

JUNE 1956

PRICE 25c

# FACTS FORUM

NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine

## Modern Art and Freedom

by René d'Harnoncourt

## The Communist Party of the U.S.A.

Final installment of the Senate Subcommittee's Handbook for Americans

## The Case For and Against

# FOREIGN AID

LIBRARY  
EASTERN KENTUCKY  
STATE COLLEGE  
RICHMOND, KENTUCKY

JOHN FOSTER DULLES



# READERS REPORT

## California Declares Independence

Many letters have been received regarding recent *Facts Forum News* articles relating to our educational system.

From the *Manchester* (N. H.) *Union Leader*, comes an editorial which tells us that the California Congress of Parents and Teachers have issued the following official statement:

After an intensive study of federal aid to education and a review of the summaries of local governors and White House Conferences on Education, we believe the National Congress (of Parents-Teachers) no longer reflects the thinking of this body.

Therefore, we rescind our previous action in approving the National Congress' legislative policy.

Mrs. Rollin Brown of California, President of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and a member of the White House Committee on Education, has replied that the California action will not affect national PTA policy unless at least 30 of the state PTA congresses act likewise.

The *Union Leader* comments editorially:

The obligation of ridding education of its present dangerous domination is directly related to the preservation of American freedom. Vigorous action in the states can undo the present throttle hold. Let's get to it.

## Amendment to Limit Income Taxes

Only one more state need now approve the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution limiting federal taxes on income, estates and gifts to 25 per cent except in case of war, since South Carolina recently became the thirty-first state to approve this resolution.

As mentioned on this page in March, approval by the legislatures of 32 states is required to allow the consideration of an amendment by Congress, following which ratification by 36 states makes it a part of the Constitution.

To keep the record straight, the following states have not yet passed this resolution: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Tennessee, Vermont, Washington, and West Virginia.

## New Study Program Launched

American citizens across the nation are being offered a service to aid them in forming local discussion groups to study the basic principles of constitutional government.

The Foundation for Economic Education, Irvington-on-Hudson, New York, publisher of *The Freeman*, is making available free counsel, and free articles and pamphlets about our national charter and how to organize Constitution Study Groups. Also available is a new book on the Constitution in a low-cost paper-bound edition expressly designed

for discussion group use. These items can be obtained simply by writing the Foundation.

Offered without charge are two articles, "How to Start and Conduct Constitution Study Groups," and "Town Meetings - 1956 Style," a wide variety of pamphlets and reprints concerning the Constitution and related subjects, and a free list of recommended books on the Constitution.

Also available is the newly-published volume, "The Constitution of the United States," by James Mussatti, a 176-page book which study groups have found ideally suited to their needs. The volume includes a new Study Guide by Thomas J. Shelly which makes it especially valuable for discussion groups.

Reprints of the Constitution itself are available as carried in the January issue of *Facts Forum News*. Please see reprint notice on page 1 of this issue.

## Towards World Understanding

A person-to-person type of world understanding is being fostered by World Tape Pals, now in its fourth year. Harry Matthews, 1446 Conner Drive, Dallas, Texas, a type-setting company employee, has spent about \$2,000 in the last few years trying to bring about international friendship through tape-recorded messages between individuals here and abroad.

There are about 2,000 World Tape Pals in 54 countries and their possessions. Once introduced, members mail their tape messages back and forth between countries, adding to international communication and, they feel sure, to world understanding.

Mr. Matthews publishes a paper, *Tape Topics*, which is free to members and prospects. Since one mailing may reach 5,000 people, there is a \$3 annual membership fee for United States and Canadian tape pals. Citizens of other countries are not required to pay dues, but are encouraged to contribute. No charge is made to handicapped persons or shut-ins anywhere.

## New York Parents Organize For Better Education

Mrs. Walter Francisco, 922 Arbor Drive, Endicott, New York, has sent us material concerning the organization of the New York State Association for Better Education, including the program for their April organizational meeting. It was planned to set up a constitution and by-laws, discuss the setting up of regional districts, and prepare a slate of proposed permanent officers at this meeting.

Mrs. Francisco writes, "These are tentative plans for a state organization to represent parents in raising the standards in our schools and teachers' colleges."

Each community was assigned a topic for discussion, among which were: Education

Yesterday and Today, Discipline in the Schools (too little, or the wrong approach?), Centralization (handicap or help?), How Can the Present Decline of Education Standards Be Controlled?, and Tomorrow's Educational Needs.

Headquarters of this new organization are at 1416 Flora St., Endicott, New York.

## To Arm Our Youth

The *Council of Public Affairs Newsletter*, P. O. Box 656, Irving, Texas, has published an editorial which points up once again the value of the study of American history in our schools:

According to Herbert Philbrick (FBI counter-spy), America's Communists' work among the college students has not been as effective as they had hoped, since they found the college students . . . not too receptive to their ideologies.

Instead of retreating, they have set up renewed campaigns aimed at high school students. This is accomplished through supposedly independent youth organizations, pretending to be recreational and welfare organizations. Also there are individuals who open their homes to young people in the guise of entertaining them - many social clubs are formed in and by these groups that gather in homes. In this way adults in charge of such programs become the confidants of youths.

There are many very fine youth organizations, wholesome and good, and as certainly above reproach are many individuals who enjoy the companionship of young people. The simplest solution in determining the purpose of any youth movements would be for the parents to inform their youngsters of this new strategy aimed at them, to alert them so they may recognize any subversive theories. Any youngster, inspired with true American ideals will not fall prey to "their" teachings. This has been borne out too many times to ignore.

Mr. Philbrick says it isn't necessary to use fear as a leverage in informing our young people, that a more effective means is in arming them with positive American concepts. These can be found in the history of the United States, one of the greatest stories ever written - the exposition of a priceless heritage.

## In the Interest of Sound Government

The American Guard of Anderson, Indiana, a bipartisan educational group, are planning to issue their tenth annual *Voters Manual*, according to Charles W. Bailey, executive vice president of the organization.

The names and biographical sketches of all candidates for public office will appear in the booklet.

The cost of publishing and mailing the *Voters Manual* is underwritten by voluntary contributions of individual citizens who have joined the American Guard. Earlier editions have been acclaimed as invaluable guides for individual citizens who sought information about political aspirants.

## American Legion "Action Against Communism"

The Un-American Activities Committee of the Westchester County, New York, American Legion has prepared a handbook which deals with the fundamentals of the fight against communism. Entitled *Action Against Communism*, this digest-size booklet is a compilation of five articles written by J. Edgar Hoover, J. B. Matthews, and John T. Flynn which have been reprinted from the *American Mercury*.

Copies may be obtained for ten cents each by writing to Box 111, White Plains, New York.

# FACTS FORUM NEWS

America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine

Volume 5  
Number 6  
June, 1956

## IN THIS ISSUE

THE CASE FOR AND AGAINST FOREIGN AID . . . . .	2
FREEDOM'S NEW TASK, <i>John Foster Dulles</i> . . . . .	9
MODERN ART AND FREEDOM, <i>René d'Harnoncourt</i> . . . . .	12
PEOPLE'S CAPITALISM . . . . .	18
FOOD FOR FIGHTING, <i>Carl H. Jacob</i> . . . . .	20
CONDENSATION OF THE BRITISH SOCIALIST ILL-FARE STATE, <i>Cecil Palmer</i> . . . . .	21
DOES OUR NATION'S LEDGER GO "INTO THE RED"? . . . . .	30
M. GEORGE . . . I'm the Guy You Let Do It! . . . . .	31
MIKE . . . GUIDED MISSILE GODDESS, <i>Howard Goshorn</i> . . . . .	32
INTERPOSITION: A LEGAL CHALLENGE? . . . . .	34
THE COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A. — A Handbook for Americans <i>Final Installment</i> . . . . .	41
RADIO AND TV SCHEDULES . . . . .	58
CONTEST RULES . . . . .	62
WINNING LETTERS TO THE EDITORS . . . . .	62
HELP THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM . . . . .	64
POLL QUESTIONS AND POLL QUESTION WINNERS . . . . .	65
POLL RESULTS FOR APRIL . . . . .	65
LOGAN FOR THE MONTH . . . . .	65

Photo Credits: Pages 13, 14, 15 and 16 courtesy of  
The Museum of Modern Art of New York.  
Back Cover: Flag, Underwood & Underwood

### Facts Forum News Reprints

Reprints of the following articles may be obtained at the prices shown:

	Less than 100	100	500	1,000	5,000 or more
Bread and Circuses					
Admiral Ben Moreell (Feb., 1956) . . . . .	10c each	9.00	40.00	75.00	35.00 per 1,000
Constitution of the U. S. (12-page folder) (Jan., 1956) . . . . .	15c each	14.50	70.00	130.00	
Article: Art for Whose Sake? . . . . .	} 10c per set	9.00	40.00	75.00	
rebuttal: Modern Art and Freedom . . . . .					

Reprints of other articles will be made available upon sufficient demand.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION of Facts Forum, Inc.,  
10 Jackson Street, Dallas 1, Texas. Published  
monthly in the interests of Facts Forum participants  
and others concerned with dispelling public apathy.  
Second-class mailing privileges authorized at Dallas,  
Texas. Printed in U.S.A.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: Robert H. Dedman,  
President; John L. Dale, Vice-President; Warren  
Gibbert, Jr., Secretary; Joe Nash, Treasurer;  
E. P. Lamberth, Mrs. Sue McCrary, Robert  
Gossett.

ADVISORY BOARD: Major B. A. Hardey, Chair-  
man; Dr. Arthur A. Smith, Lloyd E. Skinner, David  
Strickler, Harry E. Rogier, William N. Blanton,  
H. N. Russell, Jr., Mrs. Wallace Savage, W. G.  
Carter, Doak Walker, E. E. McQuillen, Governor  
Dan Shivers, General Albert C. Wedemeyer,  
General Robert E. Wood, Hanford McNider, John  
C. Moore.

FACTS FORUM is a nationwide public educa-  
tional organization dedicated to arousing public  
interest in important current events and stimulating  
individual participation in the shaping of public  
policy.

FACTS FORUM is nonprofit and nonpartisan,  
supporting no political candidate or party. Facts  
Forum's activities are designed to present not just  
one view of a controversial issue, but opposing  
views, believing that it is the right and the obli-  
gation of the American people themselves to learn  
all the facts and come to their own conclusions.

SIGNED ARTICLES appearing in FACTS  
FORUM NEWS do not necessarily represent the  
opinion of the editors.

MANUSCRIPTS submitted to FACTS FORUM  
NEWS should be accompanied by stamped, self-  
addressed envelopes. Publisher assumes no respon-  
sibility for return of unsolicited manuscripts.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES in the U.S. and U.S.  
possessions, \$3 per year, \$5 for two years, and \$7  
for 3 years. All other countries, \$4 per year. To  
subscribe, see page 64.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send old address  
(exactly as imprinted on mailing label of your  
copy of the magazine) and new address to FACTS  
FORUM NEWS, Department CA, Dallas 1, Texas.  
Please allow three weeks for changeover.

## IN THE Next Issue

OF

## Facts Forum News

DON'T MISS

### "Will Income Taxes Destroy Capitalism?"

Karl Marx stated, "There is only one way to kill capitalism—by taxes, taxes and more taxes." Many Americans are saying that the Sixteenth Amendment is a dangerous and unlimited grant of power that will destroy our political and economic freedom. Others defy opponents to devise a better, more equitable means of accumulating revenue. Read both lines of reasoning in the July issue.

★ ★

### "What's the Hullabaloo About Mental Health?"

When the Alaska Mental Health Bill was passed by the House, a furor arose in some quarters claiming that this was an attempt to establish a "Siberia" in the U.S.A. to which all those who differ with New-Fair Deal policies could be sent. What is the basis of these fears? A wide-screen spotlight will be focused on the many-dimensional mental health picture next month in an effort to determine which parts of this picture are facts — which are fancy.

★ ★

The news about Facts Forum's  
NEW TV and Radio Shows  
featuring:

## Your Favorite—



Moderator, ROBERT F. HURLEIGH, whose objective reporting highlights the NEW Reporters' Roundup-TV and Radio programs. The TV show first appeared on April 29, and the radio version, *Topic of the Week*, began on May 6.

The July issue will include previews of the personalities and subjects to be presented on these interesting and informative programs.

# The Case For and Against

# FOREIGN AID

ONE of the year's hottest election battles has already begun to rage on Capitol Hill and throughout the country. This is the legislative battle centering around President Eisenhower's request to Congress for an appropriation of \$4,860,000,000 for foreign aid — three billion dollars of this amount to be expended for military aid and the remainder for economic assistance. With a total of only \$2,700,000,000 approved last year, the amount requested for this year would be an increase of almost 100 per cent. With many political and economic leaders throughout the country unalterably opposed to the very principle of foreign aid, the proponents and critics of the new foreign aid program proposed by the President have established themselves in opposing camps and have already begun skirmishing in the verbal combat which has every appearance of becoming the legislative fight of the decade.

There is powerful opposition in both parties to not only the amount requested by the President but to the idea of a long range commitment of our government to support specific projects in foreign countries over a period of perhaps ten years and involving a total of approximately \$100 million. This opposition was set off by the President's statement in his Budget Message that foreign aid laws should be revised "to assure greater continuity in providing economic assistance for development projects and programs which . . . require a period of years for planning and completion."

Opposition to the yielding of year-to-year control over foreign aid dollars has been especially formidable in the Senate, and only slightly less so in the House, where appropriation bills must originate. With unexpended foreign

aid funds from previous appropriations totaling nearly \$4.5 billion, the scope and size of the new proposal have many in a quandary. Close to a total of \$50 billion has been made available to foreign countries, through grants and loans, since World War II, and many are asking if experience has proven this to be justified. There is much agreement that the foreign aid programs have been helpful in varying degrees, but in the light of changing domestic and world conditions many feel that the time is at hand — in fact, long past — when we should reevaluate the effectiveness of our foreign aid policy since World War II and continue it only if it can be determined that the over-all results justify the continued drain on the taxpayers' pocketbooks and the threat to the economic security of the U. S., which the unbalanced budget constitutes.

## HISTORY OF FOREIGN AID

The Lend-Lease programs, under which we supplied \$47 billion of defense materials and services to our allies, was the first modern major American assistance program. It was followed by \$8.7 billion expended for civilian supplies and rehabilitation of essential facilities to liberated and enemy people during and after World War II.

In the early period after the war, we contributed \$3.4 billion to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and to the International Monetary Fund, which was organized to remove restrictions on international trade. We provided a loan of close to \$4 billion to Britain to ease her severe international and internal economic difficulties in the belief that international economic relations throughout the world could not be reconstructed unless Britain were strong. Other countries received a total of \$1.3 bil-

lion toward the purchase of surplus materials which our armed forces had left abroad.

In 1947, the U. S. provided \$950 million in stop-gap assistance and in 1948 the first long-term program, the European Recovery Program known commonly as the Marshall Plan, was put into effect and this involved the expenditure of around \$11 billion through 1951.

Postwar reconstruction and recovery had been the aim of the foreign aid programs until this time, but after the outbreak of the Korean War, military assistance became the dominant theme of our aid programs. Of course, some military assistance had been provided prior to the Korean War, as, for example, the aid to China in 1945 and the aid to Greece and Turkey strengthening them against Communist guerrillas and Soviet aggression.

The Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949 provided for the channeling of funds to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. This was followed by the Mutual Security Act of 1951 which has been followed each year by similarly named acts.

Aid to underdeveloped countries had been accelerated by the passage of the Act for International Development in 1950, and since the Korean War the shift toward military and developmental assistance has been accompanied by a redirection of our aid away from Western Europe. From the start of 1953 to the middle of 1955, the proportion of nonmilitary funds devoted to areas outside of Europe rose from 32% to 95%.

## ADMINISTRATION OF PROGRAM

Foreign aid programs are administered by the Department of State through the semi-autonomous International Cooperation Administration and by the Department of Defense

Also, American funds are provided to foreign countries for the purchase of commodities or services through such international agencies as the Food and Agriculture Organization, International Committee for European Migration, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, International Labor Organization, International Monetary Fund, United Nations Children's Fund, UN Expanded Programs of Technical Assistance, UN Refugee Fund, World Health Organization, and others.

We have also made extensive loans for economic development and reconstruction through the Export-Import Bank, for the eradication of foot and mouth disease in Mexico, for the building of the United Nations headquarters, to the European Coal and Steel Community for the modernization of facilities, etc.

We have provided emergency famine relief assistance to such coun-

tries as Yugoslavia, India, and Pakistan, and distributed food parcels in the western sector of Berlin, where in 1953 nearly a million East Germans crossed the border to obtain them.

Types of foreign aid may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) MILITARY ASSISTANCE is ordinarily a matter of joint financing with a foreign country, especially in the NATO area, of certain military facilities and activities; (2) OFF-SHORE PROCUREMENT provides for the purchase with American dollars of military equipment and materials which are provided to countries to whom we give military assistance; (3) DIRECT FORCES SUPPORT includes furnishing such items as petroleum, paint, tires, and uniforms; (4) DEFENSE SUPPORT is the furnishing of civilian commodities to countries which are eligible to receive our military help; (5) COUNTERPART FUNDS consist of the local currencies of aid-

receiving countries, which are generated as dollars are exchanged for local currency or for commodities which are bought in the market-place of these countries; (6) TECHNICAL COOPERATION provides for the sending abroad for training and advisory purposes technicians in the fields of agriculture, forestry, fisheries, health and sanitation, and education, who may not use American funds for the purchase of equipment and commodities except to the extent that they are necessary for instruction or demonstration purposes; and (7) DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE provides to countries not eligible to receive our military assistance certain commodities needed for projects or activities placed in operation by our foreign policy.

### GENERAL ARGUMENTS FOR FOREIGN AID

In President Eisenhower's message to Congress he stated: "The need for a mutual security program is urgent because there are still nations that are eager to strive with us for peace and freedom, but without our help, lack the means of doing so.

"We must continue to work with other countries to insure that each free nation remains free, secure from external aggression and subversion, and able to develop a society marked by human welfare, individual liberty, and a rising standard of living. . . . We must continue to provide technical knowledge and essential materials to speed the advance of other nations in peaceful uses of the atom. We must continue our cultural and educational exchanges to expand mutual knowledge and understanding.

. . . We have no desire or intent to subjugate or subvert other peoples — no purpose to change their chosen political, economic, or cultural patterns — no wish to make any of them our satellites. We seek only to further the cause of freedom and independence. . . .

" . . . In their economic aspects, our programs have made significant advances toward the solution of many problems of the free world. Without this assistance many other nations, beyond doubt, if existing at all, would exist today only in the grip of chaos.

"Significant testimony to the success of our mutual security programs appears in the new turns and developments of Soviet policy. Aggression through force appears to have been put aside, at least temporarily, and the Communists are now making trade approaches to many nations of the free world.

" . . . Many . . . nations do not now have the resources required for a minimum rate of economic growth. They are striving to create the standards of



### THE HOT POTATO

By Herc Ficklen, Dallas Morning News

living under which their economies can develop. This is a long-term process, in which their own efforts will play the major part, but in which our help can be crucial.<sup>1</sup>

Those who favor foreign aid point to the advantages of collective security for the United States, contending that the military forces which our allies provide defend the U. S. as well as their own borders. The U. S. supports, in varying degrees, more than 200 divisions, 700 combat vessels, and 300 air squadrons in 37 countries. The key to peace lies in this combined military strength of the free world, together with the greater measure of economic security provided by American assistance, according to proponents of foreign aid, who believe that we must maintain the cooperation and unity of the free world in order to be strong enough to resist Soviet aggression and expansion.

As long as the free world stands with the United States, our strength consists of 75 per cent of the world's population. If the Soviet bloc could be extended to encompass the rest of the free world, including South America and the rest of North America, it would have 94 per cent of the world's population. Or, related to land area, we either have 65 per cent of the world on our side, or the Soviet bloc has 95 per cent on its side. It is argued, in the light of these figures, that failure to bind the free world countries together would tilt the advantage to the Communists. Even if West Germany's and NATO Europe's population, steel capacity, and coal fields were added to those of the Soviet bloc, the United States would be outweighed three to one in population, two to one in hard coal, and at least matched in crude steel production.

Those who stress American dependence on the free world also point out the large per cent of our strategic materials which come from abroad. For example, 67 per cent of the bauxite, 100 per cent of the natural rubber, 100 per cent of the tin, 100 per cent of the industrial diamonds, 95 per cent of the manganese, 99 per cent of the chromite, 95 per cent of the cobalt, 85 per cent of the platinum, etc.

To the allegation that our foreign aid has not brought us friends and therefore has not been a cohesive force for a stronger free world, proponents argue that our aid is an investment in strength and democracy, and that while foreign nations may differ sharply with us, it does not follow that they are unfriendly. They add that to require foreign political policies to be aligned with ours would defeat our

efforts to obtain goodwill and would be regarded as imperialism by other countries. The uncommitted people of the world would be thrown against us, they argue, if we demanded such alignment, pointing out how we would have felt in 1939 if Great Britain had demanded that we be actively with them or against them.

In view of America's industrial advancement and its limited manpower, many people feel that America can make its best contribution to the free world defense through providing technical weapons and equipment and modern aid and naval power and leaving to our allies the responsibility of providing defensive ground forces and local naval and air power. This will discourage the small "brush-fire" wars and if they do break out, they will be fought without atomic weapons and can be more easily stopped.

It is pointed out that the U. S. must maintain troops at all points contiguous to the Soviet bloc in order to prevent Soviet expansion and because American manpower is limited, allied forces must be relied on to provide border guards.

That Communist Russia realizes the restraint placed on her by free world cooperation and unity is shown by her current bid to provide the help needed by underdeveloped countries who are at present in the camp of the free world. This trend was pointed up by a recent editorial in the Northampton (Mass.) *Daily Hampshire Gazette* which stated, "... The Soviet Union has launched a foreign-aid program of its own, with the obvious intention of outdoing America in this effort and thus gaining world domination.

"The President is not saying to Congress that foreign economic aid must continue forever. He is saying that the Soviet Union is now using all methods short of war to entice the underdeveloped nations into its embrace. He is saying that the cold war has become bitterly competitive and that unless the United States (wakes up) to its implications, we may lose the cold war itself."

Walter Lippmann propounded the same theory when he recently wrote, "We have come to the end of the time when the non-Communist world is willing or is compelled to look solely to Washington for economic aid. We are living in a time when almost all of the countries which have been receiving aid from us feel that we have a competitor in the Soviet Union, and that they are now in a position to bargain with both of the two superpowers.

"... We shall have to go on with foreign aid. For we cannot refuse to compete, leaving to the Soviet Union by default a monopoly in the under-

developed countries of South Asia and North Africa."<sup>2</sup>

Another argument of those favoring foreign aid is that the expanded exports from the U. S. are financed with our aid and that this export trade sustains high levels of employment within the United States. It was maintained by Harold Stassen, former administrator of foreign aid programs, that our foreign aid program assisted the U. S. in its post-Korean War economic readjustment by strengthening foreign economies whose financial crises abroad would have adversely affected our economy and by providing these foreign countries with the means of buying more U. S. exports, thereby strengthening our own economy.

U. S. Representative John W. Heselton of Massachusetts, stated on the floor of Congress that at the present level of spending, foreign aid costs each citizen of the U. S. only \$26 a year and that the U. S. cannot afford to discontinue such aid.

In an article in the April issue of *Harper's Magazine*, Peter F. Drucker appeals to his readers to consider funds spent for foreign aid as an expenditure of self-interest instead of "foreign aid." Regarding this he states, "In President Eisenhower's current proposal to put 'foreign aid' on a long-term basis we have made the first step toward an effective policy. Prominent groups, such as the Committee for Economic Development, are demanding sharp increases in foreign aid, especially to the Near East and Asia. But much of this is still 'foreign aid,' still conceived as an answer to Communist pressure rather than as a basic long-range American need and self-interest."

On a nationwide radio broadcast, Rep. Alvin Bentley of Michigan stated along this same line, "I have criticized the (foreign aid) program and I shall continue to criticize parts of it, but I think if all foreign aid were just wiped out . . . the effects abroad would be very disastrous . . . the Communists would immediately be able to overrun a large part of the free world and probably force us, in return, to go to war. . . ."<sup>3</sup>

#### ARGUMENTS AGAINST FOREIGN AID

On the other side, critics of American foreign aid programs argue that the security of the United States and of other free countries would be increased if greater defense expenditures were undertaken at home instead of in assistance to our allies. They say that our security lies in the deterrent power of our atomic and hydrog-

<sup>1</sup>*Washington Post and Times Herald*, March 19, 1956.

<sup>2</sup>*Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the World*, January 15, 1956.

<sup>1</sup>"Mutual Security Program" - Message from the President of the United States (H. Doc. No. 358), March 19, 1956.

bombs and that our financial resources would be put to better use by improving the delivery systems for these weapons inasmuch as new missile developments make our overseas bases vulnerable. Critics further state that a reduction of foreign aid expenditures would strengthen our economy, giving us greater domestic production and giving us greater opportunity to make the technological advances which would maintain free world superiority over the Soviet bloc.

These critics feel that foreign aid unbalances our economy. By financing a higher level of exports than would otherwise be possible, more workers and capital are drawn into production for export markets than can be employed in this production when aid is discontinued, and by the development of competitive sources of supply abroad, the retention of foreign markets becomes even more difficult. They cite as an example of this the over-expansion of American agriculture in the early postwar years through foreign-aid-financed exports and the resultant problems when the foreign sources of supply had made recovery, and the overseas market did not need American agricultural exports.

It is argued by those opposing foreign aid that instead of encouraging an increase in the defense expenditures of the countries of Western Europe, this should be discouraged so that the resulting increase in goods and services available for civilian use would restrain the growth of internal dissatisfaction in these countries. They cite for example the internal political instability of France, and point out that such instability is the perfect breeding ground for internal Communist subversion.

One of the reasons which critics feel is most important in their disapproval of foreign aid, is that by increasing the total resources available to foreign countries, the United States has allowed foreign governments to continue outmoded economic practices and to try out impractical social reforms at our expense. They point out that in many European countries welfare expenditures cut into the average person's income by 15 or 20 per cent.

Critics state that there is little evidence that the threat of communism has become less serious, as a result of American foreign aid, in those countries where communism is a real threat, but rather that left-wing governments have been able to stay in power as a result of our help. This argument was aptly stated by the Hon. Charles B. Brownson, U. S. Representative of Indiana, who said, "It is unfortunately true that foreign aid by increasing the total resources available to some foreign governments has

allowed them to continue outmoded economic practices and to indulge their tastes for radical social welfare measures."<sup>4</sup>

Propounding the same theory, Thurman Sensing in an article entitled "Stop Foreign Aid" appearing in the February issue of *American Progress* stated, "Even sound-thinking people in Britain, the best friend we have in this world — if we have any — will tell you that the worst thing that could have happened to them was the \$4 billion loan we made them in 1946, which helped put their Socialist government in office, and the Marshall aid we gave them in the following years, which helped keep it in office. They will tell you that they would have gotten rid of their Socialist government — which brought them to the very brink of ruin — much sooner than they finally did without our interference.

"... Discontinuance of foreign aid would enable us to cut taxes, which are now taking a third of our income. It would enable us to begin paying off our national debt, which is larger than the combined debts of all the rest of the nations of the world and which we now give every appearance of passing on to our children as if we were in no way responsible for it.

"The best assurance we have for the preservation of freedom in this world is the maintenance of a strong economy in the United States of America — and this we cannot hope to maintain if we continue to profligately scatter our substance over the face of the earth.

"... Indian newspapers praise Russia as the country's friend while they ignore American benefactions or take them for granted. After all our aid, United States prestige has slipped to a new low in that country."

Many persons raise the objection that our foreign aid dollars are not used for the purposes for which they are given. Often part of our military assistance is converted by the recipient country into economic aid by the simple process of reducing its own defense expenditures and diverting these expenditures into civilian services, leaving it up to the U. S. to maintain the level of military strength thought necessary in that particular country.

Critics advance the theory that if we spent as much for welfare purposes as many of our allies do, we would not be able to maintain our present level of national security and foreign aid. The total tax burden in the United States is already approximately 30 per cent of total income, and it is felt that if foreign aid were cut, taxes could be lowered and people in this country could have more to spend

for their own purposes and for starting new businesses and expanding established industries.

In answer to the argument that exports financed with our assistance sustain the level of employment in the United States, critics say this is discounted by the fact that the collection of taxes to provide that aid reduces spending within the United States, which, if not reduced, would provide the same or even greater employment than is provided by our increased exports.

One of the foremost opponents of foreign aid, Eugene W. Castle, author and former president of Castle Films, wrote in an article published by *Human Events* that "If it were decided to declare a national dividend and to present to every family of three in the United States a bonus of \$2,100, the total cost to the Treasury would not equal the amount which this nation has given away to foreign countries since 1940.

"... If we pause to estimate the overdue domestic projects — new schools, health, slum clearance, rural rehabilitation, reclamation, power development, etc. — that these billions or a part of them would have bought if we had kept them at home, the foreign aid undertaking assumes a different and less alluring light."<sup>5</sup>

INASMUCH as foreign aid logically falls into seven types, as outlined earlier, it is proposed to consider, briefly, arguments for and against these seven types of aid.

#### MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND OFF-SHORE PROCUREMENT

It is claimed by those favoring military assistance that dollars spent in this manner contribute more to our national security than a like sum expended within the United States, and that American air bases on foreign soil, which are a major force for peace because they provide the delivery system for the atom and hydrogen bombs, exist only because our aid to these countries secures for us the reciprocal right to establish air bases.

It is argued that if we do not continue foreign aid, our allies will assume we are no longer interested in their safety and we will then lose not only their present military strength, but also the bargaining power of our combined strength at conference tables. Proponents point out that World War II cost us approximately \$7 billion a month, and that the proposed program of military assistance would amount to about nine days of

<sup>4</sup>Congressional Record, March 29, 1956, p. A2790.

<sup>5</sup>"Billionitis": The Disease of Foreign Aid," by Eugene W. Castle, *Human Events*, January 22, 1956.

a months' wartime expenditures, not to take into consideration the element of human life which would be destroyed in war.

Persons favoring military assistance claim that by buying military goods abroad which are given to our allies, we obtain these military goods more cheaply, save the costs of transportation, assist in the development of defense production and maintenance facilities closer to the possible scene of conflict, encourage standardization of equipment, sharpen the productive skills of foreign labor and capital, reduce Communist penetration of labor unions abroad by threatening to withhold orders from firms whose unions are infiltrated, improve morale in foreign countries by making them feel that they are earning their own way, and provide greatly needed dollars to our allies in payment for the goods they produce. These dollars are used to balance their international payments and to raise their standards of living, thus easing unrest which could lead to social disorganization and Communist subversion.

But these alleged advantages of off-shore procurement do not always stand up under analysis, critics of the program contend. They claim in answer to the argument that products are obtained more cheaply, that purchases of ammunition are known to have been made at higher prices than those charged in the U. S. There have been long delays in the delivery of equipment. Instead of off-shore procurement broadening the free world's strategic production base and providing cheaper military equipment, critics claim it has been used for political and economic objectives such as the provision of dollars to countries in balance-of-payments difficulties, the reduction of unemployment, the combatting of local communism, and encouragement of free enterprise, etc. Even though these are worthy objectives, the goal of better military preparedness through off-shore procurement has not been attained.

Many of these critics urge that off-shore procurement be restricted according to internal unemployment in the United States. They claim that off-shore purchases should be redirected toward pockets of unemployment in the United States and that this would mitigate the decline in the American standard of living which necessarily accompanies foreign aid. A fall in the American standard of living occurs as off-shore procurement makes possible greater exports of American goods, reducing the goods available for domestic use, but this would not be so pronounced if aid money were used to buy American goods produced by men and machines who would not be producing goods for domestic use be-

cause demand was temporarily low and who would be thus restrained from moving into production of other goods during the period of low demand.

Critics of our military assistance program claim that the development of guided missiles by the Soviet Union makes our European and African air bases untenable. Since American military assistance is offered as a condition of our obtaining those bases, they feel that military assistance no longer serves a useful purpose, and our national security would be better served by devoting this money to research and development in order to stay ahead of the Soviet Union in terms of special weapons and in the general technological progress which is necessary for military success.

It is pointed out by critics that aid recipients do not give sufficient cooperation to justify our giving them continued military assistance for purposes of our own national security. In 1955 we used 10.9% of our gross national product for defense whereas France used only 8.5%, Denmark 3.5%, Germany 5.2%, Italy 4.3%, Portugal 3.8%, Spain 4.8%, United Kingdom 9.8%, Turkey 6.7%, Greece 6.5%, Belgium-Luxembourg 5.7%, Netherlands 6.6%, and Norway 5.1%. There has not been the continuous military build-up which proponents had expected.

Many persons feel aid recipients will make even less effort in the future to cooperate in free world defense because guided missiles endanger them in the event of war, and they can hope to avoid this only by demanding neutral. As a result of missile developments they may seek reduction in defense expenditures and many feel that conflicts will develop over the presence of American forces and bases on their soil.

Critics further contend that little help would be forthcoming in the defense of the free world from the countries receiving military assistance, judging from the record of the past. They cite, for example, that America carried the burden of fighting in Korea.

Those who disapprove of military assistance charge that our allies have favored the easing of restrictions on strategic trade with the Soviet bloc, and have pressured us into recent extensive relaxation of such restrictions.

In line with this argument, Senator Joseph McCarthy stated, "The Senate Subcommittee on Investigations, having completed an investigation of current, U. S.-authorized strategic trade with the Communist nations, finds that the long and short of the matter is that you, the American taxpayer, are subsidizing the construction of the Communist war machine.

"The Committee discovered that in

August, 1954, our government made secret concessions to our 'allies' as regards what they could ship to the Communist bloc without losing American aid. As a result of these concessions, over 200 highly strategic items—such as machine tools, metals, and electronics, transportation and electrical equipment—were removed from the anti-Communist embargo.

"The American people were not informed of these secret concessions to our 'allies'; indeed, deliberate and (until our Committee got on the track) successful attempts were made to conceal them."<sup>6</sup>

Many people in the United States while not opposed to all military assistance, are very much opposed to furnishing military aid to Yugoslavia. In recent years Tito has shown so many signs of moving into the Soviet fold that many feel it to be the height of folly to continue sending military equipment to a nation that may decide to use it against us. These persons object, as a matter of principle, to giving assistance to a Communist nation even if it is not within the Soviet bloc, while proponents feel that our aid to Yugoslavia is evidence to the rest of the world that the United States will assist those satellites who break with the Soviet Union.

Critics also deprecate the military assistance program because it is directed toward building up ground forces abroad, which they feel would be ineffective in meeting a combined ground and atomic attack from the Soviet Union.

#### **DIRECT FORCES SUPPORT, DEFENSE SUPPORT, AND COUNTERPART FUNDS**

Higher military expenditures by our allies divert their resources from the production of goods for their civilian markets into the production of military goods and services. The smaller supply of goods available for civilian use causes inflationary pressure. Proponents contend that the reduced standards of living and inflationary pressures within allied countries jeopardize their internal political stability with adverse effects on their willingness to carry the military effort and with enhanced opportunities for internal subversion. Since no man will fight unless he has something worth fighting for, economic assistance is necessary to ease the burden on the civilian population.

Certain special advantages are seen by proponents in counterpart funds which result from the provision of direct forces support and defense support. Because these counterpart funds are under the control of the United States government, we obtain a degree of control over the economy of

<sup>6</sup>Manchester (N.H.) Union Leader, April 4, 1955.

the aid-receiving country which can be used to further our objectives. Such funds were used last year, for example, to build roads and other public works in Southern Italy where unemployment and low standards of living have constantly plagued the economic growth of the country, which as a strong anti-Communist country would certainly be a worthwhile ally.

Critics of this type of aid contend that these claims are not valid. They state that to the extent we exercise economic control in foreign countries due to our control of counterpart funds, this constitutes American intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states, is wrong in principle and will ultimately work to our detriment. They further state that to the extent counterpart funds are turned over to the government of the aid-receiving country, they become a substitute for taxation by that government of its own people, and they note that the major reason for providing defense support often appears to be a desire to support the budget of the aid-receiving country, and is done at the cost of increasing our own national debt and unbalancing our own budget.

#### TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE

Those who favor these types of aid claim that poverty causes communism, and therefore our assistance to underdeveloped countries to help them attain higher standards of living also helps to prevent the spread of communism. They state this is for two reasons: first, the alleviation of the miseries of poverty makes people less susceptible to the promises of communism; and second, our aid strengthens the economies of underdeveloped countries and enables them to provide military defense for their country.

In Asia, the present democratic governments may be expected to combat the inroads of communism only if the political stability of their present form of government can be maintained and they can achieve some measure of economic progress.

If the democratic states in Asia cannot show a rate of economic growth as great as that of Communist China, the opportunities for subversion within these countries will be greatly increased. Proponents of foreign aid contend that the people of these countries must be made to believe that progress under freedom can be rapid and that democratic progress should be preferred to the totalitarian brands because it also permits freedom for the individual. This is especially true in India where political progress has apparently surpassed economic prog-

ress and where many Asian nations are looking for a comparison of the records of democracy and communism in providing economic development and improved standards of living for the total population.

It is felt by many that these considerations have assumed greater importance since Soviet Russia has extended to underdeveloped countries loans and technical assistance and encouraged trade with them. Wide and favorable publicity has attended the Soviet offer to build the Aswan Dam for Egypt, to provide economic aid to India, to take Burma's surplus rice in trade for much needed capital goods, etc. It appears that the cold war is rapidly shifting to economic competition and the United States must successfully meet this competition if freedom and our own national security are to be maintained. That our aid does implant in underdeveloped countries a feeling of friendship and trust for the United States is claimed by proponents. They state that in Andhra, India, prior to the recent election, the people were urged to support communism as a better economic and social system, but they replied that America could not be so terrible because we had been helping them to raise more rice.

Proponents feel that the size of our financial and technical assistance programs are closely watched by the rest of the world who feel that because of our wealth as a nation, we are morally obligated to help those less fortunate. In fact, proponents themselves advance the theory that only in economic assistance designed to relieve suffering and distress in underdeveloped countries can we reflect the true humanitarian desire of the American people.

Perhaps the most oft-heard reason advanced for foreign aid is that our own interest is best served by extending this assistance, inasmuch as approximately three-fourths of American imports of strategic and critical materials come from underdeveloped countries. Also, our export trade is greatly increased because industrialized countries buy more per capita from the United States than underdeveloped nations.

All of these arguments are denied validity by many critics who challenge the fundamental assumption that poverty leads to communism. They say evidence abounds that poverty and communism are not uniquely related. For example, in France where one-fourth of the voters cast their ballots for Communists this year, there have been four years of rising wages and prosperity and the Communists are strongest among the highest paid workers. In Italy, communism has its greatest strength in the higher-wage industrial centers, not in the southern

part where poverty rules. In India, communism has made least progress among the millions of untouchables and aborigines who are the very poorest people of India. Even in Italy, France, England, and the United States, interviews with Communists and ex-Communists revealed that twice as many skilled as unskilled workers join the Communist party.

Critics further contend that the main danger of communism in underdeveloped countries stems from disgruntled intellectuals, who have little hope of advancement and who often cannot find a use for their over-trained minds in their primitive economies. Opponents claim there is little evidence that the present technical assistance programs of the United States will provide any direct improvement in the economic and social status of the Asian intellectual, and that in this most important respect our aid funds are wasted.

Opponents of the foreign aid programs argue that our aid to foreign countries has not made friends for us, but rather the feeling and appearance of inferiority which such aid engenders among the people of these countries brings ill will to us. They contend that it is foolish to give aid to countries which are neutralist, to countries that assume none of the obligations of collective security. They point out that the publicity concerning our projects which is necessary to direct good will towards us, is self-defeating because the countries then regard the projects as foreign intervention.

It is argued by many that good will cannot be gained in underdeveloped countries as long as we also aid former colonial powers. For example, our current military aid to France increases her ability to restrain North African nationalism, and this is resented by former colonial countries all over the world. It is also pointed out that military assistance is regarded by some of the underdeveloped countries as proof that we have war-like intentions.

