³⁸Dallas Morning News, April 25, 1956.

dishwashing, and bathing for each member of the average family is less than 10 gallons per day. In spite of this low percentage of water consumption required to meet all domestic requirements, hundreds of municipal water supplies are softened or treated for the removal of color, taste, odor, and are sterilized with chlorine at treatment costs many times greater than the cost of fluoridation. Yet these processes are likewise required for only that small percentage of water used for direct human needs. In the last fifty years these improvements in the quality of public water supplies have saved the lives of millions of persons who would otherwise have died of waterborne diseases.³⁹

The cost of fluoridation is extremely small, and public health and water engineering practices relatively simple. At present prices, it ranges from \$1.40 to \$3.20 per million gallons. The total amortized cost of fluoridation, including the cost of the chemicals, of the feeding equipment, and additional labor required, varies between 5 cents and 20 cents per person per year. The saving which will result for every American family in lowered dental bills will amount to hundreds of times that family's proportionate cost of fluoridation.³⁹

Opposition Lacks Scientific Evidence

There are some physicians and dentists of good standing who have questioned the safety of water fluoridation. In no instance, however, have they given evidence which has been substantiated that the ingestion of water fluorides at the recommended concentration is in any way harmful. Their opinions are purely personal since they have not matched the evidence presented in scientific studies which demonstrate the safety and effectiveness of water fluoridation.⁴⁰

When it is considered that there are approximately 216,000 physicians and 92,000 dentists in this country, it is not unusual to find a few who question the safety of any new public health practice. If vaccination or pasteurization of milk or chlorination of water supplies, all of which met with violent opposition when first introduced and even today have some opposition by a few professional men, are considered, it is not difficult to understand why some professional

people oppose water fluoridation. Yet no one can deny today that these public health practices have contributed immensely to the improved health of our people following their universal acceptance.⁴⁰

There is also an active, proselyting opposition that does not represent an objective, scientific point of view at all. A vociferous minority has developed which has succeeded in some areas in delaying initiation of water fluoridation programs, and even, at times, in actually reversing favorable action.^{41, 42}

This opposition seeks to defeat proposals for fluoridation by the circulation of pamphlets containing obsolete or discredited or irrelevant charges ranging from "Operation Rat Poison" to "communistic plot" themes, with a measure of food faddism included.⁴²

Delaney Committee Conclusions Disputed

The Delaney Committee was a House Select Committee To Investigate the Use of Chemicals in Foods and Cosmetics of the 82d Congress. Only a portion of the testimony this committee considered in the early months of 1952 concerned fluoridation. While this small congressional committee described fluoridation as a calculated risk, their observation represents only the personal opinion of a majority and has no official standing or meaning. A great mass of contrary evidence completely refutes their conclusions. It is significant that the city of Washington, D. C., adopted and began the practice of fluoridation after the Delaney Committee hearings had been concluded.⁴³

The Committee's Report is disappointing in that it (1) failed to give due emphasis to the better evidence in the Hearings and (2) sought for perfect and complete knowledge in a scientific field unlike that demanded of any other in which reliable data for day-to-day application are available.

The evaluation of the need for fluoridation in a given community and the assurance of the benefit to be expected from such a local program can best be made by members of the dental profession. Any group of physicians would be presumptuous in setting themselves up as better judges of these points than the dentists of the community and of the various Health Services.⁴⁴

No evidence of harm to any industrial process from the use of water containing as little as one ppm of fluoride has been published. On the contrary, there is much testimony, based upon investigation in their own laboratories, that the products of bakers, canners, and brewers will suffer no deleterious effect.⁴⁴

Analysis of Mortality Data

An analysis of mortality data has been compiled by the Division of Dental Public Health of the Public Health Service from 1949-50 Census Reports, relating to death from nephritis, cancer, and heart disease for twenty-eight fluoride and sixty non-fluoride cities. Only cities having a population of ten thousand or greater were selected for the analysis. The fluoride cities have 0.7 or more ppm of fluorine in their drinking water supplies. The non-fluoride city group is comprised of the three cities with fluoride-free water closest to each fluoride city. These data arranged according to death rates reveal a marked homogeneity. For nephritis, thirteen of the cities fall below and fifteen above the median; for cancer, fifteen are below and thirteen above; and for heart disease, sixteen fluoride cities are below the median and twelve are above.⁴⁵

Similar mortality data have been compiled for Grand Rapids, Muskegon, and the United States for each of the eight successive years beginning in 1943, also including mortality rates for intracranial lesions. These statistics reveal the expected greater fluctuations and variability in the Grand Rapids and Muskegon annual rates than for the United States. Grand Rapids mortality rates for nephritis are consistently below those for both the United States and Muskegon. Both Grand Rapids and Muskegon tend to have higher rates for cancer, heart disease, and intracranial lesions than comparable rates for the United States. However, in each case Grand Rapids rates are either similar or lower than those for Muskegon.⁴⁵

³⁹Black, A. P., Ph.D., "Facts in Refutation of Claims by Opponents of Fluoridation," *Congressional Record*, May 29, 1956, pp. 8242-45.

⁴⁰Newburgh-Kingston final report, *op. cit.*

⁴¹*Ibid.*

⁴²St. Louis Medical Society, *op. cit.*

⁴³Black, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴St. Louis Medical Society, *op. cit.*

⁴⁵Knutson, *op. cit.*

Muskegon did not begin fluoridating its drinking water supply until 1951, so that for each of the years covered by these comparisons, 1943 through 1950, Muskegon's drinking water was not fluoridated.⁴⁵ It is significant that the people of Muskegon became so impressed with the reduction of dental caries in the children of Grand Rapids that they ceased to provide a base-line for comparison by initiating the fluoridation of Muskegon water.⁴⁶

Absolutely no indications or suggestions of undesirable non-dental physiological effects can be attributed to the fluoridation of Grand Rapids drinking water during the years since 1944. The striking dental benefits have not been offset by any undesirable consequences.⁴⁷

No Danger in Causation of Cancer

The president of the American Cancer Society, Dr. Charles S. Cameron, has stated: "The American Cancer Society does not consider fluorine or the common fluorine salts to be carcinogenic. Its position, therefore, with respect to water fluoridation for the purpose of dental caries prophylaxis, is that such treatment of public water supplies is without danger as far as cancer causation is concerned."⁴⁸

Analysis of the crude death rates from cancer and cardiovascular-renal disease in Newburgh and Kingston from 1942 through 1954 shows no consistent pattern from year to year, but it is clear that there has not been any increase in deaths from these causes in Newburgh, as compared with Kingston, during the period of water fluoridation.⁴⁹

The question has sometimes been raised regarding what would happen if a mechanical breakdown caused one day's supply of sodium fluoride or sodium silico-fluoride to be suddenly dumped into the water at a fluoridation plant. If this large weight of fluoride could be dissolved, mixed, and distributed within an hour, a factor of safety would still exist sufficient to predict that the water could be drunk for ten years or more without serious toxic consequences. For the city of Rochester, New York, for instance, to add enough fluoride to the water supply so that a quart would contain a deadly amount, 400 tons of fluoride would have to be dissolved in

the volume of water distributed each day. Since the machine used in Rochester has a hopper that contains only half a ton, it is clearly impossible to produce acute fluoride poisoning by water fluoridation.⁴⁹

When all the evidence is put together, it may be concluded that in water fluoridation adequate factors of safety exist against the known toxic effects of fluoride. Additional studies are needed of population groups that have been for many years drinking fluoridated water. However, present evidence does not justify postponement of water fluoridation.⁴⁹

Upheld as Constitutional Police Power

The power of a municipality acting through its elected representatives, to initiate fluoridation of its water supply by legislative action has been upheld wherever challenged in court. Such a procedure is held to be proper exercise of police power of a community to conserve or improve the health of its residents.⁵⁰

This principle is well stated by Robert E. Cushman in *Civil Liberties in the United States*, a booklet distributed this year by the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Cushman says: "Lawful health requirements must prevail over religious objection. There is no new principle here. . . . Part of the

opposition to the current drive to bring about the fluoridation of public water supplies comes from Christian Scientists, who object on the ground that this is medication. Their objections will doubtless not prevail, though it is probable that a Christian Scientist could not be compelled to drink fluoridated water against his will."

Those who contend that fluoridation of public water supplies is a violation of constitutional rights, will find refutation in Mr. Cushman's words: "The religious liberty which is protected by the Constitution is essentially freedom of religious thought and expression; it does not include conduct which violates the criminal law, offends public morals, or interferes with the legitimate exercise of the police power for the protection of public safety and health."⁵¹

★ ★ ★ ★

There in quick review are the cases for and against the fluoridation of public water supplies. "To fluoridate or not to fluoridate?" Your opinion is needed on this question which vitally concerns the health and well-being of millions of American citizens. END

⁴⁵St. Louis Medical Society, *op. cit.*
⁴⁶Knutson, *op. cit.*
⁴⁷Black, *op. cit.*
⁴⁸Newburgh-Kingston final report, *op. cit.*
⁴⁹St. Louis Medical Society, *op. cit.*
⁵¹Cushman, Robert E., *Civil Liberties in the United States*, Cornell University Press, 1956. Distributed by The Fund For The Republic.

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Interview of THEODORE C. STREIBERT

(Continued from page 17)

Rebuttal of Critic's Charges

Approaching the area of questioning related to charges made by Mr. Eugene Castle on an earlier Reporters' Roundup program (reported in *Facts Forum News*, August, 1956) as well as before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee, Mr. O'Connor asked: "Critics have said since the separation of the U. S. Information Agency from the State Department in 1953, that it should not exist as a separate agency. They have said that its — I'll use the word 'propaganda,' since I think we are in a battle of semantics — that its propaganda is not effective, and is having, if anything, an adverse effect. Obviously," he presupposed, "you would heartily disagree with the argument that the USIA should be again merged with the State Department. But will you tell us why you would disagree with that?"

"We operate many media of communications," Mr. Streibert outlined, "such as all the broadcasting stations and motion picture production. We operate a press service, publish books, translations, conduct libraries. And we have an operating function which is not normally the function of the State Department, which is really a policy-making body. We can acquire the necessary skills, whereas the State Department is operated primarily by foreign service officers alone."

Charges Labeled "Irresponsible"

"One of the arguments of one of your — probably your chief critic, Eugene Castle, who has written a book recently criticizing your agency," stated Mr. O'Connor, "and I am quoting from an interview on this program recently — he said, 'We have already spent 700 million dollars for worthless propaganda. We are no better off today than the day we spent the first dollar!' He was speaking of money appropriated for and spent by the USIA."

"Well, I think that is wholly irresponsible," said Mr. Streibert.

Mr. Prina mentioned that Mr. Castle also had said that the USIA was a refuge for Madison Avenue hucksters and pitchmen and that consequently the agency was trying to merchandise America abroad like they would try to

sell soap here. "What is your comment on that?" he asked.

"I think we do feel that the United States has a great success and experience in communication techniques," stated Mr. Streibert. "Now, we obviously are fully aware that you don't sell ideas and foreign policy the way you sell soap, so there is nothing to that. We feel that we fully understand the distinction and we are promoting our policies and promoting understanding of the United States in the field in a way that is well adapted to the particular circumstances of each country."

Mr. Prina referred to the recent USIA plan to distribute 200,000 copies abroad of the book *Profile of America*. "You once said," he pointed out, "that you were not afraid of congressional criticism, yet when one or two congressmen objected to a picture in the book, in a poem by Thoreau, USIA backed away very meekly. Do you care to comment on that?"

Congressional Report — A Mandate

"I am glad to have the opportunity," stated Mr. Streibert forthrightly, "because we feel we *should* be sensitive to congressional criticism, although we should not be at all timid about it. We took the statement in the House Appropriations Committee report, that this should not be used, as a mandate. We feel that it would be foolhardy rather than courageous to defy the stated wishes of a congressional appropriations committee."

Mr. O'Connor asked if Mr. Streibert felt that any lack of confidence in the USIA program was exhibited by Congress in "hacking up" USIA's requested budget for the next fiscal year from a requested 135 million to about 110 or 115 million dollars.

