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SUMMARY**



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HOOVER EYES OUR GOVERNMENT

**"Can We Be Sure of
GERMANY?"**

by Freda Utley

**U. S. Foreign Policy
RIGHT OR WRONG?**

Provocative Prose

"We have never concealed the fact that our revolution is only the beginning, that it will lead to a victorious ending only when we shall have inflamed the whole world with its revolutionary fires."

—NICOLAI LENIN
Collected Works, Vol. 17, Pages 22-23

"The United States cannot be an Atlas, it cannot by its financial sacrifices carry all other nations of the world on its shoulders, and we should stop give-away programs."

—PRESIDENT DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
June 23, 1954

"True liberty is the child of knowledge."

—HOLMES FIFTH READER (1891)

"The truth requires constant repetition, because error is being preached all the time, and not only by isolated individuals, but by the masses."

—GOETHE
Conversations with Eckermann, 1828

"Men should not think it slavery to live according to the rule of the constitution; for it is their salvation."

—ARISTOTLE

"There is an important sense in which the government is distinct from the administration. One is perpetual, the other temporary and changeable. A man may be loyal to his government and yet oppose the peculiar principles and methods of the administration."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN

"Who merchandises with a tyrant, he is straight his slave, how free soe'er he be."

—SOPHOCLES
(Dudley Fitts' translation)

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Be sure to list the authors and sources of all quotations.

Readers Report

Of, by, and for
Facts Forum News readers

Education or Degeneration?

Mrs. Anne Smart of Larkspur, California, discovered that among the books in the Sir Frances Drake High School library, San Anselmo, and the Tamalpais High School Library, Mill Valley, included in lists of recommended reading furnished the students by their libraries, were those by twenty-four authors who were well documented from state and federal government sources as to their Communist and/or Communist-front affiliations, and that many books contained subversive and obscene material. Well-known columnist and commentator Fulton Lewis, Jr., confirmed her findings and declared that "the books that played the most important part in Mrs. Anne Smart's cleanup efforts were depraved literature in the very extreme," and that "one of them is filled with the most repulsive and nauseating filth that I have ever encountered..." Edward R. Murrow devoted the major portion of one of his "See It Now" programs to ridiculing the things that Mrs. Smart has done and attempted to do. Henry V. Moran of New York writes us, "Instead of praising her for it, Edward R. Murrow pictured her as a witch who burned good books written for the enlightenment and edification of youth..." Evidently [since the Aluminum Corporation of America dropped sponsorship of the "See It Now" program within a few weeks following Murrow's treatment of Mrs. Smart] it was Mr. Murrow who was burned up and not the books he defended."

A bill has been introduced in the California State Senate on the basis of Mrs. Smart's efforts which asks, in effect, the following: that each book shall endeavor to impress upon the minds of the pupils the principles of morality, truth, justice, and patriotism, to teach them to avoid idleness, profanity, and falsehood, to instruct them in the principles of a free government, and to train them up to a true comprehension of the rights, duties and dignity of American citizenship. The CIO and the American Friends Service Committee, represented by a Mr. Trevor Thomas, who said that "patriotism is debatable," oppose this bill, while the American Legion and VFW are on record as favoring it. On April 27 the Assembly Education Committee voted 8 to 7 for the school book bill, No. 1671, but it takes eleven votes to pass a bill out of this committee and on to the floor.

Second Chorus

Mrs. Everett H. Wheeler of Oreana, Illinois, writes that a group calling themselves "Parents Unlimited" have organized for the purpose of better informing themselves and their community regarding what children are taught in their schools. Mrs. Wheeler enclosed the outline of a sex education program which had been given to students of Grades 7 through 12 of the Argenta Schools, Argenta Community Unit District No. 1.

Mrs. Wheeler writes, "We have a permit from Washington, D.C., to mail this to adults first class mail."