The theory is advanced that underdeveloped countries regard our aid efforts as an attempt to buy their thoughts and technical assistance is considered an arrogance. They resent our talk about saving them from poverty and communism. Nehru urged a program of austerity on his people with the words, "It is better that we progress a little more slowly than allow ourselves in any way to depend on others. . . ." As proof that our charity has failed in its objectives, critics point out the extremely favorable response in underdeveloped countries such as India to Russia's trade offers and business loans.

Many persons feel that people of underdeveloped countries resent the very presence of numerous Americans

on their soil since the spirit of nationalism and the remembrance of colonialism are still strong. The disparities of living standards of these Americans and the mass of the people create jealousy instead of friendship, and many of the Americans who participate in the technical assistance program do not exercise tact in refraining from boasting about the achievements of the American way of life.

Also, a source of ill will toward the United States is the division of our aid among recipients. Those who do not receive as large a grant as other countries resent us. Examples are found in the Middle East where the comparative size of aid received by Israel and the Arab states has been, and remains, a frequent source of criticism of the United States. Similarly, the provision of military assistance to Pakistan led to denunciations of the United States in India inasmuch as they were involved in a border dispute with Pakistan. Nehru called for mass rioting to show their displeasure. Our assistance to India helped her to become self-sufficient in rice, but this hurt the Burmese and Thai export markets and increased the economic difficulties of those countries.

Latin Americans are extremely disappointed with the small amount of aid they received during the postwar period in comparison with the much larger sums given to the countries of Western Europe, and on the other hand, the Western European nations disapprove of our aid to Far Eastern powers because this diverts aid from them.

Opponents of foreign aid contend that although Soviet offers of aid and expanded trade have made a favorable impression, disappointment will eventually follow in the underdeveloped countries because the Soviet Union has a long record of not living up to its economic bargains with the West and will no doubt continue true to form.

These critics argue that it might have been better for us to withdraw from the Egyptian Aswan Dam project and allow the Soviets to build it. Such a project would use immense amounts of Soviet resources which could not be devoted to strengthening the Soviet Union internally, and with the dam taking considerable time for completion, the lengthy presence of Soviet technicians on Egyptian soil would be certain to lead to animosity toward them. Furthermore, if we make an evident attempt to match Soviet aid in this instance we will only earn the contempt of the Egyptians.

Some opponents of aid to underdeveloped countries state that it is a mistake to compete in international charity with a totalitarian government which has the power to depress its people's standard of living in order to

finance foreign aid. Proponents counter with the view that the efficiency of our free enterprise system makes it easier for us to compete with the Soviet bloc in economic competition than in military efforts, and urge that we take up the challenge and prove to the world that our system is more productive as well as more desirable from the standpoint of freedom.

### PRO AND CON QUOTES ON FOREIGN AID

From the *Town Meeting* national radio broadcast April 1, 1956

... There is more anti-American feeling today in almost every country we have helped than there was in 1948 when Marshall aid began. That's understandable. We are the rich uncle who has moved into the home of his poor nephew and is now telling him and his family how they should live. And on top of it all, forcing the poor relations every Saturday night to look at motion pictures bragging about how rich the domineering old fossil is. . .

JAMES L. WICK,  
Publisher of *Human Events*

... If these monies (foreign aid) were labelled "the anti-Communist fund," there would be little opposition to them and a much clearer understanding of the purposes and reasons for them.

We should . . . be willing to say to those free countries who are willing to help themselves that America is in the fight for freedom to stay and that we are prepared to assist them in their own advance, economically and politically, toward freedom.

I think that we should only spend money in those countries that we are convinced want to build themselves as free nations. In other words, I do not believe that we should spend money on a Soviet satellite that was determined to remain a Soviet satellite. . .

JAMES ROOSEVELT,  
U. S. Representative,  
(D) of California

Opponents of aid have advanced the theory that our assistance has restrained local efforts for improvement, stating that many Middle Eastern villagers have refused to do things for themselves because, in their opinion, if they waited long enough the U. S. would do it for them. They note that many underdeveloped countries impose extreme restrictions on private foreign investment and have done exceedingly little to mobilize domestic capital.

Critics state that the policy pursued by the United States in the distribution of aid has been all wrong because much of our aid has gone to countries who are either neutralist, seriously threatened with internal communism, or who have gone Communist and then have thrown off communism. Those who oppose this policy state that this encourages countries to take a neutralist stand or to allow Communist infiltration in order to secure additional aid from the United States.

This opinion was well expressed by William Henry Chamberlin who stated, "Billions for private investment on fair terms, not a cent for economic handouts, especially to unfriendly neutrals' would be a very good steering direction in the field of foreign economic relations."<sup>7</sup>

In regard to the new foreign policy of the Soviet, John T. Flynn summed up the feeling of many of the opponents of the American foreign aid program when he stated on a national radio broadcast, "The Communists don't care about so-called free Europe and Africa. They are interested in one thing - in encouraging the United States government to spend itself into bankruptcy."<sup>8</sup>

This same line of reasoning was expressed in an editorial published recently in the *Indianapolis Star* and placed in the Congressional Record by Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana. It stated, "For ten years straight the State Department has been sending an average of \$5 billion a year abroad in foreign aid. The idea is to win the cold war by helping our allies become strong and united and to win more allies to our side. Yet today, after ten years of doing the same thing defensively, what do we find? We find our allies less united. The neutralists are more neutral. There is less military strength abroad than was promised. And the Soviet Union has been winning skirmish after skirmish in the cold war both in taking territory and in winning support from the uncommitted nations."

So the battle rages on. In the final analysis, of course, it is the American taxpayer who foots the bill for foreign aid and who must decide whether or not it should be continued and whether advantages which might be gained by it would be worth the sacrifice which its continuance would make necessary.

Acknowledgement is made to the American Enterprise Association, Inc., 1012 Fourteenth Street, N. W., Washington 5, D. C., for A.E.A. Report No. 617, used as source material.

<sup>7</sup>"Uncle Shylock and the Dollar Gap," by William Henry Chamberlin, *Human Events*, March 17, 1956.

<sup>8</sup>"Behind the Headlines," by John T. Flynn, Broadcast Reprint M-113, Scheduled Mutual Broadcasting System, March 25, 1956. Produced by America's Future, Inc.

# FREEDOM'S NEW TASK

By JOHN FOSTER DULLES

**This statement\* by the Secretary of State concerning the new Soviet foreign policy and the foreign aid program of the United States is important in that it reveals the thinking of the man who will play a dominant role in administering whatever foreign aid program Congress may adopt.**

**U**NTIL recently, the foreign policy of Soviet communism was based on fanatical intolerance of all other systems and upon the organization of violence to overthrow all other systems. Marx, Lenin, and Stalin all taught that it was necessary to hate all who differed from the Soviet Communist creed; and they also taught that only by violence could international communism achieve its destined goals.

But the free nations, when confronted by this policy, grew more strong, more resolute and more united. Consequently the Soviet pattern of hatred and violence produced ever diminishing returns.

In Europe, the defensive strength of NATO was rounded out by the addition of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In the western Pacific, freedom was consolidated by adding to our ANZUS, Philippine and Japanese treaties, the new mutual defense treaties with Korea and with the Republic of China. And the Congress, you will recall, authorized the President to use the Armed Forces of the United States in the Formosa area, if necessary, for its defense.

In southeast Asia, the Western powers joined with Asian powers in a treaty for collective security, and they transformed the Indochina struggle from a struggle against colonialism to a struggle by truly independent nations—Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia—to maintain their freedom.

In the Middle East, the northern tier concept, without challenging the concept of Arab unity, has drawn together for collective defense four nations which, for 2,500 miles, lie just south of Russia's frontiers.

Back of these formulations of free world resolve lay the vast mobile power of the United States which constituted a formidable deterrent to open armed aggression.

So the Soviets had either to give up their expansionist aims or turn to other means to advance them.

Lenin and Stalin had taught that, under these circumstances, there should be no giving up, but rather a shift to new methods.

So, last year, the Soviet rulers concluded that the time had come to change basically their approach to the non-Communist world.

In May of 1955, the Soviet rulers signed the Austrian State Treaty; they made their pilgrimage of repentance to Tito; they offered to establish diplomatic relations with Germany and to make a belated peace with Japan. In Asia, the Chinese Communists, at the Bandung Conference, gave at least lip service to methods other than outright violence.

The Soviet rulers trumpeted all this throughout the world as proof that Soviet Communist policy was no longer predatory.

We hoped that this was so. But we were highly skeptical. We well knew that under Leninism any tactic is admissible and that the change had come about, not through change of heart, but because old methods had failed.

On the other hand, we knew that the new Soviet tactics of increased tolerance and less dependence upon violence required a basic change in Soviet Communist doctrine. This can, in the long run, have major internal consequences and set up within Russia powerful liberalizing trends.

But the fanatical teaching of a generation cannot be erased all at once. Also the change had not gone so far that there could not almost overnight be a sudden reversal to the old practice of intolerance and violence. Also we could only safely assume that the new tactics were designed as a new means of conquest. So we did not relax our vigilance or allow our military posture to slump.

But, on the other hand, we do not assume fatalistically that there can be no evolution within Russia or that Russia's rulers will always be predatory. Some day—I would not attempt to guess when—Russia will be governed by men who put the welfare of the Russian people above world conquest. It is our basic policy to seek to advance the coming of that day.

So last spring, when Soviet conduct began to change, we determined to do all that we safely could to make that change a first installment toward an eventual Russian state that would be a normal, not abnormal, member of the society of nations.

One major step we took was to join with Britain and France to invite the Russian rulers to a conference of heads of government. At that summit Conference at Geneva President Eisenhower did more than any other man could have done to open up to the Soviet rulers the vista of a new era of friendly relations between our countries.

We cannot yet measure what has been the full effect of that Conference. The gains will be measurable only in the future. For the time being the Soviet rulers, finding that the road of intolerance and violence was blocked, have subordinated those elements of their old creed in the hope that, in a new garb, they could still pursue conquest. Now they pursue their foreign-policy goals with less manifestation of intolerance and less emphasis on violence. Their foreign policy now puts large emphasis upon seeking political cooperation with left-wing Socialists, whom formerly they detested. Finally there is heavy

\*Made before the Philadelphia Bulletin Forum at Philadelphia, Pa., on Feb. 28, 1956.

emphasis on trade and economic assistance. It is this economic aspect of the Soviet "new look" that I would consider here.

**T**HIS Soviet economic campaign is a varied one. It includes the barter of surplus arms into areas where tensions were already high. There are highly publicized purchases of agricultural commodities from a few countries where mounting surpluses have exposed the vulnerabilities of economies lacking in diversity. Incidentally the Soviet bloc, with typical cynicism, has re-exported some of these commodities to markets that the original sellers normally would supply. And the Soviet bloc has made loans to a selected number of countries.

This policy has been directed especially toward certain peoples in the Near East and South Asia. There the Soviet rulers believe that they can also exploit historic grievances for their own ends.

But the new Soviet policy roams far and wide. Even African and South American countries are receiving Soviet economic propositions.

What is the import of this new economic campaign of the Soviet bloc countries?

The first thing to note is that Soviet capital exports divert resources from the Soviet people who still lack many of the ordinary decencies of life. On this we have the testimony of Mr. Khrushchev in his recent speech to the 20th Communist Party Congress. There he stated:

"It must be said that we do not yet have an adequate quantity of consumer goods, that there is a shortage of housing, and that many of the important problems connected with raising the people's living standards have not yet been solved."

Still quoting Mr. Khrushchev:

"Production of many important foodstuffs and manufactured goods still lags behind growing demands. Some towns and communities are still insufficiently supplied with such items as milk, butter, and fruit. There are even cases where supplies of potatoes and other vegetables are irregular. There are also difficulties in supplying the population with certain high grade manufactured goods."

The Soviet Union, of course, has the capacity to do much to lift up the living standards of the Russian people, which Mr. Khrushchev described, and to give them opportunities for greater happiness. There was indeed a moment when it seemed that this might become the Soviet policy. Mr. Malenkov, as the Prime Minister who first succeeded Stalin, advocated more consumer goods and better quality goods for the Soviet people. But Mr. Malenkov was quickly removed from leadership, and his successors resumed the policy of forcing the Russian people to work primarily to build up the power machine of the state. The output of consumer goods — food, clothing, and housing — was firmly relegated to a secondary place.

Under these conditions, can we accept at face value the Soviet professions that its foreign economic activities are primarily designed to help others?

Actually in this campaign the Soviet Union is seeking to advance its interests.

It is important, therefore, to examine how the Soviet Union sees its interest.

**T**HROUGHOUT its 38 years of existence, the Soviet pattern has been unvarying. Whenever the opportunity has arisen the Soviet Union has swallowed up its neighbors, or made satellites of them, or subordinated them in other ways.

The future may well produce a different Russia. But today changes in creed and conduct are looked upon as

ways to make it easier to achieve old goals of conquest. If there is less apparent intolerance and less reliance on violence, there is perhaps more reliance than ever on division, enticement, and duplicity.

On December 29, 1955, speaking to the Supreme Soviet, Mr. Khrushchev stated the fundamental precept: "If certain people think that our confidence in the victory of socialism, the teaching of Marxist-Leninism, is a violation of the Geneva spirit, they obviously have an incorrect notion of the Geneva spirit. They ought to remember once and for all that we never renounced and we will never renounce our ideas, our struggle for the victory of communism."

In his lengthy speech to the 20th Party Congress, Mr. Khrushchev promised "fundamental social transformations" — this means a Communist party dictatorship — to any nation unwary enough to allow its political life to be undermined by the Communist apparatus.

We must assume that the intent behind the Soviet economic campaign is to subvert and communize the nations that are its targets.

**T**HE United States is engaged in programs of economic assistance to the less developed countries. Our programs have been in progress for a number of years and have totaled billions of dollars.

By these programs, we too hope to advance our legitimate national interests. We have never pretended otherwise.

But again the crucial question is: What are those interests and how are they intended to be served?

Our interests will be fully served if other nations maintain their independence and strengthen their free institutions. We have no further aims than these. We want a world environment of freedom. We have shown this time after time by electing to give freedom where we could have had conquest. Our historic policy, reflecting the will and the views of our own free people, is wholly compatible with the interests of the less-developed countries as their leaders themselves have defined them.

The political leaders in the economically less-developed countries are entirely capable of judging the purposes and principles of other nations. They are, for the most part, men of political experience. In many cases they have had an active part in winning for their countries political independence. They have no desire to preside over the loss of that independence.

The wisdom and patriotism of the political leaders of the newly independent nations are among freedom's greatest assets. These men are not blind to Soviet purposes and past actions.

But we must also recognize that the Soviet communist experiment has won for itself a considerable popular prestige in the less-developed countries. In these countries "industrialization" is a word of magic. It is a slogan that the people have come to believe will solve all domestic economic and political problems. The peoples of these countries do not like to be dependent upon the industrialized West for manufactured goods. For the most part they now have political independence, but they do not yet have what they consider to be adequate economic independence.

The neighboring Asian peoples have seen the Soviet Union within a generation develop itself into a major industrial power. These observers are but dimly aware of the fact that the Soviet rate of progress was possible only because natural conditions favored, and that even so it

cost in human servitude has been tragically high. They are like those of us who admire the pyramids, the palaces, the temples, and the coliseums which despotic rulers once produced out of slave labor. We are only dimly conscious of the cost in terms of human misery.

So it is with the peoples of less-developed lands who are informed in extravagant terms of the industrial monuments which have been built by the Soviet masters of 220 million subject peoples.

And when Soviet propaganda says to less-developed peoples, "See what we have done for ourselves; with our help, you can do the same," there is a strong temptation to accept that so-called help.

The political leaders of these countries, however wise they may be and however patriotic they may be, will find it difficult to resist the public pressures which Soviet propaganda arouses, unless there is some alternative.

The industrial nations of the West, with matured and vigorous economies and much well-being, can and must provide such an alternative.

**W**ESTERN efforts to advance the economic well-being of the less-developed countries are nothing new. We need not be panicked by the new Soviet economic policy.

With or without the so-called competition of the Soviet Union, we propose to go forward with sound policies to aid the economic progress of less-developed countries.

Normally, under our system, private capital could and should do the job. And, indeed, much private capital today flows into many less-developed countries. But it flows only where the political and economic risks are deemed tolerable. In much of the world, these risks are such that private capital is not ready to take them. If capital is to be found, a substantial part must be provided on a public basis which spreads the risk so that it is not appreciable in terms of any single individual.

This is one of the purposes of our mutual security program which now, in one form or another, is in its eighth year. The economic part of that program amounts this year (ending June 30) to about \$1,700,000,000. Much of this is used to help our allies, particularly in the Far East and in Asia, to support adequate military establishments of their own. Of the total, approximately \$600 million will assist, by loan or grant, in capital development in other lands.

This year we are asking Congress to appropriate for next year's economic program \$100 million more than is available for this year. The capacity to spend wisely depends on many factors, and we should not appropriate, in a panic, merely because of Soviet economic activities. There is, however, need for somewhat greater flexibility, and for greater continuity, as regards support for long-range projects.

Some of the development projects which are most significant will take several years to complete. It is difficult for the countries concerned to arrange for financing these projects unless United States support can be relied upon not just for one year at a time, but for several years. Also, with United States support, it is easier for them to procure funds from other sources, such as the World Bank.

We believe, therefore, that the United States government should have authority to commit some such amount as \$100 million a year for several years for long-range projects which will develop to an important degree the economic strength of less-developed countries. Without that limited, long-range authority we take a risk which is

quite unjustified, having regard to the relatively small cost of avoiding it.

**I**F our nation and the other free nations play their proper part, we can face the future not with complacency — that would be disastrous — but with confidence.

I do not wish to minimize the threat of the Soviet "new look," of which the economic campaign is a part. Economic assistance knows no territorial limits. And we must count on the Soviets and their local Communist parties to press their policies with vigor.

But we should reflect that Communist successes in the world so far have come when Red armies were at hand. No people has willingly accepted the Soviet type of Communist dictatorship.

Communist open aggression has now been checked by the cohesion, resolution, vigilance, and strength of the free nations. Let us never forget that this is what deflected the Soviet rulers from primary reliance upon violence to which they were dedicated by creed and which they are skilled to practice.

They came up against the granite of a declared and strong resolve. If that granite should turn to putty, then violence and threat of war could again become the order of the day.

Meanwhile, we have new problems. These will require new efforts, without relaxation of the old cohesion, resolution, vigilance, and strength. But the new efforts will be of a kind that is in accord with our tradition. This nation was conceived with a sense of mission and dedicated to the extension of freedom throughout the world. President Lincoln said of our Declaration of Independence that there was "something in that Declaration giving liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope for the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weights should be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all men should have an equal chance."

That has been the spirit which has animated our people since they came together as a nation. We have, it is true, acquired much for ourselves. But also we have had in large measure the greatest of all satisfactions — that is the satisfaction which comes from creating and from sharing.

We have created at home and we have also created abroad. We have shared here at home and we have shared abroad. Today the greatest opportunity for creation and for sharing lies in those areas which, possessed of great economic and human potentials, have not yet realized the opportunities which are theirs.

We have unprecedented resources with which to create and with which to share. Our 160 million people, working in freedom and with ample leisure, produce over three times as much as do the 220 million of the Soviet Union working in servitude. Our industrial techniques are beyond compare. Our desire to create and to share with others is not a political plot; it is an expression of the spirit which has long animated our nation. It is not a product of government; it is a product of the faith of our people.

Let me conclude with words which Benjamin Franklin wrote from Paris on May 1, 1777:

"It is a common observation here that our cause is the cause of all mankind, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own. It is a glorious task assigned us by Providence; which has, I trust, given us spirit and virtue equal to it, and will at last crown it with success."

# MODERN ART

# and FREEDOM

Is freedom the parent of modern art, as indicated by René d'Harnoncourt in this article, or is communism its parent, as contended by Esther Julia Pels' article, *Art for Whose Sake?* published in our February, 1956, issue?

After you read this rebuttal by the Director of the Museum of Modern Art of New York, perhaps you'll be interested in securing reprints of both of these articles on this controversial subject.

by René d'Harnoncourt

Director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York

**T**HE historical inaccuracies and misrepresentations in the article on modern art which first appeared in the October issue of the *American Legion Magazine* and was reprinted in the February issue of *Facts Forum News*, gives such a distorted picture of the subject that they should be corrected in the interests of truth and fair play. We greatly appreciate *Facts Forum News'* offer to publish a reply.

Every age must find its own way to express the ideas it generates. No age has ever successfully expressed itself in the exact language or imagery of the past. New forms of expression reflecting new ways of looking at the world, whether presented by the philosopher Socrates, the scientist Galileo or the painter Cézanne have always been under attack by contemporaries who find them incomprehensible and disturbing.

In times of insecurity this sense of disturbance often turns into acute anxiety and the character of the attacks against the new becomes violent. In such times everything unfamiliar is looked upon by some people with suspicion and fear. In the field of the arts, these attacks are as old as art itself and follow well established patterns. At first new forms of expression are condemned because they do not live up to yesterday's artistic canons. Later

these art forms and their creators are decried as tools of force destructive to established society.

The attacks on impressionism in France at the end of the 19th century offer a good example of this. In the wake of the disastrous Franco-Prussian war, France was shaken by political unrest, based on fear of Germany and anarchism and accompanied by outbursts of anti-Semitism. These anxieties manifested themselves in many ways and affected even the criticism of the new art movement. Painters who are today universally popular and widely acclaimed as masters of 19th century art, men such as Renoir, Cézanne, Monet and Degas, were indiscriminately attacked because of their style of painting and called anarchists, Communists, decadents and imbeciles. The fact is that these painters represented the most divergent political views: Cézanne, the son of a banker, was a conservative, Degas a reactionary, Renoir leftist in sympathies, and Monet politically inert. Yet all of them were indiscriminately tarred by the same brush of radicalism because their critics, led by the academic artists of that time, didn't understand or like their paintings and felt that somehow they must be subversive. This campaign played a decisive part in causing the French National Museum to reject some of their

paintings at that time—a decision which is deplored in France today because of the irreparable loss caused to the cultural resources of the country.

In recent years the outstanding examples of this type of attack have been given to us by the leaders of the totalitarian states who consider the freedom of individual expression dangerous to the enforcement of the dogmatic order they established. Very similar attacks on modern art were issued from the Nazi Brown House in Munich and from the Kremlin in Moscow. Their content and even their language in condemning modern art are often indistinguishable. Adjectives such as nonsensical, inhuman, degenerate and perverted appear in the same context in the speeches of Hitler as they do in the writings of Kamenov. Hitler, of course, added the epithet un-German and Bolshevistic while Kamenov (speaking for Stalin) called modern art capitalistic, imperialistic and bourgeois.

Such fear-generated attacks on new forms of expression are by no means limited to totalitarian states. In fact the very danger which totalitarianism presents to free men has engendered fear and distrust among people living in a free society. It is unfortunate that this reaction to a very real threat often leads people to adopt attitudes and

methods born of the same authoritarian intolerance which they fight.

Today communism is the major foe of free society. It is a formidable enemy not only because of the military and economic power of the countries which it controls but also because of its methods of systematic infiltration into free society. To meet this danger it is of the utmost importance to understand not only the methods and motivations of Communist attack but above all the meaning of the freedom it threatens. To attack modern art, which is in itself a manifestation of individual freedom of expression, as part of the Communist conspiracy is to misunderstand the nature of the Communist conspiracy.

### FREEDOM TO CRITICIZE

The attacks on modern art in Miss Pels' article [February, 1956, issue of *Facts Forum News*] can be summed up as follows: (1) modern art is ugly, degenerate and meaningless; (2) modern art is Communist-inspired and Communist-fostered in order to break down our concepts of human and religious dignity; and (3) modern artists are predominantly Communists or Communist sympathizers.

Miss Pels has, of course, a right to express her preferences in art and to criticize any work of art she finds ugly, meaningless or absurd. But when she proceeds to accuse the creators of those works of art of deliberately swindling or corrupting the public, she cannot expect such accusations to remain unanswered. Two of Miss Pels' targets seem to be distortion and abstraction. It is significant that she illustrated her article with a photograph of a framed blank canvas which, in the *American Legion Magazine* [where the article was first published] was accompanied by the following caption, "Indicating either absolute lunacy or utter contempt for a gullible public, certain modern 'artists' exhibit blank canvas as art. As a final absurdity, this 'art form' was seriously discussed in the *New York Times* by a follower of this school. It seems that the artist is trying to express an unreal world by subtracting fragments of fragments till nothing is left." Investigation has not disclosed that there is any substance to this statement. One abstract painter did paint a white square on a white canvas as a demonstration of such *reductio ad minimum* (just as some Dadaists, as recounted by Miss Pels, acting in protest against the insanities of World War I and the grotesque absurdities of postwar inflation, did go to deplorable extremes in their mockery of conventions). However, Miss Pels' photograph of a "blank canvas" may well make an admirable illustration of her story of the



These two paintings are not modern art, but are typical examples of Socialist Realism, the official style of Soviet Russia which is urged by the Communist party on artists in satellite countries as well as in the Western world. "Higher and Higher" (on the left) was painted by Seraphima Ryangina. According to the Russian caption, "the artist conveys the enthusiasm of the younger generation of Soviet workers, the self-sacrificing builders of Socialist industry, to whom work is a matter of joy." Above is a painting of Stalin and Voroshilov on the Kremlin walks, a typical example of official Russian Socialist Realism.



"The Croquet Party" by the famous French master Monet was rejected by the French National Museum along with paintings by Renoir, Cezanne and Monet in the 1890's when the now popular Impressionist painters were called anarchists, Communists, imbeciles and decadents by academic artists, conservative critics and a senator.



EASTERN KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE LIBRARY



Emperor's clothes — if the photograph should turn out to be as spurious as the Emperor's garments. We cannot find evidence that any modern artist had anything to do with the frame and blank canvas she reproduces.

The article's objection to distortion leaves the reader with the impression that distortion is a device invented by modern artists. This is, of course, not true. Artists of all times have used distortion to express their ideas or to create balance of color, line and space. Many of the paintings and sculptures of the Middle Ages and the baroque period would have to be disqualified as works of art if an exact rendering of nature were to be considered important in judging all phases of art. Such a basis of judgment would, of course, also disqualify most of the arts of the great civilizations outside our own.

#### DISTORTION NOT THE INVENTION OF MODERN ART

To accuse modern artists of dishonesty because they employ distortion or do not paint in a representational style is hasty judgment to say the least. The literature of the beginning of modern art is so rich and accessible that it is easy for anyone interested to trace in it the honest fight for individual expression and the sincerity of those who led and continued the movement. There are, and always were, artists who adopt a style after it has become fashionable or remunerative, but to decry an entire art movement because it attracts some opportunistic gate-crashers is to condemn any successful movement. Leaders of modern art have suffered public contempt and many of them, such as Matisse and Picasso, have lived for years in poverty rather than adopt a more conservative style which would have greatly helped their sales.

Miss Pels' second accusation, that

modern art is a tool of communism used to attack the foundations of democratic society and religion, is a very serious one and needs to be considered in the light of evidence.

Ever since the Communist party leadership has concerned itself seriously with art, modern art has been officially declared to be anathema to Communist society. The Communist leadership used terms like degenerate, capitalistic, perverted, petit-bourgeois. Modern painting was, and still is, banned in Russia and her satellites as can easily be established by glancing at the art magazines of those countries and by reading the statements made



Distortion was used by old masters as a means of expressing deep religious emotion, as can be seen in these three heads of Christ on the Cross taken from great crucifixions of the twelfth, thirteenth, and sixteenth centuries.

about art by Communist officials. The attacks on modern art by Communist spokesmen, both inside and outside the Soviet Union, have been remarkably consistent and have been echoed again and again by party organs behind the Iron Curtain and in other countries, including the United States. For example, the official magazine *Voks*, published for Soviet cultural propaganda abroad, calls Picasso's pictures "morbid, . . . revolting . . . an esthetic apology for capitalism." Socialist Realism is the official name for the kind of art the Communists approve. Communist art must be Socialist in subject and very realistic in style. The Communist attitude towards modern art was summed up in *Pravda*, the official newspaper of the Communist party, USSR:

It cannot be tolerated that side by side with Socialist Realism we still have a co-current represented by the worshippers of bourgeois decadent art who regard as their spiritual teachers Picasso and Matisse, cubists and artists of the formalist school.

And in this country, a Communist-

front publication, *Masses and Mainstream*, said:

Today an increasing number of artists and intellectuals moved not only by the strong currents coming from the realistic art of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, but by their own struggles against fascism, are looking critically at this false and empty "modernism," breaking the manacles it had fastened upon their power to investigate and understand the real world about them.

The distinguished American painter, Ben Shahn, who himself has been accused of Communist sympathies, offers quite another opinion of Soviet art. He says:

Neither the formulae of Commissars nor inducements of honor, nor pretentious awards have yet succeeded in breathing life into Soviet art. Its deadly procession of overdrawn generals and over-idealized proletarians bears sharp testimony to the fact that there is no conviction in artists' hearts and that the search for truth has been stalled.

A recent dispatch from Moscow indicating that paintings by French Impressionists in the Soviet collections are now made accessible to the public in a temporary exhibition does not indicate any substantial change in the official party line. It does permit the Russian public to see some of the forerunners of modern art, who by Western standards are now considered classics, but it carefully qualifies



this permission by stating that the pictures are shown for their historical value. There is, unfortunately, no evidence that this step indicates a recognition of freedom for the contemporary artist in Russia.

The implications in Miss Pels' article that the Communist leadership while banning modern art in Communist countries, is encouraging it in free countries as a means of subverting free society are also entirely grounded. When Miss Pels asserts that art is regarded by Communists as a weapon in their fight for world

nation, she is, of course, entirely correct, but her efforts to associate this statement with modern art are very misleading. For example, Miss Pels quotes William Z. Foster, the American Communist leader, as saying:

There must be a clear understanding that art is a weapon in the class struggle. Not only is art a weapon, but a very potent one as well. Moreover, rising revolutionary social classes instinctively realize the importance of art as a social weapon and have always forged their own art and used it to challenge that of the existing ruling class.

### COMMUNISTS FROWN ON FREEDOM OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION

What she fails to point out is that Foster carefully refrained from using the adjective *modern*. All evidence shows that such references to art by Communist leaders are concerned with Socialist Realism, the only officially recognized Communist art style, a style which resembles the illustrations in our conservative magazines. This makes good sense because Socialist Realism, with its emphasis on painstaking likeness, makes it, of course, a good vehicle for propaganda. The assertion that the Communist leaders use modern art, which they consider inimical to Communist society, as a weapon to undermine free society, as a sort of carefully planned ideological epidemic, cannot be substantiated and is absurd. Communists consider any privilege of free society as dangerous to Communist order; they fear freedom of speech, freedom of the press and freedom of artistic expression. There is no sound evidence whatever that they are fostering any of these freedoms in democratic society in order to weaken its structure. It would obviously be foolish to attack realist art as Communist art simply because the Communist leadership approves of it, but it is even more foolish to attack non-realistic art as communistic when it is consistently attacked by Communists and their fellow travelers all over the world.

Miss Pels takes extraordinary liberties with truth in presenting evidence to prove this calumny. Her story is largely borrowed from the speeches of Congressman Dondero, many of whose accusations against modern art and modern artists have already been disproved. She implies that Kandinsky, "Commissar of the 'Isms,'" was involved in the founding of the Museum of Modern Art. Miss Pels pretends that Kandinsky (a great Russian pioneer of abstract painting) was exiled by Lenin in 1921 so that his "decadent distortions" might corrupt "the people outside Russia whom Lenin hoped to soften up and demoralize." She describes how Kandinsky

was "brought to the United States" to become Vice President of the Société Anonyme, a modern art organization. She then quotes Dondero directly, "The Société Anonyme according to the American Art Annual was first organized as the Museum of Modern Art. The Museum of Modern Art founded in 1920, officered in 1923 and for years thereafter by Kandinsky, Russian Commissar of the 'Isms' becomes crystallized in 1929 as the present Museum of Modern Art. As an enduring link between the two, Alfred H. Barr, Jr., member of the Board of Directors of Société Anonyme, is the Director of the present Museum of Modern Art.

"The way was open," Miss Pels adds, "for the virus of foreign-spawned 'Isms' to be injected into the bloodstream of American culture. . . ."

It is hard in a brief space to separate the facts from the distortions and falsehoods in this story. For a brief period after 1918 Kandinsky did organize museums under the Soviet regime, but he was not a Communist and worked essentially for what he believed to be the free and experimental in art. His ideas were soon repudiated and his work undone by the USSR, which he left in 1921 to teach abstract painting in Germany where he had nothing to do with politics. In 1923 he did accept the Vice Presidency of the New York Société Anonyme, but the appointment was essentially honorary, since Kandinsky, 3,000 miles away, contributed little but his name and the loan of some pictures. Miss Pels to the contrary, Kandinsky never in his life set foot in America.

Furthermore a way for the "foreign spawned 'Isms'" was not opened by the Société Anonyme in 1920, but by a group of American artists and art patrons who in 1913 organized a large exhibition of modern art. Nicknamed "The Armory Show," it was presented in New York and later at the Art Institute of Chicago.

The Société Anonyme was not "first organized as the Museum of Modern Art." In order to clarify its purpose it added the words "museum of modern art" as a parenthetical subtitle to its name. The subtitle, however, was so little used that when the present Museum of Modern Art was organized in 1929 none of its founders was aware that they had borrowed the secondary name of an older institution. Except for this unintentional coincidence of name, there was no connection whatever between the Société Anonyme founded by Miss Katherine Dreier in 1920 and the Museum of Modern Art, initiated in 1929 by Miss Lillie P. Bliss, Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and Mrs. Cornelius J. Sullivan. Alfred H. Barr, Jr., whom Congressman Don-

dero discerns as the "enduring link" between the two did eventually become a board member of the Société Anonyme but that was in 1950, when he was no longer Director of the Museum of Modern Art, and primarily to help in cataloging the collection of the Société Anonyme which *nine years before* had become the property of Yale University. Incidentally, when the collection which Mr. Dondero and Miss Pels consider such a menace was accepted by Yale, President Seymour wrote Miss Dreier, the donor, saying: "Your beneficence will not only be of lasting usefulness to the university, but to the entire country."

### MANY CHURCHES PATRONS OF MODERN ART

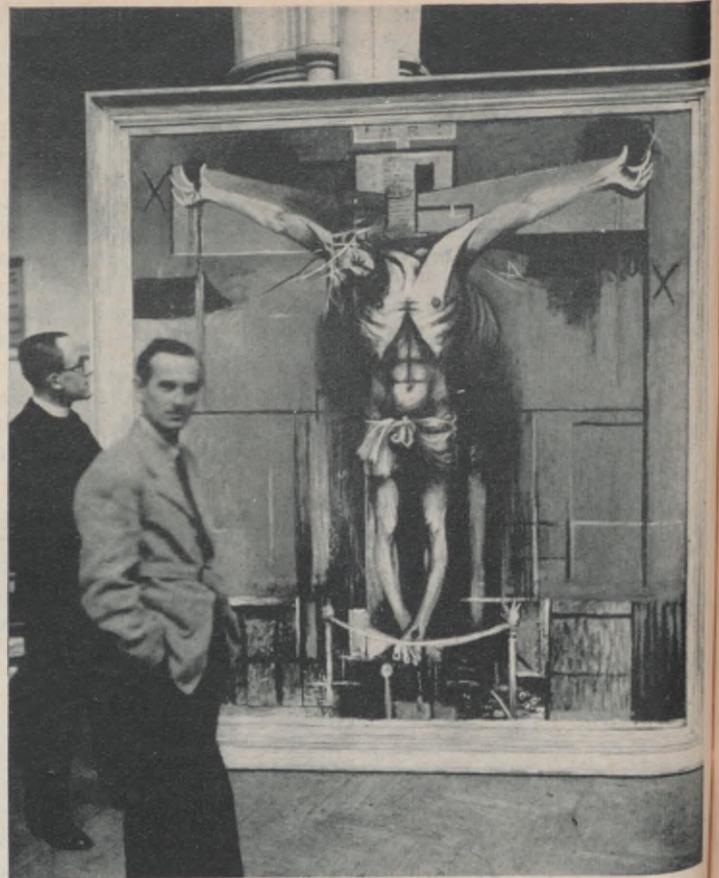
The article further charges that communism is using modern art in its fight against religion and that modern art is sacrilegious and in essence anti-Christian and that the churches, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, have officially condemned it. This is not true. No church has officially condemned modern art, and, in fact, the article does a disservice to the churches of Catholic, Protestant and Jewish faiths which are important patrons of modern art. Modern architecture, which is so closely related to modern painting and sculpture, is increasingly accepted for church buildings. One out of every four churches being built in this country today is modern, including the Corpus Christi Roman Catholic Church in San Fran-



Some modern religious art is highly abstract, such as this "Crown of Thorns" which won the coveted first prize at the 1955 Pittsburgh International Exhibition of Contemporary Painting. The artist, Alfred Manessier, is a devout French Catholic painter who has decorated two churches in France and one in Switzerland.

cisco; the Roman Catholic Church of St. Philip the Apostle in Clifton, New Jersey; St. Stephen's Episcopal Church in Columbus, Ohio, and the Faith Lutheran Church in Tucson, Arizona. Modern painters and sculptors have been commissioned here and abroad for churches and synagogues. For example, Jacques Lipchitz, a sculptor ridiculed in Miss Pels' article, has recently completed a statue of the Virgin Mary for the Church at Assy in France, and Léger, another famous modern artist, has designed mosaics for the same church as well as for the windows of the Church at Audincourt. The devout French Catholic painter, Alfred Manessier, has decorated two churches in France and one in Switzerland with his nearly abstract compositions. His *Crown of Thorns* recently won the coveted first prize at the great Carnegie International Exhibition in Pittsburgh. Henri Matisse designed an entire chapel at Vence, including the stained glass windows, altar, crucifix and the vestments worn by the priest to celebrate Mass. Henry Moore, the famous modern English sculptor has carved a monumental Virgin and Child for the Church at Northampton and the leading modern British painter, Graham Sutherland, has done a life-size crucifix. A team of modern artists including the painters Robert Motherwell, and Adolph Gottlieb and the

Graham Sutherland, well-known British artist, is shown here standing beside his painting of the Crucifixion which was commissioned by Canon Hussey of the church of England for the church in Northampton. Like many artists of the past, Mr. Sutherland has expressed Christ's agony by exaggerating parts of his body.



sculptor Herbert Ferber have, in collaboration with the architect Percival Goodman, created an entire decoration for the synagogue in Millburn, New Jersey.

The Crucifixion, reproduced in Miss Pels' article and characterized as vulgar and distorted and, by implication, sacrilegious, has in fact been highly praised by leading churchmen. Father James L. McLane, Rector of St. Matthias Church, Los Angeles, California, said of it specifically:

Allow me to offer you my belated congratulations on the prize-winning Crucifixion which I was privileged to see only today. Quite aside from the artistic authenticity, simpleness, and integrity of your conception and its most interesting execution, I cannot understand the objections its showing here has occasioned. That of course is political — and has nothing really to do with art. Speaking not only as an art connoisseur and an art collector on a modest scale, but as a priest of the Episcopal Church, your Crucifixion is NOT sacrilegious.

In addition, Monsignor Robert E. Brennan of the Church of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, Sun Valley, also said of it specifically:

It is wrong for anyone to force all artistic creations before the judgment seat of realism. How would some of the great Byzantine representations of our Lord and the saints fare from such treatment? The charge of "sacrilegious" by realists is out of order because realism has no place in the matter. . . . From a personal point of view, I do not find anything in your work that merits the stigma given it. On the contrary, it possesses spiritual qualities of a high value for those who think in terms of the medium you have chosen.

Similar statements from high digni-

ties of the Catholic Church are evidence that the interpretation of Pope Pius XII's words is left to individual church leaders and is not intended as a blanket condemnation of modern art, as implied in Miss Pels' article but as a condemnation of lack of obvious spiritual qualities in some works of art. Prominent Catholics such as the French Dominican, Father Coeururier, the American editor, Father John La Farge, the leading English Jesuit, Father d'Arcy, the philosopher, Jacques Maritain and the businessman, Otto Spaeth, all approve or actively advocate the use of modern art by the church as do the great Protestant theologian, Paul Tillich, of the Harvard Divinity School, and in England, the Bishop of Chichester and Canon Hussey.