"On the contrary," replied Mr. Streibert, "we feel that the part of Congress that traditionally has the closest examination of the agency's expenditures is in the House. The House voted a little over a 30 per cent increase over last year, and this we felt to be a very fine warranty of their belief in our operations, particularly since there was no critical comment on the floor when the bill was passed."

"There is another area of criticism in which the USIA is involved," pointed

out Mr. Prina. "Recently a Dallas patriotic group objected to the inclusion of several paintings by Mr. Leon Crowe, an artist, in a package of art being sent abroad on exhibition. Now, isn't it true that two of Mr. Crowe's murals hang in the Attorney General's office, who is our chief officer for internal security? And I wonder what the thought was in blocking Mr. Crowe's art?"

Mr. Streibert pointed out that there had been "no intent to block Mr. Crowe as an individual."

"Someone said they were painted nineteen years ago," he continued, "but we are not concerned with him as an individual."

President's New Diplomatic Program

Moderator Hurleigh introduced the subject of President Eisenhower's recommendation that a new diplomatic program be explored. "Mr. Streibert," he said, "the President has invited a group of Americans representing many fields of activity to meet here in Washington at the White House to explore the possibilities of a program for what is being known at the present time as a 'people-to-people' contact and partnership throughout the world. What is this all about?" he asked. "And what is behind this meeting the President has called?"

"We think this is a wonderful development," replied Mr. Streibert, "because in the struggle we are engaged in the government cannot do the job alone. It is too big a job. In fact, even in a democracy, part of the element of the democratic system is that the people themselves participate. Now, all kinds of activities in this country have connections abroad of one nature or another. And if the whole nation, as it presents itself to foreigners in various countries around the world is trying to make America better understood, trying to interpret our policies, trying to display the friendship which we feel, and trying to convince others that this country really stands for peace, we think it will have a great effect over all on the ultimate course of our relations with the rest of the world."

"This is that personal ambassadorship we were discussing earlier?"

asked Mr. Hurleigh.

"Yes," replied Mr. Streibert. "It extends to all kinds of relationships other than travelers and tourists, however — businessmen writing letters — there are all sorts of scientific intercourse back and forth and many, many relationships. It should enter into all of them."

"And you want," added Moderator Hurleigh by way of clarification, "to make each one of these individuals more or less understand the problems of this country so that he can intelligently discuss them and make friends for the United States when he does go abroad in business or otherwise."

Mr. Streibert indicated agreement with this interpretation.

Mr. Prina next questioned Mr. Streibert — "You told Congress in mid-1954 that USIA had stepped up markedly its operations in Thailand in order to alert that country to the dangers of Red colonialism. However, recent reports from Bangkok indicate that Thailand is swinging away from the United States camp to a neutral position. Do you see that this indicates any failure of USIA or the Voice to get the message across to these people?"

Mr. Streibert demurred, "No — we feel that it is not swinging to any neutral position as against or away from the United States in favoring communism. We think that they are as much against communism as they have ever been, and understand the subversive characteristics of the international Communist conspiracy. There will be changes of a minor character from time to time, but we don't feel that Thailand's allegiance is changing. After all, it's a member of the SEATO Pact."

Activities Geared to Foreign Policy

Asked by Mr. O'Connor if he felt that the USIA program has actually enhanced our general prestige abroad in the short time it has been operating, Mr. Streibert replied, "You are touching on a point that is rather basic, because we can't, by propaganda or words, or by an information campaign, do more than our foreign policies and actions warrant and permit. We think we have aided in innumerable ways to help accomplish our objectives in the various countries of the world. In some cases the objectives have not been achieved to as great an extent as we would like. On the other hand, we have been conspicuously successful on

many other objectives. One of the best examples is the President's program for the peaceful uses of atomic energy. We have done an enormous job with all kinds of literature and picture exhibits — and have used every possible means of communication to put that program over around the world. It is understood and it is over. Of course, it still has great potentiality for further development. But to your question regarding whether the USIA

PROVOCATIVE PROSE

The present world struggle is much more than a contest in armaments and economics. It goes deeper than that and touches the souls of men. . . . The laws which control the orderly movement of our world are not economic materialism . . . but these problems can be solved only by free men. . . . If we keep the faith and maintain free minds, still new horizons and new frontiers will open to us, revealing daily new areas of adventure and enterprise, new vistas of beauty and belief.

— HERBERT HOOVER

In this bold experiment, external assistance from friendly countries is gratefully accepted but so as not to inculcate in our people a psychology of dependence on such assistance. For in the last analysis, economic development of a country can only come about through the wholehearted efforts of its people; external aid can act as a catalyst, can supplement but cannot supplant national effort.

— G. L. MEHTA
Congressional Record
Ambassador of India

program has generally enhanced our prestige abroad, I say 'yes.' We do feel that we are able to add to the beneficial effects of good policies in countries where we are accomplishing our objectives."

Rumors of Ceylon VOA Censorship

"Mr. Streibert, is USIA running into any difficulty," inquired Mr. Prina, "either in the free world nations or in the so-called neutrals, in presenting your program? I refer specifically to a report out of Ceylon that there might be censorship of Voice of America programs as the new government took over."

"No, we don't have difficulty," replied Mr. Streibert, "in the sense that

we must plan our program — gear it, so to speak — to each individual country dependent on the circumstances. Some are out and out allies of the United States and anxious for us to help them, as well as to help us effect public opinion as against communism and in support of democratic government. Others are in a more neutral position, and are not very anxious to have us so active where, let us say, our relations are more of a cultural nature. The particular case in Ceylon was no great difficulty, because it was perfectly within their rights. The broadcasting stations we are using are on their land although they were built by us. They have the right, according to our agreements, to look at the scripts and see what we are saying. We were perfectly happy to arrange that."

Helps Democratic Process Anywhere

Mr. Prina asked Mr. Streibert if he had approved — after the fact became known — USIA action in Italy in lending a sound truck to one faction in a union election in a manufacturing company, an action which had been earlier reported by Mr. Castle.

"That was a routine matter that we would do anywhere at any time," replied Mr. Streibert. "If we can help the democratic process, we will do so."

"It is the policy of your agency, Mr. Streibert," questioned Mr. Hurleigh, "to help the democratic parties in each of these countries wherever possible?"

"That is right. That is our basic yardstick wherever we can overcome communism."

Mr. Streibert mentioned that the USIA has methods of checking up in the various countries regarding which methods are more successful in receiving and imparting information, and stressed that the USIA staff is expert in gauging results of the various kinds of meetings.

He replied in the negative to a question from Mr. Hurleigh regarding whether we have overlapping of information agencies abroad that tend to create ineffectiveness, as in the rivalry between branches of our armed services.

Clarifying his opinion, he stated that we operate in each country under the Ambassador or Chief of the Mission, as a part of the country team.

"We are one of the Embassy," stated Mr. Streibert, "and our staff operates in complete cooperation and unity with them."

END

Is Stalin's Russia Weakening?

(Continued from page 7)

our conclusions may be wrong; (3) use any special experience we may claim to try to bring the swiftly changing reality into focus.

Using, in this way, what little experience I lay claim to, I get a picture rather different from that of many others whom I respect, and some of whom have much greater claims to expert knowledge. I see it this way. Stalin and Stalinism were morally outrageous. But that does not explain why they came to power. Nor is there space here to explain why I believe they came to power. Here I can only say: a specific set of historical factors made them possible because, to communism, they were useful. I can only add: in my opinion, a different set of historical factors now makes them unfeasible because they have become an impediment to the advance of communism. In short, Stalin and Stalinism have outlived their usefulness to communism. That is why the Kremlin is dumping them. But since Stalinism was morally outrageous, its

liquidation has on communism (and on millions who are not Communist) the buoyant effect of a successful surgical operation. That is not the only effect of the operation. Its purpose, if I see it rightly, is to convince that same "enlightened" opinion of the West that communism is now something that any decent soul can coexist with, trade with, make friends with. It may take a little time, but the harvest, judging by the past, may be a fat one. It may soon follow that those who do not believe that communism has changed will find that they are the "indecent souls." Communism, in the name of decency and reason, will be rallying "enlightened" opinion in the West precisely against those "indecent souls." The action will take the form of popular fronts and a much vaster climate of good will. Need I point out that the "unenlightened," the "indecent," the men of "ill will" will then be those who distrust communism, fight it, insist that, while it often changes its masks, it has never been known to

change its inherent character?

In brief, communism's great change, dating from the 20th Congress, is a change of tactics, not of intentions. Communism is cleaning house in order to make its personnel, its formations, its tactics, more acceptable, efficient, up to date, and thus to hasten its project of dividing, wooing, and winning the West, preparatory to overrunning the West. That Communist purpose never changes. No doubt, the swing in the Communist line is much complicated by inner-Communist and inner-Soviet factors which I have not touched on. No doubt, the Communist leaders are playing with forces that might, conceivably, get out of hand. Therefore, the question of the moment is: Will the surgical operation on Stalinism be successful? I believe it will. But nobody knows. Everybody is waiting to see. If it is successful communism will be a greater threat to the West than ever. END

The Lure of Peaceful Coexistence

(Continued from page 9)

ing with their dictators, they tend to lose hope.

With reference to the United States, the Soviet objective is to smear leading anti-Communists, discredit the loyalty-security program, dismantle the framework of anti-Communist legislation, and demand an end to further nuclear weapons tests. In many instances, the "spirit of Geneva" is being utilized as the basis for these campaigns. At the end of January, 1956, Eugene Dennis, executive secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, delivered an important address in Carnegie Hall in New York which may easily have been inspired by advance notice of what was going to happen at the 20th Congress of the USSR. In this address Mr. Dennis called for a united front between Communists and "liberals" to fight for "peace," end "fear and hysteria," and restore "civil liberties."

Actually the Geneva "summit" conference of July, 1955, seems to have laid the groundwork for the 20th Congress meeting. A number of examples

come to mind of how the American Communists have succeeded in encouraging prominent non-Communists to join them or to promote their objectives since Geneva. At the end of 1955 several hundred prominent Americans signed a Communist-inspired petition to the Supreme Court urging that it declare unconstitutional the Internal Security Act of 1950. The Christmas amnesty appeal for jailed Communists was signed by many well-known non-Communists. A United States senator, a governor, and a prominent writer were among a score of distinguished Americans who sent greetings to the recent convention of the National Lawyers' Guild in Detroit. The NLG has been cited as a Communist-controlled organization.

Prominent scientists have signed Communist-inspired petitions demanding that nuclear weapons tests be ended; several leading intellectuals have praised a book by John Wexley defending the Rosenberg atomic spies. This book was published by Cameron & Kahn who also published the Matu-sow book. Well-known intellectuals

have subscribed to the Communist thesis that the FBI should be deprived of its informants within the Communist Party and that fear and hysteria have characterized the loyalty-security program. Many of these intellectuals wish to abolish the entire program. The willingness of several prominent universities to invite Communist speakers such as Joseph Clark and Herbert Aptheker to speak on the campus is, according to the *Daily Worker*, another example of how the "forces of peace" and the "forces for civil liberties" are gaining ground in the new era since Geneva.

One of the most interesting aspects of the 20th Congress meeting was Dictator Khrushchev's criticism of Stalin. It appears that the new "soft" Soviet line would be facilitated by this attack on Stalin and Stalin's policies. Already many Americans are concluding that with the advent of Khrushchev and the departure of Stalin, terror has ended in the Soviet Union and dictatorship is being modified. Actually there has been no basic change inside the Soviet Union. The slave-labor

camps, the emphasis on heavy industry and the military, and the entire apparatus of terror remains intact.

There is some evidence that hunger and discontent at home prompted Khrushchev to denounce Stalin. If Khrushchev can convince the peoples of the USSR that their unhappy plight is due to Stalinism, he may be able to appease them for the time being. It is also conceivable that Khrushchev is preparing a purge of his political enemies by associating them with Stalin. This purge of pro-Stalinists is even more likely to occur outside the Soviet Union. Recent issues of the *Daily Worker* for example contain somewhat conflicting interpretations of Stalin's status by editor Alan Max, chairman William Z. Foster, and Joseph Clark. Various letters to the editor also indicate a certain amount of confusion among the party faithful about future attitudes. It is even conceivable that a shake-up in party leadership may occur in 1956 in somewhat the same fashion that it did in 1945 when Earl Browder was replaced as party chairman by William Z. Foster.