Although this is material intended for the teaching of children between the approximate ages of 12 to 17, the list of questions asked the students and the outline of material taught to mixed groups of students include much which could debase and disease young minds.

The Superintendent of Argenta Community

Unit District No. 1, the nurse supervisor of the Visiting Nurses Association, and the Board of Education approved this program. Mrs. Wheeler, who felt constrained to remove her child to a school in a neighboring community, writes: "I had only to read the November, 1954, issue of P.T.A. magazine to find that they advocate sex education, progressive education, UNESCO, [study of] emotional problems and readjustment of children, and one world teachings, putting a special emphasis on UN. Also read February, 1955, issue on One World." She asks "If you have any suggestions of what we [Parents Unlimited] might do to combat this situation in a stronger way, please let us know about them."

Y'all Come!

The Fort Worth unit of Pro-America will present a series of six lectures on American Affairs October 22-23. Speakers and their subjects will be: Dan Smoot, "Faith of Our Fathers"; Corinne Griffith, "The Root of All Evil"; Dean Clarence Manion, "For America, Survival or Suicide?"; Colonel Robert Putnam, "The Way Out"; Captain Edgar C. Bundy, "The Communists Are After Your Churches," and General W. H. Wilbur, "American Foreign Policy." Further information may be obtained from Mrs. Jewel M. Anthony, General Chairman, American Affairs Lectures, Route 7, Box 156, Fort Worth, Texas.

FAR to Enlightenment

The Foundation for American Research, a private, non-profit institution, has been organized by two retired high officials of the FBI and two lawyers who are former FBI agents, according to the *Saturday Evening Post*, August 6, 1955. This foundation will establish a large free library that will gather together under one roof in Washington a vast amount of data on totalitarianism covering the subjects of Communism, Fascism, and such organizations as are now on the Attorney General's list.

The *Post* editorial comments "Of course, the Communist party and the most vociferous anti-Communists are denouncing the Foundation for American Research. But these attacks are a sign that the Foundation's library on totalitarianism will be a highly useful means of presenting the truth to the people."

Read About the Reds

Thomas Wilcox of 715 W. Second St., Los Angeles 12, California, has sent us a copy of his *Anti-Bolshevik Bibliography*, listing with commentary more than 300 authors and 500 titles, including *Facts Forum News*. This bound volume is in mimeograph form and is available from Mr. Wilcox at \$4.00 per copy. The result of years of work in compilation, its author believes it to be the most complete thing of its kind in existence. Mr. Wilcox writes, "Because the great publishing houses turned this book down, sight unseen, (they could not visualize a sufficient sale to warrant printing) it became necessary for the compiler to get it out himself via mimeograph. It should be of service to librarians, organization secretaries, researchers, educators and parents as a guide through the labyrinth of pro-Communist, near-Communist and "Fabian" titles. Incidentally, it is a useful guide for book dealers."

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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 all views, believing that it is the right and the obligation of the American people themselves to learn all the facts and come to their own conclusions.

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COVER: President Dwight D. Eisenhower became the international as well as the national "man-of-the-month" when he was acknowledged throughout the world as the undisputed leader in the Big Four Conference at Geneva.

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Want you to know that I enjoy reading every issue [Facts Forum News] because of the mental stimulation one gets from the interesting articles.

ROGER STANTON
16522 Ohio Avenue
Detroit 21, Michigan

. . . [Facts Forum News] is contributing to a broader interest and understanding on the part of the general citizenry on national and international problems as affect all humanity.

LOUIS W. DAWSON
442 Canal Street
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

You are to be commended on your outstanding work in keeping America informed on important issues and educational truths. It has helped me to realize that our liberty is the same liberty that our forefathers gave their lives for. Our freedom depends on us and our actions. Our actions depend on our knowledge, and our knowledge is our power. How powerful we are depends on how informed we are.

I believe that your fine and patriotic work is helping many Americans to alert themselves of the grave importance in keeping America awake to the freedoms which God has given us.