The record shows that condemnation of modern art, effective in the USSR since 1920 and the official party line in Moscow since 1932 has not only been forced on all of Russia's satellites but also on Party members in free countries. The consistent linking of communism with modern art and of specific modern artists with the Communist party and Communist-front organizations in Miss Pels' article creates the impression that modern art is not only dominated but largely produced by Communists and fellow travelers. This third point in Miss Pels' article is also not true. It is obvious that there are a few Communists and pro-



This sculpture representing the burning thorn bush by the American Herbert Ferber was commissioned by the Congregation B'nai Israel for the facade of its synagogue in Millburn, New Jersey. In soldered copper, brass, lead and tin, the artist has conveyed his feeling of the Biblical passage, ". . . and the bush was not consumed."

Communists among artists as there are in many professions but to maintain that modern art is the stronghold of Communists is not borne out by evidence. In fact pressure is brought to bear on the relatively few modern artists who are Communists in an effort to get them to adopt the official Socialist Realism style. That this pressure is soft-pedaled in the case of a handful of modern artists of great fame who are Communists simply means that the Party leadership is willing to close an eye to the work of a man of international reputation like Picasso in order to be able to claim his name as an adherent of the party. But even in Picasso's case the Communists wanted to make sure that his acceptance as a member did not mean the acceptance of modern art. Gerasimov, President of the Soviet Academy of Art, after praising Picasso as a party member, added bluntly, "but he is no artist."

### FREEDOM AND FAIR PLAY THE AMERICAN WAY

The attempt in Miss Pels' article to discredit modern art as a whole through references to the artists' personal conduct or affiliation with specific organizations is very misleading. In her effort to condemn modern art by association she significantly omits the obvious fact that every brand of ideology from the most conservative to the most radical can be found among modern artists. She also makes no attempt to evaluate objectively the nature of the affiliation of individual artists with organizations such as those listed as Communist-front organizations by the Attorney General, giving thereby the impression that all artists who were members of such organizations are Communists or Communist sympathizers. This use of the Attorney General's list runs counter to its stated purpose which the Department of Justice defines as established "for the guidance of the heads of the federal executive departments and agencies for use in connection with requests for investigation regarding employment or retention in employment of federal employees." The Department further states that "the nature and extension

of a membership in a designated organization is but one factor to be considered in determining the qualifications of individuals for employment or retention with the federal government." It is clear from this that the very government agency which publishes this list is against the principle of guilt by association, and recognizes the danger of the indiscriminate use of the list without intelligent evaluation of the significance and date of the individual's membership in a designated organization.

To judge the merit of a work of art and the contribution it makes to our society by the personal conduct, the personal beliefs or associations of its creator is to accept the standard of totalitarianism which can only conceive of art or any other manifestation of the human mind as tools to be used for or against the particular order which they are enforcing. There have always been individualists and dissenters among artists and the world's cultural heritage would be greatly impoverished indeed if the work of such artists as Michelangelo, Perugino or Courbet had been suppressed because of objections to their personal conduct or affiliations.

It is obvious that the artists of a free society must be responsible to the laws enacted by this society created in order to insure its continuation and welfare. If an artist through his work transgresses the law, he should be prosecuted and no responsible organization should associate itself with his transgression. But to suppress the presentation of controversial material in the arts as well as any other field of human endeavor is to destroy the very basis of freedom itself.

What greater comfort and encouragement can we offer to Communists or Communist sympathizers in and out of this country than to give substance to their accusations that we do not practice the principles of freedom and fair play which we proclaim in justifiable pride as our American heritage?

To appraise modern art and its role in the contemporary world, it is necessary to understand its history and what it stands for. All new movements grew out of a rebellion against aca-

democratic standards which seemed to the artists confining and oppressive. As a typical product of modern free enterprise, art developed a great and unprecedented variety of forms and styles and gave the individual a freedom to create as he never had before. It is this variety and individualism in modern art that calls for and should create controversy, as controversy is made possible by freedom of speech. The assertion underlying the article, that new and unfamiliar art, our art of today, is subversive and un-American and should be suppressed calls for vigorous denial. I know no better way of phrasing the need for freedom of the arts than to quote a message sent to the Museum of Modern Art last fall on the occasion of our 25th Anniversary by President Eisenhower:

To me, in this anniversary, there is a reminder to all of us of an important principle that we should ever keep in mind. This principle is that freedom of the arts is a basic freedom, one of the pillars of liberty of our land. For our Republic to stay free, those among us with the rare gift of artistry must be able freely to use their talent. Likewise our people must have unimpaired opportunity to see, to understand, to profit from our artists' work. As long as artists are at liberty to feel with high personal intensity, as long as our artists are free to create with sincerity and conviction, there will be healthy controversy and progress in art. Only thus can there be opportunity for a genius to conceive and to produce a masterpiece for all mankind. But, my friends, how different it is in tyranny. When artists are made the slaves and tools of the state; when artists become chief propagandists of a cause, progress is arrested and creation and genius are destroyed. . . . Let us resolve that this precious freedom of the arts, these precious freedoms of America, will, day by day, year by year, become ever stronger, ever brighter in our land.

Objective observation of the history of recent years reveals the fact that wherever tyranny has taken hold of a people and a government, modern art has been suppressed, but when tyranny is replaced by democratic freedoms, and artists are free to create and people free to use their own judgment, modern art once again emerges. Communism, like all other political systems based on tyranny, condemns art forms that cannot be used as weapons for its own ends. It is for this reason that the Communists hate and fear modern art. END

*The professed internationalist usually sneers at nationalism, at patriotism, and at what we call "Americanism." He bids us forswear our love of country in the name of love of the world at large. We nationalists answer that . . . it is only the man who ardently loves his country first who in actual practice can help any other country at all.*

— THEODORE ROOSEVELT

*Force never changed anybody's mind, but education and understanding have won a lot of victories, even though they take longer.*

— CHARLES E. WILSON,

*But words are things and a small drop of ink, falling, like dew, upon a thought, produces that which makes thousands, perhaps millions, think.*

— LORD BYRON

*Foreign policy is too important to be left to government alone. It must be based on a fully informed public.*

— SENATOR WM. F. KNOWLAND

*If there is any human force that cannot be withstood, it is the power of the banded intelligence and responsibility of a free community.*

— HENRY W. GRADY

# People's Capitalism

*The letter reproduced  
at right points up a facet  
of Communist propa-  
ganda that has received  
little attention.*

*This article outlines an  
effective means of  
combatting the insidious  
Red propaganda  
which would corrupt  
the word "capitalism."*

Condensed from  
January, 1956, issue of *Stet*

**L**AST year Theodore S. Repplier, president of The Advertising Council, Incorporated, made an around-the-world study of propaganda as an Eisenhower Exchange Fellow. When he returned Repplier made many reports on his findings.

In all of his reports Repplier stressed the fact that this country is up against a devilishly clever and ruthless opponent who is staging the biggest and best-organized attempt at mass conversion in the history of the world. He thinks that a need which cries to heaven in the world-wide war of ideas is to make clear the triumphant fact that a new way of living has come to pass in the Western hemisphere.

Nobody blueprinted and planned this new society, but it is none-the-less a glorious end-product of freedom in the American environment.

It is a new economic system, for it provides more neces-

*To Facts Forum News:*

There is no doubt that most of the Communists say openly they are Communists. . . . We, the free, the western knights for freedom, still are not clear enough in our minds to be as proud of our allegiance to capitalism as the Communists are to communism.

That is our weakness. We like to evade the issue, detouring it to republicanism, democratism, socialism, radicalism, existentialism, liberalism, laborism, democratic socialism, etc., so that we can be spared a confession of what we are.

There are in the fight today, practically speaking, two parties: communism and capitalism. Into which of the two camps do we belong?

I know I am a Capitalist, and confess to be proud of it. As a Capitalist I have been able to create better living conditions for some 100,000 workers during my lifetime. I have produced 100,000 Capitalists, mostly out of the same material from which Europe is now producing Communists.

What is the practical difference between the two positions?

Everybody this side of the Iron Curtain is a Capitalist, no matter what he declares himself to be. Exceptions are very few and unimportant — those in the mental, penal, and charitable institutions mainly, who are unable to live fully, due to disability.

On the contrary, everybody living behind the Iron Curtain is living a Communist life, willingly or not, temporarily or permanently.

The difference is that we, in freedom, live under the law which gives us rights of a Capitalist system: to own property; to take and leave work; to choose a profession, and to choose our leaders. . . .

Capitalism means the right to own —

what? To own myself, my house, my business, my car, my watch, my rights according to the Constitution. To own my government, too.

Communism, or the Soviet regime, means exactly the contrary. You are owned by some entity such as the State or the Party, like so many cattle. You have your house? No. You have your money? No. You have your rights? No. All that is the property of the State or the Party — including you.

In my Brazilian home I heard the story of the slave of one hundred years ago. John was a good slave-worker. He even received special money from the master from time to time to encourage his diligence.

John longed for a big, wide Texan hat. He dreamed of the hat. The longing for possession is inherent in everybody, and was in John, too. He saved until he was able to go and buy the hat. It was a big, nice, shiny hat, in contrast to the flour sack with which he was usually clad.

But alas! On leaving the store it started to rain. John did not hesitate. He covered the hat with the flour sack mantilla.

"You fool!" somebody hollered at him. "Why did you buy the hat if now you are going bareheaded?"

John declared vehemently, "Devil take the head! That's the property of my master. But the hat here, the hat is mine!" . . . . Ask your neighbor what, basically, he is. Probably he will not admit being a Capitalist. Why?

There are some one hundred years of Communist propaganda behind that. The Communist Manifesto and Socialist teachings have identified capitalism with "Wall Street," "blood-suckers," "sweat-shoppers," etc. It has become a slander of the worst kind. . . .

DR. JAN A. BATA, Industrialist  
Amsterdam, Holland

sities and more comforts to more people than any society man has yet produced.

But it is a new social system, too, for it tends toward the full elimination of classes which divide man and man.

And it stands squarely on a philosophic base — for it rests on an historic declaration of the equality of men before their Creator, and every human being's inheritance of his basic rights.

This system which is not a system, and which is full of dynamism and change, urgently needs a name. We have produced a great product which is nameless — a shameful situation which at times has very nearly lost us the propaganda war. We have tried to describe our system by a whole host of phrases, mostly inaccurate or meaningless: the American way of life, free enterprise, the free choice system and so on. But we have settled on nothing

Imagine communism without a name! Repplier proposed that man's new way of life be called People's Capitalism.

Here is his step-by-step reasoning which leads to this conclusion.

The first fact of life in the idea war is that this is a struggle between communism and capitalism. The Communists constantly refer to it as such, and are not likely to cease. The whole body of Communist doctrine is based on the premise that capitalism is decadent and dying. They constantly maintain that capitalism is the enemy they are fighting.

Consequently it makes no sense whatever for our side to assume that the word "capitalism" will go away if we ourselves do not use it. This ostrich act fools only ourselves.

The term capitalism will not and cannot go away and the sooner we face that fact the faster we will get on top in the propaganda fight.

Nor is the answer to coin a word for our system, as some have: "consumerism," for example. Coined words can be and have been successfully introduced into the language, provided there is sustained advertising behind them. But the taxpayers of America, long-suffering though they are, could never supply a sufficient volume of advertising to popularize a newly-minted word in all the world's languages.

And even if it could be popularized, the Communists would taunt that it was nothing but capitalism in disguise.

Why do so many of our propaganda experts shudder at the word capitalism?

Because throughout much of the world it has a most unpleasant odor. For many of the world's peoples, capitalism has been no bargain. Under it they have been acutely miserable.

Throughout the Far East, for example, capitalism has usually meant an unpleasant form of colonialism. Under it the people were often kept in poverty while their country's resources were systematically exploited. For generation after generation life was grim and totally devoid of opportunity.

### HERE'S THE ANSWER

In Europe things were better. But in too many European countries capitalism has meant a system under which a few men lived in great luxury while the bulk of the people had pitifully little. Cartels and other trade-stifling practices flourished — and they still do.

The answer to this situation is to face the issue squarely. Every time the Soviet propaganda machine thunders against capitalism, our obvious cue is to thunder back that a completely

new kind of capitalism has come about which is neither colonial nor feudalistic. Further, that this dynamic, new capitalism is already doing things for its people that under communism have remained empty promises for thirty-five years.

What do the Communists say about capitalism? They say that it exploits the people; that it makes the rich richer and the poor poorer.

Yet what are the two miraculous facts about our exciting American capitalism (or Canadian capitalism, for that matter):

1. That the middle income group has grown and swollen until the segments of very poor and very rich have shrunk almost to the point of extinction.

2. That capital for expansion of our system comes not from a very few rich bankers but from the people. Nearly every American either owns life insurance or has money in a savings bank or belongs to a pension plan, and much of these funds are invested in industry. Over seven million people own common stocks; often employees are company stockholders. Many unions invest funds in industry. In short, the people are the capitalists — a new great phenomenon in the world.

In other words, the chief facts about our new capitalism are that the people supply the means for expansion of prosperity and the people share the benefits. Our system is truly and accurately People's Capitalism. And every repetition of this phrase describes our new society.

While it may be true that "people's" has a sort of Russian sound, like "democracy," "freedom" and other words which were bequeathed to us in the founding documents, the word "people's" has been kidnaped by the Russians. Yet no word is more American.

The U. S. Constitution begins with "We, the people," and an immortal and inspired definition of our democracy is Abraham Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

### OWNERSHIP OF CAPITAL

Sherman Adams, The Assistant to The President, said in regard to capitalism:

"While we condemn the system we seek to thwart we should be mindful of the increasing benefits of the new capitalism we seek to strengthen and preserve. We have actually achieved those things communism empty-handedly promises. We are literally a nation of middle class, few of us very rich, few of us very poor, most of us somewhere in the middle of the economic road. The growth of the middle income population has been enormous. The abundance of our land, the leisure to enjoy it, and the opportunity to grow intellectually and culturally are being shared by more and more Americans. It is ironic that this which was Marx's dream should have come about through an evolution of the very system he so deeply reviled.

"Ownership of the capital is rapidly moving into the hands of more and more Americans. The other day the Chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers gave me an interesting statistic. Consumer plant and equipment in the possession of our people, in homes, automobiles and durable household goods, exceeds by one-third the value of all industrial plant and equipment in the nation.

"Because the people supply both the capital and receive the benefit of our increased productivity, what has evolved in America today is truly a People's Capitalism. The Advertising

*(Continued on Page 63)*



Sherman Adams, Assistant to The President, and Theodore S. Repplier, Advertising Council president, discuss "People's Capitalism."

Courtesy of STET Magazine

# FOOD for FIGHTING

The author suggests a plan to help solve the farm problem. Certainly he highlights a neglected phase of civil defense — strategic storage of agricultural products for emergencies.

By CARL H. JACOB

TODAY we face the threat of a possible war as different from World War II as that war was from the Revolution. And yet on one of the most vital fronts we are preparing for it in the same archaic way. That front is the food front, and the same antiquated way is to do nothing about it until the war starts. This is the way we have done in every war from the Revolution up through World War II, and it has worked splendidly — thus far.

At the outbreak of World War II our farmers, aided by draft deferment and high priorities for farm machinery, fuel and fertilizer, utilized the land in a marvelous manner and turned out the greatest agricultural production the world has even seen.

Between 1941 and 1946 our farmers more than doubled their gross income. And so that farmers would not be afraid of any possible post-war let-down, Congress promised them continued high price supports two years beyond cessation of hostilities.

As it turned out, our farmers didn't need that incentive. The food crisis in Europe continued three years beyond the war, and our farmers saved hundreds of millions of lives in the Orient and in Europe by continuing to send much of their high production abroad in response to an urgent need.

The demand for our farm production started to decline in 1949, and the farmers appeared to be in trouble, with surpluses beginning to pile up. However, in 1951 and 1952 the Korean conflict wiped out much of these surpluses.

Since 1952 the farmer's path has tended downward. He has had the incentive of high price supports, but there has been no real demand for his products comparable to the supply. The European farmer, after more than four years on his face following the

war, is back on his feet, and he is taking most of the market there. Our price support program helped in this by keeping our products home in government storage (to the tune of \$8.8 billion now), leaving the overseas market wide open for the foreign farmer.

Other than for current consumption we feel no need for our farm production, and so our farmer is in a bind. The rest of us, however, find outlets for our products. More than ten per cent of our total national production goes into national defense. This helps keep prices up, which intensifies the farmer's grief. Compared to 1947-49, prices received by farmers have dropped some seven per cent, while prices paid by farmers for supplies, interest, labor and the like have gone up twelve per cent.

We feel no need for our farmer's products now, other than on a day-to-day consumption basis, but if the cold war suddenly turns hot, things will be different. We shall turn to the farmer fast. We shall dust off the old slogans, "Food Will Win the War!" and "An Army Marches on Its Stomach!"

The only catch is: *There will be no food front in an all-out, atomic war. This is something we are overlooking at our national peril and at the expense right now of the farmer.*

Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson has estimated that as much as 60 per cent of our industrial production could be knocked out in a single atomic attack. He has stated that attacks on leading metropolitan areas would have the country prostrate, and "on the ground" industrially. Port facilities, railroad terminals and commercial food warehouses are prime targets — when these go, America, as we know it, goes with them.

American industry is heavily concentrated. An attack on a small num-

ber of cities could also cripple immeasurably. Cleveland and Detroit are prime examples.

If 50 or 60 per cent of American industry were destroyed with a single attack, what would happen to American agriculture? Our highly mechanized farms are dependent on industry. Without electricity, gasoline, diesel fuel, replacement parts and commercial fertilizers, these farms, which produce much of our food, would be helplessly crippled in their production. After an atomic attack our agricultural production would be cut from 50 to 90 per cent. Even then the remaining 10 to 50 per cent production would not be too significant because of the loss of transportation facilities.

As for the part which food will play in winning a war, it will have to be the food we have on hand the day that war starts. This is one bit of strategy we seem to have overlooked. If war should start tomorrow (and in all our military and other defense preparations we have to assume it might start any time), how much food do we have on hand?

We have on hand now, stored in private and government warehouses in various parts of the country, nearly \$9 billion worth of surplus farm products. We have at times labeled this surplus a curse and a plague. And such is the case in its present position, where it overhangs the market and depresses prices. However, if war should start tomorrow, we would be very glad to have this surplus.

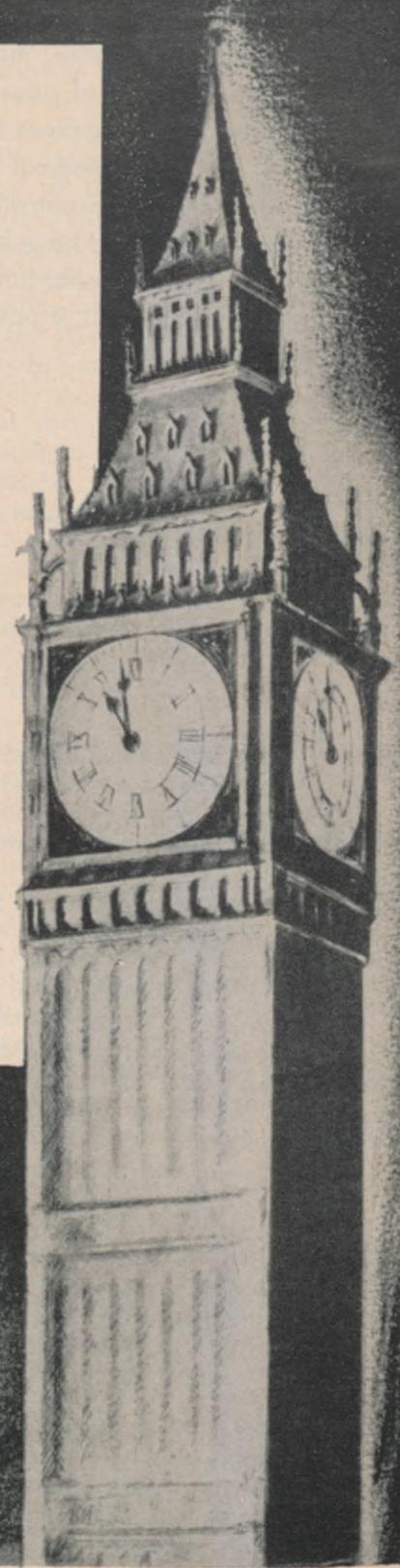
In considering the value of our farm surplus pile in an atomic war, we will have to discount a good portion of it at the outset. Much of it that is stored in vital target areas would be atomized along with the targets. Much of the rest of it would be unavailable where it might be needed most, be-

(Continued on Page 21)

**A Facts Forum News  
Condensation of**

# THE BRITISH SOCIALIST ILL-FARE STATE

by  
**Cecil Palmer**



Published by The CAXTON PRINTERS, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho  
Used by special permission of the copyright owners

## INTRODUCTION

Facts Forum News proudly presents the last work, posthumously published, of Cecil Palmer, noted British writer, publisher, and lecturer. Since this book came off the press, in 1952, the precise conditions have altered somewhat, inasmuch as history has a way of marching on. However, as a sharply etched picture of England's first few years under socialism, this treatise, more than a quarter of a million words in length, constitutes a monumental work of reference, and sounds a warning to America.

The author re-defines the Welfare State as the "Ill-Fare State." He terms it "a political snare and a sociological delusion," and further maintains that "it acts as a center of gravity for the concentration of power."

British spellings have been altered in the condensation, to conform to American custom, and valuable material has, of necessity, been omitted. It is recommended that the reader consult the original, if possible, for further dissertation on the subject of socialism at work in Great Britain.

# THE BRITISH SOCIALIST ILL-FARE STATE

## A CONDENSATION

**P**OLITICALLY, Great Britain is dominated by a two-party system, each party the enemy of the other. Sociologically, Great Britain is two nations in one — the anti-Socialists and the Socialists, with virtually equal strength numerically.

Therefore, it must surely come to pass, sooner or later, that these two political philosophies will engage in a Herculean struggle for the final release, or the final imprisonment, of the souls and bodies of the British people.

If I may phrase a famous commentary: "If all the political and economic planners in the country were placed end to end they might reach a conclusion," I do so because, therein, is a ray of hope for our ultimate national salvation. If we would, once and for all, decide that the proper place for political planners is at the bottom rather than at the top of the economic queue, we should then be in a strong position to challenge and defeat the totalitarian conspiracy. But this desirable unemployment of planners is practical politics only when we are prepared to admit that the State does not owe us a living, and that honest work for all, aimed at self-betterment, is one of the most precious jewels in the crown of human dignity and progress.

An English humorist, Jerome K. Jerome, once confessed: "I like work; it fascinates me. I can sit and look at it for hours." Too many of us in postwar Britain have been sitting and looking, and standing and staring, instead of getting on with the job of clearing up and repairing the ravages of war in a spirit worthy of our traditions, and with a zest and zeal that acknowledge the equity inherent in the obligation to render a fair day's work for a fair day's wages.

One of the attractions of a Welfare State is that it temporarily offers privileged sections of the community "a short life and a gay one," at other people's expense. As long as there are rich to soak, and charitably minded peoples overseas to exploit, a Socialist Welfare State will always find favor and support from those who take no thought for tomorrow and who couldn't care less where the Christmas tree comes from, provided the gifts upon it are for them.

**T**HE winter of 1951-52 will some day be recorded in history as Great Britain's crucifixion. And this fearful price must be paid simply because the immediate aftermath of the war found us incapable of resisting the temptation to seek salvation in State, rather than in self, support. "The cardinal sin of socialism," stated Earl Winterton, "has been to denigrate and insult those qualities of self-sacrifice, self-reliance, and self-help which turned Britain from a small country into the richest and most powerful in Europe." The power of penal taxation under socialism made a mockery of thrift and a travesty of incentive. The Socialist government spent the people's money, also the money generously loaned or given by people overseas, at the fantastic rate of £8,000 a minute — or nearly \$400 a second.

I, for one, can both understand and deplore the following statement, written by a German, in a recent book entitled *The Dance of Death*. "Nobody," he writes, "could have revenged us on Britain so wholly as the Labor party has done. Everything Britain fought for is gone. Her powerful Empire scattered — and after such a victory! Never in our wildest dreams could we have put our military

objectives so high." Such a terrible epitaph on British socialism in practice must make every patriotic Briton weep for very shame.

Only the extreme left-wing ideologists are able to view with complacency the phenomenal growth of a parasitical, largely nonproductive bureaucracy which operative socialism and a Welfare State automatically bring into existence. Socialism has softened up British character and, in so doing, has lowered our standards of morality and thereby prepared a comparatively easy path for the tireless footsteps of communism.

Today, there is much writing and speaking about a "new religion," dressed in the garish, but tattered rags of materialistic ideology. Our overwhelming need, however, is speedy and sincere rededication of our lives and endeavors to the old religion that gives equal importance to rights and duties.

One fearful consequence of postwar sentiment has been a wide development of degrading pacifism. No thinking man or woman wants war. But no thinking man or woman wants peace at *any* price, chiefly because the final payment of peace is war itself.

The Welfare State is a misnomer. It is not a State in any constitutional connotation, and it certainly is not parliamentary democracy. On the contrary, it is an oligarchy and a preparation for the Servile State. When it has acquired and finally dissipated the community's wealth, it is unavoidably confronted with the necessity of redistributing poverty on an almost universal basis. In a word, the Welfare State obstinately remains a dream and, when we awaken from it, we learn, the hard way, that we have suffered the nightmare of an Ill-Fare State.

I WAS astonished to discover throughout the United States and in some parts of Canada, that some well-meaning Americans and Canadians were almost, if not quite, convinced that Great Britain under socialism is a twentieth century Utopia, and that it was their moral obligation to press their own governments to emulate our socialistic precepts and practices. I told them that they were helping to pay for our socialism and that, when they had their own brand of it, we would be in no position to help to pay for theirs.

The economic case against socialism is generalized in the fact that it creates and perpetuates deficits. The spiritual case against it is that it preaches and practices the idolatry that man is made for the State.

I have tried to impart perspective to an economic and political scene in Great Britain the like of which has no precedent in our history. Our prisons are overcrowded. As a community we are ill-fed, if not actually underfed, and those best qualified to judge have repeatedly warned us that the dire consequences of this malnutrition will present a problem of the gravest magnitude. Misery and frustration are rampant as the direct result of a pernicious housing shortage. Our economy has been distorted and overburdened by installments of nationalization of our major industries and utilities, every one of which has resulted in higher prices, inferior quality, inadequate quantity, and over-all deficits running annually into millions of pounds which the taxpayers have been compelled to discharge. The Socialists have made the unforgivable and almost unbelievable mistake of trying to fool all the people all the time.

"Democracy," wrote de Tocqueville, "extends the sphere of individual freedom. Socialism restricts it. Democracy

attaches all possible value to each man; socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference — while democracy seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude."

It is almost impossible to envisage the magnitude of deterioration in all things libertarian during a comparatively short period since 1914. Political and economic planning, which is merely an academic definition for socialism, has insidiously advanced its aims. With each progressive step, it has succeeded in bringing within its orbit large tracts of Britain's industrial and commercial activity and many of the precious personal liberties.

A Socialist Welfare State is born in uncertainty, must die in unfulfillment. It begins its political life on the assumption that most of the citizens are children who must be fed, clothed, housed, educated, employed, and disciplined by a paternalistic State. The power of the State may develop more speedily than the growth of the children and, in this event, the Welfare State itself will attain full and logical maturity in totalitarianism. The State as Santa Claus is succeeded by the State as Shylock.

Socialist financial policy, which is almost completely dependent on the creation and circulation of paper money, is economically unstable. It begins by encouraging the crazy notion that a nation can spend itself into prosperity and ends by warning the community that it must "save till it hurts" and economize into austerity. Socialist financing is not only suspect economically. It is charged with disaster, socially and ethically. The State rarely if ever performs a service, grants a reward, or indulges in gift-making, *unconditionally*.

It is difficult to convince people that socialism is as fixedly an international movement as is communism. The socialization of the world is a prelude to communism. Both systems have developed and exploited the art of mass propaganda. No nation has yet discovered the secret of immunization from its hypnotic excitements and enticements. Even the United States of America, which owes almost everything it possesses, culturally and economically, to competitive private enterprise, is politically embarrassed by socialistic pressures which have as their ultimate objective the establishment of a Welfare State. If the written and spoken word are not mightier than the sword, they are definitely more effective in terms of the multitudes. The enemies of individual liberty are nothing if not articulate.

We in Great Britain have emerged victorious from two world wars. The cream of the youth of two successive generations prematurely sleeps in eternal peace. We are spiritually poor because we have lost the incalculable wealth of the passionate leadership of boys transfigured into men when the blast of war blew in their ears. Our material losses, though heartbreakingly terrible, were not irreparable. Having emerged from the horrors of war with our heads "bloody but unbowed," we promptly proceeded to decapitate ourselves as a great nation, by contradicting our character and characteristics, at the behest of a clique of political and economic planners who persuaded us to believe, for the first time in our history, that we were incapable of minding our own business.

It is my sincere belief that many men and women who, in these postwar years, have called themselves Socialists, are not Socialists at all. Indeed, I have met several men

and women who admit that socialism in practice has disillusioned and enlightened them. They never were Socialists. They were, and are, social reformers. The pardonable mistake they made in the beginning was that they failed to recognize the totalitarian fist in the planned economy glove.

Socialism is centralization, regimentation, direction, compulsion, and conscription; any elementary textbook on the subject implicitly confirms these affirmations. We have been promised freedom from worry, freedom from fear, freedom from want. The one freedom the State will not voluntarily grant is freedom of the individual from the State itself.

The capitalist system will commit suicide, even before communism has a chance to assassinate it, if it fails to prove to the great majority, by both words and actions, that it, and it alone, is capable of sustaining a high standard of living and the highest possible standard of life, under liberty. It can do so. It has done so. But how many people in Great Britain or in the United States are aware of this historic fact? I have well-founded reasons for the suspicion that quite a number of capitalists have hardly any intellectual appreciation of what the capitalist system has done for them.

### **Nationalized Medicine**

In view of my public platform activities in defense of freedom in medicine it is, perhaps, not surprising that I am privileged to enjoy the confidence and trust of a large circle of doctors. I, therefore, can write with humble authority on what socialized medicine has done and is doing to the medical profession because I have frequently seen the effects with my own eyes. And what I have seen appalls me.

Many doctors in Great Britain are breaking down under the stresses and strains put upon them by the National Health Act. They are frustrated, bewildered, enervated, and disillusioned. Their bitterest enemies cannot accuse them of not having put forward a conscientious effort to make the best of a bad job. Their best friends cannot honestly overlook the fact that they brought most of their misfortunes upon themselves or, if they didn't, then some of their so-called leaders did it for them. But the time for recrimination is long since past. Only the present and the future have significance in terms of salvation.

Despite all political protestations of goodwill and equity, nationalized medicine, with its emphasis on centralization and its dependence on the "committee mind" for its soulless functioning, cannot fail to degrade a great calling and an honorable vocation which lives and has its being in the voluntary spirit. It does not lend itself to regimentation.

The British public is saddled with a National Health Service expenditure which even the Minister of Health admits has reached the sky in prodigality. Over a billion dollars a year is the bill that the British public is called upon to pay for a health service which originally was publicized as free.

Very few people in Great Britain can seriously believe that nationalized medicine is equivalent to getting something for nothing. The State and Father Christmas are not even on speaking terms. Two outstanding features in Britain's social services are seldom referred to by politicians, especially those who, for vote-catching purposes, prefer to talk about privileges and rights rather than about

responsibilities and obligations. They are:

1. Almost everybody in the community is legally responsible for a weekly contribution, amounting to approximately two million dollars [total]. Every employee knows that his real salary or wage, his net purchasing power, is the total of what is left after income tax and social insurance have been deducted at the source. This purchasing power is diluted by a purchase tax of anything from 16% per cent to 125 per cent on wholesale prices and ranging over a wide variety of goods and services.

2. The Social Services, including National Health, are compulsory. It is not possible to contract out of them. Rich and poor and the not-so-rich and not-so-poor are indiscriminately forced into the scheme. Whether or not they intend to avail themselves of the benefits, they must pay. Any recalcitrance is sternly discouraged by fines or imprisonment or both. That there is a substantial minority of citizens in Great Britain today who would contract out, if it were possible to do so legally, is incontrovertible. Nationalized medicine is totalitarianism in action.

**F**IGURATIVELY, the two main columns which stand at the entrance of the edifice of medicine symbolize privacy and secrecy. Without them the significance and personal quality of the relationship between doctor and patient are meaningless. As the soul's frailties are the special concern of the priest, so the infirmities of the human body are the particular province of the doctor. But neither priest nor doctor can accomplish his appointed task without the confidence, trust, and faith of those who seek his succor.

In an official leaflet issued to all householders in the United Kingdom explaining the new social services, a categorical guarantee is given in the following terms: "Your dealings with your doctor will remain as they are now, personal and confidential." The British community had no sooner digested this political promise than the Minister of Health issued Statutory Instrument Number 506 that flatly contradicted the assurance and created an entirely new position in the Ministry's own relationship with the doctors. This instrument unequivocally defined this relationship in a section entitled "Terms of Service," which stressed that "every practitioner enrolled in the service is required to keep records of the illnesses of his public patients and of his treatment of them in such forms as the Minister may from time to time determine, and to forward such records to the local Executive Council."

The local executive councils consist mainly of lay persons who are thus placed in the privileged position of acquiring intimate knowledge of the misfortunes of their neighbors. The point I stress is that this procedure inevitably lends itself to abuse. Even if it is not abused locally, the fact remains that the bureaucracy at higher levels is in possession of information that properly should never pass out of the hands of the medical profession.

From time immemorial, doctors in Great Britain have voluntarily accepted the Hippocratic oath as binding upon them professionally. Indeed, the oath was strictly enforced by the British Medical Association.

Nationalized medicine has produced a new version of the doctor's dilemma: If the doctor abides by his Hippocratic oath, he must disobey the State upon whom he is now largely dependent for his salary. On the other hand, if he disregards his oath and places his patients and confidences at the disposal of the Ministry of Health, he is clearly guilty of unprofessional conduct.

When the State acquired all but an infinitesimal part of the institutional and private-practice medical services, it took every precaution to insure that they entered the new system poor and penniless. All the assets went into the State pool. All the liabilities were passed on to the taxpayers. This one-track technique of robbing Peter to

pay Paul reached its apotheosis when the State decided it was entitled to expropriate hospital endowments. These contributions, which were both numerous and generous, were made by donors voluntarily, and frequently for specific objects.

I am amazed that so many people in lower-income groups have not yet discovered that a State-controlled hospital service, supposedly available to all sections of the community, must inevitably increase rather than diminish their anxieties when illness descends upon them. Today, there are infinitely more people competing for admittance to the hospitals. Really ill people are swept aside in the mad rush for medical treatment.

**T**HERE is much hypocrisy in the British political scene. I do not resent the Socialist higher-ups who, when sick themselves, seek and obtain all the amenities that characterized our now largely discarded private medical practice. I would not prohibit our Socialist masters from obtaining release from their sufferings anywhere in the world. If Swiss, or French, or German medical science is their last hope, let them go to those countries for treatment and good luck to them. All I ask is that thereafter they either preach what they practice, or practice what they preach. Why are we willing to barter our heritage of freedom for a spurious social security which even those who plan it know is a synonym for a regimented and totalitarian society?

The architectural specifications for nationalized medicine were originally assembled in a governmental report by Lord Beveridge which bears his name. The British public has got what it asked for and what it deserved. The pity is that when something critically substantial could have been done about it, the public allowed itself to be taken in by a political emphasis on benefits that insinuated that the other fellow, whoever he might be, would foot the bill. Today, the whole nation is paying through the nose for its fantastic incapacity to recognize, at the propitious moment, that even in the crazy arithmetic of Marxian ideology something for nothing does not add up.

In the Beveridge Report the author laid down two specific assumptions for a National Health Service. Assumption "A" is that it is the duty of the citizen to keep well. Assumption "B" is that it is the duty of the doctor to exercise harsh certification.

These assumptions are not pious pleas to patient and doctor to be good children. They are stern, dictatorial fiats. The author of them implied their necessity on the grounds that an actuarial basis for a National Health scheme was impracticable otherwise, and I am not disposed to contradict him. In effect, these assumptions are whips to be used as and when the powers that be determine that doctors, or patients, or both, would be all the better for a little punishment. Both doctor and patient have already experienced the whips in action.

As the months pass it becomes increasingly obvious that the Ministry of Health is stiffening its attitude toward medical certification. It insists that the doctor must toe the line or fall out of it. His prescriptions are vetoed. He must be economical. His last word on what is or is not beneficial for his patients becomes only the first word from higher sanctioning authority. He has voluntarily placed himself in the ignominious position of having to beg for a living salary. He is being made to realize more and more that he is no longer his own master professionally be-

cause, economically, he is a servant of the State. It is not difficult to foresee that when he has been thoroughly softened up he will hardly notice that he has become harsh, and is fully capable of acting accordingly.

The patient who has been told that it is his duty to keep well has nothing to laugh about either. He is just as likely a recipient of the whip as his doctor. The way things are developing economically must, sooner or later, produce a situation in which he will not be able to afford to be ill.

**D**EATH and infant mortality rates are acid tests of the efficiency of a medical service. American private medical practice can confidently face comparison with British nationalized medicine on these two aspects of social welfare. In both categories Great Britain comes off second best. Harold E. Stassen, after investigating the workings of State medicine in Great Britain, summed up his impressions in the caustic comment: "The British experiment has resulted in more medical care of a lower quality for more people at higher cost."

It is astonishing that many people in Great Britain do not even now realize, despite a large dose of socialism in practice, that the State, as the State, does not possess a single nickel. Its occasional outbursts of generosity are made when the State decides to return a portion of the money it has already extracted from the pockets of the people. I suppose we shall one day wake up to the fact that the ever-increasing strength of State purchasing power is the measure of the decline in the purchasing power of its citizens.

We are not a violent people. One of our most majestic contributions to civilization is surely the manner in which we have demonstrated to the world that revolution is a poor and bloody substitute for evolution. Even the politicians know this. They believe that half a loaf is better than no bread. They know that when it is eaten it is comparatively easy to persuade hungry people to devour the other half. Every scrap of socialistic legislation has been imposed upon us by the installment plan.

If there is an unpopular word in the vocabulary of Socialists, it is the word "socialism." They hide it behind the skirts of "Labor," or, when hard pressed, behind the austerity curtains of a "planned economy." The nationalization of medicine is an integral part of the Socialist State. It may prove to be the last and strongest link in the chain that is being forged for the eventual communization of Great Britain.

The total abolition of private medical practice would be a national disaster. But this is precisely the ultimate intention of the political powers that be.

The late Sir Ernest Graham-Little, who represented the University of London in Parliament, was profoundly interested in the welfare and management of University College Hospital, one of the hospitals which the Ministry of Health acquired under the National Health Act. Sir Ernest himself gave me the following fact which I reveal without comment. The running costs of University College Hospital under voluntary administration in the year 1938 were £125,000 (roughly \$350,000). In the first financial year of nationalized medicine they increased ten times to the colossal sum of £1,125,000, or roughly \$3,500,000.

**E**CONOMIC necessity is forcing many doctors to adopt a mercenary attitude. A per capita fee which works out at a gross payment of roughly five cents a week per patient is hardly calculated to produce a prosperous and dignified

profession. It would be treated with contempt by those who are protected by organized industrial trade unionism. And qualified young doctors experience increasing difficulty in establishing themselves in practice. They find it almost impossible to secure appointments, and no less difficult to obtain practices.

On the one hand, appointments directly obtainable through the Ministry of Health and its regional representatives are inevitably limited by the fact that the Ministry is now at its wits' end to devise new and effective instruments for its enforced economy drive. In the circumstances, new medical appointments are not popular in official circles.