"Step Up Anti-Communist Efforts"

What can the United States do to frustrate the objectives of the international Communist movement as outlined at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR? Our government should make it very clear to the American people and to freedom-loving peoples throughout the world that there is no basic change in Soviet policies. The Soviets want us to lower our guard and distract our attention to side issues. This is precisely the time to step up anti-Communist efforts both at home and abroad. This means more vigorous prosecution of anti-Communist legislation, stepped-up exposure of Communist activities by congressional committees, and published warnings by governmental officials of the dangers inherent in the new Communist tactics of the united front. There must be no repetition of Communist penetration of American society such as took place in the 1930's. In this respect, the current activities by the United States government against the *Daily Worker* and Communist Party headquarters throughout the United States are a step in the right direction. New legislation should be enacted providing a 15-year jail sentence and a \$10,000 fine for those convicted of advocating the violent overthrow of the United States

government or belonging to an organization so advocating. Use of mechanical devices in federal cases involving security should also be acted upon. The United States should pass to the offensive in the anti-Communist effort at home.

In the realm of foreign policy, the United States has a unique opportunity to pass on to the offensive, in order to take advantage of the weaknesses within the USSR, and the confusions in Marxist ranks throughout the world. Plans must be readied to give maximum assistance to revolts on the East German pattern. The long-neglected Sarnoff plan for "cold warfare" against communism should be carried out. Trade between nations of the free world and the Communist bloc which might in any way strengthen communism should cease. The two hundred items declassified in 1954 at the insistence of France and Britain should be restored to the list of nontradeable goods. Fraternization with Soviet diplomats and officials should be kept to an absolute minimum. We must not permit ourselves to be maneuvered into another Big Power conference where the basis for success is the partition of a small country and the establishment of a "neutral" nations commission, as happened at Panmunjom and Geneva. We should make clear our support of Free China, including the offshore islands, and overseas Chinese harassed in such areas as Singapore and Indonesia. This support of

industry, and its relations with its satellites. Unfortunately, the leadership of the democratic world has not done enough to exploit these weaknesses and impair the prestige and power of the Communist war lords. Self-deception in regard to the 20th Communist Party Congress would only aggravate this failure on the part of the free world.

The recent Congress under Khrushchev did not forswear a single one of its old basic policies of intolerance toward non-Communists and violence as a means of getting results. The anemic posthumous purge of Stalin does not constitute a repudiation of, or a break with his basic policies for agriculture, the primacy of heavy in-

Free China must logically involve an American willingness to defend Nationalist China diplomatically, especially in the UN, and to use every weapon to prevent admittance of Communist China into that organization. We must also make clear our support of the Republic of Korea, and consider appropriate sanctions against those who persistently violate the Panmunjom agreement. Support of freedom in Asia includes also such anti-Communist governments as South Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, the Philippines, and Pakistan. Our aid programs in Asia should take into consideration the consistently pro-Chinese Communist positions of states like India, Burma, and Indonesia. In Europe we should resolutely push forward in the integration of German armed forces with existing NATO forces. Where possible, we should disassociate ourselves from colonial regimes in the Mediterranean area, to prevent Communists from being confused with bona fide nationalists.

Our foreign policy theme must be liberation from Communist tyranny, and opposition to a world half slave and half free. If the peoples behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains know for a certainty that we stand on their side, without compromise, the forces which caused Khrushchev to denounce Stalin will grow, and revolts on the East German pattern will become a possibility. And this time we must be prepared to act. END

Stalinism Continues

(Continued from page 8)

dustry, and secondary attention to consumers' goods. Furthermore, the Congress has reasserted unanimously that the foreign policy of the USSR has been continuously correct and for peace — during and after Stalin. This, of course, means Soviet policy in regard to disarmament, as well as its policy toward Germany, Korea, and Indochina.

Had the 20th Communist Congress decided on a genuine and serious purge of Stalin and Stalinism, it would have acted not merely against the dead despot but first of all against the leading surviving Stalinists. However, it is precisely these figures who constitute the present so-called collective leadership.

Make-believe rehabilitation of some of those assassinated by the Stalin regime does not eliminate the roots of the evil. But what else can one expect from those who have for decades been the sinister agents and servile accomplices of Stalin in his worst crimes against the peoples now behind the Iron Curtain in Europe and Asia and against the peace of the world?

These successors to Stalin know there is deep-going resentment and embitterment among the Russians and other peoples over the unbridled Communist terrorism. They are trying to fool the Soviet people by putting all blame on their dead leader, whom they but yesterday worshipped as an infallible deity.

In typical Stalinist fashion, Khrushchev is now making a scapegoat of Beria — his comrade and partner in crime, whom he had placed before the firing squad. Only when the Soviet peoples mete out full justice to these criminals will the USSR begin to have a system closer to ours.

If the Communist top leaders in the Kremlin have agreed, at least for a while, to stop shooting each other, it does not follow that they will stop shooting at us. To the extent they can really close their ranks, they are even more dangerous to world peace and freedom.

"Khrushchev Revision Pill"

There is not the slightest reason for freedom-loving people anywhere to rejoice over Khrushchev and Mikoyan saying that, under special circumstances, the Communist revolution might be achieved through parliamentary means and without resorting to violence. Tomorrow, as yesterday in the case of Czechoslovakia, it will be the Kremlin that will decide what are such "peaceful" special circumstances.

Moreover, the so-called Khrushchev revision of the dogma does not mean that a "peaceful" Communist revolution will do anything else but destroy the democratic parliamentary system, and replace it with a Soviet type of one-party totalitarian dictatorship. Yes, we can look at Czechoslovakia as an infamous example of a "peaceful" Communist revolution.

Only those free men who want to commit suicide should swallow this Khrushchev revision pill. These new tactics are only a new variant of the tactics of infiltration employed by Moscow. The aim of the new line is to fool the people — especially the workers of the non-Communist coun-

tries into united fronts with Moscow's agencies abroad. Its aim is to get its Communist agents into cabinets of popular front governments.

The 20th Communist Congress boasted that socialism has triumphed in the USSR and that it will triumph throughout the world.

If what they have in Russia today is socialism, then I am sure many of our friends in Britain, France, Italy, and other free countries, who consider themselves democratic Socialists, have no desire to attain such a "paradise," regardless of what road is offered to them — whether it be the Lenin road, the Stalin road, or the Khrushchev road.

Tito's Path

And now let me say a few words about the Tito road and where it is leading. In the last seven years, this road has been paved not with Soviet gold bricks but with American gold. Since 1948, the Tito regime has received about a billion dollars of American economic and military aid.

Before the Khrushchev-Tito reunion in Belgrade last June, Tito was denouncing the USSR as terroristic state capitalism. Tito then strutted as the model neutralist and opponent of all blocs. But since this reunion, Tito has moved very fast toward Moscow — so fast that he has dropped his mask.

On February 19, the 20th Russian Communist Congress received from Tito a heart-warming message — lavish in praise of the Soviet Union as a "great Socialist country" working "for the benefit of a further peaceful development of international relations and cooperation." This message emphasized that "the gradual and uninterrupted improvement" in his relations with Moscow is the road which "is the most healthy one for the restoration of mutual and firm trust and cooperation" between the Yugoslav and Russian Communist dictatorships.

On March 3, the Kremlin-controlled World Federation of Trade Unions, which we of world free labor consider the most dangerous spearhead of the international Communist conspiracy, announced that Tito's so-called unions had been reaffiliated with it. This is most significant. It shows far more clearly where Tito is going than any pact he signs with Turkey and Greece or any promise he gives to Washington. Our overseas colleagues who had illusions about Tito's unions being free and different from Moscow's

Communist labor fronts should now awaken to reality. I submit that the time has come for our State Department to reexamine thoroughly the entire problem of further American aid to the Tito regime. Let the American people be told just how the arming and feeding of the 1956 model of the Tito dictatorship with American dollars can help the cause of peace and freedom.

Some might argue that we should not criticize Tito, lest we push him into Moscow's corner or into Khrushchev's arms. In this regard, there is ample evidence that Tito does not need any pushing. He is already well on his way into the arms of Khrushchev.

The present enormous Soviet power makes this "new" line all the more dangerous to the free world. The trade unionists of the free world, especially in Britain, . . . have no illusions about the 20th Communist Congress. They will never forget that in the very years when Britain helped liberate more than 500 million people from colonialism, Communist Russia has put under a new colonialist yoke more than half a billion people in Europe and Asia.

Let's Examine the If's

If there were the beginnings of a real change inside Russia and its relations with other peoples, the Moscow regime would begin to move in the following direction:

(1) Abolish the one-party system in the USSR and restore the right to organize free trade unions and democratic political parties.

(2) Agree to internationally supervised free elections in all areas of dispute and tension — Germany, Korea, the satellites, etc.

(3) Release all political prisoners and close all concentration camps.

(Continued on page 62)

SEVENTY-SIX UNITED NATIONS NOW

Facts Forum News condensation of the book, *World Peace by Covenant*, by Franklin L. Maier, in last month's issue, used the number of sixty member nations in UN. Sixteen new member nations were added on December 14, 1955, which was subsequent to the date the book went to press. Its theme is in no way affected by the number of member nations but, to keep the record straight, their presence is belatedly acknowledged.

THE PRIMROSE PATH

(Continued from page 15)

The Choice Is With the People

By their voice and by their vote, the people should insist that our federal government cease the distribution of bounties, donations, and benefits. And the people, themselves, should cease demanding such costly gratuities.

The people should remind themselves and their public servants that the demands upon the government for aid and assistance encourage and strengthen the hands of the planners; and that these demands constantly add to the cost of living.

It is alarming when you realize that the average member of Congress oftentimes is judged by the amount of so-called federal money he obtains for community and regional projects rather than for his ability to contribute to the welfare of the nation.

Encouraged by the disciples of national economic planning and by the apostles of government bounties, the people are turning more and more from the principles of self-reliance to that of dependence upon the government. They are being led along a primrose path to a mirage of easy money and easy living. But what this primrose path actually leads to is an ever-increasing measure of taxation, regimentation, and controls.

In short, a great many people, through the pressure of their demands, are contributing to the establishment of a state of national socialism which will be presided over by a government vested with the power to tax, to distribute, and to control.

Even though we talk volubly against federal aid and assistance, it does not appear that the people either despise or resist it.

Socialistic Legislation

There has been no real opposition to the numerous inland waterway projects throughout the nation which annually eat up millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money.

There has been little public opposition to the government's housing program.

There has been little opposition to the millions of dollars spent annually by the government to subsidize in one form or another commercial airlines, trucks, busses, and inland water carriers.

Are we as a people turning away from our constitutional democracy toward national socialism, disguised as benevolent economic planning?

Are we as a people turning our backs upon our system of free, competitive enterprise . . . a system which enables us today, with only 6 per cent of the world's population, to produce industrially more than all of the rest in the world combined?

Some of us may deny this, but our actions belie our words. The mute record of our deeds stands as convincing evidence against our protests of innocence.

Socialistic economic planning can be effectively promoted by constantly increasing the number of people on the public payroll, as well as by deceiving the people into believing that the government is better able to provide the basic needs of life than are the people themselves.

Under our free competitive enterprise system we have amassed the greatest productive power the world ever has known. No planned economy even remotely approaches what we have achieved under our constitutional democracy of freedom of action and opportunity.

Ways to Preserve Our Freedom

Here are a few suggestions which will be helpful in preserving our freedom:

(1) We should start matching our words and deeds if we are sincere about preserving our free, competitive enterprise system.

(2) We should resist the temptation to demand and accept federal funds for local and regional projects.

(3) We should stop demanding more government services and benefits.

(4) We should oppose socialistic schemes, no matter how attractively they may be disguised.

(5) We should depend upon our own resources to provide local and community needs rather than upon the federal government.