JOHN F. HOPKINS
U. S. Naval Station, Midway Islands
Navy 3080 Box 4, Fleet Post Office
San Francisco, California

I am an old time Northern Republican and I am eager for the truth like thousands or millions of others. I read every word of Facts Forum News. I love America and desire to leave to my children and grandchildren a better heritage than we have at the present.

T. C. GRAHAM
P. O. Box 817
Alexandria, Virginia

Please accept my compliments for publishing a great American magazine. My only regret is that I did not subscribe to it a long time ago. When first told about your magnificent publication, I decided to subscribe to it. I am not disappointed, I assure you.

JAMES L. HOGAN
210 West Ellis Street
East Syracuse, New York

I believe your poll is a fair sampling of public opinion on current events. Keep it up.

HENRY LEES
Box 163
Jena, Louisiana

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—Wide World Photo

Hoover Eyes Our Government

Hoover Commission recommendations for economies in the Department of Defense alone will save about four or five billion dollars, estimates Neil MacNeil, formerly an editor of the *New York Times* and editorial director of the Commission, who here joins the Facts Forum Panel in discussing the question: "Should the Hoover Commission recommendations be adopted?" Panelists include William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of the forthcoming journal of public opinion, *National Review*; Commentator George Hamilton Combs; and Professor Charles Hodges of New York University. Hardy Burt is their moderator.



BURT: Mr. MacNeil, just to give us the background in brief, what are the principal recommendations of the Hoover Commission?

MACNEIL: We're going to produce, in all, about three million words. We've made about three hundred recommendations. Probably the most important recommendation we've made was for a senior civil service. We found that one

of the great problems in government is the personnel (problem), the difficulty of getting good men and good women, too, to come into government, to develop competence in their work, and then to remain in government. They're not paid too highly, at least not comparably to private industry, and private industry hires them away. That applies even to generals, admirals and so on. So we recommend a senior civil service of about three thousand career civil servants who would have personal prestige and be outstanding in the community, would have security in their positions.

We want them to be on a level with assistant secretaries in government now. That would mean about twenty-five thousand dollars a year. Now, that seems out of character with the Hoover Commission which was recommending economies in government. Actually there's a tremendous turnover in government employees. The government has about two million three hundred thousand employees, and it has an annual turnover of about 25 per cent. At least four hundred fifty thousand people move out of government each year. Now, you

make government service more attractive when you cut that down to, say, two hundred thousand a year, and you save re-employing two hundred fifty thousand a year. It costs about three hundred dollars, and sometimes as high as five hundred dollars apiece to get them into government, and to break them into their work. So there would be a very large economy there.

The second most important recommendation, in my opinion, would be the administrative court. The administrative court, at the beginning, was three departments: a tax court, a labor court, and a trade court. Various independent agencies in government have taken on judiciary functions: they make rules on their own, make charges against individuals, and then bring these individuals before them and levy fines upon them and other penalties, and so on. We want those judicial functions taken away from the departments and agencies and given to the administrative court.

BURT: Let's pinpoint this a bit more. In what areas can the federal government best conserve the taxpayers' money, Mr. Buckley?

BUCKLEY: Well, by limiting the function of government. Surely this is what the Hoover Commission is after. Richard Revere sums it up in one simple word — "Stop." The government ought to stop expanding.

MACNEIL: I wouldn't agree with Mr. Revere on that. I think our major function is to get all we're getting for less, get more efficient government.

BUCKLEY: You mean that the Hoover Commission, for example, supports such welfare measures as have already been enacted—federal social security, and . . .



MACNEIL: The Hoover Commission has not touched social security at all. It's made no study of it. It has made no recommendation on the matter. When it endorses something, it is very specific, but social security it has not gone into.

However, to pinpoint this as Mr. Burt suggested, I think the place to save money is where money is being spent. Now the Department of Defense is where the big bulk of your money is being spent, and that, naturally, is the area where you can save money. We've made thirteen reports dealing with various phases of the activities of the Department of Defense because it is the big spender.