On the other hand, young doctors are discovering that the older and established general practitioners are themselves in most cases in such a financial predicament that they cannot, even if they wished to do so, accept their young colleagues as assistants. If they did so they would, under the terms of remuneration laid down in the National Health Service, suffer financial loss because they must share their gross per capita fees with their assistants. Today, many medical practices do not provide adequate incomes even on the basis of one doctor for one practice. It is a poor lookout for the new generation of medical men and women who may, or may not, have optimistically assumed that nationalized medicine would offer economic security to the professional strata of society.

The doctors have a lot to answer for in every aspect of nationalized medicine. For all practical purposes they did not sell themselves and their patients to the socialized government; they presented the profession and the public on a plate as a gift. It is both lamentable and scandalous that the profession now finds itself in the ignominious position of haggling with the authorities for an extra shilling or two increase in the per capita fees; and that it has had to acknowledge publicly that, without an increase, the majority of doctors cannot continue to meet their financial obligations.

There is something grand, even majestic, about the word "democracy." It implies so much that is good in human behavior. It also conceals so much that is thoroughly bad. In its worst interpretation it gives verisimilitude to the concept that all men are equal whereas, in terms of politics, it merely recognizes that all men have votes.

You cannot legislate unsuccessful people into prosperity merely by legislating successful people out of it.

### **Nationalized Industry and Utilities**

It is a major technique in the Socialist effort to disrupt and ultimately destroy the private enterprise system of capitalism. Both socialism and communism stress the social and economic advantages of public ownership of industry. Both promise the workers partnership and participation in industry at managerial and even at proprietorial levels. Socialism proceeds on the installment plan; communism grabs the whole economic outfit with strategic finality. At journey's end, socialism is in liquidation inside the accommodating belly of the Communist tiger.

Monopoly is a word repeatedly used in Socialist propaganda. Why the Socialists dare exploit it is one of the mysteries. They are supermonopolists themselves. The alpha to omega of socialism is the creation of the all-powerful State which, at maturity, monopolizes everything and everybody. Nationalization is monopoly rampant.

Although Socialist and much trade union propaganda persisted over the years to stress Marx-Communist aspiration of "ownership by the workers of the means of production, distribution, and exchange," the Fabian-Socialist intellectuals, obsessed with their theories of political and social planning, gradually evolved a new formula that was intended to preserve some of the choicest plums of planning for themselves. "Ownership by the workers" was subtly changed to "ownership by the State as trustee of the people."

The amazing fact about this radical amendment of one of the commandments of labor-class socialism is that the trade-union movement utterly failed to realize the significance of the changed nomenclature and its ominous implications. Today, I think there are not many trade unionists in Great Britain who have not discovered that in getting rid of the capitalist as employer they have merely placed their destinies in the control of an impersonal employer-State.

Nationalization is an essential feature of a planned economy; and a planned economy, in the long run, depends upon planned human beings.

Workers have discovered that the nationalized industries and utilities are being run uneconomically and inefficiently; that their very security, as workers in these State-controlled undertakings, is precarious. The nationalization boards possess vast powers and authority. A coal miner, for example, discharged from one pit, finds it extremely difficult to sell his services to another — the boss in one pit is almost certain to be the boss in another, over a very wide region. The working-classes, who naively assumed that nationalization would make them owners of industry, are left low and wet on the planners' beach.

ONE of the big talking points exploited by the advocates of nationalization was that State-owned industries would insure cheaper and more efficient production and services and that the elimination of costly competition would result in financial prosperity. This argument, exposed to the fierce light of practical experience, has been thrown overboard. Now the argument is that paying its way is not essentially a major consideration in nationalization technique. Public service, according to the Socialists, must now take precedence over such mundane considerations as profit and loss. If this is the new economics, the already overburdened taxpayer can look forward to some new and highly disagreeable impositions. Nationalization in practice is becoming more and more dependent on State subsidy or loan or arbitrary price increases — new financial obligation which the consumer, as taxpayer, cannot evade. Nationalization is socialism. In full economic operation, it places the State in absolute command and control of the whole resources of the nation. The 25 per cent of our industrial activities already landed in the State's net embraces almost all the key industries and utilities; therefore, the remaining 75 per cent at present operating under private enterprise is greatly dependent on the nationalized 25 per cent for its very existence.

In Britain's economic development over the centuries, coal has contributed more to it than any other single industrial activity with the possible exception of our invisible exports which, in any case, are fundamentally commercial. Coal is certainly our main source of home-grown energy and will inevitably continue at this high level of indispensability until atomic energy can be diverted from military priorities and applied economically to civil services.

Both the miners and the community were assured that nationalization of the coal industry would produce contented miners, contented consumers, and eager customers from abroad. And yet it affords a complete refutation of the Socialist claim. Lack of coal has brought Great Britain to the very edge of economic collapse.

**T**HE Socialist government claimed that it was imperative to nationalize electricity because, under private enterprise and local government, the service lacked coordination, was wasteful, and riddled with the defects of competition. One answer to this criticism is that in pre-nationalization days electricity was cheap, plentiful, and efficient.

Throughout the whole period [of nationalization], Britain has been short of electricity, industry has been partly crippled, hospitals have been tragically disorganized, and the domestic consumer has suffered an interminable series of inconveniences. Power cuts have disrupted the economic and social life of the nation, while consumers have had to pay extra millions for electricity.

The gas industry was vested in State ownership; its administration passed into the hands of the Gas Council, whose chairman admitted that he was taking over a financially sound and administratively efficient industry. His pronouncement proves that the gas industry, like the steel industry, was grabbed by the State, not on any ground of failure in service to the community or because of financial instability, but in furtherance of Socialist ideology.

Gas is dearer and decidedly less plentiful. During the first year, eight of the twelve Area Gas Boards raised prices to their respective consumers.

**T**HE case against the nationalization of civil aviation is theoretically overwhelming and, in practice, confirms the worst misgivings of the experts who opposed it. Civil aviation is a job for pioneers, for men of vision and action, for individualists. Chartered companies were meeting and overcoming their economic problems under the stimulation of competition and the rewards that follow quality service. Nationalization has thrown this healthy, developing industry into disequilibrium, with two facts emerging: (1) enormous operational losses and (2) the self-evident conspiracy to use monopolistic power to destroy private enterprise competition.

The inefficiency, incivility, and dilatoriness of nationalized road transport are incredible. The British press has recorded thousands of cases supporting these charges against a monopoly which threatens to strangle a considerable part of Britain's industrial economy. Three years of nationalized road transportation can be summed up in general terms: (1) higher and higher passenger and freight rates; (2) higher and higher running costs; (3) poorer and poorer service; (4) larger and larger deficits.

The creation of huge deficits is a prominent statistical feature in most of the nationalized industries and utilities. The nationalized railways have contributed nothing to a reversal of this non-profit orgy. With a perversity wholly inexplicable, the planners accept deficits as a compliment to their executive acumen.

**T**HE nationalization of all the larger units in the iron and steel industry is probably the most dangerous economic experiment in the whole Socialist program. The failure of the nationalized coal industry is certain to have immediate

and serious repercussion on steel which, under private industry, held output records unsurpassed by any other major industry in the country. The fact is that the steel industry has passed into the hands of people whose knowledge of it is negligible. The Socialist government has much to answer for, but I venture to suggest that history will record the nationalization of steel as its greatest blunder.

As with road transportation, steel has been nationalized on the installment plan, a policy calculated to make confusion confounded. All steel-making firms producing annually 50,000 tons or more of iron ore, or 20,000 tons or more of pig iron, ingots, or hot rolled steel products are now completely nationalized. All other steel-making firms producing more than 5,000 tons are permitted to operate only under Corporation licenses. All firms of lower producing potentials are, at present, operating under private enterprise; but these firms cannot safely plan for the future because the Corporation, under the Act, is given almost unlimited powers of acquisition and extension.

The State has acquired private property at compulsory liquidation prices. It has come into possession of the major portion of a 100 per cent efficient industry which in the past has made incalculable contribution to the strength of British economy, is the backbone of many interdependent industries, and has made a mighty contribution to the Exchequer. And this is the industry that the government is now attempting to run on a Civil Service technique that must lead to rigid centralization and consequent lack of flexibility and adaptability.

Nationalism is reducing trade unionism to impotence. Socialism will surely and inevitably destroy the cooperative movement and will do so chiefly because State monopoly is safe only when every vestige of competition is eliminated.

To say that there would have been no national recovery without nationalization is a piece of wishful thinking which has no basis in fact. The bulk of the country's dollar earnings has been due to the magnificent efforts of private enterprise, notwithstanding Socialist restrictions and controls.

### **The Unions Under Socialism**

Winston Churchill said, in 1949: "Nothing is more clear than that socialism spells the doom of trade unionism. This is already the case in all totalitarian states where the trade unions are merely a department of the State employer-control, and are used not for the purpose of obtaining redress for workers' grievances, but to make them come along as quietly as they will, before the sterner measures of Socialist or Soviet government have to be enforced."

It is not difficult to sum up the limitations and unrealities of current trade unionism in Great Britain.

Great numerical strength has actually weakened it. The policy of telescoping comparatively small unions into one big union is superficially attractive. It provides a bigger and thicker stick as a bargaining instrument. But the size of the stick is less important than the stature of the man who holds it; and it is even more important that the man who holds it, by consent, does not hand it over to another, under duress. Now this is what is happening under nationalization: The big stick, like the victims of it, is in process of being state-controlled. For years, trade unionists have inveighed against monopolies and, concurrently, the unions have become increasingly monopolistic. The

nationalized industries are absolute monopolies and, as such, impose their own terms of service on the community.

The personal relationship between the trade union officials and the trade unionist is virtually nonexistent. The big unions have card-indexed nearly all the flesh and blood out of the movement. Nothing counts and little matters except numbers, politics, fees, and fines. Its gross, impersonal accountancy has created an impassable barrier between the rank and file and officialdom. Too much power is concentrated in too few hands, and the little man is nowhere in the fantastic scheme of things.

A healthy trade unionism, based on the sound principles which brought it into existence, would shun politics. Its present demoralization is overwhelmingly due to the fact that it has shifted its center of gravity from the industrial to the political arena, and encouraged its membership to accept the State as the last word in social and economic emancipation.

A policy that encourages men to go slow and to separate every single function of a job into watertight compartments cannot fail to encourage abuse, sloth, and irresponsibility. The bricklayer who imagines he has achieved a special brand of emancipation merely in consequence of the fact that he lays three or four hundred bricks a day against his prototype's one thousand or more, twenty-five years ago, is living in cloud-cuckoo land. All he has succeeded in doing is to contribute to the costliness and scarcity of houses and, incidentally, to aggravate a social problem that injures his class in the community. The working classes have punished themselves with severity.

**T**HE political machine will sooner or later scrap the trade union machine as redundant unless, meantime, trade unionism of its own volition denounces and rejects the political method, and reverts to its legitimate function of providing a forum where master and man can settle their mutual problems in cooperation and in equity.

No thinking man or woman in Great Britain can doubt for a split second that contemporary trade unionism is riddled with communism from top to bottom. Trade unionism at all levels has greatly betrayed itself. When, as often happens, a mere handful of Communists can bring out on strike a thousand or more men, it is surely germane to suggest that these thousand or more men have some responsibility in the matter. It is unthinkable that all of them are sheep. There is neither mystery nor ambiguity in Communist infiltration throughout the ranks of trade unionism. The Communists themselves have revealed all there is to be known about their strategy and tactics, in a pamphlet called *Strike, Strategy and Tactics: A Thesis Adopted by the Strasbourg International of Labor Unions*, which is today a manual for Communist industrial warfare.

I will stimulate the reader's appetite with a few selected sentences: "If a strike should break out unexpectedly, the Communists will press for a meeting of the workers involved, at which the election of a committee should be proposed and a list of candidates, prepared beforehand, should be brought forward." Communists are warned that they may find themselves a minority in the initial stage and they must, therefore, "display the utmost circumspection, tact, and understanding in order to win the majority for the revolutionary tactics." And here is a choice fragment: "Non-Communists should be entrusted with all kinds of functions in order to draw them into direct collaboration and participation in the struggle." Non-Com-

munist workers who make a good impression are "to be earmarked as potential recruits to the Communist army," and, later, must receive individual attention with a view to complete conversion. Finally, the thesis gives precise instructions regarding the composition of its infiltration squads. It directs that "as soon as a conflict is maturing in some branch of industry, the best forces must be sent to the field of struggle." There are many pages of this kind. They have terrifying implications, which should be exposed and explained to every trade unionist in the country.

**T**HE Socialist politicians in their constant exhortations to "the organized workers" seldom fail to drag in the profit motive with the implication that those who believe in it are "lower than vermin." The tragedy is that the profit motive is in danger of becoming the profit mirage. The dual demand that there must not be any ceiling to wages and not even a door for profits is as idiotic as asking a deep-sea diver to climb a mountain without coming to the surface. Why cannot we all be honest and admit that the man or woman who does not work for profit is either a fool, a saint, or a full-time housewife?

The wage that is a cost to the employer is a profit to the employee. I admit that this is a simplification of a complex aspect of economics, but it is substantially true. The point I stress is that trade unionists are as susceptible to the incentives of the profit motive as are any other sections of the community.

America, today, is champagne to the palate of an individualist who realizes that life is a challenge, and who relishes the challenges of living. It is necessary to leave England and see America in order to realize the full extent of Britain's decline under socialism. I am not stressing the obvious disparity in material things, although the difference in the two standards of living is so marked that it is difficult to believe that Great Britain once proudly claimed to have achieved the highest in the world. The stunning contrast in the two economies is in deeper soil than loaves and fishes, pots and pans, motor cars and cigars. I can make only a feeble attempt to capture it by suggesting that it is an attitude of mind, a vital spark, a faith that believes all things are possible, and a profound belief that God helps those who help themselves.

### How Our People Are Affected

A society which places the emphasis on what it expects to receive, rather than on what it is prepared to give, will eventually discover that it has lost the very roots of its stability. Any man who thinks the State owes him a living is telling the world that he cannot stand upright without the aid of borrowed crutches.

One of the major fallacies of the age in which we live is that social reform is socialism and that socialism is social reform. Social reform is conscience pricked into contrite and creative activity. Socialism is self-consciousness puffed up with arrogance and iconoclasm. The test of social reform is whether it puts wrongs right righteously, whether it removes injustice justly, and whether it expunges inequalities equably. If it offers temporary salvation for some, at the heavy price of damnation for the many, it is not social reform. A second look will reveal that it is socialism. A third inspection will disclose that it is communism.

The hardest-worked word in the vocabulary of State

## Can America Save Civilization?

I wish I could answer emphatically "Yes." I would hate to answer categorically "No."

One thing is certain: Time is on the wing.

America potentially leads the democratic world. If America fails to realize its responsibilities and thereby fails in creative leadership, it surely must be conceded that the inevitable consequence will be the triumph of evil the world over and the rapid decline and fall of western civilization.

The United States is in a state of welfare under freedom and private enterprise. What amazes me is that some of their politicians and professors are now trying to persuade the American public that only the State can give them what they possess already. In my travels from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast I saw and heard much that confirmed my belief that some Americans are prepared to drop the bone in order to snap up its shadow.

I write as an Englishman who over the years of two world wars has seen the gradual breakdown, under socialism, of the British way of life. The curse of my beloved country is politics, and I surmise that the day is not far distant when America will have good reason to share my misgivings. The British people have never taken politics very seriously and, in that comparative apathy, have largely overlooked the fact that politicians do. No careerist in any walk of life is more ruthless, more unscrupulous, and more indefatigable than the little man or woman in search of bigness in politics. The promise of blood, sweat, and tears from the lips of a patriot has a sweeter compulsion than the promise of social security from the tongue of the totalitarian. The one at least teaches us how to die. The other proclaims the fact that we are already dead.

**A**MERICA can save civilization, or at least play a vital and superlative part in so doing. Whether America will save civilization is, unhappily, quite another story. And a possible sequel to that other story is whether America will be allowed to save civilization. One thing is certain: The Socialist threat to America is real and urgent. The Communist threat to America is also real and urgent. Indeed, this double threat constitutes the two sides of the totalitarian medallion.

Perhaps the United States will persuade itself that economic liberty, which is incompatible with socialism in practice, is too valuable to place in jeopardy and altogether too priceless to abandon. Both British democracy and the American republic are morally under an obligation to accept the onerous role of custodian of all things libertarian in order that Christian civilization will eventually emerge triumphant from its international struggle with dialectical materialism. Nowhere else in the world is such an aspiration, at this late hour, even intellectually thinkable. Although more than five and a half centuries mark the passage of time between the Magna Carta and the American Constitution, both are a joint inspiration to preserve and strengthen our traditional liberties and to resist, at whatever sacrifices, the evil temptation to sell freedom short.

**T**HE English-speaking commercial and industrial world is preeminently committed to the task of steering both capital and labor through the morass and chaos of political and economic planning into the open market, where all the world is free to buy and sell its services in accord-

paternalism is "security." It is also the last word that any Socialist government should employ because, if there is one thing more than another that it cannot guarantee, that very thing is security. Socialism would die in infancy anywhere in the universe but for the fact that it can, when in power and authority, command the wealth of the past and the present riches of the economic system which it seeks to destroy.

The Welfare State is a financial monstrosity. Great Britain is the most heavily taxed nation in the world. Approximately 45 per cent of the total national income is collected by the State in direct taxation. The British economy is further exacerbated by colossal indirect taxation.

It would be dishonest to blame the Socialist government for all our economic tribulations. Two world wars must bear their full share of responsibility. But an inevitably bad situation has been recklessly aggravated by Socialist inefficiency.

Virtually all the necessities and amenities of life are in short supply. Lack of coal is at the bottom of most of our sufferings. Because we don't remove it from the earth in quantity and quality for home and export consumption, we eke out our miserable existence in an environment in which coal, gas, electricity, railway services, meat, eggs, and wool are acute deficiencies. And we are confronted with a housing shortage that creates unhappiness, frustration, and discontent. I doubt if the full story of the Socialist government's failure to provide homes for the community, comparable with its pre-election promises, will ever be written. Such a work would have to be another Domesday Book, covering almost every city, town, village, and hamlet in the United Kingdom.

**D**AVID LLOYD-GEORGE said: "You cannot trust the battle of freedom to socialism. Socialism has no interest in liberty. Socialism means the community in bonds. If you establish a Socialist community it means the most comprehensive, universal, and pervasive tyranny that this country has ever seen. It is like the sand of the desert. It gets into your food, your clothes, your machinery, the very air you breathe. They are all gritty with regulations, orders, decrees, and rules. That is what socialism means." If there is in the English language a more accurate prophecy than those prescient words of a liberal Prime Minister, I confess I have never encountered it.

Recently I attended a party for young people, most of them under twenty and none over thirty years of age. These young folk knew all the questions and all the answers to everything that normally comes within the compass of party spirit conversation. But nearly all the questions, and all the answers, were born out of their several experiences in the cinema and on radio and television. Their world began and, apparently, ended at the conjunction of these three twentieth century scientific achievements. It worried me then and it worries me now. It is going to be very difficult to persuade these young people, who are typical of their day and generation, that the celluloid, synthetic world in which they live is a mirage, and that the real world outside and beyond it is starving for the want of their allegiance and cooperation. The politically-minded Welfare State encourages this artificiality of outlook because it is in this atmosphere that its own security is best secured. It is itself a third-rate political contraption dependent for its survival on masses of people willingly accepting everything secondhand.

# Does Our Nation's Ledger Go "INTO THE RED"?

In 1848, Karl Marx, in the Communist Manifesto, outlined the steps necessary for a socialized state. The counterparts of many of his doctrines have been proposed or enacted into law in this country.

## From the Communist Manifesto —

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labor. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolishment of the distinction between town and country by a more equitable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools.

Reprint of pamphlet published by the Warner Electric Brake & Clutch Company, Beloit, Wisconsin

## From Present U. S. Programs —

1. Public housing projects are being built, owned and operated by the federal government.
2. Federal taxes can take up to 91 per cent of personal income.
3. Under the highest tax rate, the government can confiscate 77 per cent of the value of an estate.
4. To date, no seizure of this type has been attempted here.
5. The federal government is in banking and financing with the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal land banks, the Federal Intermediate Credit Bank, and others.
6. Radio and television are tightly controlled by the government. So are the railroads, truck and air lines. Federal barge lines operate in competition with private carriers. Control of the press has been attempted recently.
7. The government produces and sells electric power through the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Rural Electrification Administration. It also sponsors irrigation projects and rigid crop controls.
8. Forced labor has not been attempted so far.
9. Under guise of the defense effort, the "planners" want industry "dispersed" to rural areas.
10. Public schools have traditionally been organized and financed by individual states and cities. However, federal aid to education opens the door for eventual national domination of schools.

ance with the inexorable laws of supply and demand. Such a consummation would destroy the Welfare State. It would create a *state welfare* limited in abundance and variety only by each individual's readiness to give honest and effi-

cient service in return for honest and equitable reward. The problems do not suggest great difficulties in solution. The key to them all is the word "education" — spiritual and secular.

The object of America's enemies, within and without, is to overthrow capitalism, confiscate private property, and destroy the liberty of the individual. If those things which are integral contributions to the American way of life are to be preserved, something a great deal more tangible than lip service to them is imperative. Further, if America is to lead the world back into sanity it must, as a necessary beginning, purge itself of those evil trends and tendencies which, if they remain unchallenged and undefeated, will eventually destroy Christian civilization.

Can it be that there is neither hope nor help for mankind? I, for one, cannot believe that such a calamity is the ultimate fate of the human race. My conviction is that even at the eleventh hour humanity will, under Providence, save itself by its own exertions. If this be true, it follows logically that the question, "Will America save civilization?" answers itself affirmatively.

Date \_\_\_\_\_ 195\_\_\_\_

FACTS FORUM NEWS  
Dallas 1, Texas

You may enter my order for \_\_\_\_\_ copies of the book,  
THE BRITISH SOCIALIST ILL-FARE STATE, by Cecil  
Palmer, at \$6.00 the copy.

Ship via:  Book Post  Express  Freight  
 Enclosed find \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to cover.  Send C.O.D.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE — FACTS FORUM NEWS pays transportation charges when cash accompanies your order.

# ? I'M GEORGE...

**I'm the Guy  
You Let Do It!**



I'M REALLY beginning to run your country — your state, your county and your town, too! You don't like that, do you? But haven't you been saying, "I haven't got the time. Let George do it?" So . . . I'm doing it.

As long as you do nothing more than complain, I'm sitting pretty. The only thing that will ever get rid of me and the political gang I control is for you who call yourselves real Americans to start running your own government. You talk a lot about self-government, but most of it is just so much talk. Almost 50 per cent of you didn't even bother to vote at the last presidential election. You even let my machine pick your candidates for you — right from the top down to your precinct captains. Do you call that self-government?

Do you wonder why so many public officials are corrupt? Don't you know why so many crooks, grafters and other criminals receive little or no punishment from the courts? It is simple — the crooks are part of my machine, and my machine elects or appoints the judges. No one ever bites the hand that feeds him!

You may not realize it, but I paved the way for Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini and all the rest of the big shots. You know how I did it — by getting the good people to take care of themselves and the bad boys to take care of everybody else. That's the easiest

way to mess up any government. Remember what Edmund Burke said: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is that good men do nothing!"

I'm sure glad you're letting me handle things for you. Why not! You don't have to worry your heads over things like resolutions, bills, proposed amendments, writing letters to congressmen.

Just leave it to me. I study all of those things, and my boys see that the congressmen get *plenty* of mail — the *right* kind of mail.

Frankly, I don't see why you need worry about registering or paying poll taxes. Most of you probably won't anyhow. But then, most of you jugheads don't even know your Constitution! That's a scrap of paper made for the horse and buggy days. Just you keep living in your fairy-tale constitutional dream world. And while you're floating along on those safe little clouds, we'll bring the Constitution up to date for you. (Ha!)

I *know* what I want — I'm George! I'm quite a guy! I'm running this country!  
END

duction of the elemental commodities for survival.

It should follow, then, that it is essential to our individual and national survival that we have ample stocks of these elemental commodities stored, both on an individual family level and on a national and community level. One of the best moves in the interest of national defense that our federal government could possibly make would be to turn the farm surplus pile over to the civil defense administrator for distribution to every community and every home in the nation.

Actually, it is on the home and neighborhood level that these stocks will be needed in the event of a national catastrophe. Especially should these items be stored in those areas that are not high priority targets for the enemy. It is to these areas that we will have to evacuate millions of our civilian population if there is ever an attack or even a direct threat of an attack.

Of course, not all the commodities in the surplus pile would lend themselves to storage for civil defense. Many would, however — perhaps enough to eliminate the surplus problem if these stocks were turned over for this purpose. A good deal of the cotton surplus, for example, could go to making bandages, sheets, sheet blankets, clothing, and even tents to be stored in every community for civil defense.

Freed of the surplus problem, the Department of Agriculture could devote itself more fully to research on processing and storage techniques. Commodities that we don't know how to store now might have future strategic storage value.

One bright aspect regarding the entire situation is that in the supply of farm products and other essential consumer goods we have a tremendous advantage over our potential enemies. The Russians are catching up in many phases of armament and industrial production, but the one area where they seem incapable of overtaking us is in farm production. It seems that a farmer must remain free in order to produce. The Russian farmers resisted collectivization from the beginning. Many of them slaughtered their livestock rather than turn it over to the state. Bulganin isn't feeding his people as well with communized farms as Tsar Nicholas did with the downtrodden peasants.

If we will recognize the food front now, while we've got one that is recognizable, and enter into a program of strategic storage of agricultural products and other consumer goods for survival, we will be doing much towards keeping our farmers free now and insuring our own future freedom. END

## Food for Fighting

(Continued from Page 20)

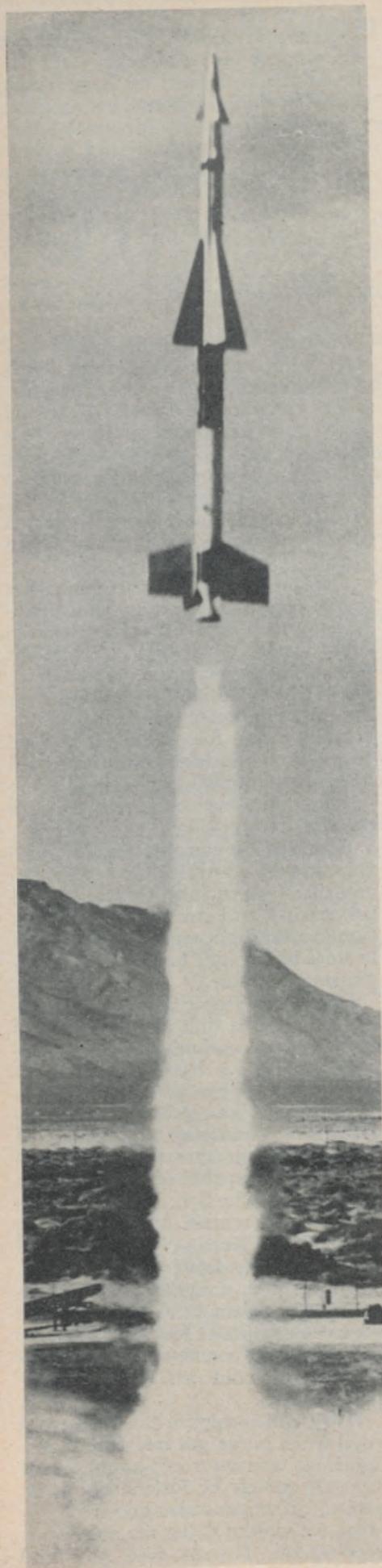
cause of permanent transportation tie-ups. However, the Department of Agriculture is aware of this problem, and is considering the selection of less vulnerable locations — locations which will be suitable for civil defense needs in emergencies.

In our defense preparations we have failed to take into account the permanence of the damage that would result from an H-bomb attack. If 60 per cent of our industry were knocked out in the first attack, it would be knocked out permanently. Not only would the H-bombs destroy factories and facilities, but they would knock out the plants that make the machines for those factories and facilities. And, fur-

ther, the same bombs would demolish the shops that tool such plants, and they would put out of commission the foundries and steel mills that handle the raw metal for the tools.

In many cases the rebuilding job would have to start right down at the raw metal level. There is some storage of industrial tools in our civil defense effort. This program should be encouraged.

At the same time we should consider that we would not be able to work with the tools in storage unless we had food to eat and warm clothing to wear. If we had to divide our time between "scrounging" for food and burying those who couldn't scrounge quite hard enough, we would never get around to using the tools. We would be caught in a cruel circle of poverty — our hands tied in the pro-



U. S. ARMY PHOTOGRAPH

# NIKE . . .

## GUIDED MISSILE GODDESS

Nike, a Greek word, is defined as "goddess of victory." We Americans look to Nike to guard our ramparts. However, many long-suffering taxpayers eye askance the monumental expense necessary for the support of such a "goddess."

By HOWARD GOSHORN

"NIKE" has been dubbed the "goddess with the electronic brain." Also, it has been called the taxpayers' billion-dollar headache. No matter what it is called, the Nike guided missile has been described as the first really effective anti-aircraft weapon.

Nike is an around-the-clock, all-weather watchdog — a deadly instrument of death and destruction that can blast the enemy day or night, fair weather or foul.

It was conceived in 1945 by the joint efforts of army technicians and electronics engineers of the Bell Telephone Laboratory, Western Electric Company and Douglas Aircraft Company. This was the year that the atom bomb exploded over Japan and subsequently into the headlines. However, current mass production of control equipment is accomplished largely by Western Electric, with the missile and component parts of the Nike system produced by Douglas and Western Electric, and spread among suppliers and sub-contractors in more than twenty states.

Operating on push-button radar control, this guided missile can track a bomber into the plotting area, chase it around a 360-degree turn if necessary, speed like a white, unshakable demon along its vapor trail and plant its lethal charge in a vital spot. Nike experts claim that it is not even necessary to get a direct hit to register a "kill."

Those who have seen it in action under simulated battle conditions describe its accuracy as almost uncanny. Top army commanders say that the very knowledge of its existence may

prove a powerful deterrent to a sneak attack by Russian war lords.

An enemy plane, at 50,000 feet, is invisible to the naked eye. But to the all-seeing electronic eye of radar every foot of the plane's progress is clocked with needle-point accuracy. As a matter of fact, the enemy bomber would be considered "dead" when more than 25 miles from its target. It would be caught in an invisible celestial web which, army tests have demonstrated, devours four of every five victims so enmeshed.

A pencil-shaped missile, named after the mythological Greek goddess of victory, Nike is 20 feet long, a foot thick, and weighs in the neighborhood of a ton. It has an explosive, atomic warhead that deals out death and destruction, and a highly sensitive electronic "brain," the amazing accuracy of which would baffle the average layman.

In order to "kick" this oversized rocket into high gear during the first seconds of flight, a 300-pound "booster" unit is attached to its tail. Once the proper initial speed is attained, seconds later and 20,000 feet into the stratosphere, the booster — a solid chunk of heatfused metal — detaches and plunges earthward. Groundlings, most of whom are totally uninformed as to Nike, but who have at least a layman's working knowledge of the laws of gravity, ask the question — what becomes of the boosters, and where do they land?

In actuality the boosters fall harmlessly into predetermined disposal areas which are an essential part of each Nike installation. The army contends that actual firing tests at practice

ranges in New Mexico have proved that their downward path can be charted with slide rule accuracy. Wary citizens in Nike-protected areas hope that the army's slide rules are as accurate as they claim.

As a further safety measure, the army, in conjunction with manufacturers' engineers, is conducting secret tests at present to develop a self-destructing booster unit that will disintegrate in midair, thus eliminating the necessity of acquiring and maintaining the disposal areas. Initial tests are said to have been highly successful.

A top missile commander, at the dedication of a site near Smithfield, Va., told visitors that the only danger posed to those on the ground would be from "Nike-disintegrated aircraft." He pointed out that in such emergency residents would either have been evacuated by civil defense forces, or would have gone underground in bombproof shelters.

There was an incident at Fort Meade in which a missile was accidentally touched off. It plunged onto the usually heavily-traveled highway between Washington and Baltimore. Fortunately, this mishap was without serious consequences. The traffic was light; and, army officials point out, that a highly secret device prevents the touchy warhead from exploding except when in legitimate flight.

Army spokesmen are quick to assure that Nike missiles will never be

fired deliberately from the local defense sites unless the United States is under actual enemy attack. Only dry-run firings and on-the-job training in maintenance, repair and operation of the weapons system are given on the operational sites, they say.

Initial training for guided missile personnel is given at the First Guided Missile Brigade, and the Anti-Aircraft and Guided Missile School, Fort Bliss, Texas. After training in specialized courses the men are trained as a "package" and moved to on-site locations. This training period covers approximately one year for some specialists. Annual live practice firings are conducted on isolated, permanent Nike target ranges in New Mexico which are closely guarded from unauthorized eyes.

Recently, Nike was subjected to an exhaustive sub-Arctic test near Churchill, Manitoba, on the western shore of Hudson Bay, by Canadian artillery and engineer personnel. Canadian army headquarters reported that the missile will operate successfully in the most severe weather conditions. The army said that the northern tests were aimed at determining Nike's performance in low temperatures, and whether it would require modification under such conditions. It is believed that Nike sites will eventually be established in both Canada and Alaska.

Fears have been expressed by persons living in the shadow of such sites

that the highly explosive warheads and the volatile fuels, utilized to power the rocket, constitute an ever-present danger. The army denies this.

Rigid safety precautions, it is pointed out, are taken for storage of the weapons and fuel in concrete vaults, deep underground. Residents in the surrounding areas are in no danger, say army district engineers, who have been given the responsibility of setting up sites.

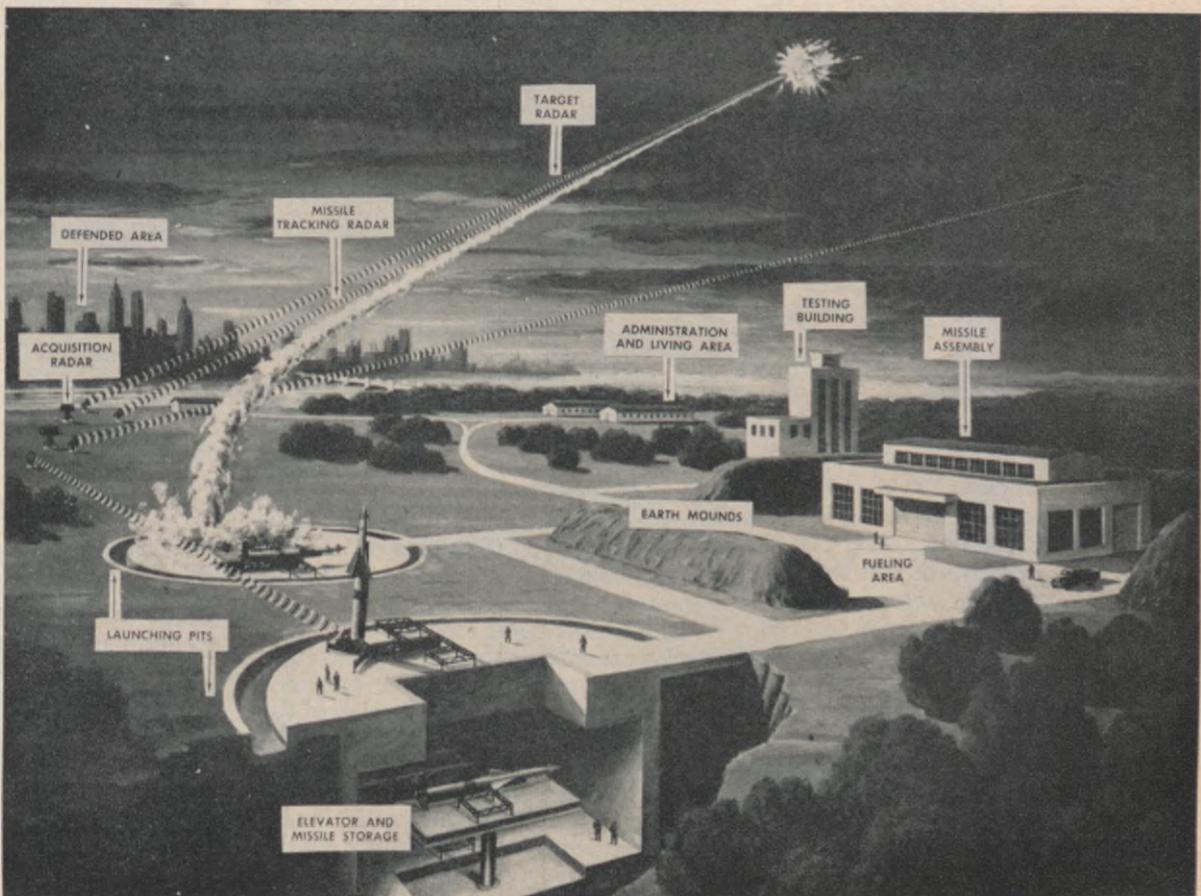
The rocket is powered with a liquid fuel that necessitates its handlers wearing acid-proof, rubberized suits and special deep-sea, diver-type helmets that make the men look like visitors from outer space.

Men on Nike sites are conscious of job responsibility. Being forever watchful, forever alert for something that may never come, can be dreary monotony. These men know, however, that a momentary distraction could mean a city destroyed, a vital defense area wiped out with a hydrogen bomb.

Although married men in the anti-aircraft units are allowed to live "off the post" with their families, and usually find accommodations in nearby communities, Nike installations are self-contained "cities," with the soldiers eating, sleeping and working around the clock, seven days a week.

In the early days of Nike, army engineers cleared many photographs for publication in newspapers and magazines. No new photographs —

(Continued on Page 64)



A typical "Nike nest," where enemy planes are caught and "killed" in the radar net. Lock-on tracer beams insure that paths of Nike and its prey will cross at a pre-determined point.

# INTERPOSITION: A LEGAL CHALLENGE?

WHEN the Supreme Court of the United States handed down its historic decision on May 17, 1954, to end racial segregation in the public schools, reactions ranged from stunned disbelief and incensed protest to sighs of relief and enthusiastic endorsement. One congressman from the deep South asserted that on that date the U. S. Supreme Court "drove a knife into the heart of the American Constitution."<sup>1</sup> Another, from the great Northwest, maintained the Court "has at long last declared that all Americans are equal, and that the flame of justice in America must burn as brightly in the homes of the blacks as in the homes of the whites."<sup>2</sup>

Bitterest and most vigorous opposition, of course, has centered in the South, where Negro population in some states comes close to constituting a majority, and where segregation has been strictly observed and a part of the culture since the time the black slave first appeared on the American scene. In other sections of the country where the percentage of Negro population is not an important factor interest has been considerably short of the Southern white-heat, yet continues to grow.

Now, two years later, an over-all look at the situation reveals a specific pattern of stubborn resistance to the Court's decree which is gaining support daily. The doctrine of interposition or nullification is being scrutinized with microscopic care, for on the success or failure of this doctrine seems to depend the outcome of two vital issues: the retention of segregation in states which desire it, and the supremacy of either states' rights or federal authority in matters of education and nurture of our youth.

"Since the coming of the present crisis," says Circuit Judge M. M. Mc-

<sup>1</sup>Rep. John Bell Williams, "Interposition, The Barrier Against Tyranny," *Congressional Record*, January 25, 1956, p. 1120.

<sup>2</sup>Sen. Wayne Morse, *Congressional Record*, March 12, 1956, p. 3950.

Gowan, of Jackson, Mississippi, "the very word 'interposition' has precipitated somewhat of a furore in the land. A Southern governor has said it will become a household word throughout the country. To its advocates, it has become a symbol of liberty and freedom from oppression. To its opponents, it is anathema, of near treasonable import."<sup>3</sup>

## WHAT IS INTERPOSITION?

What is interposition? Briefly, it is a method by which a state protests or refuses to follow a directive of the federal government, whether it be an act of Congress, judgment of the Supreme Court, or order of the chief executive, until the question of who is right is settled by constitutional processes. To some, interposition seems to mean merely the right of petition or protest, and with this view few people find any quarrel. The mail bags going to Washington are full of petitions or memorials to Congress. But the dispute over interposition concerns the use of official means on the part of a state to refute or nullify acts of the central government.