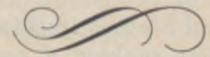
(6) We should recognize that the bounties and benefits received from the federal government come out of our personal incomes . . . and that the government is simply being generous with *our* money.

(7) We should assign ourselves the task of telling others that the greatest volume of goods and services for the greatest number has come from our own free, competitive enterprise system.

(8) We should tell our friends, neighbors, and fellow-workers that a planned economy is a socialistic economy, and that it destroys freedom of action and opportunity.

(9) We should support economy in government, even if it affects pet projects in our own community.

(10) We should recognize that there is no primrose path to easy money or to a more abundant life. **END**



"Heads Will Roll"

THE ONLY THING that can ruin a Communist in America — so far — is being found out.

To "establish cover" is the first and most important duty of each Communist party member or sympathizer. To be known for what he really is, is acknowledged disgrace.

How this state of affairs must galling the loyal Marx-Leninists!

We may be very sure that this disagreeable condition is going to be changed and rectified by them, at the moment it becomes humanly possible. As soon as our government can be abolished and the Soviet machine set up in its place, how fast will opponents of the Red Menace be punished for having dared to object, to warn, or to complain!

In the meantime, if you are so bold as to question the status of a man or woman who hides behind the petticoats of the Fifth Amendment to keep from telling the truth, you may get off with mild treatment from that person and his or her Communist friends — they may just flay you verbally as being a "witch-hunter," and let it go at that, temporarily.

But do not delude yourself that mere name-calling is all you will get in the finals — that is, if through indifference and apathy we let the strong arm of our law break down, and admit the enemy to triumphant possession of our citadel. "Heads will roll," they said long ago in France, when the guillotine took over. And heads did roll. It can happen again. It can happen here. It can happen soon. **END**



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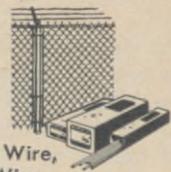
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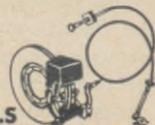
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Editor's Mail Basket

(Continued from Inside Front Cover)

customs, and sales levies to pay for the operation of government, with perhaps a land or single tax thrown in for good measure." My comment here is the first part of the statement is untrue — excise, customs, and sales levies might be eliminated. The second part is an *alternative with merit. It should be studied.* I do not think collection of the rental value of land would provide as much revenue as does the income tax, but I do think it could provide a large portion and balance could be provided either by a per-capita tax or gross income tax.

JOHN T. TETLEY
1114 Broad Street
Newark 5, New Jersey

Inconsistent Voting

In the May Facts Forum Poll, 79 per cent of those voting felt that the doctrine of states' rights should be preserved. Presumably these 79 per cent believe that the federal government should not interest itself in internal or domestic matters.

Yet, only 51 per cent of the voters in this May Poll were against a federal traffic law. And 64 per cent were in favor of more (federal) controls on consumer credit.

To be consistent, all of the 79 per cent who voted for states' rights should automatically be against *any* and *all* federal interference in the fields of traffic or consumer credit. Thus, many of the ideological "states' righters," by their voting in this Poll, indirectly accepted the overall concept of continued or extended federal interference in local affairs.

MRS. PHILIP L. CORSON
Plymouth Meeting, Penn.

Reserve Officer Lauds "Good Fences"

I want to commend the article entitled "Good Fences" in your July issue of *Facts Forum News*.

The article impressed me as a down-to-earth talk in plain language outlining some of the fundamental truths regarding our Constitution. It also expresses some thought-provoking questions. I have always been a rugged individualist in my thinking and my experience in two World Wars on foreign soil has only fortified my thinking along these lines. I have been fighting the Communist line for a long time, which seeks to destroy our faith in God, our faith in our government, and proper respect for our parents.

The article published in your magazine fills a long-needed and overdue approach to the great questions confronting the country today. To sum up, what the people need is awareness that there is no substitute for hard work and faith in God.

You have my best wishes in spreading

the truth and in portraying the facts, which bring to light some of the fundamentals which have made our country great.

COL. RAY J. CUNNINGHAM
Historian, Missouri Department
Reserve Officers Assn. of the U. S.
641 E. Jefferson
Kirkwood 22, Missouri

Showing True Colors

Perhaps this story could be repeated in other sections of the United States.

Last February I wrote several chain grocers throughout the Chicago vicinity and suggested that perhaps they could sell a little patriotism by offering an inexpensive American flag for home use.

One of these companies answered my letter, thanking me for my suggestion. I am enclosing an advertisement this company put in today's newspapers, which

Facts Forum News receives more letters from readers than it can print. It regrets that it cannot print them all. The shorter the letter the better its chances of publication. The publisher reserves the right to print excerpts unless request to the contrary is made by the writer.

really made me feel good [advertisement was a full-page tribute to the flag].

I hope that this will help a little to revive the custom our fathers had and that we again see many, many flags displayed.

MRS. JOHN SCHWENGER
845 Argyle Avenue
Flossmoor, Illinois

Radio Free Europe Series Still in Limelight

In *Facts Forum News* of May, 1956, Mr. Jiri Brada on p. 26, and Mr. Kurt Glaser on p. 22, referred to the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile in a manner which does not correspond with facts and truth.

- (1) The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile has nothing in common with an institute of a similar name in Prague.
- (2) Dr. Hubert Ripka is neither a founder nor a member of the Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile.
- (3) The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile is neither an infiltration center nor are a large number of Radio Free Europe employees members of it.
- (4) The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile is an internationally rec-

ognized organization of younger Czechoslovak intellectuals in exile striving for the liberation of their homeland.

The Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile publishes a *Library*, which is a series of extensive studies; *Studies*, which is a series of monographs; *The Cold War*, which is a bulletin based on reports from Czechoslovakia; and *Tribuna*, which is a bi-monthly review of political and economic affairs.

The members of the Institute try to reach their objectives by combining their Czechoslovak experience and erudition with the knowledge and the scientific skill which they have acquired in the free world. By fulfilling this function we are convinced that we best serve our country and the cause of the free world.

MOJMR POVOLNY, Director
Czechoslovak Foreign Institute
in Exile
2209 Pine Street
Philadelphia 3, Pennsylvania

Your series on Radio Free Europe should be followed by another equally controversial series, one that would get down to bedrock United States government policy. This succeeding article should take its cue from Shephardson's statement [Whitney H. Shephardson, President of the Free Europe Committee, Inc.], "Because Radio Free Europe recognizes the elements of East European countries on the same basis as does the U. S. Government. . . ."

That is exactly the point behind this whole mess! The U. S. Government officially recognizes the Socialist-loaded Free Council of Czechoslovakia as being the exile spokesmen for Czechoslovakia, when in reality there are two other non-Socialist groups which command the loyalty and respect of the majority of the Czechs. These two groups are the Czech National Committee, with headquarters in London, and the Union of Democratic Exiles, with headquarters in Koln, Germany. . . .

I understand from my refugee friends that the same situation of recognition is true for Bulgaria, White Russia, possibly Poland, and I don't know how many more satellites. . . . As a student of international relations, I would be most grateful to see this whole sorry story come out in print. Only by seeing the mistakes of the past, can this nation, or any other, progress toward an improved future.

ANITA M. M. DASBACH
2328a Louisiana Ave.
St. Louis 4, Missouri

While congratulating you for giving publicity to Radio Free Europe, we would like to make some comments on both the letters of the Czech professors from Talladega College in Alabama and the statements of Mr. Shephardson.

The professors of Talladega College referring to some "undistorted" facts say

(Continued on page 63)

FACTS FORUM PRESENTS

REPORTERS' ROUNDUP

America's NEW and most distinguished
round-table television program



Famous personalities in the Washington spotlight give their straightforward opinions on the headliner topic of the week. Witness, too, the mental agility of the veteran news reporters who ask the questions on this weekly program.



Facts Forum takes pleasure in announcing that Robert F. Hurleigh, well-known news analyst and commentator, and director of Mutual Broadcasting System's Washington operations, will be the moderator on the Reporters' Roundup programs.

Intensive research and planning have preceded the presentation of the NEW "Reporters' Roundup-TV" program, and the radio version, "Topic of the Week." You will welcome the news and views of Members of Congress, and the Cabinet, Diplomats, and Military Officers who will bring you behind-the-scene news direct from our nation's capital.

TOPIC OF THE WEEK

A radio presentation of the NEW
Reporters' Roundup-TV program



True to the nonpartisan tradition of Facts Forum, final decisions will not be rendered on these programs. You participate in the shaping of public policy by forming your individual opinion on controversial issues.

FACTS FORUM

A fifteen-minute program



Presenting the differing philosophies of two congressional leaders on governmental issues of grave importance to the welfare of our country.

REPORTERS' ROUNDUP

Where by-lines make headlines.



Famous names in the news will continue weekly on this Reporters' Roundup radio program to answer the questions the public want answered.

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Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA

Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Sat	5:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC-TV†	6	Sun	11:30 p
	WWSN*	610	Sun	7:30 p
Carrollton	WRAG*	590		
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS*	800	Sun	3:00 p
	WMSL-TV†	23	Sun	2:30 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB*	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	Mon	8:05 p
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Florence	WOWL*	1240	Sun	6:05 p
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:15 p
Gadsden	WGWD*	570		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	5:00 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360	Sat	5:30 p
	WWWB*	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	3:45 p
	WMFC*	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WCOV-TV†	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570	Sun	1:30 p
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:00 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1280	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR*	1360	Sun	4:00 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Tuscaloosa	WIRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WIRD*	1150		
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA

Fairbanks	KTVF-TV†	11	Sat	6:00 p
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ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	Tues	9:30 p
Douglas	KAWT**	1450		
Holbrook	KDJI**	1270	Sat	2:00 p
Kingman	KGAN*			
Nogales	KNOC**	1340	Thurs	5:15 p
Phoenix	KOOL-TV†	10	Sat	10:45 a
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC*	1240		
	KVRC**	1240		
Batesville	KBTA*	1340	Sat	9:15 a
	KBTA**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	Sun	12:15 p
Camden	KAMD*	1450	Sun	8:30 p

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

Conway	KCON*	1230	Sun	3:00 p
	KCON**	1230	Sun	4:00 p
El Dorado	KRBB-TV†	10	Tues	9:00 p
	KDMS*	1290	Sat	4:45 p
Fayetteville	KGRH*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950		
	KXJK**	950	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Smith	KWHN**	1320	Sun	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
Harrison	KHOZ*	1240	Sat	6:45 p
Hope	KXAR*	1490		
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
McGehee	KVSA**	1220		
	KVSA*	1220	Thurs	2:00 p
Monticello	KHBM*	1430	Sun	1:30 p
	KHBM**	1430	Sun	8:00 a
Mountain Home	KTLO**	1490	Sun	7:00 p
	KTLO*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Newport	KNBY*	1280	Sun	10:00 a
	KNBY**	1280	Sun	11:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Rogers	KAMO*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	KXRJ*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ**	1490		
Siloam Springs	KUOA*	1290	Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA**	1290		
Springdale	KBRB*	1340	Mon	7:00 p
Stuttgart	KWAK*	1240		
	KWAK**	1240	Sun	7:30 p
Warren	KWRF*	860	Sun	1:15 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I read *Facts Forum [News]* each month. I purchase the magazine from a local newsstand.

JOHN RICHARD PACK
Box 157
Eufaula, Alabama

I want to congratulate your editors for the high quality of the articles printed in your *Facts Forum [News]*. We are in dire need of an objective analysis of many of the problems you cover, and you do an excellent job.

DR. JOHN H. LECHNER
10535 Buford Avenue
Inglewood, California

Send me four copies of *Facts Forum News*, February, 1956, issue. I want to send these to friends. We feel that *Facts Forum, Inc.*, is doing an outstandingly patriotic work.

MERLE B. JUDKINS
2425 Newton Street
Denver 11, Colorado

You are to be congratulated on the June, 1956, issue of *Facts Forum [News]*. The articles on the "British Ill-Fare State," "Foreign Aid," "Guided Missiles," and "Interposition" are particularly well done. This month's magazine is one of the most informative you have done, and deserves a large audience.