BURT: Well now, Mr. MacNeil, could the Department of Defense carry on all of its activities that it is carrying on at present, do you believe, but more efficiently, so that economies could be made?

MACNEIL: Yes, in fact, that's the recommendation of the Hoover Commission. Despite remarks made by certain military commentators, we have not touched the combat forces of the United States, except to support them.

HODGES: I'm not happy over the defense setup. I regard it as the implementing hand of sound foreign policy. And I feel that we are not going to get what the Hoover Commission expects, so far as I can judge from the defense proposals. I think that they are building up an extension of bureaucracy by the necessity of increasing the civilian staffing. Basically we want the civilians to control the military establishment. But the complications of modern war with the problems of getting the most effective use in military terms



has to be considered. Now I think that in regard to the Defense Department, it has been approached on a dollar economy basis. And I think we're going to get in real trouble on this particular basis. At least, certainly that is the heavy preponderance of military opinion. Of course, you can argue that the military are affected by this particular set of economies. Frankly, I would trust the criticism rather than the particular task force which worked on it.

MACNEIL: Yes, that argument was advanced last week by Hanson Baldwin in the *New York Times*. [Reprint of Hanson Baldwin's column appears on Page 5].

HODGES: Hanson always expresses the consensus of military views.

MACNEIL: Certain military propagandists in the Pentagon have been feeding that line out for quite a while—the people who think there's no bottom to the barrel. The Hoover Commission report has dealt largely with the common use items in the Department of Defense. I don't see, for instance, why it's necessary for the three services to buy eight hundred different kinds of screw drivers.

The Hoover Commission is for further strengthening of the unification of the Department of Defense, the three services within the one.

We have found, for instance, that the Army, the Navy and the Air Force have no proper catalog, although a catalog was ordered by Congress as late as 1949. They still haven't an adequate inventory. They're trying to get one up now in a great rush when the Hoover Commission made recommendations and they knew they were going to be exposed in that respect. And it is in the field of

common use items alone that we're stressing economy in the Department of Defense.

BURT: In your opinion, how much could be saved in the Department of Defense if your recommendations went through, Mr. MacNeil?

MACNEIL: I couldn't give you that offhand, but [we've saved altogether] about four or five billion dollars [that could] balance the budget.

BUCKLEY: Not enough for our Socialists, is it?

HODGES: The military budget is running around thirty-six billion, presently, so that you could cut it down by a sixth, roughly.

BUCKLEY: I would like to observe that the Hoover Commission is engaged in dealing with two types of things. For one thing, it is streamlining government. And nobody except the direct casualties of such streamlining is going to object to that. That is to say, we ought to have some considerable solidarity here on the majority of the recommendations that Mr. MacNeil, representing his commission, is urging.

However, there is a whole other area which is highly controversial, to which I'd like to refer for one moment. That area is typified by Mr. Hoover and his ideas of government, as distinguished from Mr. Truman or even the incumbent and his ideas on the role of government. Mr. Hoover I look on as the most efficient engineer of government, perhaps, in this century. I believe that on top of that he has a highly considered and thoughtful view of how this country can continue to progress, both in terms of freedom and in terms of industry. Consequently, the real body of the recommendations that he is urging is one that would halt the New Deal trend toward flatulent human beings pater-

nalized by our government. These are precisely the recommendations that I would like to urge.

BURT: Let's get directly into one of the Hoover report recommendations, and that is to take the government out of a good deal of the public enterprises, and revert them to private enterprises, or to convert them into private enterprises. What about that, Mr. MacNeil?