Historically, various forms of interposition, nullification, or state-veto have been used, almost from the time the Constitution was adopted. In most of these cases the protest of the state was sufficient to obtain the desired result. In a few, however, drastic changes were brought about, including new amendments to the Constitution. The right of interposition has been invoked by Northern and Southern states alike.

In this particular case, several states declare that their sovereignty has been illegally over-ridden by the Supreme Court — that the judicial branch of the government exceeded its constitutional authority in ruling that segregation in the public schools of the nation is unconstitutional. Many other states and their representatives stand just as

<sup>3</sup>M. M. McGowan, "Interposition or Nullification," printed speech, p. 15.

firmly on their conviction that the Supreme Court used its rightful power to rule on this highly contested issue.

There has been considerable confusion and disagreement about the words "interposition" and "nullification." Do they mean the same thing? Some Southern states, like Mississippi, Virginia, and South Carolina, have adopted resolutions of interposition, i.e., declaring the U. S. Supreme Court to be in error and seeking to prove their point by means of a new amendment to the Constitution. Other states, like Georgia and Alabama, have adopted the harsher form of nullification, i.e., declaring the Court directive to be null and void within their states, and refusing to follow it. While some constitutional experts see a technical difference in the two doctrines, most state that nullification is actually interposition fully developed. Here is a typical explanation of the two terms:

I have heard many say that they favor interposition, but are opposed to nullification. This is the same thing as saying that we favor the aiming and firing of our guns but we are against hitting the target.

The very purpose of interposition is to nullify. If that is not to be the purpose, the act of interposition becomes merely an expression of disfavor and is meaningless.

Interposition is the act by which a state attempts to nullify. Interposition without nullification is a knife without an edge, a gun without bullets, a car without an engine, a body without a life.<sup>4</sup>

## STATES' RIGHT THEORY

The theory of interposition is developed from the doctrine of states' rights, which stems from the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution:

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution or prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

Also important to the understanding of which rights belong to the states and which to the federal government is the Ninth Amendment:

<sup>4</sup>Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 1120.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

The states' rights theory in turn is based on an interpretation of state sovereignty, and therein rages part of the important legal fight now in progress.

Just what is the extent of state sovereignty? Did the states hand over their individual sovereignty in order to form "a more perfect union" at the adoption of the Constitution?

Representative John Bell Williams (D-Miss.), in a speech before the U. S. House of Representatives,<sup>5</sup> attempts to recreate the motives and spirit leading to the adoption of the Constitution and the forming of the Union:

"The time was 1787; the place, Philadelphia. . . In attendance were lovers of liberty who had made extreme sacrifices and endured extraordinary hardships in their common resistance to tyranny. . . The high price paid for their liberty was fresh in the minds of the assembled patriots.

"In that convention each colony voluntarily surrendered to the Union cer-

tain powers which they regarded as necessary to the purposes and functions of the central government. . .

"In spite of the cautious wording of the original document, the states refused to ratify the Constitution until ample assurance was given to the states and the people that the central government so created could never devour its creators, or deprive the people of their 'inalienable' rights. As a result, the Bill of Rights, the first ten amendments, were added to the Constitution.

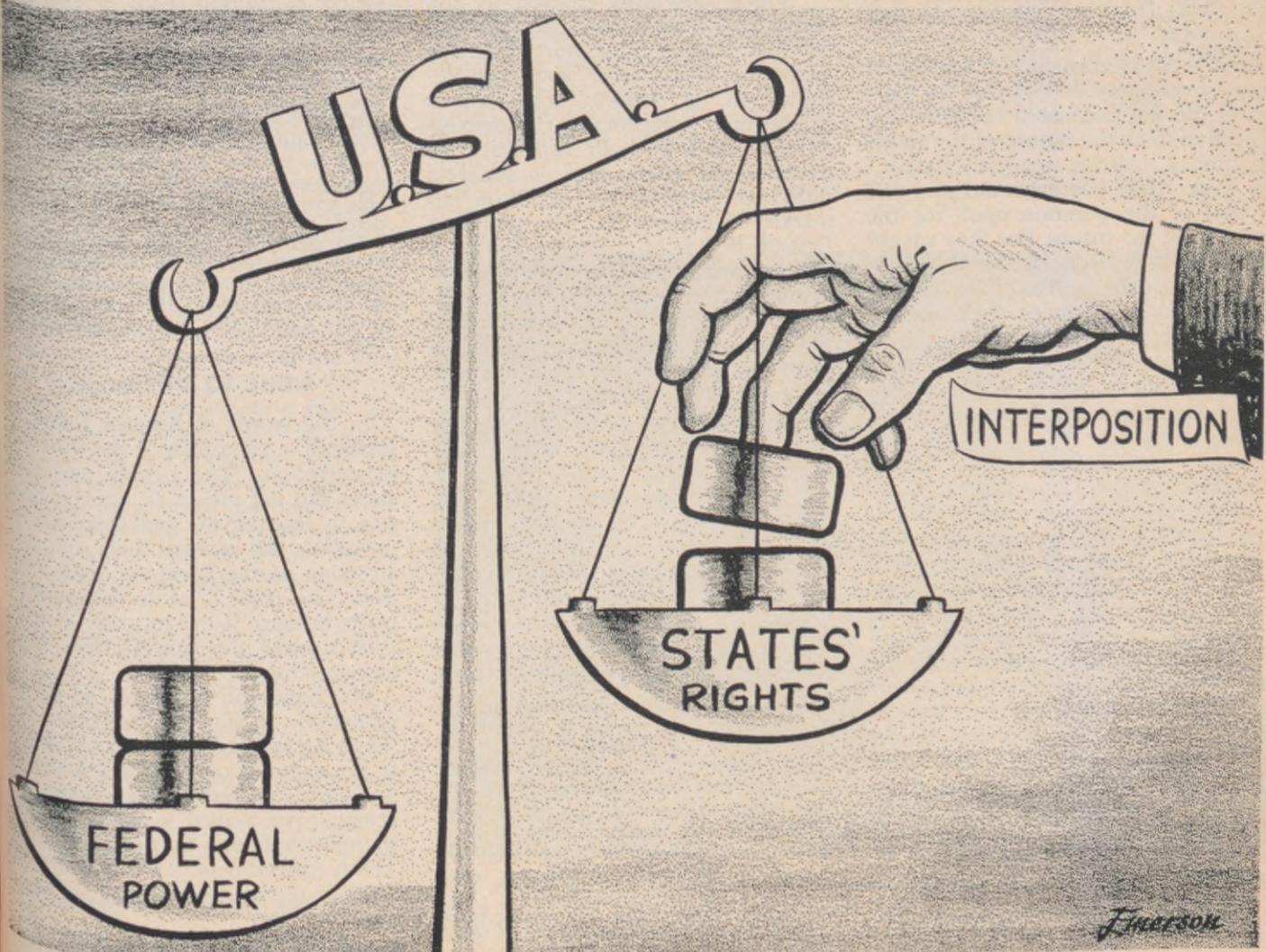
"These ten amendments did not expand the authority of the central government. On the contrary, they further restricted its authority. Like the Ten Commandments, our Bill of Rights are 'Thou Shalt Nots,' directed to the federal government. They shield the people and the states from an oppressive and tyrannical government born of over-concentration of powers. They were, and are now, the basis for individual liberty and state sovereignty."

In an interesting series of articles published in the *Dallas Morning News*, Robert M. Randolph of Texas Christian University and Dr. Lloyd M.

Wells of Southern Methodist University debate the legal basis for interposition, dealing principally with the interpretation of state sovereignty and the question of judicial review. Mr. Randolph writes, "Was the ratification of the Constitution the act of a single sovereign, the people from New Hampshire to Georgia, or was it the act of thirteen sovereigns? In the Constitutional Convention, the states were equal and had but one vote each. The Constitution was ratified by thirteen conventions, each drawing from the sovereign, the people of a separate state. Ratification by such a convention bound only that state, not the whole binding the parts. A state which refused to ratify would be a foreign power to those that did. Thus the Constitution is a compact between sovereigns.

"Did the ratification change the seat of sovereignty from the people of the several states to the people of the Union as a whole?" continues Mr. Randolph. "One or the other must possess it, as sovereignty may not be divided, though sovereign powers, the exercise of sovereignty, may be both delegated and limited by the sover-

### CONSTITUTIONAL WAY TO BALANCE THE SCALES?



Emerson



Wide World Photo

Four of the nineteen Southern senators who helped draft a segregation manifesto, presented in both houses of Congress on March 12, include (left to right): John Stennis (D-Miss.), Richard Russell (D-Ga.), Walter F. George (D-Ga.), who presented the manifesto in the Senate, and Sam Ervin (D-N.C.). Rep. Howard Smith (D-Va.) presented the joint resolution in the House. One hundred one members of Congress from eleven states signed a statement pledging use of "all lawful means" to reverse the Supreme Court's 1954 decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

eign. . . . Sovereignty is retained by the people of the separate states, since all the people on whom the compact is operative, having never formed a sovereign entity, cannot retain that which they never possessed, i.e., sovereignty."<sup>6</sup>

Dr. Wells challenges this concept of state sovereignty, stating that the delegates did not and could not settle the question as to the nature of the union in such a decisive manner. "Rather," he says, "they compromised and left a part of the question open for the wisdom of the future. But they sought above all to provide a national government adequate to 'the exigencies of the union.' The Articles of Confederation in which the states explicitly retained sovereignty had created a political situation to which, one may suppose, no present-day American would desire to return.

"The compact theory was, indeed, discussed at the Constitutional Convention. We are informed by Madison's note that L. Martin (Maryland) 'contended at great length and with great eagerness that the general government was meant merely to preserve state governments: not to govern individuals: that its powers ought to be kept within narrow limits.' But others had different ideas. King, for example, 'conceived that the import of the term "state sovereignty" had often been used inaccurately and delusively.' The states were hardly sovereign in the accepted sense of the term. They already had relinquished all power to act in foreign affairs and the

union of the United States now contemplated 'is a union of the men composing them, from whence a national character results to the whole.'

"Which view was enacted by the delegates — the compact theory or the national theory? The most objective answer is that neither view was accepted in its entirety. The famous Connecticut compromise contemplated the states in both capacities, as parts of the whole and as separate political entities. As Madison remarked in Federal 39, 'The proposed Constitution is in strictness neither a national nor a federal constitution, but a composition of both.' Is this not, indeed, the common sense of the matter? The union is something more than a mere compact but something less than a consolidated system."<sup>7</sup>

Closely connected with the answer to the states' rights or state sovereignty question is another, which carries with it tremendous political importance: Who is to decide when an act of the federal government is unconstitutional? The desegregation decision was an interpretation by the Supreme Court of the Fourteenth Amendment, stating that segregation is a violation of the portion that reads:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, with-

out due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Based on psychological and sociological premises, the Court decreed that Negroes subjected to forced separation in public schools are being discriminated against, and are therefore not receiving equal opportunities in education. Proponents of segregation, on the other hand, say that the "separate but equal" laws are adequate and nondiscriminatory, and that they have been so honored by many years of precedent and interpretation by the Supreme Court itself; therefore, the Court committed an unconstitutional act in attempting to abolish these state laws.

Senator Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) points out the apparent inconsistency of the Supreme Court when he says:

Historical evidence positively refutes the decision of the Supreme Court in the school-segregation cases.

The 39th Congress, which in 1866 framed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution — the amendment which contains the equal protection clause — also provided for the operation of segregated schools in the District of Columbia. This is positive evidence that the Congress did not intend to prohibit segregation by the Fourteenth Amendment. . . .

Between the decision in Plessy against Ferguson in 1896 and the reversal of that opinion on May 17, 1954, 157 cases were decided on the basis of the "separate but equal" doctrine. The United States Supreme Court rendered 11 opinions on that basis; the United States court of appeals, 13; United States district courts, 27; and state supreme courts, including the District of Columbia, 106.

Such disregard for established doctrine could be justified only if additional evidence were presented which was not available when the earlier decisions were rendered.

No additional evidence was presented to the Court to show the earlier decisions to be wrong. Therefore, the decision handed down on May 17, 1954, was contrary to the Constitution and to legal precedent.<sup>8</sup>

## RIGHT TO INTERPOSE

In the words of Senator James O. Eastland, a champion of the theory of interposition, "The people and their states did not create an agency superior to themselves, and they are not powerless to contest their own destruction at the hands of their creation. The right of state interposition exists because it has to exist. Without such a right the Constitution would mean nothing."<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Randolph maintains, in his explanation of state sovereignty, that declaring an act to be unconstitutional is the exercise of a sovereign power, one not delegated to the federal government nor denied to the states, and therefore retained by them under the Tenth Amendment. Thus a state may

<sup>8</sup>Sen. Strom Thurmond, *Congressional Record*, March 12, p. 3949.

<sup>9</sup>Sen. James O. Eastland, "The Common Law," *Constitution Press*, No. 20, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup>Robert M. Randolph, "Legal Basis for Interposition," editorial page, *The Dallas Morning News*, March 1, 1956.

<sup>7</sup>Lloyd M. Wells, "An Answer to Interposition," editorial page, *The Dallas Morning News*, March 3, 1956.

decide that an act is unconstitutional and declare it null and void within that state. But, if three-fourths of the other states amend the Constitution to give the federal government the specific power which the interposing state held it did not have, that state would have to yield. Without such amendment, according to Mr. Randolph, the act would remain void within its borders. "Some may say that this would lead to chaos, but what could be more chaotic than rule by a court which has reversed itself thirty-six times in eighteen years?"<sup>10</sup>

#### AUTHORITY OF COURT DEFENDED

Dr. Wells' rejoinder to this view is that the power of the Supreme Court to make an authoritative determination of the meaning of the Constitution has long been accepted by the overwhelming majority of Americans. "Fortunately or unfortunately, however, judicial review is a weapon which cuts several ways. Need we remind ourselves of the last occasion upon which the Supreme Court became the center of national controversy? At that time it was the 'liberals' who wanted 'a Supreme Court under the Constitution and not over it,' and it was the 'conservatives' who flocked to the defense of the 'nine old men.' It will not do to lose sight of historical perspective. Nor will it do to urge naively that the old court was absolutely wrong. A substantial number of Americans could be lined up on both sides of that issue.

"Basic issues of a different order are at stake in the interposition theory," continues Dr. Wells. "The viability of our political system is challenged and the very rules of the political society in which we live are involved. We should not require the writings of learned men to see that, in the long run, the Supreme Court is a safer expositor of the Constitution than are forty-eight separate state legislatures. . . . How do we know that while we are debating here another company of men and yet another and another will not meet and decide to 'interpose' in various ways? And would not the result be utter confusion? Would it not be anarchy?"<sup>11</sup>

In disagreeing with this point of view, Mr. Randolph says there is a distinction between judicial interpretation and judicial supremacy. The function of a court is indeed to interpret the law, "but judicial supremacy would create a nationwide oligarchy of nine men. The people would be helpless, for their amendments seeking to correct the situation could be mis-

interpreted by the Supreme Court in order to perpetuate its power.

"In whose hands are our liberties safer, those of nine judges or those of the people of the separate states? Over a long period of time, how is the power of the federal government to be restrained in opposition to the inherent tendency of government to increase its own power at the expense of the governed, if it may decide, through its judiciary, the extent of its own power?"<sup>12</sup>

He points out also that interposition must be the true will of the sovereign people of a state. To this end, the process of interposing must resemble that of ratification itself, i.e., the people must speak through a convention called for the purpose. The state government has no more authority in this respect than does the federal.

References have been made to interposing or challenging the Supreme Court by constitutional processes. How do the objecting states plan to do this? History has made use of several different methods of objecting to or nullifying acts of the federal government, but the plan in the present case is to present an amendment under Article V of the Constitution, the adoption or rejection of which would determine whether or not the Supreme Court acted within its constitutional rights in ruling against segregation in public schools.

Such an amendment could be presented by Congress on its own initiative, followed by ratification or rejection

by three-fourths of the states. Or, if Congress refused to submit an amendment, an alternative method provided for in Article V is for two-thirds of the states to petition Congress for such an amendment. Congress would then have to comply, with the subsequent requirement also of ratification by three-fourths of the states.

What would happen if such an amendment, toward which several of the Southern states are already committed to work, fails to be adopted? Are there still ways by which some states could retain segregation, other than by open defiance? Several plans have been projected, and even measures taken for their implementation.

Georgia voters have already ratified a "private school" amendment, and the General Assembly has taken the necessary steps to put it into force if and when such a process is deemed necessary. This would provide for the closing of all public schools when "the public interest shall so require" and provide for the payment of yearly educational grants to be used as tuition by children attending private schools. School buildings and properties would be leased to private groups which are "bona fide engaged in the operation of a private school in a manner which they (boards of education) think will best serve the interest of children of school age within their respective school districts."<sup>13</sup>

In Alabama, where strife and feeling has perhaps been the most bitter,

<sup>10</sup>Randolph, "Legal Basis for Interposition, editorial page, *The Dallas Morning News*, April 2, 1956.

<sup>13</sup>Attorney General Eugene Cook, "The Southern View of Segregation," *Vital Speeches*, January 15, 1956, p. 212.



Three Northern senators who have spoken out against a segregation manifesto signed by 101 members of Congress are (left to right): Paul Douglas (D-Ill.), Herbert Lehman (D-N. Y.), and Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.). Rep. Douglas told the Senate he fears the Southerners' statement "will encourage those who will not be so meticulous about law and order."

Wide World Photo

<sup>11</sup>Randolph, "Legal Basis for Interposition," editorial page, *The Dallas Morning News*, March 2, 1956.

<sup>12</sup>Wells, "An Answer to Interposition," editorial page, *The Dallas Morning News*, March 4, 1956.

there has been developed a compromise solution, based on the idea that compulsory integration is as unconstitutional as compulsory segregation. Governor Folsom has signed a legislative act which paves the way for a general election this summer to approve a proposed state amendment which would give students and their parents a three-way choice of schools, based on their individual conviction and preference. Before the start of each school year, every prospective student would apply for admission, signifying his choice of segregated (all Negro or all white) or integrated classes. Local school boards would then provide one or more schools for mixed enrollment, according to the expressed need.

According to the sponsor of the measure, State Representative N. S. Hare, "The Court didn't say there must be forced integration; it simply said there can be no compulsory segregation. Who can complain if he is given what he has freely chosen?"

A decided stimulus to the cause of interposition is the "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," a manifesto signed by nineteen senators and eighty-one representatives, representing eleven states, and presented to both houses of Congress on March 12. This document, containing the statements and convictions of the Southern states most gravely affected, closes with this pledge:

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution, and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

In this trying period, as we all seek to right this wrong, we appeal to our people not to be provoked by the agitators and troublemakers invading our states and to scrupulously refrain from disorder and lawless acts.<sup>14</sup>

Reactions to the presentation of this document, of course, were widely divergent, but all congressmen seemed to agree that it created a very grave, historic situation. The plea from both sides was that representatives from all areas of the nation, leaders of all points of view, sit down together and try to solve the problem by reasoned discussion, rather than to appeal to aroused passions and emotions.

The issue over interposition and its quest to restore states' rights has aroused new interest in the report by the Commission in Intergovernmental Relations, which was presented to President Eisenhower in 1955 for transmission to Congress. There has been little publicity given this survey up to the present, but in the light of recent events it is now receiving considerable attention, for its recommen-

dations criticize centralized government, bureau controls, overlapping taxes, and urge renewal of states' rights under the Constitution. Significantly, this commission was composed of members not only from the South but also from Northern, Eastern, and Western states, evidence that states' rights has become more than a regional problem.

Whatever the outcome of the attempted use of interposition in the fight for segregation and for the recognition of claimed states' rights, the attention of the nation will be increas-

In *Marbury v. Madison*, decided in 1803, there was established the authority and the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to determine for all Americans, irrespective of color, race, and creed, equality of rights under the Constitution. The supremacy of the Supreme Court in passing on constitutional questions was determined by that decision.

... I say again today that the doctrine of interposition means nothing but nullification, and it means really a determination on the part of certain forces in this country to put themselves above the Supreme Court and above the Constitution.

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE  
(D-Ore.)

Whether you happen to approve or disapprove of segregation as a personal matter is of no concern.

Those whose honest beliefs may be against segregation have lost just as much by the Court's decision as those who favor it.

The preservation of liberty through an honest and conscientious interpretation of the Constitution by the Court transcends all other consideration of personal likes or dislikes.

If the Court interprets the Constitution according to its own notion of what the law ought to be, rather than what the law is, we no longer have a government of laws, but of men.

If the Court can disregard the Constitution today to accomplish a result of which you approve, it likewise can ignore it tomorrow to reach a result of which you disapprove.

Constitutional government as we heretofore have known it and the philosophy upon which this decision was based are incompatible, and so long as it stands, the liberties and heritage of freedom which we so zealously cherish in both the North and South are in great jeopardy.

EUGENE COOK,  
Attorney General of Georgia

Since the situation involves racial relations, the South is faced with adverse public opinion from other sections of the country where the percentage of Negro population is not an important factor. In this circumstance, the constitutional question of state sovereignty is being adversely publicized.

What is now most urgently needed is a challenge of federal usurpation on ground where the matter of state sovereignty touches all members of the compact of Union. There are a multitude of these where opposition to federal usurpations may be urged effectively.

L. E. WHITNEY, in "An Open Letter to Certain Members of Congress"

ingly focused on the pros and cons, generalities and technicalities of the method in months to come, as the election year gains momentum. No political aspirant can afford to dodge the issue. Platforms are being screened in minute detail to ascertain the amount of aid to interposition a city, county, state, or the nation might reasonably expect from candidates to many offices. Not since the time of the Civil War, or War Between the States, has the spotlight been upon these issues in such magnitude. The hour is indeed historic.

## Varied Views on Interposition

The issue of segregation and desegregation is within the jurisdiction and the responsibility of the Supreme Court of the United States and the judicial process. I am pleased that it has been handled by the courts. I am displeased that it has become the subject of passion, emotion, bitterness, and antagonism.

The principle of federalism leaves no room for nullification, and it leaves no room for interposition. Interposition fully developed becomes nullification, as the courts of our country have stated again and again, and as the great, historic leaders of the nation have stated. Nullification is a violation of the Constitution. It cannot be condoned.

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
(D-Minn.)

Desperate men in positions of leadership are openly advocating defiance to the courts and to the supreme law of the land. From the other extreme, men flushed with victory in courts are seeking to substitute coercion for concord between the races in the South. The great mass of moderates which comprise probably more than 95 per cent of both the races in the South are strangely silent and inactive, while the extremists in both races are rapidly destroying the good will and understanding of both races, which have been built up through men of brotherhood and good will in positions of leadership during the decades which have followed the Civil War.

JUDGE FRED B. HELMS  
Charlotte, N. C.

To me this issue really is not primarily one of law and its interpretation, nor is it one of preserving traditions in the South that may have been controlling over many generations. The real issue involved is our conception of mankind in these modern times, our recognition that our government was conceived and brought into being for the safety and protection of the individual human beings who compose our population, and our conviction that individual human beings are not meant to be pawns of the state, nor are they meant to be exploited by the strong simply because they are weak and cannot resist.

We are presented with the question of whether citizenship, which is guaranteed to all our people by the Fourteenth Amendment, can be divided so as to result in first and second-class citizens. . . .

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate and one who has traveled widely abroad, especially in the Far East, where dark-skinned people are in overwhelming majority, I feel the problem which is before us

<sup>14</sup>"Declaration of Constitutional Principles," *Congressional Record*, March 12, 1956, pp. 3948 and 4004.

in America may well have an important bearing on our future foreign relations and ultimately on the whole problem of lasting peace.

SENATOR H. ALEXANDER SMITH  
(R-N. J.)

... I regard the ruling of the United States Supreme Court as insulting rather than honoring my race. . . . The South had better beware in another direction. While it is being frantic over the segregation ruling, it had better keep its eyes open for more important things. One instance of government by fiat has been rammed down its throat. . . . We could get more rulings on the same subject and more far-reaching any day. It pays to weigh every saying and action, however trivial, as indicating a trend.

In the ruling on segregation, the unsuspecting nation might have witnessed a trial balloon. A relatively safe one, since it is sectional and on a matter not likely to arouse other sections of the nation to the support of the South. If it goes off well, a precedent has been established. Government by fiat can replace the Constitution.

ZORA NEALE HURSTON  
(in the August 11, 1955,  
Orlando, Fla., *Sentinel*)

I cannot help but think how we must look today to the world. We live in a world most of whose people are of a different color than white. What are they thinking when members of the highest American parliamentary body announce themselves as against judicial decisions granting equality to colored people in America? How fares the Soviet Union in the propaganda war as a result of these developments?

This is such a grave crisis that I believe the highest political authority in the land, meaning the President of the United States, must exercise some role in what is taking place.

I think the President should call a White House conference of all the governors, senators and representatives of the states in which the Supreme Court ruling is being defied. He should confront them firmly but considerately with the fact that the nation now is faced with a choice between anarchy and the rule of law. If the Constitution can be flouted in one realm, what of all other realms?

SENATOR RICHARD L. NEUBERGER  
(D-Ore.)

... it is meet, and the sacred obligation of those devoted to the preservation of the basic limitations on the power of the central government to apprise their associates of their alarm and the specific deviations that threaten to change our form of government, without the consent of the governed, in the manner provided by the Constitution.

Assumed power exercised in one field today becomes a precedent and an invitation to indulge in further assumption of powers in other fields tomorrow.

Therefore, when the temporary occupants of high office in the judicial branch deviate from the limitations imposed by the Constitution, some members of the legislative branch feel impelled to call the attention of their colleagues and the country to the dangers inherent in interpretations of the Constitution, reversing long-established and accepted law and based on expediency at the sacrifice of consistency.

REPRESENTATIVE HOWARD W. SMITH  
(D-Va.)

No doubt it is the legal right of those who disapprove the law as thus interpreted to seek by lawful means, such as a constitutional amendment, to change it. This stated objective of those who have joined in the Declaration of Constitutional Principles, there-

fore, is wholly within their rights, and I do not criticize them for this portion of their action, although I disagree with this objective.

But I deeply regret the action - which will have the effect of encouraging resistance to the Court's orders - to which their convictions have impelled them. . . .

I hope that those who urge resistance to the Court's order will recognize that others of us with equal conviction and sincerity believe that the law of the land and the basic principles of our religion and our democracy, as well as the clear needs of our foreign policy, require strong support of the Court's rulings.

SENATOR PAUL H. DOUGLAS  
(D-Ill.)

White people down here (south of the Chickahominy) now feel a sense of security and confidence which they lacked a year ago. Then they were scared and craved leadership and organization in grappling with the new and fearsome thing, "desegregation." (This was at a time when no northern papers reported any discontent with desegregation.)

Now, today, when the northern papers (vide the *New York Times*) are frantic with the discovery that there exists a veritable war against the Supreme Court decree, the Southerners are actually calmer, because they feel - what with leadership and organization - they are getting somewhere.

*Human Events*, March 24, 1956

I am a strict constitutionalist and my view of the United States is a confederation of forty-eight independent states, which have joined together indissolubly for mutual advantage. I have watched with growing concern not only the invasion of those rights by the central government, but the almost eager surrender of those rights by the several states, in exchange for sundry handouts.

Therefore, in principle, I feel that the United States Supreme Court decision on desegregation of public schools was constitutionally unsound. That is the view which many people hold with whom I otherwise disagree.

On the other hand, the Southern states have, in the main, shown gross irresponsibility in their obligation toward a large segment of their citizenship. Certainly the central government, in view of the Constitution, cannot permit a third of the citizens in an area to be deprived of their rights as American citizens, and to be the victims of gross discrimination based solely on color.

... While I favor states' rights, I do not feel that this gives the states the right to do anything they choose and to violate the Constitution. I have lived and traveled in the South and I know very well what it means to be a Negro there.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER  
Associate Editor, *Pittsburgh Courier*\*

\*Largest Negro newspaper in the United States.

The issue is not a choice, contrary to what Mr. Walter Lippmann says, between the "fierce defense in the Deep South of the white way of life" and the "militant demand of the Negro for enforcement of the decree" in the segregation cases. Segregation is a minor issue.

The predominant issue is whether any branch of the federal government, including the Supreme Court, is empowered to act as a "super-legislature," or so usurp the undelimited and reserved rights of the states and the federal government, without conforming to the constitutional procedure prescribed for constitutional amendments.

WARREN JEFFERSON DAVIS,  
Counselor at Law,  
Ramona, Calif.

# You Know...

the dangers that threaten  
our freedom

the imperative need for  
being well-informed

**BUT what about your  
friends, neighbors,  
and  
business associates?**

Do they have ready access  
to the FACTS?

Are they aware of the positive  
action they must take  
if America is to remain a truly  
self-governing land of the free?

**May We Invite Them  
To Join You in Reading  
FACTS FORUM NEWS  
free of cost to you?**

Just send us the name and  
address of every person you  
can think of . . . the more the  
better . . . who should be  
reading "America's most  
thought-provoking magazine."

Your friends need  
FACTS FORUM NEWS.

Facts Forum needs your help . . .

to inspire clear thinking  
to insure that our children  
inherit the birthright of free  
choice we enjoy as our heritage.

Mail your list today to  
**FACTS FORUM NEWS**  
Dallas 1, Texas



"Sam, dear, I'm jes a harmless lil' ole political party"



# THE Communist Party OF THE U.S.A.

WHAT IT IS - HOW IT WORKS . . . *A Handbook for Americans*

FOURTH INSTALLMENT

This issue concludes *Facts Forum News'* presentation of the handbook prepared by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee under the leadership of Senator James O. Eastland. It is hoped that our readers will have gained through this material an insight into the real nature of the enemy in our midst, and will realize, as set forth herein, that we are dealing with a movement which is constantly alert, constantly varied and elusive.

#### SOVIET EMBASSY AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY

THE relations between the Communist Party and the Soviet Embassy are nowhere specified in the official constitution of the Party. They are highly conspiratorial and limited to a few selected individuals. With the facilities available to this subcommittee, we can only sketch the pattern of this relationship from isolated instances which corroborate each other.

In his book, *Men Without Faces*, Louis F. Budenz, former managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, has described the mechanism as he saw it in operation as follows:

Unobserved, the chosen comrades entrusted with the reception of Moscow's directives got them by hand from a courier, some apparently obscure person who in turn had received them either from the Comintern representative or directly from the Soviet consulate or embassy. During the latter part of my work in the Party this was Felix Kuzman, a former member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, who conveyed the brief directives from Gerhart Eisler to the Ninth Floor.

Another courier of this type who ran between the Soviet consulate and Bittelman was the former White Russian officer Sergei Kournakoff. \* \* \* Someone in the offices there, [at the consulate] in turn, received the orders in the diplomatic mail pouch or in code by cable.

According to Budenz, those in touch with this pipeline to the Soviet Embassy included only such trusted insiders as Earl Browder, Eugene Dennis, Jack Stachel, Alexander

Trachtenberg, Alexander Bittelman, Robert William Weiner, also known as Welwel Warczower, and the representative of the Communist International, Gerhart Eisler. The majority of these, or possibly all of them, were accomplished Russian linguists.

Sergei Kournakoff, mentioned above, died in Moscow on July 5, 1949. He was the writer of numerous articles and books on Soviet military matters. His frequent contributions to the *Daily Worker* were carried under the pseudonym "Veteran Commander."

#### ALEXANDER BITTELMAN

Born in Russia sixty years ago, Alexander Bittelman, alias Ralph Barnes, alias Ascher Bittlemacher, alias Nathan William Kweit, alias Isadore Spillberg, alias Alexander Raphael, alias Z. P. Ralph, alias Raphael and Ralph, has been a member of the executive committee and its ruling political committee of the Communist Party, USA, since the Party's inception. He has been a delegate to Communist International congresses in Moscow on a number of occasions. From time to time, he has been editor of the Party's monthly theoretical organ, *The Communist*, now known as *Political Affairs*, to which he has been a prolific contributor. He owes his authority in the CPUSA not to any contact or following with the American people but primarily to the fact that he has always been an assiduous student of the Soviet press and a slavish follower of the Moscow line. As such he is an indispensable link between the Kremlin and the American party, a keen watchdog to insure against the slightest deviation from Soviet policy. Benjamin Gitlow, a former member of the political committee of the CPUSA, and the Party's candidate for vice president, has said of Bittelman:

Bittelman was \* \* \* completely divorced from all contact with the labor movement and with American life. But he read Russian, followed the Russian Communist press minutely and

tried to copy in detail everything the Bolsheviks advocated, in order to apply it to the United States. His sensitive nose was always pointed in Moscow's direction [I Confess (Dutton), p. 191].

As the managing editor of the *Daily Worker*, Louis F. Budenz was in a position which demanded daily and hourly decisions on Party policy. He described the manner in which the Party's official mouthpiece was overseered by Bittelman, to whom he referred as "the chief of the small corps of politburo members who were in touch with the Comintern representatives and the Soviet consulates."

The special role played by Bittelman, according to Budenz, was as "the agent entrusted by Moscow with instructing the Party leaders in the precise terms to be employed in the use of Aesopian language," namely language which, for purposes of legal evasion, could be interpreted in one way for public consumption and in quite another way within the Party ranks. "Many times," declared Budenz, "I heard him lecturing the Politburo on exactly what words and phrases the Party declarations should contain in order to be Leninist and at the same time legal."

The actual procedure followed in editing the Communist *Daily Worker* finds few parallels in the history of American journalism. It should be particularly shocking to those who hold that the Communist Party represents a segment of American political opinion rather than a supine echo of Moscow. Mr. Budenz described his editorial experiences with Bittelman in 1936:

Bittelman was then operating from the Hotel Albert, where the entire editorial board conferred with him almost every day. So carefully were his whereabouts and movements guarded, and so carefully did he seek to conceal our conferences, that each meeting with him had to be arranged over an outside telephone \* \* \* Every day at noon, Harry Gannes, then foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, a veteran member of the board, would rise from his desk and leave the building. In a few minutes he would return, to state generally that he had reached "Comrade Barnes" and that he would see us at such and such a time.

At the hour set, each member of the *Daily Worker* editorial board would stroll over to the Hotel Albert. Singly each would enter the lobby and then go up to Bittelman's room for a hurried hour on the paper's editorial policy. Bittelman-Barnes was the law and the line; particularly did he take pains to stress the exact manner in which a fundamental position should be presented [*Men Without Faces* by Louis F. Budenz (Harper), pp. 79, 80].

It would seem that Alexander Bittelman, who has frankly declared that he would not fight against the Soviet Union "in any war" because "any war against the Soviet Union would be an unjust war," has been singled out by the powers that be as the chief carrier and guardian of the sacred fire of Russian Bolshevism within the American party. He has also served as the Party's official historian for the past two decades delineating in full the decisive role of the Soviet-dominated Communist International in every phase of the activity of the American party from its very inception.

On the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Communist Party of the United States in 1934, Bittelman wrote his pamphlet, *Fifteen Years of the Communist Party*, where he outlines the origin of the American party as follows:

Nineteen hundred and nineteen was the year when our Party was formed \* \* \* Nineteen hundred and nineteen was the year when the Communist International was formed, preceding the formation of our Party by about five months. Our Party became part of it \* \* \* But it was only through the costly experiences of the first World War, and especially the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, that the proletarian vanguard of

According to Alexander Bittelman, right, executive committee member of CPUSA since its inception and from time to time editor of *The Communist*, now known as *Political Affairs*, Communist International policy, still in force, calls for establishment of an independent Negro republic in "the Black Belt in the South," a step which would involve armed insurrection against the United States in which countless Negro lives would be sacrificed to the machinations of Moscow.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

the United States came to realize that the Bolshevik way is the only way for the liberation of the American proletariat and all the exploited and oppressed. Thus it came to pass that our Party came into existence. \* \* \*

Throughout his works, Bittelman stresses the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as a model and guide for the CPUSA. In his *Communist Party in Action*, for example, he points out to members of his Party:

It is, of course, impossible to say which particular experience in the class struggle was decisive for your joining the Communist Party. Rather it must have been the sum of many experiences on various points of the class-struggle front, among which the fight against imperialist war and for the defense of the Soviet Union had undoubtedly played a very great part in bringing you into the ranks of the Party. This is the case with many workers who join the Communist Party because it is the only Party that is following in the footsteps of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, that is, organizing the American proletariat to follow the example of the working class of Russia led by the Communist (Bolshevik) Party (p. 4).

Again in the same pamphlet he frankly admits:

These Socialist successes of the Soviet Union, achieved under the leadership of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party, have undoubtedly had a great influence in bringing you into the ranks of the American party. Now you must try to gain a clearer and more thorough understanding of the international role of Bolshevism and of the Bolshevik Party (p. 14).

In his later work entitled *Milestones in the History of the Communist Party*, published in 1937 on the occasion of the American party's 18th anniversary, Bittelman bluntly states:

The Communist International, and its model party—the Communist Party of the Soviet Union—headed by Comrade Stalin, gave us the guidance that helped the American Communists to find the way to the masses and to the position of vanguard (p. 8).

In answer to those who charge that the policies of the American party are dictated by Moscow, Bittelman not only admits the intervention of Stalin's puppet organization, the Communist International, in the affairs of the CPUSA, but actually glories therein. "The Comintern did 'interfere,'" boasts Bittelman in the same pamphlet, "there can be no doubt of that. And it is fortunate that it did." He points out moreover that "the Comintern spoke to the

American party with authority and wisdom" (p. 88). He insists that the CPUSA "can derive deep satisfaction from the fact that it unfailingly received brotherly advice and guidance from the Communist International." And he defiantly adds that "The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Comintern needs neither explanation nor apology" (ibid., p. 71).

He goes on to voice the feeling of pride with which the American party views the fact that it is part of "a world party together with the glorious Party of the Soviet Union" and that this world party "is daily guided by such proved leaders as Manuilsky, Kuusinen \* \* \* Piatnitsky" — all prominent leaders of the Russian Communist Party (ibid., p. 92).

Climaxing his panegyric, Bittelman declares:

In the fifteen years of its existence the Comintern has grown into a true world party. It has reached the high state where all "Communist Parties are carrying out one single line of the Comintern," a stage where all "Communist Parties are united by the Executive Committee of the Communist International into a single centralized World Party \* \* \*." (Piatnitsky, Speech at the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International) (ibid., p. 92).

Pointing out that the existence of this "world party" of which the American party is an organic part, makes possible the formulation of a "world revolutionary strategy," he adds that "it is in Comrade Stalin, since Lenin's death, that this strategy has found the greatest formulator, interpreter, and organizer."

In demonstrating the complete subservience of the American party to Moscow, Mr. Bittelman is not content to present his case in broad, general terms. He is most specific in itemizing the nature of Kremlin intervention in detail.

When the American Communist movement was first founded in 1919, it consisted of two rival groups: the Communist Party of America and the Communist Labor Party of America. Bittelman describes the Comintern's role at this founding stage:

The bringing together of all American revolutionary workers into one Communist Party \* \* \* was the first of the more significant acts of advice of the Comintern \* \* \* A unified and single Communist Party was materialized in the United States in shorter time, less painfully and wastefully, than could have been the case without the advice and assistance of the Comintern (ibid., pp. 74, 75).

This, according to Bittelman, is the first milestone in the history of the CPUSA.

From 1919 to 1922, for example, the Communist Party, USA, was illegal. Bittelman outlines the nature of Moscow's advice and guidance in evading the law, as follows:

Once more the American Communists consulted with the Communist International. This was in 1921-1922. And the correct advice came, as it was bound to \* \* \* Illegal work, that is, revolutionary work that could not be done openly because of governmental persecution, was not abandoned but continued; the illegal work supplementing the legal, and vice versa \* \* \*

What was it that proved especially helpful for the American Communists in the Comintern advice on legal and illegal work? It was the world and Russian experience of bolshevism (ibid., p. 76).

A major concern of the CPUSA is the task of boring from within the labor movement. Here again the Comintern actively intervened, according to Bittelman:

The next milestone in the Comintern leadership for the American Party we find on the question of trade-union work \* \* \* It was the Comintern advice and guidance that helped the American Communists to turn full face to the building of a Left Wing in the reformist unions beginning with 1920;

it was the advice of the Comintern that helped \* \* \* formulate strike policies and tactics; it was Comintern advice on how to revolutionize the labor movement \* \* \* (ibid., pp. 77, 97).