WARREN JEFFERSON DAVIS
Box 787
Ramona, California

Please renew my subscription to *Facts Forum [News]* for another year. I believe your magazine is one that gives the most complete news coverage of real facts that is published today in America.

MAUD A. GREEAR
1717 G Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Facts Forum News is doing a wonderful job in informing the public. Your articles are readable and can be understood by the common man. Keep up the good work.

JOHN S. WILSON
2329 Grand Avenue
Fort Myers, Florida

Read the entire July issue of *Facts Forum [News]* and think it's really terrific. Your article on Mental Health is most interesting, well written and has a terrific dramatic impact. I was most happy to see that you documented the cause with the case histories which no one can call matters of opinion. Keep up the good work.

C. J. MORRISSEY
324 Streamside
Harvey, Illinois

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC**	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV†	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KPOD**	1020	Wed	12:00 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV†	10	Sun	12:00 p
San Diego	KFMB-TV†	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO-TV†	7	Sat	10:30 p
San Luis				
Obispo	KVEC-TV†	6	Sun	6:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO**	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE**	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Thurs	8:45 p
	KTUR**	1390	Fri	8:00 p

COLORADO

Cortez	KVFC*	740	Wed	9:45 a
Delta	KDTA*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
	KDTA**	1400		
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:45 p
	KTVR-TV†	2		
Grand Junction	KREX-TV†	5	Sun	10:30 p
La Junta	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	10:00 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

CONNECTICUT

Waterbury	WATR-TV†	53	Thurs	6:00 p
West Hartford	WKNB**	840		

DELAWARE

Wilmington	WPFH-TV†	12	Sun	10:30 p
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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM**	1390	Wed	10:00 p
	WFAN*	100.3		
	WOOK*	1340		

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sat	12:00 p
	WKKO**	860	Sun	4:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB**	1220	Sun	12:30 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1390	Mon	5:45 p
	WNER**	1390		
Miami	WITV-TV†	17	Fri	9:30 p

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Naples	WNOC*	1270	Sat	5:30 p
	WNOC**	1270	Sun	5:30 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV†	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WDLP**	590	Sun	2:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Tues	11:45 a
Sanford	WTRR*	1400	Sat	9:15 p

GEORGIA

Atlanta	WERD**	860	Sun	
Augusta	WGAC**	580		
	WJBF-TV†	11	Sun	3:00 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV†	28	Sat	5:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Jesup	WBGR*	1370	Sun	1:00 p
Macon	WIBB*	1240	Sun	11:00 a
Monroe	WMRE**	1490	Sun	8:00 p
Savannah	WTOC-TV†	11	Sun	3:00 p

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sat	8:45 p
Honolulu	KONA-TV†	2	Sun	10:15 p
Wailuku, Mau	KMVI*	550	Sun	12:15 p

IDAHO

Boise	KIDO-TV†	7	Sun	11:15 p
Moscow	KRPL*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	3:00 p

ILLINOIS

Belleville	WIBV*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
Bloomington	WBLN-TV†	15	Sun	2:00 p
Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	3:45 p
	WBYS**	1560	Sat	4:00 p
Carmi	WROY*	1460	Sun	1:45 p
Chicago	WMAQ*	670		
	WMAQ**	670		
Cicero	WHFC*	1450	Tues	10:30 p

ILLINOIS — (Continued)

Danville	WDAN-TV†	24	Thurs	6:30 p
Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
	WDZ*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
	WTVP-TV†	17		
De Kalb	WLBK*	1360	Sun	1:00 p
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
East Peoria	WEEK*	1350		
East St. Louis	WTMV*	1490		
	WTMV*	1490		
Fairfield	WFIW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
Freeport	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
	WFRL*	1570	Sat	11:45 a
Galesburg	WGIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
Harrisburg	WEBQ*	1240	Thurs	2:00 p
	WEBQ*	1240	Sat	2:30 p
	WSIL-TV†	22	Sat	10:30 a
Jacksonville	WLDS*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
Joliet	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Kankakee	WKAN*	1320		
	WKAN*	1450	Thurs	6:00 p
Kewanee	WKEI*	1320	Wed	9:45 p
	WKEI*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
	WPRC*	1370	Sun	4:30 p
Litchfield	WSML*	1540	Sun	1:30 p
Marion	WGCH*	1150	Sun	6:45 p
Mt. Carmel	WVMC*	1360		
	WVMC*	1360		
Mt. Vernon	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Olney	WVLN*	740	Sun	12:45 p
	WVLN*	740	Sun	12:00 n
Sparta	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:45 p
	WHCO*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Sterling	WSDR*	1240	Sun	8:00 p
	WSDR*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Waukegan	WKRS*	1220		

INDIANA

Bloomington	WTTS*	1370	Sun	1:15 p
Connorsville	WCNB*	1580	Sun	9:30 p
Elkhart	WSJV-TV†	52	Sat	6:00 p
Evansville	WEHT-TV†	50	Sun	10:30 a
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA*	1400	Sun	9:30 p
Ft. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
Frankfort	WILQ*	1570	Sun	1:45 p
Indianapolis	WISH-TV†	6	Sun	12:00 n
	WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
	WITZ*	990	Sun	11:00 a
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WFAM-TV†	59	Fri	8:00 p

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Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WSAL*	1230	Sat	6:30 p
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	WIMS*	1420	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590	Sun	4:30 p
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WLBC-TV†	49	Sat	5:00 p
New Castle	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:05 p
Portland	WGTW*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW*	1440	Sun	3:00 p
Salem	WSLM*	1220	Wed	11:00 a
	WSLM*	1220	Fri	11:00 a
Seymour	WICD*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
	WICD*	1390	Sun	5:00 p
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
Washington	WTHI-TV†	10	Tues	9:30 p
	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW*	1580	Sun	11:30 a

IOWA

Decorah	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:00 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:30 p
Fort Dodge	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:00 p
	KOTV-TV†	21	Tues	6:30 p
Mason City	KCLO-TV†	3	Sun	5:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860	Sun	11:45 a
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
Waterloo	KWWL-TV†	7	Sun	11:00 a

KANSAS

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	Sun	9:15 p
	KCRB*	1460	Sun	9:45 p
Great Bend	KCKT-TV†	2	Thurs	5:00 p
McPherson	KNEX*	1540	Sun	8:30 a
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK*	1340	Sun	9:00 p

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL*	1290	Mon	5:45 a
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730		
	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
Mayfield	WKTM*	1050		
	WKTM*	1050		

KENTUCKY — (Continued)

Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 a
	WFLW*	1570	Thurs	8:30 a
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS*	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420	Tues	7:30 p
Paducah	WPAD*	1450	Mon	9:00 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Princeton	WPKY*	1580		
	WPKY*	1580		
Vancleve	WMTC*	730		

LOUISIANA

Lafayette	KLFY-TV†	10	Fri	1:30 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV†	25	Wed	9:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	12:00 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV†	8	Mon	1:00 p
Natchitoches	KNOC*	1450	Sun	10:15 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV†	20	Sun	7:30 p
	WJMR*	990	Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR*	990	Sun	1:00 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
	KSLO*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
	KRUS*	1490	Sun	12:45 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KTBS-TV†	3	Sun	1:00 p

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV†	2	Mon	10:30 p
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
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MASSACHUSETTS

New Bedford	WBSM*	1230	Sat	1:45 p
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MICHIGAN

Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV†	20	Mon	8:30 p
Cadillac	WWTV-TV†	13	Sun	6:00 p
Coldwater	WTVB*	1500	Sun	2:00 p
Detroit	WJBK*	1500	Sun	8:30 p
	WJBK-TV†	2	Sun	8:30 p

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Grand Rapids	WFUR*	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Lansing	WTOM-TV†	54	Thurs	6:30 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Thurs	6:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
Saginaw	WKNX-TV†	57	Wed	2:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR*	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WSTR*	1230	Sat	5:15 p

MINNESOTA

Austin	KMMT-TV†	6	Sun	3:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	Sun	10:15 a
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p
	KEYD-TV†	9	Sun	2:00 p

MISSISSIPPI

Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI*	570	Sun	12:00 n
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Cleveland	WCLD*	1490		
Columbus	WCBI*	550	Sun	6:00 p
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
Greenwood	WGRM*	1240		
Gulfport	WGCM*	1240	Sun	10:15 a
McComb	WAPP*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPP*	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO*	1230	Fri	6:30 p
West Point	WRQB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS-TV†	12	Sun	11:00 a
Caruthersville	KCRV*	1570	Sun	4:15 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	Sun	12:45 a
	KCHR*	1350	Sun	1:30 p
Clinton	KDKD*	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Dexter	KDEX*	1590	Tues	10:15 p
	KDEX*	1590	Sun	2:30 p
Flat River	KFMO*	1240		
	KFMO*	1240		
Jefferson City	KLKJ*	950	Sun	2:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	KFSB*	1450	Sun	10:30 a
Kansas City	KMBC-TV†	9	Sun	11:00 a
Malden	KTCB*	1470	Sun	12:00 n
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	2:00 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
	KWOC*	930	Wed	5:45 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I want to congratulate you most sincerely on your new TOPIC OF THE WEEK series on FACTS FORUM.

With Robert Hurleigh and good reporters — plus outstanding national figures — you are really offering the radio public an extremely interesting and high type weekly program.

GEORGE G. BIGGAR
President and Gen. Manager
DeKalb Radio Studios, Inc.
DeKalb, Illinois

We are receiving the *Facts Forum News* regularly and like the way you present your views.

R. F. BURRELL
Dighton, Kansas

Your article "A Communist in the Classroom" was enlightening, also frightening. It should take the apathy from all those who read it.

Also "What's the Hullabaloo About Mental Health?" points out that there are people who watch the actions of our Congress and detect things that could possibly escape those Americans who are not too well informed.

"The Southern Manifesto" was well presented by both sides.

All in all it was a great issue of a truly patriotic magazine and, as far as I'm concerned, will become a collector's item.

SAMUEL ROBBINS
176 W. 81 Street
New York, N. Y.

*July, 1956, issue, *Facts Forum News*

Your organization is a vital factor in reviving the old-fashioned American spirit which made this country great.

BILL HAMMER, JR.
6 Peter Cooper Road
New York 10, N. Y.

I am a sophomore at New Trier High School and I'm on the debating team. . . . Your magazine *Facts Forum News* aids me greatly in my classes and in debate.

JULIE RYSTROM
325 Linden Street
Winnetka, Illinois

FACTS FORUM and TOPIC OF THE WEEK [radio programs] are enjoyed regularly through the facilities of KTTR, Rolla, Missouri.

LUTHER W. MARTIN
P. O. Box 67
St. James, Missouri

I am happy to be receiving *Facts Forum [News]* and it is going to be passed on so that others may read, and, I hope, heed its contents.

FLORENCE CONNER
R.F.D., Box 154
Berkey, Ohio

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

MISSOURI — (Continued)

Rolla	KTTR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
	KTTR*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KFTV-TV†	36	Mon	7:00 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSGM*	980	Sun	4:00 p
Sedalia	KSIS*	1050	Sun	12:30 p
Sikeston	KSIM*	1400	Mon	6:45 p
	KSIM*	1400	Sun	2:30 p
Springfield	KICK*	1290	Sat	6:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:00 p
Bozeman	KXLO*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLO*	1450	Sat	9:15 p
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLF*	1370	Sat	10:00 p
	KXLF-TV†	6	Sun	7:30 p
Glasgow	KLTZ*	1240	Wed	7:15 p
Glendive	KXGN*	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Great Falls	KXLK*	1400	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLK*	1400	To be announced	
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLJ*	1240	To be announced	
Lewistown	KXLO*	1230		
Miles City	KATL*	1340	Sun	8:00 p
	KATL*	1340	Sat	7:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:15 p
	KGVO-TV†	13	Mon	9:00 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
	KCSR**	1450	Wed	7:15 p
Columbus	KJSK*	900	Tues	1:45 p
Hays Center	KHPL-TV†	6	Sat	6:00 p
Kerney	KHOL-TV†	13	Sat	6:00 p
Norfolk	WJAC**	780	Sat	10:15 a
North Platte	KJLT**		Sat	4:30 p

NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
	KELY**	1230	Sun	11:30 a

NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400	Sun	5:00 p
South Orange	WSOU**		Mon	2:15 p
	WSOU**		Thurs	3:00 p

NEW MEXICO

Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Tues	8:15 p
	KAVE*	1240	Wed	8:30 p
Clayton	KLMX**	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX**	1450	Sun	2:00 p
Clovis	KCLV**	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN*	1230	Sun	1:45 p

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

Portales	KENM**	1450	Fri	6:30 p
	KENM**	1450	Wed	7:15 p
Roswell	KSWs-TV†	8	Mon	4:15 p
Truth or Consequences	KCHS**	1400	Sun	12:15 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400	Sun	8:30 p

NEW YORK

Albany-Troy	WCDA-TV†	41	Fri	9:00 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
	WCSS**	1490	Sun	10:00 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM†	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410	Mon	7:15 p
	WFCB**	1410	Wed	7:15 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:15 p
	WHUC**	1230	Sun	3:00 p
Jamestown	WJTN**		Sat	8:30 p
New York	WOR*	710		
	WOR-TV†	9		
Niagara Falls	WJLJ**		Sun	7:00 p
Port Jervis	WDLG**	1490	Sun	7:00 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Brevard	WPNF*	1240	Mon	7:15 p
	WPNF**	1240	Sun	8:00 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410	Thurs	10:15 a
	WEGO**	1410	Sun	9:30 a
Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:00 p
	WBBO**	780	Sun	5:30 p
Hickory	WIRC**	630	Sun	10:00 a
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
Lexington	WBUY*	1440	Sun	7:30 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV†	28	Sat	5:00 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1430		
Washington	WHED**	1340	Sun	8:00 p
	WHED*	1340	Sat	6:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Your series on "The Communist Party of the U.S.A." [in the March, April, May and June, 1956, issues] are a CLASSIC, and you certainly deserve much credit in giving the people of our land a CHANCE for proper appraisal of the opposition.

HANS KRUGER
District Executive Committeeman
THE AMERICAN LEGION
St. James, Minnesota

I find your publication very good and informative. The ideas presented are very thought-provoking, and clientele I have been able to interest the first time, come back for the next issue even before I receive it.

MRS. VERNICE K. HARDMAN
Librarian
Mineral County Public Library
Superior, Montana

Please tell me how I may obtain a copy of "Handbook for Americans" which you are running in your magazine. I am a member of DAR, and have recommended these articles to others.

Yours for the preservation of our Constitution,

MISS DOROTHY M. PEEK
124 W. Maple Avenue
Stillwater, Oklahoma

We have been receiving copies of your magazine and find it very thought-provoking. Because of our knowledge of the field of art we are most interested in the two articles — Pels' "Art for Whose Sake?" in the February, 1956, issue, and D'Harnoncourt's "Modern Art and Freedom," in the June, 1956, issue.

GLADYS R. HASKINS, Librarian
The Cleveland Institute of Art
Cleveland 6, Ohio

I wish to compliment you on the quality of your fine publication. As one who has, for many years, been aware of the Communist-Socialist threat to our nation I can think of no better compliment for your magazine than to say it's 100 per cent American in thought and objective.

ARTHUR FARASH, JR.
3201st Installations Gp.
Eglin Field, Florida

Seeing your magazine on the newsstand for the first time I was interested in the topics mentioned on the front page so took it home to read and I thought you might be interested in my comments.

May I compliment you on the subjects chosen and the excellent coverage including the drawings, such as the one on page seventeen ["The Communist in the Classroom," July, 1956, issue] in connection with American schools.

HAROLD ARTHUR WELCH
425 S.W. 26th Street
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

NORTH CAROLINA — (Continued)

Wilmington	WMFD-TV†	6	Tues	10:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV†	26	Sun	5:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Bismarck	KFYR-TV†	5	Tues	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX**	1230	Sun	1:30 p
	KDIX*	1230	Thurs	8:15 p
Fargo	WDAY-TV†	6		
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p

OHIO

Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
Cleveland	WDOK*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560	Sun	12:15 p
Dayton	WHIO*	1290		
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	11:45 p
	WEOL**	930	Sun	9:00 p
Gallipolis	WJEH**	990	Sun	10:00 p
Hamilton	WMOH*	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Lima	WIMA-TV†	35	Sat	6:00 p
Middletown	WPRF*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	12:30 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
	WSPD**	1370	Thurs	9:30 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV†	18	Sun	1:00 p

OKLAHOMA

Ada	KTEN-TV†	10	Sun	6:00 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Thurs	10:15 p
Cushing	KUSH*	1600	Sun	5:15 p
Enid	KCRG*	1390	Sun	9:30 p
Miami	KGLC*	910	Sun	6:00 p
Poteau	KLCO**	1280		
Pryor	KOLS*	1570	Sun	9:30 p
	KOLS**	1570	Fri	10:15 p
Tulsa	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW*	1450	Wed	7:45 p

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

OREGON

Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM**	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p
Oceanlake	KBCH*	1400		
Pendleton	KUMA**	1370		
Portland	KXL*	750		
	KLOR-TV†	12		

PENNSYLVANIA

Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
Beaver Falls	WBUP**	1230	Sun	9:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 p
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	4:30 p
	WFRM**	600	Sun	1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV†	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400		
Gettysburg	WGEE*	1450	Sun	8:00 p
	WGEE**	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Harrisburg	WCMB-TV†	27	Wed	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV†	56	Fri	10:00 p
Philadelphia	WJMJ**		Sun	12:00 p
Pittsburgh	WENS-TV†	16	Thurs	10:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI*	1400	Sun	12:45 p
Tyrone	WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
	WTRN**	1290	Sun	1:30 p
Wellsboro	WNBT*	1490	Sat	9:00 p
	WNBT**	1490	Sun	9:00 p
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	7:00 p
	WLYC**	1050	Mon	10:30 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	7:30 p
	WNOW**	1250	Sun	3:30 p
	WNOW-TV†	49	Sun	8:00 p

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV†	3	Mon	9:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL**	1300		
San Juan	WHAO**	1400	Tues	7:00 p

RHODE ISLAND

Providence	WICE**	1290	Sun	5:30 p
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SOUTH CAROLINA

Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380	Sat	4:15 p
Charleston	WCSC-TV†	5	Sun	4:00 p
Chester	WGCD*	1490	Sat	7:45 p
	WGCD**	1490	Sat	6:30 p
Florence	WOLS*	1230	Mon	9:15 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280	Sat	11:15 p
	WJAY**	1280	Sun	5:30 p
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	1:30 p
	WTND**	920	Sat	7:00 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

Rapid City	KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
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TENNESSEE

Clarksville	WDXN	540	Sun	6:15 p
Dyersburg	WDSG	1450	Thurs	5:45 p
Etowah	WCPH	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WHBT	1230		
	WHBT	1230		
Jackson	WTJS	1390	Sat	5:45 p
	WTJS	1390	Mon	9:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV	11	Sun	2:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV	900		
Lawrenceburg	WDXE	1370	Sun	5:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR	900	Sun	2:00 p
Lexington	WDXL	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Maryville	WGAP	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBO	560	Sat	6:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNB	1450	Sun	1:00 p
Newport	WLK	1270		
Paris	WTPR	710	Sun	2:30 p
Sevierville	WSEV	930	Sun	4:15 p
South Pittsburgh	WEFG	910	To be announced	
	WEFG	910	To be announced	
Springfield	WDBL	1430	Sun	2:00 p
	WDBL	1430	Sun	12:00 n

TEXAS

Abilene	KWKC	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	AGNC	710	Fri	7:00 p
Ballinger	KRUN	1400		
	KRUN	1400	Wed	9:00 p
Beeville	KIBL	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Big Spring	KBST-TV	4	Wed	6:30 p
Bonham	KFFN	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFFN	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Breckenridge	KSTB	1430	Sun	5:10 p
Brenham	KWHI	1280	Sun	1:30 p
Brownsville	KBOR	1600	Sat	6:15 p
Carrizo Springs	KBEN	1450	Wed	6:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE	1120	Sun	1:15 p
Colorado City	KVMC	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS	1360	Fri	7:00 p
	KVDO-TV	22	Tues	6:00 p
Crockett	KIVY	1290		
	KIVY	1290	Sun	3:30 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV	4	Sat	3:30 p
	WFAA	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA	570	Mon	10:30 p
Eastland	KERC	1590	Sun	3:30 p
El Paso	KEPO	690	Sun	9:45 a
Galveston	KLUF	1400	Sat	6:15 p
	KLUF	1400	Sun	7:00 p

Reporters' Roundup radio program is broadcast weekly by the Mutual Broadcasting System. Consult your local newspaper for station and time.

Greenville	KGVL	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Hillsboro	KHBR	1500		
Houston	KPRC	950	Wed	9:45 p
	KPRC	950		
Jacksonville	KEBE	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Junction	KMBL	1450	Mon	6:30 p
Kingsville	KINE	1330	Sun	12:00 n
	KINE	1330	Sat	5:30 p
Lamesa	KPET	690	Sun	7:00 p
Laredo	KHAD-TV	8	Thurs	7:30 p
Levelland	KLVT	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Longview	KFR0	1370	Sun	12:15 p
	KFR0	1370		
Lubbock	KDUB-TV	11	Sun	1:00 p
Lufkin	KTRE-TV	9	Tues	10:30 p
	KTRE	1420	Sun	5:00 p
Midland	KMID-TV	2	Sun	
	KCRS	550	Fri	7:00 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP	960	Sun	12:30 p
Nacogdoches	KSFA	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC	1250	Sun	6:45 p
Pecos	KIUN	1400	Sat	8:00 a
Post	KRWS	1370	Sun	3:30 p
	KRWS	1370	Sat	1:00 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV	8	Sun	3:30 p
	KTXL	1340	Sun	1:00 p
San Antonio	WOAI	1200	Wed	9:45 p
Sherman	KRRV	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV	910	Sun	4:30 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Sweetwater	KPAR-TV	12		
Texarkana	KTF5	1400	Sun	4:45 p
	KCMC-TV	6	Sun	11:00 a
Texas City	KTLW	920	Sun	6:00 p
Waxahachie	KBEC	1390		
Westaco	KRGV	1290	Wed	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV	5	Mon	10:15 p
Wichita Falls	KSYD-TV	10	Sun	5:00 p

UTAH

Brigham City	KBUH	800	Sun	12:30 p
Vernal	KUEL	1340	Mon	5:15 p
	KUEL	1340	Sun	3:00 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Can hardly wait for the [next] magazine. Why not make it twice a month?

MRS. ROY CHAFFEE
Lansing, Minnesota

May I congratulate you on having used the excellent article by Rene D'Hannoncourt entitled "Modern Art and Freedom." It deserves a wide audience.

GORDON WASHBURN, Director
Carnegie Institute
Department of Fine Arts
Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania

Permit me to say that I always read *Facts Forum [News]* with interest and profit, and I feel that yours is one of the more civilized voices being raised in the South today.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
New York Editor
The Pittsburgh Courier
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

I would like to say that I enjoyed the *Facts Forum [News]* magazine. It contains the most "straight shooting" facts of news I have ever read, without taint or tarnish, without slant or favor to any group or minority - and that is what I like - "Straight Facts."

ERNIE T. WATERS
Route 2
Lawrenceburg, Tennessee

Your July issue of *Facts Forum News* is before me and I have read [it] with interest. . . . for many years you have made possible the great interest in our patriotic booth at the Memphis Fair. I hope you will give us your . . . material for our booth this year.

Thank you and the Lord bless you in your great work to save our country.

LOUISE B. MINOR
Route 9, Box 206
Memphis, Tennessee

I enjoy your magazine very much. It is exactly what it claims to be: thought-provoking.

MARILYN D. MAJOR
174 Murray Street
Binghamton, New York

Enjoy reading *Facts Forum News*. I think you are doing a real service to the people by bringing both sides of an issue into the open.