According to Bittelman, the directives of the Communist International extended to the point of advising a policy (which is still in force) calling for the establishment of an independent Negro republic in what he called the Black Belt in the South, a step which would involve armed insurrection against the United States in which countless Negro lives would be sacrificed to the machinations of Moscow. Here are Bittelman's own words on the subject:

Once more came the "outside" influence of the Comintern; and what did it say? It said that \* \* \* in the Black Belt the full realization of this demand (for national liberation) requires the fight for the national self-determination of the Negroes including the right of separation from the United State and the organization of an independent state (ibid., p. 85).

It has been pointed out that in the early 1930's the Communists advocated measures for so-called unemployment relief which were jacked up to the point where their acceptance would have meant national bankruptcy. In support of these demands embodied in the Lundeen bill, the Communists promoted hunger marches calculated to incite the unemployed against the government. In a number of cases, state legislative chambers were occupied and vandalized and numerous instances of violence developed. Where did the inspiration for this program come from? Bittelman gives the answer:

the Comintern undertook to prepare the proletarian vanguard, the Communist Party, and through it the whole working class for effective struggle against unemployment.

The Communist Party, guided by the Comintern, eventually succeeded in making this demand \* \* \* a major issue in the class struggle of the United States (ibid., p. 87).

Referring to the ouster of Jay Lovestone, former gen-



Jay Lovestone, who told the Dies Committee in 1939 that he was ousted as General Secretary of the Communist Party by Josef Stalin in 1929 because of a "violent" conflict with Moscow over how the various units of the party should be led.

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

eral secretary of the CPUSA and his followers, Bittelman calls attention to

the advice of the Comintern in \* \* \* cleansing itself of the Lovestone opportunists and the conciliators with the advice of Joseph Stalin (ibid., pp. 88, 89).

Thus, according to Moscow's leading apologist and spokesman within the American party, the Communist International with headquarters in Moscow, actively intervened in the affairs of the Communist Party of the United States on the following major issues: (1) the founding of

the CPUSA; (2) the emergence of the CPUSA from an illegal to a legal status and the combination of legal and illegal activity; (3) policies in the American labor movement; (4) proposal for an independent Negro republic in the South; (5) activity among the unemployed; (6) the choice of leaders for the American party.

#### UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY

Since the present is a period in which the exigencies of Soviet policy require that its American Communist henchmen maintain an attitude of active hostility toward the American government, since it has been only a short time since American lives were actually being lost in combat against Communist military forces, and since the government, in self-protection, has been compelled to adopt suitable restrictive measures, the Communist Party, USA, has more and more resorted to underground methods. The party does not wait until the police crack down on its members and organizations before it initiates precautionary measures.

Writing in the *Communist International* as early as September 1, 1931, B. Vassiliev, a Russian specialist on party organization, called upon all Communist parties to safeguard themselves against "police terror." He declared that —

The question of an illegal organization must now receive the closest attention of all Communist Parties without exception in capitalist countries \* \* \*

He called for the "formation of an illegal apparatus alongside the still-functioning legal Party apparatus." The application of this basic instruction means that while the Communist Party, USA, is still legal, it has already built up a parallel illegal apparatus. Mr. Vassiliev further indicates that this illegal apparatus is "to take over the functions of the legal apparatus as this is liquidated as the result of police repression."

We are fortunate in having available the Vassiliev directive which furnishes the basic pattern for Communist conspirative procedure which would otherwise not be available in such convenient form under present circumstances. Basing himself upon the conspiratorial experience of the Russian Communist Party, he goes into some detail. The first steps for forming an illegal party apparatus which he recommends are as follows:

1. *Securing a building for storing the party archives.* Such archives are usually entrusted to veteran Party members and are invariably located outside of known Party headquarters. They may be at the home or office of some wealthy Party member or sympathizer located in surroundings calculated to avoid suspicion.

2. *Establishment of one or more illegal printing plants for the printing of party organs in the event of their closure.* These would, of course, be supplemented by auxiliary apparatus such as mimeographs, multigraphs, etc. In addition, the instructions call for the establishment of one or more legal Party organs, usually appearing under some other assumed auspices. New editors must be appointed in advance to replace those facing possible arrest. In the event of the suppression of the Party paper, a complete apparatus is to be prepared for its appearance under a new name. Funds are even to be prepared for the payment of fines and other incidental expenses.

3. *Establishment of an apparatus for distributing illegal Party literature.*

4. *Selection of a definite group of leading Party activists to pass into illegality.* The history of the Party shows

innumerable cases of leaders who have suddenly disappeared from public mention in the Party press for a time simultaneous with their assignment to illegal activity. This has been the case with J. Peters, Jacob Golos, Whittaker Chambers, Earl Browder, Charles Krumbein, Emanuel Josephson, George Mink, Philip Aronberg, Morris Childs, and many others.

5. *Preparation of addresses and houses for illegal correspondence, for secret sessions of the leading Party committees and for housing the illegal Party leaders and for conferences at specified hours between them and Party members who are still operating on a legal basis.* In this connection, the homes and offices of wealthy contacts often serve as a convenient cover.

6. *Training of a minimum number of Party members in the techniques of underground work (running an illegal printing plant, code work, the technique of personal and written contacts, the defense and protection of the illegal Party apparatus, etc.).* For this purpose trained Russian instructors or Americans who have had training in Soviet conspiratorial schools are usually utilized.

To supplement these measures, Mr. Vassiliev gives specific instructions for individual Party members and organizers, which have particular force in the present hectic period:

1. No documents of an incriminating character are to be kept at the legal premises of the Party, and all Party members are to be warned regarding the keeping of secret or incriminating documents.

2. Certain selected Party leaders engaged in special work of an illegal character are warned against visiting the legal Party headquarters. Meetings of Party leaders are not to be held at these locations.

3. In a period of semi or complete illegality, the Communist-front organizations and unions assume major importance as legal covers for Party members. Moreover, Party members are instructed to penetrate even non-Party and anti-Party organizations in order to carry on their activity. (In recent years, for example, there has been accumulating evidence of Communist efforts to penetrate both the Democratic and Republican Parties, church organizations, conservative unions, etc.).

4. Above all, Communist activity in specific factories is to be carried on on a strictly conspiratorial basis. Members engaged in this work are cautioned:

(a) To act in such a way as not to reveal their Party membership. (Recently the Party was faced with a dilemma in this connection, having urged its members to actively circulate the Stockholm peace appeal which automatically revealed the Communist forces.)

(b) Meetings of factory groups must be held in strictest secrecy, with the possible exception of the admission of reliable sympathizers at times.

(c) Real names are not to be used at meetings by individual members.

Vassiliev urges that "breaches of police restrictions should first of all be organized in the factories informally and directly, by attracting the working masses into the struggle. \* \* \*" In other words, the individual Communist will not stick his neck out to provoke defiance of the policy, but will work behind the scenes to induce the workers in his factory to do so and take the consequences. Communists consider every such "breach" as an evidence of further weakening of our democratic government.

J. Peters, in his authoritative *Communist Party* — A

*Manual on Organization*, published in 1935, gives further directives for safeguarding the Red conspiracy:

1. Do not tell any member anything about Party members which does not concern that member.

It will be remembered that many Americans viewed with skepticism the testimony of Whittaker Chambers that he was known to Alger and Priscilla Hiss simply as "Carl." It sounds utterly fantastic that they would not ask for details. The fact is, however, that any Party member who is inquisitive, who asks questions, becomes an immediate object of suspicion. The Party demands unquestioning obedience in the fullest sense of the term.

2. Do not discuss any Party question outside of the meeting of the Party organization \* \* \* Stop discussing inner Party questions on the street corners or cafeterias. \* \* \*

3. Avoid, as much as possible, keeping membership lists with names and addresses, and if you have such lists, do not keep them in your home, or in the headquarters of the Party Unit or Section, or in your pocket.

4. Documents which are not for publication should be read only by those Party members to whom they are addressed, and should be destroyed immediately after reading. Documents which need study must be carefully safeguarded. Every member who has such a document must return it after reading it to the Party committee, which destroys it immediately.

These instructions on illegal activities are supplemented by a publication entitled *The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement*, written by Johannes Buchner and published by the official Communist publishing house, the Workers Library Publishers, for the avowed purpose of "combating provocation and spying." This pamphlet states that the "struggle against provocation and police espionage forms a permanent and fundamental function of every Party member and of the entire Party organization."

While the CPUSA plays upon every liberal sympathy in protecting its members from ouster or prosecution by the government, it has no such scruples in dealing with suspicious persons in its own ranks. Describing those Communists guilty of "petty bourgeois prejudices and petty bourgeois muddleheadedness" who fear throwing "suspicion on a friend and a comrade" or who hesitate to "hurt his feelings," Mr. Buchner lays down this ruthless principle:

Until the Communist Parties expel this petty bourgeois sentimentality and muddleheadedness energetically from their midst, they will never be able to wage an effective struggle against the agents provocateurs (p. 13).

Persons under suspicion, he says, should not be trusted merely "on the alleged grounds that they possess valuable and indispensable facilities" (p. 13).

Mr. Buchner advises Communists to read *Our Secret War*, by Thomas Marvin Johnson, which contains descriptions of various methods employed by spies for communication purposes.

In some instances, he ascribes to the police procedures (for penetrating into the technical apparatus to acquire information) which the Party undoubtedly uses for its own purposes, such as the enlistment of "shorthand typists, technical secretaries, janitors, charwomen, and servants." Detailed instructions are given as to methods employed by police officials in eliciting information and how to guard against them.

Mr. Buchner advises the following methods for eluding the police:

Firstly, the correct co-ordination of legal and illegal work \* \* \*. Secondly, the drawing up and exact observance of the rules of conspiracy work, that is to say, practical measures to ensure that confidential decisions and documents, illegal per-



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Alger and Priscilla Hiss during 1949 perjury trial which resulted in his conviction and sentence to five years in prison. Released in November, 1954, Hiss, a former lawyer (disbarred following his conviction), lives in New York's Greenwich Village where he finds most people friendly and sympathetic. He hopes to write and lecture on subjects such as foreign affairs; wrote the lead article in the November, 1955, *Pocketbook Magazine*, "In Defense of Yalta"; was scheduled to speak at Princeton University April 26, 1956.

sons, addresses, etc., are kept a close secret. Thirdly, exact rules for the conduct of comrades under arrest with regard to their statements in court and before the police (p. 44).

He warns against excessive concentration of illegal work of the Party "in the hands of a single comrade," referring particularly to "the direction of an illegal printshop, communication with organizations abroad and with underground organizations." He emphasizes that "illegal Party work calls for a strict division of functions so that the arrest of one person may not cause the dislocation of several spheres of illegal Party work" (p. 46).

Buchner advises that "all symptoms of personal feelings, sentimental considerations, or superficial friendliness" be rejected in the selection of comrades for illegal Party work. Such persons must be thoroughly checked as to "moral and political personality of the comrade concerned, his strength of character, militant experience, personal courage, his connections and social intercourse, way of life, family relations, etc." Precautionary measures are urged "in any case of suspicion, serious or otherwise, even when there are no adequate proofs by which the suspicion can be corroborated" (pp. 46, 47).

Buchner's pamphlet indicates that the Communists have made a scientific study of eluding police vigilance. He cites the following specific measures which incidentally provide valuable leads for our own counterespionage agencies:

1. Thorough analysis of every case of arrest, examination and comparison of all circumstances and incidents accompanying the case.
2. Increased vigilance in cases of distortion or misrepresentation of the Party line.
3. Exact analysis of the various proposals and formal motions brought forward by the suspected person over a given period of time.
4. Extreme caution towards people who display excessive curiosity, who offer themselves for the execution of confidential tasks.
5. Special attention and vigilance to be paid to \* \* \*

(cases of alcoholism, embezzlement, extravagance, sexual excesses, etc.).

6. Strict and continual financial control over all sums of money expended by the organization and over every penny of Party funds.

7. Special courses of instruction \* \* \* in the most elementary methods of illegal work and conspiracy must be conducted in the Party schools.

8. Police agents should be unmasked, by making their names known and publishing their photographs and descriptions of their persons in the press.

9. Direct action on the part of all the workers of the whole enterprise or of a given department so as to discover and forcibly eject all spies.

10. Every Communist Party should constantly hold in view the possibility of having to change quickly to illegal work and should take \* \* \* preparatory measures.

11. By altering the dwelling places of various comrades, the addresses and the places of meeting after arrests (pp. 48, 49).

Included in this invaluable study for the guidance of Party members are the following rules established by a famous espionage school of the German general staff:

Do not show too obvious curiosity when collecting news and doing reconnaissance.

Train your facial expression so as to appear always uninterested and indifferent.

Never discuss confidential matters in a coffee-house, on the tram, or in the train.

Conceal your knowledge of foreign languages; this makes it easier for you to overhear conversations.

Don't leave papers, envelopes, newspapers, hotel or business bills lying about anywhere. Don't throw them in the waste paper basket either, even if they are torn in small pieces (pp. 49, 50).

Always arrange meetings with people from whom you intend to learn something at a great distance from your and their place of living. If possible they should have to make a railway journey of several hours to arrive at the meeting place. When tired, especially after a night journey, the client is less capable of offering resistance and is more ready to let things out.

Rather learn five or six facts, even if they be insignificant ones than a hundred opinions (pp. 49, 50).

Mr. Buchner's pamphlet lays down certain "rules of behavior" for Communist Party members in "executing confidential conspiratorial work:"

He must always be on his guard, must never talk at random, never be guilty of carelessness; he must know how to govern himself and hold himself in check \* \* \*. He must fight systematically against all distractions and tendencies to lose hold over himself, against talkativeness and curiosity. He must evolve a number of strict rules of life for his daily existence and his intercourse with men and affairs (p. 50).

He is most specific in his directives for the behavior of Communist operatives:

1. Tell him who *ought* to know what you have to say, not he who is *permitted* to know it.

2. A revolutionary must not talk at random or use superfluous words. \* \* \*

3. Only ask what it is your concern to know.

4. Be on your guard in telephoning and letter-writing. \* \* \*

5. Don't take unnecessary things with you.

6. Look around you. See who is following you and who is watching you.

7. Don't pose. Don't attract attention by acting the conspirator; act and behave simply.

8. Avoid all frivolity and care-free behavior. Consider every step and every action.

9. Adapt your way of life to the environment in which you belong according to the documents you carry (pp. 50, 51).

#### METHODS OF EVASION AND DECEPTION

Many Americans are inclined to minimize the resourcefulness and the cunning of the Communist fifth column.

Many, having little substantial knowledge of the nature of this conspiracy, inclined to accept the CPUSA as just another American political party, are misled by its claims. It would be well, therefore, to present an analysis of typical Communist methods of evasion and deception.

Communists customarily resort to double talk and what has aptly been described as Aesopian language, in other words, language intended to give one impression to the outsider and quite another to Party insiders. While they constantly assure the Soviet Union and their associates in the United States of their loyalty to the Soviet cause, they seek to give the impression to Americans that they are simultaneously loyal to this country. The 1945 constitution of the CPUSA declares that the "Communist Party carries forward [a phrase added to offset any impression of complete endorsement] the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine and Lincoln." The very same document declares that —

The Communist Party of the United States is the political party \* \* \* basing itself upon the principles of \* \* \* Marxism-Leninism.

which calls for the establishment of a dictatorship by force and violence in direct contradiction to the principles for which Jefferson, Paine and Lincoln stood.

The preamble to the 1945 Party constitution says "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy." The weasel word here is, of course, "achievements." As William Z. Foster puts it in his 23 *Questions About the Communist Party*, "We stand second to none in our loyalty to the American people." Since the Party by its own claim represents the American people this is a pledge of loyalty to itself. The Party here does not pledge itself to support the institutions of American democracy as they are today. Nor is this implied in the pledge "to defend \* \* \* the democracy of our country." The reference to "our country" is particularly presumptuous in the light of the many previous allusions by Communist spokesmen to the "Soviet fatherland" and the Party's demonstrated undeviating loyalty to Soviet policy. In fact, in his *Questions*, William Z. Foster openly claims that "Socialist democracy, which is what prevails in the USSR, is on a higher plane than the democracy of \* \* \* the United States."

Article II of the Party constitution carries the pledge to "extend the democracy of our country." This term is a common one in Communist literature. It is simply an admission that the "limited democracy" remaining in our government according to William Z. Foster, is to be "extended" and exploited to the full to further the advance of communism.

Again to mislead the unwary, the preamble purloins certain phrases from our own Declaration of Independence, demanding the right to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," calmly ignoring the known fact that the lives of millions in Communist countries is to be denied these elementary rights.

Article II presents the Party's purpose "to promote the best interests and welfare of the working class and the people of the United States." Naturally the Party, so described as the "political party of the American working class," assumes for itself the right to define what are the "best interests and welfare."

The preamble declares that the Party will defend the "United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies." Since the Communists do not consider themselves as reactionaries, but as progressive

this provision could not apply to their unceasing efforts to undermine and destroy the United States Constitution. How can William Z. Foster, or the party he heads, be trusted to defend the United States Constitution when he frankly states in his 23 Questions that "the Stalin Constitution of the USSR is far and away the most democratic in the world"?

Nowhere in the world has communism, or "socialism," as the Communists sometimes call it, been established by the freely expressed will of the majority. This has been true from the time of the Russian Revolution in 1917 to the satellite countries of the present day. In every case these actions have been applauded by the CPUSA. Nevertheless in Article II the CPUSA stands for the "establishment of socialism by the free choice of the majority of the American people." As a matter of fact, the Communists hold this majority in complete disrespect as indicated by their open contempt for the democratic institutions which express the will of this majority.

In order to give the impression that the CPUSA is thoroughly democratic in character, Article VII declares that "the highest authority of the Party is the National Convention." The fact is that these conventions can be held only with Moscow's permission in accordance with the constitution of the Communist International, a procedure still in force. Those who have attended these conventions have acknowledged that delegates are handpicked from above and usually approve a single slate of members of the national committee without contest. These gatherings merely rubberstamp decisions previously made in the upper reaches of the Communist hierarchy.

The Communist Party is torn between its desire to reassure the American people that it is not affiliated with Moscow's international Communist apparatus and its determination, on the other hand, to demonstrate its affiliation and unswerving loyalty to that organization. Having openly acknowledged its affiliation with the Communist International for over twenty years, the CPUSA on November 16, 1940, "disaffiliated" itself "for the specific purpose of removing itself from the terms of the so-called Voorhis Act," requiring the registration of foreign agents. On May 22, 1943, the Communist International was formally dissolved as an expedient to placate Russia's allies in World War II, the action receiving the subsequent endorsement of the disaffiliated CPUSA. The sincerity of this move may be measured in the light of the testimony of Louis F. Budenz, former member of the national committee of the CPUSA and former managing editor of its official organ, the *Daily Worker*. Describing a meeting of the Party executives with Gerhard Eisler, alias Hans Berger, representative of the Communist International, Budenz declared under oath on November 22, 1946:

Now, I want to get here to the dissolution of the Communist International . . . This issue (of *The Communist*) we were discussing was the one that discussed the Communist International. . . . And it was agreed that Mr. Berger should write this piece which he did write, in order to show our comrades that international still lives . . . even with the dissolution of the Communist International. . . . The article by Hans Berger referred to, entitled "Remarks on the Discussion Concerning the Dissolution of the Communist International," appeared in *The Communist* (official CPUSA theoretical organ) for November, 1943.

In September, 1947, the information bureau of the Communist parties was established. In a statement appearing in the *Daily Worker* on November 3, 1947, the national board of the CPUSA formally announced that the Commu-



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Gerhard Eisler, center, who in 1949 jumped \$23,500 bail and stowed away on the Polish ship *Batory* at New York to escape two U.S. prison sentences. Scotland Yard Detective W. E. Bray (back to camera) and an unidentified man escort him from the tender *Romsey* at Southampton, England, following his removal from the *Batory*. Eisler was later slated to become Information Minister for the East German Republic in Berlin under the leadership of German Communists.

nist Party "should not affiliate" because of the present political situation in the United States" which was described as "anti-Communist hysteria and war incitement." It did not say that it *has* not affiliated. The statement acknowledged, however, that "the establishment of an Information Bureau by nine Communist Parties of Europe is of great significance." It is in this light that the statement in the preamble declaring that "the Communist Party holds as a basic principle that there is an identity of interest which serves as a common bond uniting the workers of all lands" should be judged. To mislead those who interpret this document literally, the preamble adds the assurance that the Party "recognizes further that the true national interests of our country . . . require the solidarity of all freedom-loving peoples and the continued and ever-closer cooperation of the *United Nations*," in order to give the impression that the UN and not the Cominform represents that international "common bond." The fact is that there have been convincing proofs of the CPUSA's actual affiliation with the Cominform as demonstrated by —

1. Complete adherence to and endorsement of Cominform policy.
2. Printing of Cominform directives in official organs of the CPUSA, such as the monthly *Political Affairs*.
3. Printing of CPUSA statements of policy and reports on activity in the official Cominform organ *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*.
4. Fraternal greetings and support sent by the

CPUSA to conventions of foreign Communist parties openly affiliated with the Cominform.

5. Fraternal greetings and support sent to the CPUSA by foreign Communist parties affiliated with the Cominform, and by the Cominform itself.

6. Support by the CPUSA of world movements endorsed by the Cominform such as the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Peace Congress, the Women's International Democratic Federation, the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, and the World Federation of Democratic Lawyers.

7. Sale of Cominform literature by CPUSA bookshops.

Public exposure of the CPUSA as a conspiracy with an underground, illegal apparatus, engaging in espionage and other treasonable activities, has induced the Party to incorporate into its constitution various formulations calculated to give the impression that the Party is entirely legal and aboveboard. Article IV, Section 10, declares that —

every member is obligated to fight with all his strength against any and every effort, whether it comes from abroad or from within our country \* \* \* to impose upon the United States the arbitrary will of any group or party or clique or conspiracy, thereby violating the unqualified right of the majority of the people to direct the destinies of our country.

This statement is honeycombed with semantic boobytraps. Since the Communists claim to represent the enlightened will of the majority of the people, they would never plead guilty to being arbitrary, to violating the will of the majority, or to representing a clique or conspiracy. In Article IX, punishment is prescribed for "conduct or action detrimental to the *working class* and the *nation*," the interpretation of these terms being left to the determination of the disciplinary review commission of the CPUSA. It is as if an organization of gangsters had formally adopted a constitution describing itself as a league of honest, law-abiding Americans; or an extortion racket operating under the name of Merchants Protective Society.

In 1948 the House Committee on Un-American Activities published a report to show that the CPUSA is an advocate of the overthrow of the government by force and violence. In 1952 the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee published documentary proof along this line. In 1949, eleven top leaders of the CPUSA were convicted under the Smith Act on the charge of teaching and advocating the overthrow of our government by force and violence. In part, the government's case was based upon quotations from seven Communist classics which a defendant, Carl Winter, declared are obsolete. Nevertheless these very works were recommended by *Political Affairs* in 1947 and are openly sold in Communist bookshops. In a further effort to escape the incriminating force of its basic documents, Article XIV of the 1945 constitution declared:

The Communist Party is not responsible for any political document, policy, book, article, or any other expression of political opinion except such as are issued by authority of this and subsequent national conventions and its regularly constituted leadership.

In effect, this would constitute a formal repudiation of all the works of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin which are standard references for Party speakers, writers, and teachers today. Its purpose is undoubtedly to invalidate this mass of evidence.

When charged with advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence, the Party usually resorts

to the formula used by William Z. Foster in his *23 Questions*: "The danger of violence \* \* \* always comes from the reactionary elements," who would oppose the revolutionary designs of the Communists. According to this logic, a pedestrian who is provoked to violence in opposing the forcible efforts of a highwayman to rob him of his possessions is primarily responsible for such violence. Experience has shown that the Communists have initiated violence in every country in which they have been active to the point of actual control as in Russia, China, and the various satellite states.

A prize example of evasion is that furnished by William Z. Foster, chairman of the CPUSA, in answering questions as to what he would do in the event of war between the United States and the Soviet Union. These answers are, of course, typical of what may be expected of Party members generally in dealing with this question, which is an acid test of their loyalty.

In the early days of the Communist movement, their spokesmen were more forthright. Thus, William Z. Foster in his work *Toward Soviet America* published in 1932, predicted positively:

The danger of imperialist war against the USSR is now most acute. \* \* \* The capitalists clearly intend to thrust war upon the Soviet Union. \* \* \* It is a situation that should arouse every worker \* \* \* to rally in defense of the Soviet Union.

On September 29, 1939, during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, Foster appeared before the Special Committee on Un-American Activities. He was asked by the chairman:

In the event of war between the United States and Soviet Russia, would your allegiance be to the United States or Soviet Russia?

Foster's replies run the entire gamut of evasion. We present them in part:

I say it is a hypothetical question. \* \* \* I am for the defense of the United States. \* \* \* If the United States entered this war on an imperialist basis, I would not support it. \* \* \*

Mr. Foster again appeared on May 27, 1948, before the Senate Judiciary Committee. Again he was asked what he would do in the event of an American conflict with the



Screen Actor Larry Parks, left, aids Ring Lardner, Jr., center, in signing a petition to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee during a reception given by the Civil Rights Congress (November, 1947) for the personages subpoenaed for questioning regarding communism in Hollywood. Larry Parks, questioned by the Committee in 1951, admitted Communist Party membership ten years earlier, but testified he had later left. Screen writer Waldo Salt is at right.

Nine of the ten Hollywood writers, directors and producers indicted for contempt of Congress by a Washington, D. C., grand jury after refusing to answer questions of the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1947. Left to right, Robert Adrian Scott, Edward Dmytryk, Samuel Ornitz, Lester Cole, Herbert Biberman, Albert Maltz, Alvah Bessie, John Howard Lawson and Ring Lardner, Jr. The tenth, Dalton Trumbo, surrendered at a later date.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Soviet Union. Here are his typical replies:

“any war that may be developed between the United States and the Soviet Union can only be an imperialist war at the instigation of Wall Street, and we Communists are against all imperialist wars. Russia would never attack America. Because a socialist government is not an aggressive government. [Referring to the Soviet attack on Poland:] That was just Russian land that the Polish Government had. [Referring to the Soviet attack on Finland:] Finland was the tool of reactionaries of every stripe. I have stated that we are not going to fight against the Soviet Union [Referring to obedience to military orders:] That would depend on the circumstances.”

#### TRIAL AND HEARING TECHNIQUE

Basing itself upon Lenin's theory that the government consists of “special bodies of armed men, who have at their disposal prisons” and “repressive institutions of all kinds,” for the oppression of the vast majority of the population, the Communist Party, USA, which looks upon our government as the “enemy,” has devised various methods for evading exposure and prosecution which have been employed from time to time before congressional committees and the courts. These methods include the following:

1. Denial that the CPUSA advocates overthrow of government by force and violence (Schneiderman case, case of eleven Communist leaders, case of the “second string” thirteen).
2. Denial that the Party is an agent of a foreign power.
3. Denial of Party membership (Alger Hiss, William W. Remington).
4. Denial of legal authority to compel answers to questions regarding Party affiliation (Hollywood Ten).
5. Refusal to answer questions regarding Party affiliation, claiming privilege under the First Amendment to the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech.
6. Refusal to answer questions regarding Party affiliation, claiming privilege under the Fifth Amendment on grounds of possible self-incrimination.
7. Refusal to furnish official records on grounds that such a request is beyond the legal scope of the

committee or agency (Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee).

8. Charge that the agency or committee is illegally constituted.

Nor has the above exhausted the Communist bag of tricks.

Johannes Buchner, in his authoritative pamphlet, *The Agent Provocateur in the Labour Movement*, previously referred to, presents detailed instructions for Communist conduct before the police and in court:

“no statement incriminating any comrade, no names, no addresses, not a single fact which could possibly be used directly or indirectly against the Party, its organs or individual members of the organization. No explanations in this respect. Absolute denial even when personally confronted with the persons and despite the evidence given by police spies and agents provocateurs. Whoever infringes, even but a little, these fundamental rules must instantly and mercilessly be ejected from the Party (p. 51).

This directive furnishes a key to understanding the consistent hostility of Communist witnesses before investigating bodies and the courts.

Buchner warns against getting involved in talks and discussions “even about seemingly distant topics, such as views of life, etc.”

Should the authorities not know for certain that the individual is a Party member and have no proofs to that effect, then says Buchner:

“since a categorical refusal to make any statement would convict you of being a Communist, you may permit yourself a few short statements calculated to obtain credence, but *only with regard to your own person*.”

He discloses the essentially conspiratorial nature of the Party by advising that “We must always conceal our plans and our ways of work from the class enemy,” meaning, of course, the government (p. 51). He adds later, “therefore always be on your guard, be a conspirator, carefully control yourself and others” (p. 54).

Communists are cautioned to note whether they are being followed when leaving a police station or their own homes (p. 24).

As a rule, those charged with certain crimes before a court of law concentrate upon proving their innocence. Not

so with the Communists. They have other aims of a propaganda nature described by Mr. Buchner:

A Communist must utilize a political trial to help on the revolutionary struggle. Our tactics in the public proceedings of the law court are not tactics of defense but of attack. Without clinging to legal formalities, the Communist must use the trial as a means of bringing his indictment against the dominant capitalist regime and of courageously voicing the views of his Party.

A study of the trial of the "first string" Communist leaders and the tactics employed by the defense will disclose that these were primarily the tactics employed, which resulted in the citation of defense lawyers for contempt. It was the motivating factor in the selection of Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Party, to defend himself despite his lack of legal training.

It is sometimes assumed that lawyers defending Communist cases are just like any other lawyers who take cases as a matter of business and who are not to be held responsible for the views of their clients. But Mr. Buchner makes it clear that lawyers in Communist cases belong in a different category. "The aid of such barristers," he declares, "as deprecate the importance and the function of the Party in their pleading, must be decisively rejected" (p. 52).

The International Labor Defense, described by Attorney General Biddle as the "legal arm of the Communist Party," and now functioning as the Civil Rights Congress, published a pamphlet some years ago entitled *Under Arrest! How to Defend Yourself in Court! What to Do When Arrested and Questioned!* which gives additional pointers which are recommended for study in special classes organized for the purpose.

Introducing this pamphlet, Helen Stasova, international secretary of the International Labor Defense (International Red Aid), with headquarters in Moscow, declared, "We must give directions to the workers on how to defend themselves."

Symbolic of their distrust of the dignity and sanctity of our courts, the Communists do not rely upon legal defense. Believing that the courts are primarily instruments of the ruling class, the Communists rely primarily upon mass action to terrorize the courts to act in behalf of their defendants. Thus the pamphlet boasts that —

The principal work of the International Labor Defense consists in arousing the widest mass protests, as the chief effective method with which to wrest the working class militants from the bosses' clutches (p. 6).

In accordance with this practice, mass picket lines were conducted around the Federal Court Building during the trial of the eleven Communist leaders in 1949.

According to this approach, the policeman "is a servant of the boss class. \* \* \* He is your enemy." Hence the instruction for dealing with him or his superiors:

\* \* \* you shall not give the names of your fellow workers, the names of organizations that you belong to. \* \* \* And if you are a foreign-born worker, no information of any sort, of the date you landed, the name of the boat, etc. Give your name. That is all. You should not even furnish an address (p. 9).

If charged with assaulting a policeman, the defendant is advised not to deny the act but to assert "your right to defend yourself" (p. 16).

"Have no faith in fake promises of the cops or district attorney," is a warning issued by this pamphlet (p. 11). Defendants are urged to demand a jury trial so as to "have much more opportunity to raise class issues" (p. 13).

The key to the defiant attitude of a Communist in the



Eleven top leaders of CPUSA, convicted under the Smith Act in 1949 on the charge of teaching and advocating overthrow of our government by force and violence, and since released upon completion of sentences. Front row, (l to r) Robert Thompson, Henry Winston, Eugene Dennis, Gus Hall, and John Williamson; rear, Jacob Stachel, Irving Potash, Carl Winter, Benjamin Davis, John Gates and Gilbert Green. Judge Harold R. Medina, lower right inset, conducted this trial.

courts lies in the precept laid down to "make capitalism the defendant, and yourself the prosecutor" (p. 16). In his own eyes and those of his associates, his defiance makes him the hero of the class war. Thus "the capitalist courtroom" may be used "as a forum from which the workers on trial expose before their fellow toilers the true nature of the courts as a tool in the bosses' economic and political oppression" (p. 29).

Written in the days when the Communists had not fully adopted their present Trojan Horse tactics, the pamphlet is franker than William Z. Foster on the question of force and violence, declaring:

\* \* \* the masses of workers will be fully justified, historically and socially, in using means, including force and violence, in defense against capitalist force and violence and in a revolutionary situation, to dislodge capitalism and replace it with a classless social order. \* \* \* (p. 17).

Despite their activities as a Soviet fifth column, Communists are advised to quote the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and Woodrow Wilson in support of their right to revolution (pp. 18, 19).

Reminiscent of the procedure followed to the letter in the defense in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders in 1949, causing weeks of delay, we find the following:

Before the jury panel is sworn in by the clerk, get up, and state that you challenge the entire panel of prospective jurors on the ground that it is composed of people whose social and economic interests will prejudice them against you, the defendant (p. 20).

Characterizing the various sedition laws, criminal anarchy statutes and criminal syndicalism acts which have been adopted by various states, the pamphlet refers to them as "class laws, brazen and undisguised, forged by the capitalist state to suppress the struggle of the masses" (p. 25).

Defendants are warned against too great reliance upon attorneys since they are "limited by the technical rules of the courts" (p. 15). "No pussyfooting" is to be tolerated from attorneys. "An attorney," it is pointed out, "should

employed only for instruction and technical defenses," the defendant reserving for himself the right to present "the class issues."

William L. Patterson, former national secretary of the International Labor Defense and presently executive secretary of the Civil Rights Congress, has written an illuminating article entitled "The International Labor Defense and Courtroom Technicians," for the *Labor Defender* of May, 1933, official ILD organ. The tactics laid down then form a pattern for those followed in all recent Communist trials. The instructions laid down by this well-known Communist are most explicit:

The class struggle begun on the streets or in the shop is carried into the courtroom. \* \* \*

Many of the friends and even members of the ILD have seriously questioned its methods. \* \* \* International Labor Defense lawyers are engaged to serve it chiefly on the basis of their ability as "courtroom technicians."

A lawyer has to concern himself only with the juridical aspects of the case. He is not asked to engage in the political defense of the accused, but his legal defense of the accused, because of the nature of the cases the ILD is engaged in, becomes at once political \* \* \*.

The ILD believes that only mass pressure can bring about the release of a class war prisoner; that pressure must be supplemented by legal defense. The legal defense must be of the most expert character. Every legal technicality must be used. The more far-reaching the knowledge of the lawyer retained by the ILD, the more easily and effectively can the worker be shown that the guaranties of justice extended him by the ruling class are meaningless.

#### COMMUNIST FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Communists speaking openly in the name of the Communist Party and frankly as disciplined agents of the Soviet Union could make very little progress in winning converts in the United States. Wherever and whenever they have secured power in any country, it has been the result of a calculated policy of deception. One of the most important instruments of Communist deception is the front organization. Without the aid of its numerous front organizations, the Communist Party would be an isolated, insignificant sect. With the aid of its network of fronts, the Communist Party can and does exercise influence far out of proportion to its actual membership. It is in a position to establish contacts not otherwise available.

A Communist front organization may be broadly described as an organization formed at the initiative of the Communist Party of the United States or another country or the Communist International (Cominform) and operating under Communist instruction for the accomplishment of one or more current aims.<sup>3</sup> The actual aim of the Communist front is not openly stated but is concealed behind a high-sounding and attractive reform objective. In exceptional cases like the American Youth Congress the Communists have taken over an organization originally organized by non-Communists and have transformed it into a Communist front. A front can be local, national, or international in its scope.

The building of front organizations has been laid down as a primary directive by Otto Kuusinen, secretary of the Communist International, for all Communist parties in the following words uttered at the Sixth Plenum of the Execu-

tive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow:

The first part of our task is to build up, not only Communist organizations, but other organizations as well, above all mass organizations, sympathizing with our aims, and able to aid us for special purposes. \* \* \* We must create a whole solar system of organizations and smaller committees working actually under the influence of our Party [*Communist* (magazine), May, 1931, pp. 409-423].

The real purposes of the Communists in building a front organization are never those which are publicly stated to attract adherents. The actual objectives which we cite herewith, may be varied and may overlap in the case of any given organization.

1. As part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States, Communist fronts seek to paralyze America's will to resist Communist aggression by idealizing Russia's aims and methods, discrediting the United States, spreading defeatism and demoralization. At the present historical juncture in world affairs, all Communist fronts serve this primary purpose. Specializing in this field, however, there have been such organizations as the American Peace Crusade, the Committee for Peaceful Alternatives to the Atlantic Pact, the Congress of American Women, the American Youth for Democracy, and the Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy.

2. Certain organizations specialize in pro-Soviet propaganda such as the magazine *New World Review* (formerly *Soviet Russia Today*), the National Council of American Soviet Friendship and the American Russian Institute.

3. Where the Communist message cannot be carried most effectively by the Communist Party among particular groups in the population, special fronts are formed for the purpose, such as American Youth for Democracy, Labor Youth League, Congress of American Women, the National Negro Labor Council, International Workers Order (foreign-born groups), American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, and the various foreign-language papers of the Communist Party.

4. Sometimes fronts are used to appeal to special occupational groups still with the same broad general purposes in mind including, by way of example, the National Lawyers Guild, the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, the Photo League, and Farm Research.

5. To defend the cases of Communist lawbreakers, fronts have been devised making special appeals in behalf of civil liberties and reaching out far beyond the confines of the Communist Party itself. Among these organizations are the Civil Rights Congress; Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Act; Trade Union Committee for the Repeal of the Smith Act; National Committee to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case; Bridges, Robertson, Schmidt Defense Committee; Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee; the National Lawyers Guild; Spanish Refugee Appeal; and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. When the Communist Party itself is under fire these fronts offer a bulwark of protection.

6. Communist dissimulation extends into the field of political parties forming political front organizations such as the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party. The Communists are thus enabled to present their candidates for elective office under other than a straight Communist label.

7. With an eye to religious groups, the Communists have formed religious fronts such as the Methodist Feder-

<sup>3</sup>The Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 describes the Communist-front organization as follows in Sec. 3(4) (p. 4): "The term 'Communist-front organization' means any organization in the United States (other than a Communist organization as defined in paragraph (3) of this section) which (A) is substantially directed, dominated, or controlled by a Communist-action organization, and (B) is primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid and support to a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement referred to in Sec. 2 of this title."

ation for Social Action, *The Protestant* (magazine), and the American Jewish Labor Council.

8. All Communist fronts are expected to serve as instruments of Communist espionage seeking out information and passing it through proper channels and serving as an occupational cover for espionage agents while their premises serve as convenient mail drops.

9. Communist operatives on the payrolls of the various Communist fronts are given a livelihood and valuable organizing experience at the expense of sources outside of the Communist Party. Thus the International Workers Order with assets of over \$1 million employed Party stenographers, clerks, organizers, speakers, writers, teachers, janitors, and others in connection with its two thousand lodges.

10. Certain Communist fronts are organized for the purpose of promulgating Communist ideas and misinformation into the bloodstream of public opinion. Examples of such organizations are the Allied Labor News Service, Federated Press, and the Labor Research Association.