JOHN PICKERING
R. D. 2
Clyde, N. Y.

I find some excellent articles in your fine publication that I would like to reproduce and use in our Security Indoctrination Program.

J. G. DAVIS, Major, USAF
Chief, Security Division
San Antonio Air Materiel Area
Kelly Air Force Base, Texas

*Facts Forum **Topic of the Week
†Reporters' Roundup TV

VERMONT

Newport	WIKE	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN	1340	Sun	6:30 p

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA	1340	Sat	1:00 p

VIRGINIA

Alexandria	WPIK	730	Sun	2:30 p
Arlington	WEAM	1390	Thurs	10:00 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV	1230	Sun	6:45 p
	WCFV	1230		
Crewe	WSVS	800	Sun	4:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP	1340	Tues	7:15 p
	WHAP	1340	Thurs	7:00 p
Newport News	WACH	1270	To be announced	
	WACH	1270		

Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV	15	Sat	5:00 p
Richmond	WMBC	1380	Fri	7:30 p
Roanoke	WLVA-TV	13	Sun	2:00 p
Staunton	WAFB	900	Sun	7:00 p
Suffolk	WLPN	1450	Sun	7:45 p
Waynesboro	WAYB	1490	Sun	5:15 p
Winchester	WINC-WRFL	1400	Tues	5:45 p
	WRFL	1400		

WASHINGTON

Chehalis	KITI	1420	Sun	12:30 p
Chehalis	KITI	1420		
Colfax	KCLX	1450		
	KCLX	1450	Sun	3:00 p
Colville	KCVL	1480	Sun	9:15 a
	KCVL	1480	Sun	5:00 p
Moses Lake	KSEM	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	KSEM	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
Pullman	KOFE	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE	1150	Sun	1:30 p
Seattle	KTVW-TV	13	Mon	9:30 p
Spokane	KXLY-TV	4	Sun	11:00 p
Sunnyside	KREW	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Tacoma	KTAC	850	Wed	9:15 p
	KMO	1360		
Walla Walla	KUJ	1490		

WEST VIRGINIA

Clarksburg	KPDJ	750		
Martinsburg	WEPM	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Morgantown	WCLG	1300	Sun	4:45 p
New Martinsville	WETZ	1330	Fri	10:00 a
	WETZ	1330		
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV	4		
Ronceverte	WRON	1400		
	WRON	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK	1400	Sun	7:45 p

WISCONSIN

Green Bay	WMBV-TV	11	Sun	4:30 p
Madison	WMFM	104.1	Sun	12:15 p
Manitowoc	WWOC	980	Sun	3:15 p
Portage	WPDR	1350	Sun	4:00 p
Reedsburg	WRDB	1400	Sun	6:15 p
Richland Center	WRCO	1450	Sat	7:30 p
Sturgeon Bay	WDOR	910	Sun	5:00 p
Two Rivers	WTRW	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW	1590	To be announced	
Wausaw	WSAU-TV	7		

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI	1400	Sun	7:15 p
Torrington	KGOS	1490		
	KGOS	1490	Sun	9:30 a

FACTS FORUM

presents

4 ★ ★ ★ ★ Programs each week

A description of these programs appears on page 55. There are prizes, too, for questions used on Reporters' Roundup programs. Refer to the Contest rules on page 60.

YOU can HELP THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM by calling Facts Forum programs to the attention of your friends.

Contest Rules

To enter the Facts Forum contests it is necessary that contestants vote the Facts Forum Poll and send a list of names and addresses of five friends who would be interested in receiving *Facts Forum News*.

Only one list of names is necessary for contestants to enter any one or all of the monthly contests. Use the handy entry sheet on page 63.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS: Write letters of 150 words or less to your favorite newspaper about any subject of national interest. If you need more than 150 words to express your views, divide the material into two or more letters. Letters must have been published in a newspaper or magazine, and a clipping sent for entry.

An award of \$10 will be paid for each letter selected by our contest judges.

SLOGAN: A handsome clock-radio will be awarded to the person who, in the opinions of the contest judges, submits a slogan superior to the one currently appearing in the magazine. Until such a slogan is received, the present slogan will be continued each month.

POLL QUESTIONS: Do you have questions on subjects of national interest which would be suitable for use in our monthly poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$5 for each question selected by our judges. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces. Questions will be judged for their current interest, fairness and conciseness. Keep questions "unloaded." Questions must be worded so that they can be answered "yes" or "no."

QUESTIONS FOR TV PROGRAM: Mail questions for use on Reporters' Roundup-TV to: P. O. Box 26, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used will receive Longines wrist watches.

QUESTIONS FOR RADIO PROGRAMS: Questions suggested for Reporters' Roundup-Radio should be mailed to Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used will receive Wittnauer wrist watches.

Book Reviews

(Continued from page 36)

Stokes. Payment of benefits became conditional, and on conditions subject to congressional whim. "The one section that went untouched was the escape clause, the avoidance of contract liability." This is the system we have today.

Senator George of Georgia, who supported the first Social Security bill, denounced the new plan. He was not the only objector. Numerous extensions of Social Security were made in 1954. Mr. Stokes is of the opinion that considerable efflorescence marks any election year.

Social Security rulings are highly technical and abound with such statements as, "If you qualify," "If you are an eligible survivor beneficiary," and "If you fulfill the conditions." The government always decides whether you do or do not, and of course maintains a gigantic staff of investigators to make sure that, if you are "eligible," you remain so.

Many today are enjoying windfalls from Social Security, especially persons in the advanced age brackets. The author thinks that they do well to ride the gray train *while it lasts*. Mil-

lions of others have suffered disappointment and heartbreak; characteristic case histories are given. It is practically impossible for anyone to know for sure whether he is "covered" or not, until the day of reckoning dawns, at which time all the benefits may have leaked out through an unguessed loophole; or, the law may have been changed, to operate retroactively.

The author explains: Except for a few hundred million dollars in current cash (mere pocket change in this enterprise), the reserve fund consists of bonds. These Social Security bonds are *not the same* as government bonds in private hands. Regular bonds *already* have been sold to private citizens. But the Social Security bonds have not yet been sold; they are not negotiable, have no more intrinsic value than bonds not yet printed. Any move to draw on this reserve fund would mean taxing the people a third time, to pay off the bonds held there. The Social Security reserve fund is only a paper resource, a thing unreal. "A commercial insurance company found in that shape would go out of business as fast as the State examiner could get to a telephone."

Will the Social Security Reserve Fund go broke? And if so, when? Nobody knows. The best actuarial science in the world cannot deliver an affirmative or a negative answer on this vital point. Chapter Sixteen defines the situation simply and fully. It should make absorbing reading for any F.I.C.A. taxpayer.

Certainly, current recipients are faring far better than posterity can hope to fare. In fact, posterity may find the Social Security structure an insupportable burden, and flatly repudiate it. Rather than face this disgraceful possibility, says Mr. Stokes, Congress should at once accord our Social Security laws complete and thorough revision, not in emotional terms to attract votes, but in realistic terms that will stand up under the sternest scrutiny of actuarial experts.

It can be done; it should be done; and the sooner the better, affirms this analyst.

Any book reviewed in this book section (or any other current book) supplied by return mail, postage prepaid. You pay only the bookstore price.

"The Complete Bookstore-by-Mail"
THE BOOKMAILER, Box 101, NEW YORK 16



LETTERS to the EDITORS

First Award

LIMIT U. S. OWNERSHIP

To the *Nashville Banner*:

Few realize that today the federal government owns about 25 per cent of the land area of the United States. Through its taxing, regulatory, and controlling powers it has confiscated and transferred to itself at least one-half of the private property in the country.

It has business properties worth \$50 billion and electrical power projects that will produce a fourth of all our power.

The government is in the insurance business. It can fix minimum wages. It can tell the farmer how much to plant without penalty.

It regulates and controls in a manner which is socialism itself.

Only 20 years ago the states and localities collected 75 per cent of all revenues, but today the federal government collects 75 per cent. Much of what the government controls, it does not own outright — which is communism.

The people and the states should enact constitutional restrictions and limitations on the federal government.

ERNIE T. WATERS
Route No. 2

New Prospect Community
Lawrenceburg, Tennessee

Second Award

COURT THREAT

To the *Boston Post*:

The Supreme Court's decision, ruling out state prosecution for sedition, has nullified sedition laws in 42 states by declaring that the Smith Act supersedes these laws. How absolutely ridiculous! Every unit of society from the individual on up has a right to protect itself.

The individual states are sovereign powers entitled to all the rights of sovereign powers except those that are explicitly reserved to the federal government by the Constitution. Therefore, the states have a right to protect themselves against sedition, even when it's a case of sedition against the federal government. The federal government is the creation of the states.

An act of Congress can never supersede the Constitution. Neither can the Supreme Court supersede the Constitution. These nine men are not the su-

preme law of the land. The Constitution is still the supreme law.

This decision is a most serious threat to the welfare of the people.

PHILIP E. O'CONNELL
18 Whitcomb Terrace
South Weymouth, Massachusetts

Third Award

TURNABOUT

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

If a guaranteed annual wage for labor is possible, why not a guaranteed annual dividend for capital?

If a business fails, labor can always walk out with all it put in — skill of hand or brain — intact, to market elsewhere. Capital not only sees its wage, the dividend, suddenly cut off, but the only source of that dividend, the investment itself, anywhere from partially to totally wiped out.

Sauce for the goose should be sauce for the gander. Only who's going to supply the sauce?

ANNICE RICHARDSON
432 South Curson Avenue, East
Los Angeles 36, California

FOREIGN AID

To the *Boston Post*:

There are some indications that Congress is on the verge of rebelling against the administration regarding the fantastic amount of tax dollars it is planning to appropriate for foreign aid.

The best way to put a check on this reckless spending is to attach a rider to all foreign aid bills, providing that 25 per cent of the total appropriation shall be taken and used to reduce the tax load for Americans from top to bottom.

Now is the time for the elected representatives of the people to wake up to the fact that Americans at home should be considered when material aid is being handed out.

Some of us are wondering how much of the money is wasted.

Are the United Nations, NATO, and all of the other American agencies anywhere in the world a factor in winning or losing American national elections with the use of foreign aid?

JOSEPH H. BOUCHER
30 Zeller Street
Roslindale 31, Massachusetts

CRITICIZES FOREIGN AID

To the *Tablet*:

I wrote Senator Harry F. Byrd in protest against the large foreign aid program. In answer he said that he has consistently voted against foreign aid for years, and that on his last trip to Europe he discovered we had given \$100 million to Denmark, which enabled her to pay off her debt, and \$200 million to England to reduce taxes. He said, "This is just an example of the way these funds have been wasted." He added that he will vigorously oppose the recommendation of continued foreign aid over a ten-year period. It is evident that money is given, even without senators knowing of it. The Hoover Report says our national debt is \$500 billion instead of \$300 billion. Our interest on the debt is \$19 million a day. We are also paying reparations to Israel, which Germany is supposed to be paying.

MRS. CLEO E. SCHEER
2600 Hampshire Road
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

EDUCATION MEET MISSED

BIG ITEM

To the *San Diego Union*:

In the White House Conference on education, a list of 12 items was presented where change, improvement, or increased support was needed. In studying these items, I was impressed most by the important thing omitted.

We brag of our nation founded on the belief in God and having the motto, "In God We Trust." Yet, in our school system, we do not teach this fundamental truth of our existence and destiny.

In many schools such teaching is officially prohibited. So we find the majority of the present and rising generation ignorant of the true cause and purpose of man's existence here on this earth.

If our nation is founded on this basic truth — "God Is" — is there any reason why this same truth should not be the basic and universal foundation for the training and education of every child and adult in our educational system, from kindergarten to university?

PERRY H. SMITH
921 West Chase Avenue
El Cajon, California

FINALLY!

To the *Kansas City Star*:

Bravo! Finally someone with nerve has said that the VA benefit program needs fumigating. I was glad to read that the President's commission on veterans' benefits has recommended vast changes to bring realism into the program.

I believe pensions should only go to those who need them. I believe that all VA payments for nonservice-connected

disabilities should be stopped. State and local organizations should take care of these people.