11. Schools under patriotic and benevolent titles indoctrinate Communists and outsiders in the theory and practice of communism, train organizers and operatives, recruit new Party members and sympathizers. These are no ordinary schools seeking mere culture or academic degrees. Such schools, whether open or secret, are operated by Communist Parties throughout the world under the supreme direction of Moscow under a common pattern. Schools of this type have been:

Abraham Lincoln School, Chicago	Michigan School of Social Science, Detroit
Jefferson School of Social Science, New York	Ohio School of Social Sciences, Cleveland
California Labor School, San Francisco	Philadelphia School of Social Science and Art
Samuel Adams School, Boston	School of Jewish Studies, New York
Seattle Labor School, Seattle	

In Canada such Communist indoctrination was conducted chiefly by study groups whose operation is described by Canadian Royal Commission in its report of June 27, 1946:

A further objective, pursued through the study group, is gradually to inculcate in the secret membership of the Communist Party a habit of complete obedience to the dictates of senior members and officials of the Party hierarchy. This is apparently accomplished through a constant emphasis, in the indoctrination courses, on the importance of organization *as such*, and by the gradual creation, in the mind of the new adherent or sympathizer, of an over-riding moral sense of "loyalty to the Party." \* \* \*

The indoctrination courses in the study groups are apparently calculated not only to inculcate a high degree of "loyalty to the Party" and "obedience to the Party," but to instill in the mind of the adherent the view that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen (pp. 74, 75).

12. Communist fronts change in accordance with the current Party line. Thus when the Party line was stridently anti-United States in the early 1930's, the Communists launched the American League Against War and Fascism. In the face of the growing menace of Adolf Hitler in the late 1930's, they projected the American League for Peace and Democracy advocating collective security with the democracies against fascism. During the Stalin-Hitler Pact (1939-41); however, they created the American Peace Mobilization which picketed the White House against lend-lease and the defense program. After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and Russia became an

ally, this organization was transformed into the American People's Mobilization which supported the war effort. Immediately after World War II, the line changed again and fronts immediately blossomed out against the American defense program and against our foreign policy, such as the National Committee to Win the Peace, the American Peace Crusade, and similar organizations.

13. Front organizations enable the Communist Party to mobilize what appears to be a body of public opinion outside of the Party in support of their campaigns, projects, legislation, or demands. In many cases the statement of such an organization is printed by the press without investigation. The names of leading sponsors command attention. These organizations claim to speak in the name of great masses of Americans whom they do not actually represent. Since one front organization will support another they manage to pyramid their membership claims to fantastic proportions.

14. Front organizations serve as a valuable recruiting ground for new Party members and supporters.

15. Certain fronts are formed to provoke racial friction such as the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America Council on African Affairs, National Negro Labor Council and others.

Benjamin Gitlow, former Communist Party candidate for Vice President of the United States, former member of its politbureau, and a former member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, has explained how a front organization is formed:

A front organization is organized by the Communist Party in the following fashions: First, a number of sympathizers who are close to the Party and whom the Party knows can be depended upon to carry out Party orders, are gotten together and formed into a nucleus which issues a call for the organization of a particular front organization which the Party wants to establish. And generally after that is done a program is drawn up by the Party, which this provisional committee adopts. Then, on the basis of this provisional program, all kinds of individuals are canvassed to become sponsors of the organization, which is to be launched in the very near future. A provisional secretary is appointed before the organization is launched and in every instance in our day the secretary who was appointed was a member of the Communist Party. \* \* \* And as president of the organization we would put up some prominent public figure who was willing to accept the presidency of the organization, generally making sure that, if that public figure was one who would not go along with the Communists, he was of such a type that he would be too busy to pay attention to the affairs of the organization. \* \* \*

On the committee that would be drawn together, a sufficient number of Communists and Communist Party sympathizers, who would carry out Party orders, was included, and out of this number a small executive committee was organized \* \* \* which carried on the affairs of the organization, so-called, and this small executive committee, with the secretary, really ran the organization. And this small committee and the secretary are the instruments of the Communist Party, with the result that when manifestos or decisions on campaigns are made, those campaigns are ordered by the Communist Party (hearing of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, vol. 7, pp. 4716, 4717, 4718).

Various American fronts are each affiliated with a parent international front from which they receive directives, literature and other aid and to which they give unreserved and active support. Representatives of American fronts are to be found at international conferences of these organizations. These organizations interlock and cooperate closely. The following international Communist fronts are among those functioning at the present time:

- World Federation of Democratic Youth
- International Union of Students
- World Federation of Democratic Women

World Peace Congress  
 World Federation of Scientific Workers  
 International Organization of Democratic Journalists  
 International Association of Democratic Lawyers

These operate in close harmony with the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions.

Since Communist fronts have a way of changing names from time to time and from place to place, no specified list can serve as a permanent safeguard to insure their detection. Safety from their machinations can be guaranteed only through ceaseless vigilance and detailed knowledge. We, therefore, present for the guidance of the American people certain criteria which will be useful in spotting a Communist front.

1. Since Communist fronts must start with a working nucleus of Party members or reliable sympathizers, and since the Party depends for its continued control of these organizations upon this nucleus, the presence of certain names frequently found as sponsors and officials is often a good clue. We present herewith a list of the most active and typical sponsors of Communist fronts in the past:

LIST OF MOST TYPICAL SPONSORS OF FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

Adams, Josephine Truslow	McAvoy, Clifford T.
Barsky, Edward K.	McManus, John T.
Bass, Mrs. Charlotta	McMichael, Jack R.
Benson, Elmer	McWilliams, Carey
Bryson, Hugh	Miller, Clyde R.
Burgum, Edwin Berry	Morrison, Philip
Carnovsky, Morris	Mulzac, Hugh N.
Darr, John W.	Parker, Dorothy
Davis, Jerome	Patterson, William L.
DuBois, W. E. B.	Pauling, Linus
Dunn, Robert W.	Pennypacker, Anna M. W.
Emerson, Thomas I.	Pope, Arthur Upham
Evergood, Philip	Rautenstrauch, Walter
Fairchild, Henry Pratt	Refregier, Anton
Fast, Howard	Reynolds, Bertha G.
Gellert, Hugo	Robeson, Paul
Gold, Ben	Russell, Rose
Gropper, William	Schuman, Frederick L.
Hammett, Dashiell	Shapley, Harlow
Hathway, Marion	Shipler, Guy Emery
Havighurst, R. J.	Shumlin, Herman
Hellman, Lillian	Spofford, William B.
Hendley, Charles J.	Steel, Johannes
Hughes, Langston	Stefansson, Vilhajalmur
Hunton, Alpheus W.	Stern, Bernhard J.
Hutchins, Grace	Stewart, Donald Ogden
Imbrie, James	Stewart, Maxwell S.
Jerome, V. J.	Stone, I. F.
Kenny, Robert W.	Stover, Fred W.
Kent, Rockwell	Straus, Leon
Kingsbury, John A.	Struik, Dirk J.
Kirchwey, Freda	Sugar, Maurice
Kreymborg, Alfred	Thompson, John B.
Lamont, Corliss	Trachtenberg, Alexander
Lampell, Millard	Travis, Maurice
Lawson, John Howard	Uphaus, Willard
Lovett, Robert Morss	Van Kleeck, Mary
Lynd, Robert S.	Ward, Harry F.
Maltz, Albert	Warne, Colston E.
Mann, Thomas	Weltfish, Gene
Mather, Kirtley F.	Wilkerson, Doxey A.

5. Are speakers and entertainers employed who are frequently associated with other Communist fronts or with the Communist Party or its press?

6. Are facilities used in common with the Communist Party or its front organizations (printers — see printer's union label, mimeograph services, addressing, stationers, picnic grounds, accountants, real-estate agents, doctors, lawyers, artists, promotion agents, public-relations counselors, radio commentators, etc.). Accountants especially can be instrumental in enabling the Communist Party to keep careful track of the organization's finances and activities.

7. Great care should be taken in determining the character of those who actually run the organization, ignoring such figureheads as the honorary chairman. What is the loyalty record of the executive secretary, of resident and functioning members of the executive committee, members of the staff, the organization secretary, educational director, editor, etc.?

8. Does the organization, and especially its official organ, follow the Communist Party line on issues and campaigns publicized in the *Daily Worker*? Does it invariably support and defend the Soviet Union? Does it adhere to its avowed purpose or inject issues of the above character?

9. Does the organization cooperate with other fronts and with the Communist Party in election campaigns, May Day parades, peace campaigns, petitions, tag days, and other projects promoted in the *Daily Worker*?

10. Does the organization cooperate with Communist-controlled unions?

11. Does the organization furnish direct or indirect revenue to the Communist Party, its publications, its fronts or establishments through orders for printing, stationery, advertisements, donations, and services of various kinds?

12. Is the organization repudiated as Communist-controlled by such outstanding organizations as the American Federation of Labor, the American Legion, or its own former constituents? What is its history? How long has it existed?

13. Does it furnish regular financial statements issued by well-known and reliable public accounts?

14. Is the organization actually controlled by its membership or by an outside Communist clique or group?

15. Does it interchange mailing lists with the Communist Party, its front organizations, or its publications?

It would be well for alert Americans to be aware of the tricks employed by Communist fronts when faced with the threat of exposure or prosecution. We list some of these which have previously been employed:

1. After lengthy and arduous investigation, the front will suddenly change its name so that the job will have to be done all over again. Front organizations change their names from time to time and are variously labeled in different cities and neighborhoods. Sometimes fronts will merge to avoid exposure or prosecution. At times they have been known to assume a name similar to some well-known and respectable organization. An example is the Methodist Federation for Social Action which has no official connection with the Methodist Church. Another is the now defunct A. F. of L. trade-union committee for unemployment insurance which was forced to desist from using this name as the result of an order secured by the American Federation of Labor before the Federal Trade Commission. By way of illustrating the various guises assumed, the following Communist fronts were active in the recent

2. Does the organization receive publicity and promotion in such Communist publications as the *Daily Worker*, *Daily People's World*, *Masses and Mainstream*?

3. Does the organization hold meetings in halls or does it have its offices in premises ordinarily used by Communist organizations?

4. Is literature of the Communist Party and other front organizations to be found at headquarters and at meetings?

peace offensive after World War II: American Peace Appeal, American Peace Crusade, American People's Congress and Exposition for Peace, American Students Repudiate Aggression in Korea, American Youth Peace Crusade, East Harlem Women for Peace, Young People's General Assembly for Peace, Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, Maryland Committee for Peace, Minute Women for Peace, Irving Peace Theater, National Assembly Against UMT, Mid-Century Conference for Peace, National Delegates Assembly for Peace, National Committee to Win the Peace, New York Peace Institute, Peace Information Center, Veterans for Peace, World Peace Congress, etc. New names are constantly cropping up.

2. The names of prominent citizens who have been duped into the organization who are usually inactive and unaware of what is going on, will be cited as proof of the organization's respectability.

3. Individuals who expose the character of Communist fronts will be threatened with libel suits, smears, physical assault, blackmail, and ouster from official positions. Legal advice is always valuable as a safeguard.

4. The organization will claim a membership which cannot be accurately verified.

5. Communist fronts, when identified as such, will immediately and vigorously deny the charge.

6. A favorite device is to arrange for the defense of the particular front by a non-Communist publication. For example, when the Southern Conference for Human Welfare was exposed as a front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, it was defended in the *Harvard Law Review* by Walter Gellhorn, of Columbia Law School.

7. Ofttimes, after a Communist front has been successfully launched by a provisional committee, a new committee will be substituted to conceal the origin of the organization.

8. A favorite Communist gambit is the claim that since an individual belonged to a given front organization prior to its citation as such by the Attorney General, the individual should not be held responsible. This asks us to ignore the fact that a front organization is by definition subversive and, except in the very few cases where organizations originally formed by non-Communist forces were taken over by the Communists thereafter, all front organizations were subversive from their inception. The important date is not when the organization was cited, for its subversive character does not date from the day of its listing by the Attorney General.

9. Recently there has developed a tendency to decry references to defunct organizations. This is unrealistic because the fact of membership in an organization which was subversive loses none of its evidentiary value when the organization goes out of existence. No information about a live and active conspirator should be considered as dead or irrelevant. (It should be pointed out in this connection that in the early 1940's Alger Hiss was listed in congressional files as a member of the national committee of the *defunct* International Juridical Association. There were no other front associations for this man at the time. This Communist link was ignored by the State Department and Alger Hiss was left to conduct his nefarious activities until 1948 when Whittaker Chambers appeared on the witness stand.)

#### WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT

The CPUSA is the only party which coordinates its activity in the political field with its activity in the trade

Marcel Scherer, who has been described as "one of the oldest and most trusted members of the Communist Party," and identified in sworn testimony as a former student at the Lenin School in Moscow, was indicted by the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1950 for contempt of Congress in refusing to answer questions.



WIDE WORLD PHOTO

unions. In other words, while political parties place their reliance upon voting strength, the CPUSA seeks support in the field of industry through the trade unions. Every base established by the Communists in our unions is in fact a Soviet bridgehead within our own economy. A strike organized by a small Communist minority in a vital industry can have a more far-reaching effect than a vote of the majority of the population. In his book, *Toward Social America*, William Z. Foster has frankly set down some of the principles which guide the CPUSA in this process of penetration of American labor.

1. "Its principle is to make every shop a fortress for communism" (p. 254). This aim must be kept in mind in sharp contrast with that of the average American trade unionist whose primary desire is better wages and working conditions.

2. "It concentrates its work upon the heavy industries and those of a war character" (ibid.). In its magazine *The Communist*, for February, 1934, the CPUSA, quoting a decision of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, outlines what such concentration entails:

Communists must \* \* \* concentrate their forces in each country, at the *vital parts of the war machine* of imperialism \* \* \* Communist Parties must by all means in their power ensure the practical organization of *mass action* (increasing the work among railwaymen, seamen and harbor workers, preventing the shipping of arms and troops, hindering the execution of orders for belligerent countries \* \* \*) \* \* \*

During the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, the Communists carried out these mandates by fomenting strikes through unions under their control in North America: the Aviation of California; the Allis-Chalmers of Wisconsin engaged in important manufacturing equipment for the Navy and in various arms and ammunition plants in Connecticut. During the Korean war, the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, also Communist controlled, conducted a strike which tied up the major part of the copper industry.

3. Joseph Zack Kornfeder (known in the Communist Party as Joseph Zack), former national trade-union secretary of the CPUSA, has testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on September 30, 1950 as follows:

MR. WHITLEY. Does the Communist Party use its connections with the trade unions of the various industries for the purpose of carrying on espionage activities? \* \* \*

MR. ZACK. The Soviet Government will utilize its American organization for whatever purpose they find convenient

° ° ° there are secret organizations that manage to pick out individuals out of the ranks of the Communist Party to use for that purpose.

MR. WHITLEY. Do you know of any specific instances in which they have used their trade-union connection to obtain industrial secrets?

MR. ZACK. Yes. While I was in charge of the Trade Union Unity League I was once asked to supply an engineer, a chemist ° ° ° I was asked to do that by Max Bedacht, who was then in charge of this phase of their secret activity.

Testimony of Rear Adm. Adolphus Staton, retired, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 2, 1954, dealt with Public Law No. 351 involving radio operators in the Communist-controlled American Communications Association during World War II. In the course of this testimony, the minutes of a meeting held in the office of Secretary of Navy Frank Knox on May 19, 1942, were incorporated into the record from which we quote relevant portions:

Admiral (S. C.) Hooper then stressed the danger of Communist Party cells in the transportation and communication industries and in the armed services, and how the Communist Party was striving with all its power to establish such cells ° ° °. The contributory effect of foreign cells in a country's system of communication was amply demonstrated in the fall of Norway and of France, stated Admiral Hooper, giving details of each.

° ° ° He emphasized the particular danger of a cell among radio operators and brought out the example of the Spanish Fleet at the very start of the 1937 revolution, when some 700 officers were murdered by the Communist Party cells in the fleet because of the fact that the radio operators delivered the announcement of the Communist revolution to their comrades rather than to the responsible ship's officers.

Admiral Hooper further stated that ° ° ° the American Communications Association was Communist Party controlled and the nucleus of the Communist Party cell in United States communications. ° ° °

Marcel Scherer, a founder, international vice president, and national organization director of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists, and Technicians, later business manager of local 1227 of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers and international representative and educational director of District 4 of the UEMWA, who admitted under oath his part in organizing a local

union at the atomic radiation laboratory of the University of California in 1942 or 1943, has been identified in sworn testimony as a former student at the Lenin School in Moscow. Here training was given in the "science of civil warfare, revolutionary uprising," "sabotage," and similar matters. Sworn testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities shows that he was in contact with Clarence Francis Hiskey and Steve Nelson, both involved in atomic espionage.

4. American workers owe a great deal to the fact that labor and management have become convinced, through long experience, of their interlocking interests and the need for cooperative and friendly relations. In his work, *Toward Soviet America*, Foster makes clear in the following passage that the Communists are determined to disrupt this relationship, cost what it may, that their demands can never be satisfied:

The capitalists and the workers are class enemies, with mutually hostile interests. ° ° ° Communist action is based upon the slogan of "Class Against Class"; that is, the working class against the capitalist class (p. 252).

Stability in industry and in our society as a whole has been built up over the years through a system of collective bargaining, which is an anathema to the Communists according to the First International Congress of Revolutionary and Industrial Unions in Moscow in 1921:

The belief in the sanctity of collective bargaining ° ° ° must be met with a resolute and decided resistance on the part of the revolutionary trade union movement. The revolutionary trade unions ° ° ° must realize their (contracts) relative value and clearly define methods which will abolish these contracts when it proves to be profitable to the working class.

5. American labor looks upon our government with devotion and respect. It is the object of the Communists, however, to pit the forces of labor against the American government as indicated by Foster's statement from the same work that "the aim always is for the workers to lead and for the attack to be directed against the capitalist class and its government" (p. 253). *The Labor Fact Book* for 1931, published by the International Publishers, a Communist publishing house, gives some idea of how this is done:



Clashes with the police are encouraged by the Communist Party as evidenced by the Daily Worker account of this strike at Republic Steel in 1937: "Chicago police kill four pickets, 100 wounded at Republic Steel. ° ° ° Chicago Communist Party urges citywide protest denouncing the blood bath as one of the worst police outrages in recent history. Morris Childs, secretary of the Communist Party, called all workers to join ° ° ° in citywide protest."

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The Communist Party and the Trade Union Unity League call for persistent and repeated mass violations of injunctions as the only way to compel the courts to limit the use of the injunction weapon against the workers. A campaign of mass violation was begun in New York City in October, 1930 \* \* \* (p. 154).

Clashes with the police are encouraged, as exemplified by the following account from the *Daily Worker* of May 31, 1937, pages 1 and 3:

Chicago police kill four pickets, one hundred wounded at Republic Steel. \* \* \* Chicago Communist Party urges city-wide protest denouncing the blood bath at Republic Steel plant as one of the worst police outrages in recent history. Morris Childs, secretary of the Communist Party, called all workers to join \* \* \* in citywide protest.

6. Labor has learned to voice its demands through its chosen leaders. Employers and government officials endeavor to establish stability in industry through negotiations with these officials. But William Z. Foster, in the name of the CPUSA, has sworn undying enmity toward these labor leaders in the following explicit terms:

They are enemies within the gates of the working class and must be treated as such. They head the labor movement only in order to behead it. They are a menace and an obstacle to all struggle by the workers. \* \* \* They must be politically obliterated (ibid., p. 256).

7. Although labor organizations in the United States have fraternal ties with foreign labor groups, they do not operate under foreign discipline. Communists do not possess such freedom. This has been demonstrated by William Z. Foster in his description of the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL), at one time the labor auxiliary of the CPUSA:

The TUUL is the American section of the Red International of Labor Unions. \* \* \* Its relations towards the Communist Party are those of mutual support and cooperation in the struggle \* \* \* (ibid., p. 158).

The 1931 *Labor Fact Book* points out that "the Red International of Labor Unions was organized in July, 1921, at a Moscow congress \* \* \*" and that this international body aims "To coordinate and regulate the struggle of the working class in all countries \* \* \*" (p. 212). As a result there have been cases of international coordination of strikes and organization of Communist-led unions in the copper, maritime, sugar, and other industries.

In 1945 the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) was organized with the Communists in control, replacing the Red International of Labor Unions. In his book, *The History of the Communist Party of the United States*, William Z. Foster points out that —

The powerful unifying tendency of the WFTU was also felt in the United States (p. 477).

and that the Communists supported this movement. It was repudiated as Communist-dominated by both the AFL and CIO. Foster adds:

The Communists also have always been indefatigable workers for trade union unity. \* \* \* They have ever sought to link up the labor movement of the United States with that of other countries. In late years this has meant active backing of such organizations as the Latin American Confederation of Labor and the World Federation of Trade Unions (p. 561).

Communist unions have, however, made no formal or open affiliation with the WFTU.

American labor has based its demands purely on the basis of its economic and social needs with due consideration to national emergencies during wartime. Flowing from their international ties and discipline, Communist-dominated unions and labor groups have adapted their policies strictly to the exigencies and need of Soviet

diplomacy and interests. During the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact from 1939 to 1941, strikes were encouraged by Communist-dominated unions in vital war industries. As soon as Russia became an ally after Hitler's attack, a no-strike policy was adopted by Communist-dominated unions. *Labor Fact Book* 7 praised the no-strike policy of our national trade unions during this period (p. 112).

After the end of World War II, the Soviet Union re-adopted its policy of hostility toward the United States, and Communist unions in the United States reinvented a vigorous prostrike policy.

8. Members of Communist-dominated unions have testified that the finances of these organizations are frequently siphoned off for Communist causes, front organizations, campaigns, and publications. Communist officials are placed on the union payroll. Union services are placed in the hands of Communist lawyers, accountants, printers, mimeographers, and meeting-hall managers.

#### COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED UNIONS

Unions expelled by the Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1950 because they were held to be directed toward the achievement of the program and purposes of the Communist Party: United Office and Professional Workers of America; Food, Tobacco, Agricultural and Allied Workers of America; International Union of Marine Cooks and Stewards; American Communications Association; United Furniture Workers of America; International Fur and Leather Workers Union; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; United Public Workers of America; United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

#### CONCLUSION

In issuing this handbook for Americans showing the operations of the Communist Party, USA, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee hopes to help alert the American people to the real nature of the enemy in our midst and the insidious character of the methods employed. The principles set down are intended as a guide rather than a set of hard and fast rules to be mechanically applied. We must realize that we are dealing with a movement which is constantly fluid, constantly varied and elusive. There can be no artificial substitute for constant intelligence and alertness.

**↑** he complete handbook on the Communist Party, U.S.A. is now available in booklet form, complete with illustrations. Place your order today!

To Facts Forum News  
Dallas 1, Texas

I would like \_\_\_\_\_ copies at

\$1.00 each     ten or more copies @ \$.55 ea.     Please quote quantity price

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street Address \_\_\_\_\_

City, Zone, State \_\_\_\_\_



**AMERICAN CHAIN**  
Weed Tire Chains,  
Welded and Weldless  
Chain, ACCO Registered  
Sling Chains  
AMERICAN CHAIN DIVISION

**ALLISON  
ABRASIVE  
WHEELS**



Rubber and  
resinoid bonded  
for cutting all types  
of materials

THE ALLISON COMPANY

**LAY-SET  
Preformed  
WIRE  
ROPE**



Nonparell  
Non-Preformed Wire Rope  
HAZARD WIRE ROPE DIVISION

**MANLEY  
AUTOMOTIVE  
EQUIPMENT**



Presses, Jacks,  
Wrecking Cranes, etc.

MANLEY DIVISION



**PENNSYLVANIA  
LAWN MOWERS**

Power and Hand Mowers

PENNSYLVANIA  
LAWN MOWER DIVISION



**CASTINGS**

Reading Electric Steel  
ACCO Malleable

ACCO CASTING DIVISION



**MARYLAND  
BOLTS and NUTS**

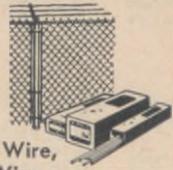
THE MARYLAND  
BOLT and NUT COMPANY



**OWEN SPRINGS**

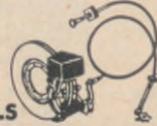
Springs and Units for  
Mattresses and Furniture  
OWEN SILENT SPRING DIVISION

**PAGE  
CHAIN  
LINK  
FENCE**



Welding Wire,  
Shaped Wire,  
Manufacturers' Wire  
PAGE STEEL & WIRE DIVISION

**TRU-LAY  
CABLE  
CONTROLS**



Aircraft Cable, Push-Pull  
Controls, Tru-Stop Brakes  
for Trucks and Buses

AUTOMOTIVE  
AND AIRCRAFT DIVISION



**HELICOID PRESSURE  
GAGES**

HELICOID GAGE DIVISION

## These and Other ACCO Products Offer Better Values

• ACCO products are designed and manufactured to be "intentionally better." They are used directly, or as component parts in a wide variety of products and machines. They help do many jobs better. 18 Divisions of the AMERICAN CHAIN & CABLE COMPANY manufacture more than 100 essential products.

**R-P & C  
VALVES**



Bronze, Electric  
Iron & Cast Steel  
Valves and Steel Fittings

R-P & C VALVE DIVISION

**TRU-LAY  
Preformed  
WIRE ROPE**



ACCO Registered  
Wire Rope Slings,  
Crescent Non-Preformed  
Wire Rope  
AMERICAN CABLE DIVISION

**FORD  
HOISTS**



Hand and  
Electric Hoists

FORD  
CHAIN BLOCK DIVISION

**"ROCKWELL"  
and TUKON  
HARDNESS  
TESTERS**



WILSON MECHANICAL  
INSTRUMENT DIVISION

**WRIGHT  
HOISTS  
and CRANES**



Wright Hand  
Hoists, Speedway  
Electric Hoists, Cranes

WRIGHT HOIST DIVISION

**BRISTOL  
INSTRUMENTS**

Automatic  
Controls,  
Recorders,  
Telemeters, and  
Aircraft Controls  
BRISTOL'S® SOCKET SCREWS

THE BRISTOL COMPANY

**ACCO**



**American Chain & Cable Company, Inc. · Bridgeport 2, Conn.**  
Serving Industry, Transportation, Agriculture and the Home

# Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA				
Alexander City	WRFS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Sat	5:30 p
	WCTA†	920	Mon	8:30 p
Atmore	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
	WATM**	1580	Tues	9:15 a
Auburn	WAUD*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Birmingham	WBRC-TV**	6		
Carrollton	WRAG*	590		
Clanton	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WHOS*	800	Wed	7:15 a
	WHOS**	800	Sat	12:15 p
	WMSL†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	WMSL-TV**	23	Sat	7:00 p
Demopolis	WXAL*	1400	Wed	6:15 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	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGWD*	570		
Greenville	WGYB*	1400		
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Huntsville	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Jackson	WPBB*	1290	Mon	5:00 p
Jasper	WWWB*	1360		
	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		
	WJH†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL**	1570		
Opp	WAMT*	860	Sun	1:30 p
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR**	1360	Sun	3:30 p
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR**	920	Sun	12:45 p
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230	Sun	9:00 p
Troy	WTBF*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD**	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA				
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV**	11	Sat	6:00 p

ARIZONA				
Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Douglas	KAWT**	1450		
Flagstaff	KCPH*	690	Sun	3:30 p
Holbrook	KDJI**	1270	Sat	8:15 a
Kingman	KGAN*			
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 p
Safford	KGLU**	1480	Thurs	6:30 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	1:00 p

ARKANSAS				
Arkadelphia	KVRC*	1240		
	KVRC**	1240		
	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
Batesville	KBTA*	1340	Sat	9:15 a
	KBTA**	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	Sun	12:15 p
Camden	KAMD*	1450	Sun	8:45 p
	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Conway	KCON*	1230		
	KCON**	1230		
El Dorado	KRBB-TV**	10	Sat	6:30 p
	KDMS*	1290		
	KDMS**	1290	Sun	5:45 p
Fayetteville	KGRH*	1450		
	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	950		
	KXJK**	950		
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN**	1320	Sun	4:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSA-TV**	22	Sun	1:00 p
Harrison	KHOZ*	1240		
	KHOZ**	1240		
Hope	KXAR*	1490		
	KXAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KWFC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
	KWFC**	1340	Sat	10:30 p
Jonesboro	KBTM*	1230		
	KBTM**	1230		
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	10:15 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
McGehee	KVSA*	1220		
Magnolia	KSSC*	550	Thurs	7:30 p
Malvern	KBOK*	1420	Sun	10:05 a
	KBOK**	1420	Sun	1:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Monticello	KHBM*	1430	Sun	1:45 p
	KHBM**	1430	Sun	8:00 p
Morrilton	KVOM*	800	Sun	2:00 p
Mountain Home	KTLO*	1490	Sun	9:30 a
	KTLO**	1490	Sun	9:00 p
	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Newport	KNBY*	1280		
	KNBY**	1280		

## What they're saying . . .



### about FACTS FORUM

I wish to compliment you on your fine magazine and especially for your publishing of "The Communist Party of the U.S.A." by Senator Eastland which you are running in your magazine. Because of the limited number of booklets printed, only a few could obtain copies of this report. Thanks to your magazine, a larger audience is able to read it.

ROBERT DUNN  
P. O. Box 77  
Newbury Park, California

\*Published in four installments - March to June, 1956, inclusive.

. . . Facts Forum News now available at every newsstand in the nation is a "MUST" for every American home.

MERLE JACKSON  
KEENE JACKSON, JR.  
Keene, Connecticut

Facts Forum News is filling a gap in the lines of the battle for freedom. The setting up of both sides is a most noteworthy feature.

H. E. SPITSBERGEN  
1311 G Street, N. W.  
Washington, D. C.

Please accept my congratulations on the fine work which your magazine is doing. I find the articles very timely, interesting and informative.

C. TAYLOR  
Chief Security Officer  
Dow Chemical of Canada, Limited  
Sarnia, Ontario

I want to express my appreciation for the fine condensation of my book, "Education or Indoctrination," in the April, 1956, issue of Facts Forum News. . . Despite opposition on one side and apathy on the other, I continue to hope that the American people will wake up before the social change experts devour the basic foundations of the public schools.

MARY L. ALLEN  
8930 Leedy Lane  
Fair Oaks, California

Please allow me to compliment you on the articles by George Brada exposing the left-wing movement which pretends to be anti-Red: The Crusade for Freedom.

Mr. Brada knows whereof he writes, and, as he and I have been in correspondence for some years, I have seen copies of the monitored programs. . .

It is time we all took note of the fact that our only real allies in the world are people like George Brada. . . We would do well to stand by the George Bradas and others of the enslaved regions in their effort to solve their problem, which - in the long run - is also our problem.

LT. GENERAL P. A. DEL VALLE  
Troy Hill, Box 240  
Elkridge 27, Maryland

### ARKANSAS - (Continued)

Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
	KDRS**	1490		
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 p
	KPOC**			
Rogers	KAMO*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
Russellville	KXRJ*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
	KXRJ**	1490		
	KXRJ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Siloam Springs	KUOA*	1290	Sat	12:45 p
	KUOA**	1290		
Springdale	KBRS*	1340	Mon	7:00 p
Stuttgart	KWAK*	1240		
	KWAK**	1240	Sun	2:30 p
	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p
Warren	KWRF*	860		
	KWRF**	860		

### CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	12:00 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	KHJ†	930	Mon	8:00 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
	KSFE**	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	4:45 p
Oroville	KMOR**	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFP**	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV**	10	Sun	11:00 p
San Diego	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 p
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	10:30 p
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV**	6	Thurs	8:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCO**	1080	Thurs	8:30 p
Santayana	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE**	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	Sat	12:30 p

### COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 p
Delta	KDTA*	1400	Sun	3:30 p
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:30 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	10:30 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
	KBNZ**	1400	Sun	10:45 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1230	Sun	12:45 p

### CONNECTICUT

New Haven	WYBC**	1600		
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p

### DELAWARE

Wilmington	WPFH-TV**	12	Sun	10:30 p
------------	-----------	----	-----	---------

### 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	4:00 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:00 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:00 p
Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun	12:00 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1390	Mon	5:45 p
	WNER**	1390	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTYS†	1340	Mon	9:00 p
Miami	WGBS-TV**	23	Wed	9:00 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	7:30 p
	WITV-TV**	17	Fri	5:00 p
Naples	WNOC*	1270	Sat	10:00 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV**	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:00 p
	WDLP*	590	Sun	2:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Wed	11:00 p
Sanford	WTRR*	1400	Sat	9:00 p

### GEORGIA

Columbus	WDAK-TV**	28	Sat	7:00 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:00 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1330	Mon	9:00 p
Gainesville	WGGAT	550	Mon	9:00 p
Griffin	WKUE†	1450	Mon	1:30 p
Jesup	WBGR*	1370	Sun	9:00 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	2:30 p
Macon	WIBB*	1280	Sun	9:00 p
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	9:00 p
Statesboro	WWNS†	1240	Mon	1:30 p
Swainsboro	WJAT*	800	Sun	9:00 p
Toccoa	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:00 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:00 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:00 p

### HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sat	8:00 p
Wailuku, Mau	KMVI*	550	Sun	12:00 p

\*Facts Forum; \*\*Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters' Roundup

**IDAHO**

8:30	Boise	KIDO-TV**	7	Sun	11:00 p
9:15	Moscow	KRPL*	1400	Tues	6:30 p
		KRPL*	1400	Sun	4:30 p
12:45	Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
8:30	Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	3:00 p
		KWEI**	1240	Sun	5:30 p

**ILLINOIS**

7:00	Belleville	WIBV*	1260	Sun	5:00 p
2:30	Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
8:30	Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	4:00 p
8:30		WBYS**	1560	Sat	4:00 p
	Carbondale	WCIL*	1020		
		WCIL**	1020	Sun	1:00 p
	Carmi	WROY*	1460		
	Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
		WMAQ*	670		
		WMAQ**	670		
12:00	Cicero	WHFC*	1450	Tues	10:30 p
6:00	Decatur	WDZ*	1050		
6:30		WDZ**	1050	Sun	12:30 p
11:00	De Kalb	WLBK**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
8:00	Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
7:30	Du Quoin	WDQN*	1580		
6:15	East Peoria	WDQN**	1580		
4:45	East St. Louis	WEEK*	1350		
5:00		WTMV*	1490		
7:30	Elgin	WRMN*	1410		
11:00	Evanston	WEAW*	1330		
1:00	Fairfield	WFIW*	1390	Sun	12:00 n
10:30	Freeport	WFRL*	1570	Sun	1:00 p
10:30	Galesburg	WCIL*	1400	Sun	6:30 p
8:30	Harrisburg	WBOB*	1240	Mon	8:00 p
8:30		WBOB**	1240	Sat	9:15 a
6:45	Herrin	WSIL-TV**	22	Sun.	4:30 p
7:00	Jacksonville	WJPP*	1340		
12:30	Joliet	WLDS*	1180	Sun	12:45 p
	Kankakee	WJOL*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
		WKAN*	1320		
	Kewanee	WKAN**	1320		
7:30	Lincoln	WKEI*	1450	Fri	5:45 p
12:00		WKEI**	1450	Tues	6:30 p
8:30	Litchfield	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
7:30	Marion	WPRC**	1370	Sun	3:30 p
10:30	Mt. Carmel	WSMI*	1540	Sun	10:00 a
7:30		WSMI**	1540		
10:00	Mt. Vernon	WGGH*	1150	Sun	5:00 p
12:45	Olney	WVMC*	1360		
		WVMC**	1360		
6:30	Rock Island	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
		WVNL*	740		
		WVNL**	740		
	Sparta	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
		WHBF**	1270	Tues	9:30 p
	Sterling	WHBF-TV**	4	Sun	12:00 n
10:30	Waukegan	WHCO*	1230	Fri	2:00 p
		WHCO**	1230	Sun	5:30 p
		WSDR*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
		WKRK**	1220		

**INDIANA**

10:00	Bedford	WBIW**	1340	Mon	9:30 p
	Bloomington	WTTS*	1370	Sun	3:15 p
	Connersville	WCNB*	1580	Wed	12:30 p
		WCNB**	1580		
12:00	Elkhart	WSJV-TV**	52		
4:30	Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50	Sun	10:00 a
9:30		WEOA*	1400		
12:00	Fl. Wayne	WEOA**	1400	Sun	9:30 p
5:45	Frankfort	WANE*	1450		
9:30	Goshen	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
9:30	Indianapolis	WILO*	1570	Sun	12:30 p
9:30		WKAM*	1460		
9:30		WKAM**	1460		
7:30	Jasper	WISH-TV**	6	Sun	12:00 n
5:30		WIBC*	1070	Sun	8:45 p
10:45	Kokomo	WITZ*	990	Sun	4:45 p
9:30	Lafayette	WITZ**	990	Sun	11:00 a
11:30		WIOU*	1350		
9:15	Logansport	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
		WFAM-TV**	59	Fri	8:00 p
	Madison	WSAL*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
		WSAL**	1230	Sun	12:15 p
		WORX*	1440		
7:30	Michigan City	WORX**	1440		
1:30		WIMS*	1420	Sun	6:00 p
6:30	Mt. Vernon	WIMS**	1420		
9:30		WPCO*	1590		
9:30	Muncie	WPCO**	1590	Sun	3:00 p
1:30		WMUN*	104.1		
9:30		WMUN**	104.1		
2:00	New Castle	WLBC-TV**	49		
8:30	Peru	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
8:30	Portland	WCTW*	102.5	Sun	12:15 p
1:30		WARU*	1600		
9:30	Salem	WPGW*	1440	Sun	1:15 p
9:30		WPGW**	1440		
8:30	Seymour	WSLM*	1220		
		WSLM**	1220		
8:30	South Bend	WSLW*	1220	Mon	8:30 a
		WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
		WJCD**	1390	Sun	3:00 p
		WSBT*	960		
		WSBT**	960		
		WSBT-TV**	34		

**INDIANA — (Continued)**

Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WTHI-TV**	10	Mon	12:30 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW**	1580	Sun	11:30 a

**IOWA**

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
Clinton	KROS†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Decorah	KDEC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KDEC*	1240	Sat	5:30 p
Des Moines	WHO*	1040	Mon	9:30 p
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV**	21	Sun	5:00 p
	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:15 p
Marshalltown	KFJB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Mason City	KRIB†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Muscatine	KWPC*	860		
Oelwein	KOEL*	950	Sun	7:00 p
	KOEL**	950	Sun	7:00 p
Ottumwa	KBIZ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Spencer	KICD†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Waterloo	KWWL†	1330	Mon	8:30 p
	KWWL-TV**	7	Sat	6:30 p

**KANSAS**

Chanute	KCRB*	1460	To be announced	
	KCRB**	1460	Sat	5:15 p
Dodge City	KGNO†	1370	Mon	8:30 p
Garden City	KIUL†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
McPherson	KNEX**	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sun	5:30 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p

**KENTUCKY**

Benton	WCBL**	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL*	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	Tues	11:00 p
Cumberland	WCPM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Danville	WHIR†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Elizabethtown	WIEL*	1400	Fri	6:30 p
Hazard	WKIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Henderson	WSON†	860	Mon	8:30 p
Lexington	WLEX*	1300	Sun	5:30 p
Louisville	WGRC†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW*	730	Sun	5:30 p
	WFMW**	730	Sun	5:30 p
Mayfield	WKTW*	1050		
	WKTW**	1050		
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Tues	8:30 a
	WFLW**	1570	Thurs	10:00 a
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
Paducah	WPAD*	1450	Mon	9:05 p
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Princeton	WPKY*	1530		
	WPKY**	1530		
Vancleve	WMTC*	730		

**LOUISIANA**

Baton Rouge	WJBO*	1150	Fri	9:45 a
	re-broadcast		Sun	8:15 a
	WJBO**	1150		
Lafayette	KLFY-TV**	10	Fri	2:30 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	12:00 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV**	8	Sat	4:30 p
Natchitoches	KNOC*	1450	Sun	6:45 p
New Orleans	WJMR-TV**	20	Sun	4:00 p
	Retelecast		Tues	7:00 p
	WJMR*	990	Sun	12:15 p
	WJMR**	990		
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO**	1230	Sun	7:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KTBS-TV**	3		

**MAINE**

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
--------	------------	---	--	--

**MARYLAND**

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Salisbury	WBOC†	960	Mon	9:30 p

**MASSACHUSETTS**

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBNS*	1230	Sat	1:45 p
West Yarmouth	WOCB**	1240	Wed	9:30 p
Worcester	WWOR-TV**	14	Wed	8:00 p

**MICHIGAN**

Alpena	WATZ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Ann Arbor	WPAG-TV**	20	Mon	8:00 p
Battle Creek	WBCK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WWTV-TV**	13	Thurs	6:30 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240	Fri	12:45 p
Coldwater	WTVB*	1500	Sun	2:00 p
Detroit	WJKB*	1500	Sun	8:30 p

*What they're saying . . .*



**about FACTS FORUM**

I am sorry to have been delayed in thanking you for your magnificent review of my book, "Collectivism on the Campus," in *Facts Forum News* [March, 1956, issue].

E. MERRILL ROOT  
3221 Berwyn Lane  
Richmond, Indiana

Your magazine is without a doubt the easiest to read and most informative of any I receive. I like the way it keeps hammering away at the Communist issue with straight facts and information. Too many of the . . . magazines get so philosophical and cerebral so much that I can't take their articles to my friends and say, "There is a fine example of what I mean" without translating the article to them. If the ordinary American is to be persuaded he must be able to understand what he reads.

MRS. FERN DEMPSEY  
Polo, Illinois

Recently a contest was held in Chicago for artists. I don't think I need to go into detail over what "type" of art won. I sent the pictures of the winners and their "masterpieces" to my daughter at college. Since she regards me as having a one-track mind concerning communism, I don't think I convinced her that art today is influenced by communism. So, I dug into my back issues of *Facts Forum News* to find your article, "Art for Whose Sake?" and have sent it to her. Perhaps [an article in] a national magazine will have more influence on her thinking.

Your recent articles on UNESCO [April, 1956, issue] are very enlightening. The Pasadena story should wake up the people. Keep up the good work.

MRS. D. H. BRIGHT  
10048 So. Eberhart  
Chicago 28, Illinois

"Education or Indoctrination" FFN book condensation in April, 1956, issue was so very interesting. . .

MRS. ELEANOR EVERETT  
5324 Pasteur Blvd.  
New Orleans 22, Louisiana

You are to be congratulated on your excellent publication. In this day and age it is refreshing and encouraging to find a fearless and frank magazine trying to enlighten people to the peril that confronts us. . . Keep up your good work of bringing facts to the people of the doings of the destructive forces that would enslave us all.

DR. C. J. McCLASKEY, D.C.  
11 Dane Street  
Kennebunk, Maine

*Facts Forum News* in my home is worn out by the second week, from visitors perusing it and removing certain articles and items to take to clubs, work and offices.

DOROTHEA M. ADAMS  
264 Jefferson Court  
Benton Harbor, Michigan

*Facts Forum [News]* is a great magazine and should be proud to be controversial.

RICHARD L. NORTON  
1/Lt. USAF  
Box 786  
Onset, Massachusetts

\*Facts Forum

\*\*Facts Forum Panel

†Reporters' Roundup

**MICHIGAN - (Continued)**

Escanaba	WDBC†	680	Mon	8:30 p
Flint	WBBC†	1330	Mon	9:30 p
Grand Rapids	WFUR**	1570	Sat	12:30 p
	WFUR*	1570	Mon	5:30 p
Hillsdale	WBSE*	1340	Tues	6:45 p
Iron River	WKBK†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WTOM-TV**	54	Thurs	8:00 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490	Sun	3:45 p
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150	Sun	11:00 a
Petoskey	WMBN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNX-TV**	57	Wed	10:30 a
			Sun	5:00 p
Saginaw-Bay City	WSGW†	790	Mon	9:30 p
Sturgis	WSTR**	1230	Sun	
	WSTR*	1230		

**MINNESOTA**

Austin	KAUS†	1480	Mon	8:30 p
	KMMT-TV**	6	Sun	9:30 p
Beimidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW†	1450	Sun	10:15 a
Grand Rapids	KOZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	9:45 p

**MISSISSIPPI**

Biloxi	WVMI*	570	Sun	4:30 p
	WVMI**	570	To be announced	
Biloxi-Gulfport	WLOX†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Brookhaven	WJMB†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Canton	WDOB*	1370	Sat	11:30 a
	WDOB**	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Cleveland	WCLD*	1490		
Columbus	WCBI*	550	Sun	3:15 p
	WCBI**	550		
	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Corinth	WCMA*	1230	Sun	8:30 p
Greenwood	WGRM*	1240		
Gulfport	WGCM*	1240	Sun	10:15 a
Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Mon	2:00 p
	WAPF**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC**	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Tues	6:15 p
Tupelo	WELO*	1490	Thurs	8:30 p
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:15 p
	WROB**	1450	Tues	7:15 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

**MISSOURI**

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
	KFVS-TV**	12	Mon	2:30 p
	KGMO**	1220		
Caruthersville	KCRV*	1570	Sun	4:15 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
	KCHR**	1350		
Clinton	KDKD**	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Dexter	KDEX*	1590	Tues	10:15 p
			re-broadcast	12:15 p
	KDEX**	1590	Sun	1:00 p
Festus	KJCF*	1010		
Flat River	KFMO*	1240		
	KFMO**	1240		
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLIK**	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Joplin	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMBH**	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Kirkville	KTVO-TV**	3		
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Malden	KTCB*	1470		
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Wed	5:45 p
	KWOC**	930	Wed	5:45 p
Rolla	KTTR*	1490	Mon	6:30 p
	KTTR**	1490	Sun	1:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEO-TV**	2	Tues	1:30 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSCM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSCM**	980	Sun	4:00 p
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Sikeston	KSIM*	1400	Mon	6:45 p
	KSIM**	1400		
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KICK*	1340	Sat	6:30 p
Thayer	KALM*	1290		
	KALM**	1290		

**MONTANA**

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	Wed	8:15 p
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1450	Sat	
Butte	KXLF*	1370	Sat	9:15 p
	KXLF**	1370	To be announced	
	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	
Havre	KOJM†	610	Mon	7:30 p

**MONTANA - (Continued)**

Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:15 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	
Lewistown	KXLO**	1230		
Livingston	KPRK†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Miles City	KATL†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KATL*	1340	Sun	7:00 p
	KATL**	1340	Sun	8:00 p
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
Shelby	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
Sidney	KIY†	1240	Mon	7:30 p
	KGCX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

**NEBRASKA**

Chadron	KCSR**	1450	Wed	7:45 p
	KCSR*	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Columbus	KJSK*	900	Tues	1:45 p
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Holdrege	KHOL-TV**	13	Thurs	7:00 p
	KHPL-TV**	6	Thurs	7:00 p
McCook	KBRL†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat	10:15 a
Scottsbluff	KNEB†	960	Mon	7:30 p

**NEVADA**

Ely	KELY*	1230	Sun	2:30 p
-----	-------	------	-----	--------

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced	
------------	-----------	---	-----------------	--

**NEW JERSEY**

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Pleasantville	WOND**	1400	Sun	8:30 p
East Orange	WVVK*			7:30 p
	WVVK**			7:30 p
South Orange	WSOU**		Mon	2:15 p
	WSOU**		Sat	5:00 p

**NEW MEXICO**

Albuquerque	KHFM*	96.3	Tues	7:15 p
Carlsbad	KAVE*	1240	Tues	8:15 p
	KAVE**	1240	Sat	7:30 p
Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
	KLMX**	1450	Mon	6:30 p
Clovis	KCLV*	1240		
	KCLV**	1240		
Hobbs	KWEW†	1480	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFVN*	1230	Sun	1:45 p
Portales	KENM**	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWV-TV**	8	Sun	2:30 p
Truth or Consequences	KCHS**	1400	Sun	5:30 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400		

**NEW YORK**

Albany	WPTR†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490	Sun	10:30 p
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri*	7:45 p
Dunkirk	WFCH*	1410	Mon	7:15 p
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Hornell	WWHG*	1320		1:00 p
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:15 p
Little Falls	WLFF*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
New York	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPIX-TV**	11	Fri	1:00 p
North Albany	WCDA-WCDB**	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLC*	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

**NORTH CAROLINA**

Brevard	WPNF*	1240	Mon	6:15 p
	WPNF**	1240	Mon	7:15 p
Concord	WECO*	1410	Thurs	10:15 p
	WECO**	1410	Sun	9:30 p
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	5:30 p
	WBBO**	780	Sun	5:30 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p
Hickory	WIRC*	630	Sun	10:00 p
High Point	WNOS*	1590	Sun	9:30 p
Jacksonville	WINC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
Lexington	WBUY*	1440	Sun	1:15 p
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	9:30 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Fri	1:15 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	9:30 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1430		
Salisbury	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WSIC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Tyron	WTYN*	1580		
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	8:00 p
Washington	WHED**	1340	Sun	9:30 p
	WHED*	1340		
Wilmington	WCN†	1340	Mon	10:30 p
	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	5:30 p
Winston-Salem	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	

*What they're saying . . .*



**about FACTS FORUM**

You run a good publication. From time to time one hears many favorable comments on it.

TOM L. GIBSON  
Friars Point, Mississippi

The March number of *Facts Forum News* is a "WOW." All this timely information being withheld for so long from the people will have a devastating effect on many of our news editors. People will ask: Why haven't we heard this before from our supposedly free press?

ELEANOR G. PRICE  
Route 2  
Dover, New Hampshire

I have been reading your most enlightening publication for quite some time and do think you are doing our people and nation a great service in trying to bring out the most critical facts of our time. . . . Believe if there had been such a publication some fifty or more years ago our nation and the whole world would not be facing the critical situation we are today and yet, it would seem from general appearance, too few realize our situation.

. . . Reading your March issue relating to the Shanghai Conspiracy\*, especially within our own borders, has me dumbfounded as to why they were not checked many years ago within our own land at least.

JOHN F. KELLER  
Box 387  
Valentine, Nebraska

\*FFN book condensation

I wish to thank you for printing the article by Esther Julia Pels on modern art. . . I had read Miss Pels' article in the *American Legion Magazine* some months ago, and wished at the time that it could have wider circulation. I hope we will hear from her again.

MRS. JOSEPH B. LYNCH  
153 East 34th Street  
Brooklyn 3, New York

Your patriotic publication and radio and television programs are doing one whale of a job to awaken our country to the deadly dangers of communism. The fellow travelers must "race their motors" every time the name *Facts Forum* is mentioned.

BILL HAMMER, JR.  
6 Peter Cooper Road  
New York 10, N. Y.

You are doing a wonderful job of providing the "thinking" individuals of this country with the facts so that they may be able to make intelligent decisions as responsible citizens.

BURTON W. SPEAR  
5602 - 305th Street  
Toledo 11, Ohio

We nurses have little time to peruse the newspapers - *Facts Forum [News]* gives us the pro and con to the point, and we enjoy every issue.

ANNA E. MACDONALD  
849 Ohio Avenue  
Youngstown 4, Ohio

\*Facts Forum \*\*Facts Forum Panel †Reporters' Roundup

**NORTH DAKOTA**

9:15 p	Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
7:30 p	Dickinson	KDIX**	1230	Sun	1:30 p
7:30 p		KDIX**	1230	Thurs	8:15 p
7:30 p	Fargo	WDAY-TV**	6	Sun	4:00 p
7:30 p				alternating Sun	4:30 p
7:00 p	Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
8:00 p	Valley City	KOVCF†	1490	Mon	8:30 p

**OHIO**

9:30 p	Ashabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
7:30 p		WICA-TV**	15	Fri	7:30 p
7:30 p	Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	5:30 p
7:30 p	Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
		WDOK*	1260	Sun	4:00 p
7:45 p	Coshocton	WTNS*	1560	Sun	12:15 p
4:00 p	Dayton	WHIO*	1290		
1:45 p	Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	11:45 a
8:30 p		WEOL**	930	Sun	7:30 p
7:00 p	Callipolis	WJEH**	990	Sun	10:00 a
7:00 p	Lima	WIMA-TV**	35	Sun	6:30 p
7:00 p	Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
8:30 p	Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
10:15 p	Middletown	WPFW†	910	Mon	7:45 p
7:30 p	Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
7:30 p	Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Sat	7:45 p
	Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
2:30 p	Warren-				
	Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
	Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	18	Sun	3:30 p

**OKLAHOMA**

4:30 p	Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
8:30 p	Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Thurs	10:15 a
7:30 p	Cushing	KUSH*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
7:30 p	Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
7:30 p	Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
7:30 p	Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	8:00 p
7:30 p	Miami	KGLC*	910	Sun	5:00 p
2:15 p	Okmulgee	KHBC†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
5:00 p	Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	Poteau	KLCO**	1280		
		KLCO**	1280		
7:15 p	Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
8:15 p	Tulsa	KVOG*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
7:30 p	Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
6:30 p		KSIW*	1450	Wed	7:45 p

**OREGON**

7:30 p	Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
1:45 p	McMinnville	KMCM**	1260	Sun	7:45 p
6:30 p		KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p
2:30 p	Oceanlake	KBCH*	1400		
	Pendleton	KUMA*	1370		
	Portland	KXL*	750		

**PENNSYLVANIA**

9:30 p	Barnesboro	WNCC*	950	Fri	9:15 p
10:30 p	Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	Carlisle	WBUT**	1050	Sun	4:30 p
9:30 p	Condersport	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
7:45 p	Easton	WFRM**	600	Sat	4:30 p
7:15 p		WFRM**	600	Sun	1:30 p
6:30 p	Gottsburg	WGLV-TV**	57	Sun	9:00 p
1:00 p	Johnstown	WEST*	1400	Mon	10:45 p
7:15 p	Lock Haven	WGCT**	1450	Sun	7:30 p
1:00 p	Nanticoke	WARD-TV**	56	Fri	10:00 p
9:30 p	New Castle	WHWL*	730		
9:30 p		WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p		WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
9:30 p	Oil City	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
9:30 p	Pottsville	WKRF†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	St. Marys	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
9:00 p	Shamokin	WKBI†	1400	Sun	12:45 p
9:30 p	State College	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
7:00 p	Lynne	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p		WTRN*	1290	Sun	1:00 p
		WTRN**	1290	Sun	12:30 p
	Wellshoro	WNB†	1490	Sat	9:00 p
		WNB†	1490	Sun	9:00 p
	Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Tues	7:15 p
6:15 p		WLYC*	1050	Tues	7:15 p
7:15 p	York	WNOW**	1250	Sun	3:30 p
10:15 p		WNOW**	1250	Sun	3:30 p
9:30 p		WNOW**	1250	Sun	3:30 p
9:30 p		WNOW-TV**	49	Sun	8:00 p

**PHILIPPINES**

12:30 p	Manila	DZAO-TV**	3	Mon	9:00 p
---------	--------	-----------	---	-----	--------

**PUERTO RICO**

9:30 p	Mayaguez	WTLT**	1300		
9:30 p	San Juan	WFOA**	1400	Tues	7:00 p

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

9:30 p	Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	2:00 p
1:15 p	Blacksburg	WAGS*	1380	Sat	4:15 p
9:30 p	Charaw	WCRE**	1420	Sat	2:30 p
9:30 p		WCRE**	1420	Tues	10:45 a
1:15 p	Chester	WGCD*	1490	Sat	7:15 p
9:30 p		WGCD**	1490	Sun	6:30 p
9:30 p	Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	10:30 p
9:30 p	Georgetown	WOLS*	1230	Mon	9:15 p
8:00 p	Greenwood	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p	Hollins	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
9:30 p		WJAY**	1280	Sun	5:15 p
10:30 p	Orangeburg	WJAY**	1280	Fri	4:00 p
5:30 p	Seneca	WTND*	920	Sun	5:15 p
	Sumter	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p
		WFIG†	1290	Mon	9:30 p

**SOUTH DAKOTA**

Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	5:45 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

**TENNESSEE**

Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	WDXN*	540	Sun	2:15 p
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB**	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	5:30 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Etowah	WCPH*	1220	Sun	2:15 p
Harriman	WHBT*	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	9:15 p
	WTJS**	1390	Thurs	
	WDXH†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV**	11	Wed	10:30 a
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WTUK-TV**	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900	Sun	2:00 p
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	7:00 p
Maryville	WGAP*	1400	Sun	9:00 p
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGNF*	1450	Sat	11:30 a
Newport	WLK**	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	2:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	930	Sun	4:15 p
South Pittsburgh	WEPC*	910	To be announced	
	WEPC**	910	To be announced	
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

**TEXAS**

Abilene	KWKC*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
Amarillo	KGNC*	710	Wed	9:45 p
	KAMQ†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Ballinger	KRUN*	1400		
Beaumont	KBMT-TV**	31	Mon	7:00 p
Beeville	KIBL**	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL**	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
	KBST-TV**	4	Wed	6:30 p
Bonham	KFFN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFFN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	6:15 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Carrizo Springs	KBEN**	1450	Wed	
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	1:45 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	Sat	1:30 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY**	1290	Sun	3:30 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	3:45 p
	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA*	570	Mon	10:30 p
	WRR†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	9:45 a
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Galveston	KLUF*	1400	Sat	6:15 p
	KLUF**	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Hillsboro	KHBR*	1500		
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400	Sun	7:00 p
Junction	KMBL**	1450	Mon	6:30 p
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kingsville	KINE**	1330	Sun	12:00 n
	KINE**	1330		
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:05 p
Laredo	KHAD-TV**	8		
Levelland	KLVT**	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW**	1490	Sun	7:30 p
Longview	KLTI**	1280	Sun	3:30 p
	KFRO*	1370	Sun	12:15 p
Lubbock	KDUB-TV**	11		
Lufkin	KTRE-TV**	9	Tues	10:30 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:15 p
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960	Sun	12:30 p
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Odessa	KOSA*	1230		
Pampa	KPAT*	1230	Sun	5:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:15 p
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Sat	8:00 a
Post	KRWS*	1370	Sun	3:30 p
San Angelo	KTXL-TV**	8	Sun	4:30 p
	KTXL**	1340	Sun	1:00 p
San Antonio	WOAT*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
Sherman	KRRV*	910	Sat	6:00 p
	KRRV**	910	Sun	7:30 p
Snyder	KSNY†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Stephenville	KSTV*	1510	Sun	1:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSST*	1230	Sun	6:30 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Temple	KTEM*	1400	Wed	7:00 p

*What they're saying . . .*



**about FACTS FORUM**

Our organization, The St. Thomas Seminar, was in need of just such a news source as the FFN to supply information on current events, and it is with a great deal of pleasure that we enter our initial subscription.

EDWARD RETRO, *Chairman*  
St. Thomas Seminar  
St. Charles Seminary  
Philadelphia 13, Pennsylvania

Just a note to tell you how very much I've enjoyed your *Facts Forum* magazine. Thanks for the February copy containing the very illuminating article, "Art for Whose Sake?" by Esther Julia Pels. It really hits the proverbial nail on its proverbial head.

RAMON FROMAN  
8483 Stults Road  
Dallas 31, Texas

I think that you are doing a wonderful work—I note that you show both sides of everything. . . I give my *Facts Forum [News]* away to help educate people. . .

ETHEL EVERHARD  
2523 No. 13th  
Sheboygan, Wisconsin

I am very much impressed by your magazine and extremely interested in the type of work you are doing. We need a magazine like *Facts Forum [News]*.

LOYD K. DOWNTON  
260 Atherton Avenue  
Atherton, California

[The material] you are publishing on the inside front cover of your magazine is intensely interesting to me in my citizenship work. . .

CHARLES M. BAXTER  
509 - 13th Avenue North  
Seattle 2, Washington

Comments on first reading of *Facts Forum News*; interesting, enlightening, informative, and stimulating.

W. R. GILFRY  
1348 Haupt Avenue  
Richland, Washington

Your April issue, just received, is a dandy. It shows again that you have your finger on the pulse of the citizenry of America.

HARVEY E. WHALEN  
1668 La Lunas  
Pasadena 4, California

As a regular reader of *Facts Forum News* I have found no other magazine offers such thought-provoking reading as yours. I cannot recommend it highly enough for every thinking American. Your excellent contests have aroused my interest so I have decided to enter.

CHARLES J. HAGAN  
1236 Wagner Avenue  
Philadelphia 41, Pennsylvania

Please continue your fine work, for truth, for freedom and for country.

O. KENDALL COOPER  
Main Street  
Williamsburg, Ohio

(Continued on Page 63)

## CONTEST RULES



# LETTERS to the EDITORS

### LETTERS TO THE EDITOR:

Write letters of 150 or less words to your favorite paper 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 newspaper or magazine, and clipping sent for entry. First award, \$25 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, \$5 cash plus 10 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; with a token award of 5 six-month subscriptions for all other letters published by FF NEWS.

### SLOGAN:

An award of \$10 will be made for the slogan adopted for use each month. This contest will close four days prior to the closing of each Facts Forum Monthly Poll. Each person is invited to keep one slogan only in this competition. Entries may be changed at any time.

### POLL QUESTIONS:

Do you have questions regarding subjects of national interest which you feel would be suitable for use in our Monthly Poll? Facts Forum offers a prize of \$10 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces. EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN EACH CONTEST. 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 REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to REPORTERS' ROUNDUP, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The three persons submitting questions used on each program will receive Wittnauer wrist watches.

### PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons whose entries are chosen for publication in FF NEWS will receive one-year subscriptions to FF NEWS. If winners are already subscribers, they may in turn designate someone whom they want to receive the award subscription. In case of duplication, the entry with the earliest postmark will be used.

\*\*\*\*\*

### 1st Award

#### PRESSURE GROUPS CUT DOWN MAJORITY RIGHTS

To the *San Diego Union*:

Attention is focused on civil rights at both national and local levels.

What about civil rights such as: voting for the man of our choice, which is denied by political machines; our right to work, now opposed by labor unions unless we belong to a union; our right to governmental information, which is denied by executive order; our right to factual reporting of the news, which has been supplanted by interpretation of news; protection under domestic laws which has been denied by the UN; the right to educate our children without federal aid; purchase of food at reasonable prices, now unobtainable because farm prices are supported by lobbyists; and the right to save some income, which is denied because we must support foreign governments.

Most Americans do not claim the First and Fifth Amendments because they don't need their protection. They need protection against laws passed by pressure groups.

C. E. BENCE  
2225 Palermo Drive  
San Diego, California

### 2nd Award

#### QUERIES JOHN L. LEWIS

To the *Boston Post*:

The recent AFL-CIO merger has brought out interesting and startling revelations which present some \$64,000 questions regarding union fund manipulations, etc.

Apparently John L. Lewis has demanded that the CIO pay back \$1,665,000, outstanding for nearly 20 years. He claims that when he helped Sidney Hillman organize the CIO, he dumped \$7,250,000 of the Mine Workers' funds into the project and he has failed to collect nearly \$2,000,000.

James B. Carey, CIO, is quoted as saying of John Lewis, "He's got the second biggest bank in Washington and wants us to make it the biggest."

All of which raises questions:

1. Did members of United Mine Workers vote transfer of over \$7,000,000 to organize a new union?

2. Will these mergers create dictatorial powers in the hands of a few who would advance their own interests to the detriment of economic and political security of the country?

ULYSSES J. LUPIEN  
179 Westford Street  
Chelmsford, Massachusetts

### 3rd Award

#### COMMIE METHODS FROM WASHINGTON?

To the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*:

This is regarding your editorial, "Nub of the Problem." You missed the nub entirely.

If the federal government is able to establish the principle in agriculture that government can dictate what crops and how much a farmer may raise, that principle can also be applied to all other industries in the country. This principle if applied to your industry, Mr. Editor would be called "muzzling the press."

That is the nub of the problem.

To those of us living on farms the "nub" isn't the so-called surplus, it is whether an American citizen has the right to manage his business as he sees fit. We farmers maintain that the Constitution says we do; the Department of Agriculture says we don't.

These compulsory wheat controls were forced on the eastern farmer against his will by a Communist-minded bureaucracy using methods one would expect from the Kremlin but not from Washington, D. C.

JOHN R. DONALDSON  
R. D. 2  
New London, Ohio

### FRUSTRATED

To the *Chicago Tribune*:

For over 20 years neither party has given me an opportunity to vote for principles and a program in which I believe. In all this time I have been forced to the alternative of voting against what seemed to me to be the greater of two evils. That is a sad choice for an American to have to make.

Can the Republican party be rescued from its "we can do it better" trend toward state socialism, or must we turn to a new party?

MERTON R. FISH  
176 West Adams Street  
Chicago 3, Illinois

### PROTECTING FREEDOM

To the *Wall Street Journal*:

Congratulations to the editorial writer who wrote "Measure of Security."

It is the most logical explanation I have ever read of the necessity for having to take into consideration a man's associates in order to protect our nation. If a bank cashier is a suspect when he associates with gamblers, then certainly it is logical to suspect a man who continually associates himself with known subversives. It is much more important

protect our nation which gives us freedom — a human being's greatest possession — than for a bank to protect its mere material possessions.

J. EARL BRENNAN  
1414 West Clay  
Houston, Texas

### SHE'S BEGINNING TO STUDY RECORDS OF CANDIDATES

To the *Des Moines Register*:

Because 1956 is a political year, we, the average taxpayers, are going to have to watch all this on TV. Our only other course is to turn off the set and play canasta or go to bed for the evening.

When I go to the polls to vote, I'm going to cover the top of the ballot. I don't want to know what party the man belongs to. That isn't the important thing to me.

I'm going to vote for him as a man, not a party member. I realize political parties are necessary, but too much stress is placed on the party and we forget the man who is running. This applies to any position, the President of our country or the smallest town employee.

MRS. EDWARD J. ANDRESEN  
301 South Lake Avenue  
Sioux Falls, South Dakota

### "WHERE THERE'S SMOKE . . ."

To the *Colorado Springs Gazette Telegraph*:

A witness certainly has the right to think and speak as he pleases and to plead the Fifth Amendment to get himself out of a tight spot. But the questioner has the same right to think, speak and act and he got it from the same omnipotent source. He also has an official duty to perform.

The Fund for the Republic is on dangerous ground when it tries to nullify the work of the investigating committees and to get the suspected witnesses back into public positions. If the Fund should succeed in its diabolical plan, then a Benedict Arnold, a Harry Dexter White, even an Adolph Hitler would need only to get a government appointment by bribery or otherwise to be free from interference and punishment for murder, kidnaping, rape or treason, whatever his vile nature would lead him to think of. It must not happen here.

DAN G. LEFEVRE  
525 East Camilla St.  
Whittier, Calif.

### GOVERNMENT BOOKLET ON COMMUNISM LAUDED

To the *New Bedford Standard Times*:

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee's booklet on communism in the United States marks a worthy advance in official American approach to that menace.

Formerly, when federal legislators like Senator McCarthy demanded federal action against Communist infiltration and subversion, the air was filled with shrieks of "witch-hunt" from members of the Senate itself, other government personnel

and so-called "intelligentsia" throughout the nation.

That type of objection could be interpreted in only one way: The objectors were implying there was no more Communist peril in our midst than witchcraft in the days of that superstition.

The Internal Security handbook gives a comprehensive account of what communism consists of; how Americans may be gulled into its ranks; what should be done, first, to try to undeceive and return them to genuine American citizenship; second, if such attempt fails, to proceed against them to the full extent of the law.

JAMES T. DUNN  
11 North Street  
Fairhaven, Massachusetts

## People's Capitalism

(Continued from Page 19)

Council coined that phrase, and I like it. The United States Information Agency has adopted it as a meaningful way of describing our system abroad and asked the Advertising Council to produce an exhibit called *People's Capitalism* for display at trade fairs around the world.

[Over 25,000 people viewed this exhibit in Union Station, Washington, for a week in February before it began a tour abroad which will include India, Japan, and other Asian countries before reaching the European trade fairs this summer. The exhibit's main features are a typical worker's house, 1776 vintage, and one of today's models, complete with automatic dishwasher, garbage disposal unit, and a car parked in the garage. — Ed.]

"The term *People's Capitalism* has the virtue of reclaiming for America's aggressive use words which significantly characterize the very life blood of our whole system.

"We need not and should not be foolishly apologetic for the fact that what we have in this country is capitalism. We should not try to disguise it by calling it something it is not. Instead of the term capitalism becoming a weapon to be used against us it should become a proud description of what our system in fact now is, namely, a new *People's Capitalism* which serves our nation in a way no other system has ever approached.

"Actually it produces the most for the many. In America today it has not developed as Marx predicted. Far from the poor becoming poorer and the rich becoming richer, ever-increasing benefits have come to the great mass of our citizens. Contrast this with the wretched socialism of the Soviet, concealing behind its curtains and its barbed wire its low living standards, slave labor and cruel restrictions on personal freedom."

## RADIO and TV SCHEDULES

TEXAS — (Continued from Page 61)

Texarkana	KTFS*	1400	Sun.	4:45 p
	KCMC*	1230	Sun.	4:00 p
	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p
Texas City	KTLW**	920		
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KWTX-TV**	34	Sat	8:30 p
	KYBS*	630	Thurs	8:30 p
	KYBS**	630	Fri	9:30 p
Waxahachie	KBEC*	1390		
Weslaco	KRCV*	1290	Wed.	9:45 p
	KRGV-TV**	5	Fri	8:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV**	10	Sat	12:00 n

### UTAH

Brigham City	KBUH*	800		
	KBUH**	800		
Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Ogden	KVOG*	1490	Sun	4:45 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Vernal	KUEL*	1340	Mon	5:15 p
	KUEL**	1340	Sun	3:00 p

### VERMONT

Newport	WIKE*	1490	Wed	9:30 p
St. Johnsbury	WTWN*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WTWN**	1340	Sun	8:30 p

### VIRGIN ISLANDS

Christiansted, St. Croix	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Thomas	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	

### VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Bedford	WBLT†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Clifton Forge	WCFV*	1230	Sun	12:45 p
Crews	WSVS*	800	Sun	4:30 p
Galax	WBOB†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	Tues	7:00 p
	WHAP**	1340		
Newport-News	WACH**	1270	To be announced	
	WACH*	1270		

Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV**	15	Sat	5:30 p
Richmond	WMBG*	1380	Fri	7:30 p
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun	3:00 p
Staunton	WAFB*	900	Sun	5:30 p
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450	Sun	7:45 p
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced	
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues	5:45 p
	WRFL**	1400		

### WASHINGTON

Chehalis-Centralia	KITI*	1420	Sun	12:30 p
Colfax	KCLX*	1450		
Colville	KCVL*	1480	Sun	9:15 a
	KCVL**	1480	Sun	5:00 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Thurs	9:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat	8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun	10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun	2:00 p
Sunnyside	KREW*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed	9:15 p
Walla Walla	KUJ*			

### WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKOY†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Clarksburgh	WPDX*	750		
	WPDX**	750		
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1470	Mon	9:30 p
Martinsburg	WEPM**	1340	Sun	10:00 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
	WCLG*	1300		
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri	10:00 a
	WETZ**	1330		
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Tues	10:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400		
	WRON**	1400		
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun	7:45 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon	9:30 p

### WISCONSIN

Appleton	WBHY†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ashland	WATW†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Eau Claire	WBIZ†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Fond du Lac	KFIZ†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Green Bay	WJPG†	1440	Mon	8:30 p
Janesville	WCLO†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
La Crosse	WLCS†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun	12:15 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced	
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon	8:30 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	
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced	
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced	

### WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun	7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Sun	7:15 p
Lander	KOVE†	1330	Mon	7:30 p
Powell	KPOW†	1260	Mon	7:30 p
Sheridan	KWYO†	1410	Mon	7:30 p
Torrington	KGOS**	1490	Tues	7:30 p

# HELP THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM

- Call or write friends to listen in on Facts Forum air shows. Type or write a list of stations on which they can hear and see FF programs and mail the list to them.
- If you cannot hear or see FF Radio and TV programs in your area, ask your station to carry them.
- Commend TV and radio stations for presenting FF. Your letters will help offset the ones they receive from critics of the FF idea of giving both sides.
- Ask newsstands for the *Facts Forum News* and if they do not carry it, ask them to do so.
- Get your club or discussion group to raise FF poll questions in their meetings.
- Write editors, columnists and commentators your informed opinions on problems facing the American people. Enter the published clippings of letters containing 150 or less words in the FF letter contest. Read rules of the FF contest on page 62 of this issue.
- Write Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas, for material which will assist you in getting business friends interested in **ADDING PATRIOTISM TO THEIR ADS.**
- Pass your copy of *Facts Forum News* around to friends so they may judge if they wish to subscribe.
- Submit three questions to enter in the July Poll Question Contest (72 spaces or less). Vote the June poll on page 65 of this issue.
- Send your friends a subscription to *Facts Forum News*. Where else could you find so much of value for so little cost? 1-year subscription, \$3, 2 years for \$5.

Enter My  New  
 Renewal  
**Subscription Now!**

I ENCLOSE \$3       I ENCLOSE \$5  
 FOR 1 YEAR.       FOR 2 YEARS.

## FACTS FORUM NEWS

*America's Most Thought-Provoking Magazine*

1710 Jackson Street, Dallas 1, Texas

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
 Please Print

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ ZONE \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_

## NIKE . . .

(Continued from Page 33)

particularly aerial shots — are being cleared. Security measures are being tightened. The sites are "off limits" to civilians.

Although described as a "backyard" defense, Nike is far from an inexpensive weapon. Army spokesmen estimate that land (approximately 50 acres per battery) and construction for a site costs, on the average, one million dollars. And that does not include the cost of the missile, estimated unofficially at between \$20,000 and \$25,000 each.

The entire program is so extensive that it will take several more years to complete, and will cost upward of one billion dollars. Extensive and expensive are the words for Nike.

Considered one of the prime targets for enemy bombs — for the material damage as well as for the demoralizing psychological effect it would have on the populace — is the vital Hampton Roads Defense Command, which embraces Norfolk, Portsmouth and Newport News, Virginia. With 72 individual missile-firing ramps ringing the area, it is one of the most powerful concentrations of defensive power in the nation, costing more than six million dollars.

This potent ring of air defense guards the strategic Naval Supply Center and Naval Air Station at Norfolk (also the largest population center in the state), the headquarters for the Eastern Air Defense Command at Langley Air Force Base at Hampton, the naval ship repair yard at Portsmouth, and the private shipbuilding facilities at Newport News, where the navy's newest air-carrier, USS Forrestal, recently underwent construction.

A colonel in the army district engineers at Norfolk stated recently that all of these installations, firing in unison, conceivably could blast into oblivion an enemy armada of at least 55 bomb-laden planes with the first sledgehammer punch. They could then do the same thing all over again three minutes later — the length of time it takes to reload and fire.

The percentage of "kills" is based on tests against Air Force planes, which demonstrated that Nike could destroy three of every four aircraft approaching within a 50-mile range — and theoretically before they could speed close enough to drop their death-dealing charges on the target. In practice the guided missiles have knocked off conventional B-17 bombers at 30,000 feet with no difficulty.

The Air Force recently, however, dropped a foreign object into the neatly-stacked woodpile of army sta-

tistics when it claimed that Nike may not be the never-miss, electronic wonder that everyone had been led to believe.

After observing test firings at the White Sands proving grounds in desolate New Mexico, Air Force spokesmen said that those near-perfect firing records had been established entirely against slow-moving B-17's, now as obsolete as the Model T Ford. Certainly the B-17's are nothing to compare with the speedy jet bombers the Kremlin war lords could set loose over this country in a sneak attack. Moreover, they claimed that Nike had even missed four out of four B-17's in recent tests.

The army grants that Nike will not hit every target it chases in its sky domain. This admittedly makes it less than perfect, as one missed bomber could drop the H-bomb that would blow up the city and surrounding countryside for miles.

The Air Force's criticism may be considered a plug for a new type of guided missile developed by the navy known as "Talos." A senate sub-committee has urged that the army and Air Force pit the Nike and Talos missiles against pilotless jet bombers to determine which service has the best anti-aircraft weapon. Air Force Undersecretary James H. Douglas has supported the idea, stating that Congress is entitled to an exhibition to determine whether Talos is justified and whether it does or does not duplicate Nike. Meanwhile, the taxpaying public holds what may be the billion-dollar bag.

### LOYALTY DAY SPONSORED BY V.F.W.

On May 1st Americans observed Loyalty Day, which was reported on our April Readers Report (inside front cover) as having been instigated by Mrs. Albert Grande of Park Ridge, Illinois, in 1954.

More recent information regarding the observance of May 1st as Loyalty Day indicates that the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the U.S., inaugurated this observance in 1950 on a nationwide basis, and has sponsored and directed it ever since that time.

Mr. Louis G. Feldmann, National Chairman of the National LOYALTY DAY Committee of the V.F.W., 489 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N. Y., has written us: "It was through the efforts of the V.F.W. that President Eisenhower last year proclaimed LOYALTY DAY."

Two weeks prior to LOYALTY DAY this year Mr. Feldmann's office had already received detailed reports on more than 1400 planned celebrations, including four in Japan and one on Okinawa.

## Poll Question Winners For June, 1956

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted the questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st question: **CECILIA AKANA**  
P. O. Box 788  
Brooklyn, New York
- 2nd question: **MRS. ANDY ANDRUS**  
General Delivery  
Japton, Arkansas
- 3rd question: **W. J. BENNETT**  
503 Main Street  
Ramona, California
- 4th question: **MISS SUSIE A. BESSOR**  
420 South Second Street  
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania
- 5th question: **MRS. D. H. M. BROWN**  
127 Flat, 29 Abercorn Place  
London, N.W. 8, England
- 6th question: **SAM H. COLLINS**  
1201 West North Avenue  
Pittsburgh 33, Pennsylvania
- 7th question: **GEORGE DURST**  
P. O. Box 61  
Jamaica, New York
- 8th question: **GENE GRANT**  
808 Strawn  
Jonesboro, Arkansas
- 9th question: **JEAN D. HALL**  
525 North Fourth Street  
Banning, California
- 10th question: **MRS. FRED A. JOHNSON**  
P. O. Box 394  
Big Springs, Nebraska
- 11th question: **DENNIS MOFFET**  
204 Jefferson Street  
Bedford, Iowa
- 12th question: **ARTHUR W. SCHLICHENMAIER**  
601 Clayton Street  
Orlando, Florida
- 13th question: **JOHN SPILEWSKI**  
86 Randolph Place  
East Orange, New Jersey
- 14th question: **TOM WELCH**  
27½ Morton Street  
New York 14, New York

## FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes June 1

Yes No

- Are presidents picked by politicians rather than the people?
- Should rural development program for low-income farm families be expanded?
- Should we first feed our own Indians before giving to foreign aid?
- Should voters be given a choice on foreign policy and foreign spending?
- Do TV interviews of statesmen do more harm than good?
- Should any agency be beyond investigation by Congress?
- Should Soviet Russian tourists be permitted to visit U.S.A.?
- Should voters write their congressmen about bills coming up for a vote?
- Is excessive taxation destroying private enterprise?
- Are our state laws too lenient regarding juvenile misdemeanors?
- Should more languages be taught in our public schools?
- Should mental tests be required of drivers having 3 serious accidents?
- Do you oppose the regimentation of American agriculture?
- Is the UN a modern-day Trojan horse in America?

Remarks \_\_\_\_\_

<small>NAME (PLEASE PRINT)</small>	<small>NO. AND ST.</small>
<small>CITY AND STATE</small>	

• **PLEASE NOTE:** Voters are requested to write in votes by listing their answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which they have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Their votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent their ballots in the Facts Forum Poll.

Send me FACTS FORUM NEWS for 1 year. I enclose \$3.00.

## APRIL POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 93 Should government spending be reduced until we pay our national debt?
- 9 Should federal government enter the flood and storm insurance field?
- 93 Should our youth be taught the evils of communism in the schools?
- 93 Should parents have to answer for juvenile offenses of their children?
- 89 Are government controls weakening American system of production?
- 82 Has doing away with segregation been thrust on the people prematurely?
- 3 Is peace at any price a good thing?
- 96 Should labor be penalized for violence during strikes?
- 47 Should every American boy have one year training in our armed forces?
- 28 Are racial prejudices in the South a threat to democracy?
- 93 Should we refuse foreign aid to countries that lean toward communism?
- 17 Should we have more than one vice-president in the U. S. government?
- 6 Should immigration laws be loosened up?
- 18 Will the farm vote be the deciding factor in the coming election?

SLOGAN FOR JUNE, 1956

**Good Citizens Are Informed Citizens**

Submitted by  
**CLARENCE RYAN**  
Lebanon, Kentucky



OBSERVE . . .

# Flag Day

On June 14 Americans will commemorate the 179th anniversary of the adoption of the Stars and Stripes as the national banner.



allegiance to the flag of the United States of America,  
and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God,  
indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.