All service-connected disabilities should be reviewed and reclassified according to medical opinion. These should not be awarded on a nonmedical basis. If a man (or woman) has a disability which actually prevents him from making a living, then he should be compensated by the VA. Otherwise, he should not.

The President's commission will probably get blasted by some of the veterans' organizations. Let them holler.

DR. WILLIAM J. FOX
318 West Forty-sixth Terrace
Kansas City 12, Missouri

Rules for the "Letters to Editors" contest, and other Facts Forum contests appear on page 60.

Stalinism Continues

(Continued from page 51)

(4) Agree to disarmament through international inspection and supervision of nuclear and all other weapons of mass destruction.

(5) Cease all subversive and espionage activities through the Cominform and all its agencies.

(6) Apply in the Middle East and elsewhere the five principles Khrushchev and Bulganin hailed in their tour of India and at the 20th Congress.

(7) Agree to withdraw Marshal Rokossovsky from control of the Polish Army.

(8) Accept the proposals made by the West (which they rejected at Geneva) for free exchange of ideas and cultural material between the USSR and the free countries.

Our free labor movement and our democratic academic community can render a really great service to our country by helping it develop clarity and unity of purpose and much greater initiative in the struggle for peace and freedom. Our country has much more to sell than seeds, farm machinery, and automobiles. We have very effective means with which to quarantine communism or any other despotism. We have the ideals and the ideas; the devotion to human dignity and liberty; the military potential and infinite capacity to help transform countries peacefully into areas of well-being and freedom for the great mass of people. END

Communism's Bottled Efficiency

BY UPTON SINCLAIR

Excerpt from *The Cup of Fury*, Chapter 11

Published in 1956 at \$3.00 by Channel Press, Inc., Great Neck, N. Y.

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THE Communists use liquor as a sort of Geiger-counter, probing for the weaknesses of men and women. They have used it to gain recruits; they have used it to steal a nation's most guarded secrets.

Mary McCarthy, the brilliant writer of short stories, recently told in *Reporter* magazine how in her youth she flitted about on the outskirts of the Communist movement, attending their dances and drinking parties. Everybody became extremely drunk, and "the atmosphere was horribly sordid."

When the Communist regime was launched in Russia, there were some sincere if mistaken idealists among the "old Bolsheviks"—men and women who really believed in freedom, who were actually convinced that they were uplifting humanity. But thinkers of this sort went down, one after another, in one blood purge after another. They were exterminated as if they had been the most dangerous of snakes.

One of the early forms their idealism took was the prohibition of alcoholic liquor. But that hope died with all the others. The brutal men who came out on top in Russia knew that a drunken people would be easier to hold in subjection than a sober people.

Today the Soviet Union has repudiated all the virtues of the old order and adopted only its evils. The production of liquor is a State monopoly; and the men who control that monopoly live in luxury. Ninety per cent of the money paid for every quart of liquor goes directly to the State. Correspondents come home from Russia and report that there are no shoes available in the stores, no clothing, only the basic foodstuffs—and liquor. There's always plenty of liquor.

In France, it was the Communists who were most vociferous in their campaign of hate, ridicule, and contempt, when Pierre Mendès-France began his historic attempt to curb alcoholism in his country. Again they acted in the knowledge that a wine-sodden nation, sick in mind and body, is easy prey.

And look at the drinking "traditions" of France the Communists there so righteously defended! The nation's consumption of wine in 1954 was six billion bottles—five times as much as for Italy, the world's second in wine-consumption. Home distilling is legal in France, with 3,250,000 individuals licensed to produce alcohol from grapes, apples, prunes, pears, sugar beets, and even artichokes. There is one drink shop for every ninety inhabitants. In Germany the ratio is one to 246 people; in Norway, it's one to every three thousand. As a result, there are twenty-two alcoholics to each one thousand inhabitants in France. And at least partially as a result of that fact, I believe, France has the sickest government in the free world, including in its Assembly more Communists than any other free nation of the world.

Liquor works for the Communists in New York and in Paris and in Moscow. It works overtime.

EDITOR'S MAIL BASKET

(Continued from page 54)

the following: "Our people (the Czechs) had the misfortune of being exposed to slavery twice within a decade: once at Munich, . . . the second time at Teheran in 1943 and Yalta in 1945 by . . . your President F. D. Roosevelt."

The Czech professors should blame their own political leaders before laying the responsibility at the door of the former President of the United States. Nothing has contributed so much to the advancement of the imperialistic aims of Russians than the Czechoslovak politics. Masaryk and Benes were the first in Europe to make a military agreement with the Soviet in 1935, by which the Russians were granted ammunition depots in Slovakia and military air bases in Carpathorussia. . . .

When Czechoslovakia was created after World War I by the Peace Conference at Paris, the Western powers, misled by false promises of Masaryk and Benes, donated, to the new state, territories and peoples without granting them the right of self-determination proclaimed in Wilson's fourteen points. . . . The Hungarians attached to Czechoslovakia against their will were treated as second-rate citizens. . . .

As a result of the Munich agreement the Hungarians of Czechoslovakia partly achieved the right of self-determination in 1938. . . . When the peace treaty after World War II restored the pre-Munich borders of Czechoslovakia our unfortunate people were thrown to the unrestrained national rage of the Czechoslovak politicians. Under the protection of the Soviet, they unscrupulously set about creating a real national Czechoslovakia by exterminating the nationalities. With Soviet inspiration they masterminded the Kosice Program which was but a blueprint of genocide against our people. . . .

Some of those men who signed and executed the genocidal orders against our people are now the privileged propagandists of Radio Free Europe for the subjugated nations. By the Committee of Free Europe they are presented as champions of democracy and freedom to those people who cannot live long enough to forget the suffering received from them.

Radio Free Europe will never be what is intended, a propaganda means of freedom and powerful help to subjugated people, until it ceases to work with men who collaborated with the Communists and are contaminated with crimes against the rights and freedom of others.

REV. FATHER CHRISTOPHER HITES
Vice President of the Committee
of Hungarians of Czechoslovakia,
Shrine of the Little Flower Parish
2201 Roseland Avenue
Royal Oak, Michigan

HANDY ENTRY FORM FOR

Facts Forum Contests

Complete rules for all Facts Forum contests are given on page 60. However, for your convenience in entering these contests, this handy entry blank is provided.

To enter any of the contests you must vote the Facts Forum poll on the reverse side of this page and send it in with the names and addresses of five persons who would be interested in receiving FACTS FORUM NEWS.

Your name _____

Your address _____

List of friends who might wish to receive FACTS FORUM NEWS:

NAME	ADDRESS
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

POLL QUESTIONS

I wish to submit the following poll questions (questions must be worded so that they can be answered "yes" or "no," and must not exceed 72 characters, including spaces).

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

SLOGAN

I wish to submit the following slogan:

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Please enter the attached clipping of my "letter to the editor" in your contest. It does not exceed 150 words, and it has been published in a newspaper (or magazine).

My name _____

Name of publication from which my letter was clipped:

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes September 1

Yes No

- Has our national economy taken a beating in the name of foreign aid?
- Should mass-picketing by labor unions be outlawed?
- Should labor unions be abolished?
- Should our three military services be merged into one?
- Should there be a maximum age limit for the President?
- Do advantages of higher tariffs outweigh the disadvantages?
- Is the nation's internal security system doing more harm than good?
- Is India's neutrality genuine?
- Should the Supreme Court be curbed?
- Should candidates for public office take a test as to their fitness?
- Do you consider One-Worlders subversive?
- Have we become too lax about displaying the American flag?
- Should our school buildings be idle during the summer months?
- Should executive departments be put on a pay-as-you-spend basis?

Remarks _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT) NO. AND ST. CITY AND STATE

• **PLEASE NOTE:** A voter may indicate his answers on the above form or may list them on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which he has no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mail them to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). His votes, shown in this manner, represent his ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

• If you wish to subscribe to FACTS FORUM NEWS, please check below.

- I enclose \$3 for a one-year subscription.
- I enclose \$5 for a two-year subscription.

JULY POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 13 Do you think racial trouble in northern states is being fully reported?
- 47 Are you in favor of statehood for Hawaii and Alaska?
- 52 Would you approve a retail sales tax to take the place of income tax?
- 45 Should police and other censors be allowed to ban books and movies?
- 10 Would you favor expansion of U. S. trade with Russia?
- 77 Is NATO a threat to U. S. sovereignty?
- 69 Should the maximum federal income tax be put at 25%?
- 8 Should American servicemen be tried in foreign courts?
- 49 Should permanent industrial courts be set up to settle labor disputes?
- 47 Should immigration quota be determined by number of unemployed?
- 77 Should all states adopt model law for control of barbiturate sales?
- 48 Is the exchange student plan a good idea?
- 44 Should government finance research to find new uses for surplus products?
- 1 Should Communists be in public employ?

Poll Question Winners For September, 1956

An award of \$10.00 has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st question: AGNES AKANA
P. O. Box 788
Brooklyn, New York
- 2nd question: W. A. BRITTLE
500 Spring Street
Richmond, Virginia
- 3rd question: THOMAS JAMES CURRIE
1437 Q Street
Lincoln, Nebraska
- 4th question: MISS MAUDIE JO FIELDS
1801 Avenue D
Brownwood, Texas
- 5th question: OTTO KAISER
P. O. Box 25299
Los Angeles 25, California
- 6th question: LILLY WENTWORTH
Apt. 2C
69 Morton Street
New York 14, N. Y.
- 7th question: ROBERT LAMBERT
3404 Marmon Avenue
Baltimore 7, Maryland
- 8th question: T. Y. LEA
2001 Nineteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D. C.
- 9th question: FRANCES C. MATHEWS
Las Animas, Colorado
- 10th question: MRS. P. M. REECE
418 Mulberry Lane
Bellaire, Texas
- 11th question: MRS. JOHN W. SCHWENGER
845 Argyle Avenue
Flossmoor, Illinois
- 12th question: MRS. GEORGE SIMS
1752 West Sixty-first Street
Chicago 36, Illinois
- 13th question: MISS GEORGIA C. VICTOR
Villisca, Iowa
- 14th question: GENEVIEVE WELCH
1508 P. A. Law Dept.
111 Eighth Avenue
New York 11, New York

SLOGAN FOR SEPTEMBER, 1956

Apathy Invites Destruction

Submitted by DARYL P. BAILEY, 1112 South Howeth St., Gainesville, Texas

Presented this month, second in the *Facts Forum News* pictorial series, is the First White House of the Confederacy in Montgomery, Alabama.

The historic archives of the states reveal the donation each has made to the heritage of the United States.



Alabama

FIRST WHITE HOUSE OF THE CONFEDERACY IN MONTGOMERY

THIS was the executive mansion of President and Mrs. Jefferson Davis during the first few months of the Confederacy. Representatives of the first six seceding states met in Montgomery on February 4, 1861, a provisional constitution was adopted on February 8, and on February 18 Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens were inaugurated, respectively, provisional president and vice-president. It was in July of that same year that the capital was removed to Richmond, Virginia.

ALABAMA under six flags *** Since the first faint footsteps of a mighty Spanish Legion under Hernando DeSoto were heard echoing through the territory of what is now Alabama, the state has led an existence under six flags, with each regime leaving its imprint upon the land and the people. The flag of Spain carried by DeSoto more than four centuries ago became the first flag to fly over Alabama.

For nearly a century, the French and British colonies struggled with the Spaniards for control of Alabama and finally drove the Spanish into west Florida. The little French colony established in 1711 on Mobile Bay vied with the British crown for the territory until the struggling young United States took the territory shortly before Alabama was admitted to the Union in 1819.

When Alabama seceded from the Union, a Republic of Alabama was created and that flag flew from the historic Capitol building until Jefferson Davis was inaugurated president and the Stars and Bars of the Confederacy was unfurled for four years. Old Glory has been waving over Alabama since 1868.

Photo on back cover courtesy of Alabama State Chamber of Commerce.





SPANISH



BRITISH



FRENCH



OLD GLORY

CONFEDERATE

REPUBLIC OF ALABAMA