MACNEIL: Well, the Hoover Commission, which is non-partisan, was set up by a law in Congress that went through unanimously in both Houses. We were charged by that law to point out the areas in which the government is competing with private enterprise [which means] we would be remiss in our duty if we did not. One of the areas in which that is done very greatly is in the Department of Defense. We found that there were over twenty-five hundred, and that count is not final, different business enterprises in the Department of Defense. Some of these are very necessary—we're not disputing that. We figured out that about one thousand could be eliminated. They represent a cost price, incidentally, of over fifteen billion dollars, and some of them are not very economically administered.

BURT: What are a few of those? Are military canteens one of them?

MACNEIL: Canteens are run like department stores in selling laundromats and diamonds.

HODGES: Well, we can't touch the PX's, can we?

MACNEIL: Oh, we recommended that the law enforce the intent of Congress, and we've been attacked by the military for asking that the intent of the law be observed . . . You can buy Chanel Five for your girl there and a lot of things of that kind, and a lot of people who are not members of the military

There is a "vast reservoir of public support" for the recommendations of the bipartisan Hoover Commission as related by Clarence Francis, National Chairman of the Citizens Committee for the Hoover Report.

Results of a study by the Citizens Committee research staff indicates only 16 per cent of the Commission's 314 recommendations seem likely to draw strong opposition, and that reaction within the government to this new Commission's recommendations is much more favorable than that aroused by the first Hoover Commission in 1949. The study shows that 62 per cent, or 194½ recommendations, are meeting with general support. On these recommendations, Mr. Francis stressed the desirability of constructive action in order that a record of worthwhile accomplishments can be set up. Such a program of action is being coordinated by Budget Bureau Director Rowland R. Hughes.

The remaining 22 per cent, or 71½ recommendations, were shown by the Citizens Committee to be evoking "general support, but sporadic opposition," and should receive time for public debate following such a record of accomplishment on non-controversial recommendations.

"All citizens should be on guard," Mr. Francis warns, "against attempts by a few groups to discredit the whole report because of their opposition to a few of its recommendations."

are taking advantage of these situations. They don't charge true costs. They don't charge rent. They don't charge taxes. They don't charge for military employees. They don't charge for insurance. They have to show no profit, and they're unfair competition. Don't misunderstand me on this: the Hoover Commission does not want a single soldier denied the PX for his use.

BURT: Mr. Combs, what do you think of the Hoover Commission's recommendations?

COMBS: With much of what our guest has said I am, of course, in accord. There are other areas in which, however, I would register most violent dissent. I understand that a task force of the Hoover Commission recommended the sale of TVA to private utilities, to private public utilities. But that was later modified to suggest a change in the accounting methods of TVA to require the government to figure in taxes and other items in TVA costs—items which, of course, don't appear in actuality in the administrative expense of running TVA. But it is in this area that it seems to me, in all deference to our guest of the evening, that the Hoover Commission has usurped some policy-making functions and is entering a highly controversial field in which it may vitiate much of the good that it is doing in these other admittedly responsible areas.

MACNEIL: The Hoover Commission, by the law that set it up, is charged with the duty of dealing with policy. And, by the way, it's even got the authority from Congress to recommend constitutional amendments.

COMBS: I doubt that that's constitutional.

MACNEIL: Well, any citizen can recommend constitutional amendments.

COMBS: However, this is an agency of government.

MACNEIL: That's a side issue. If you're a student of power you'll find that the first multiple dam in the United States was set up in 1928 by Mr. Hoover. I might remark that the thing you dealt with—the task force—is an office document. It's not a report of the Commission. It's a task paper. It leaked out, and it leaked out very inaccurately, and the Commission is not doing what you are saying it's going to do.

BUCKLEY: Are you saying, Mr. MacNeil, that it will not be the recommendation of the Hoover Commission to sell the TVA to private power?

MACNEIL: That's quite right.

BUCKLEY: I regret that very much. However, I do think that to the extent that they aim in that direction by exploding such myths as that govern-

ment power is cheaper than private power, to that extent—

COMBS: Oh, well, government power is cheaper than private power. And there's no argument about it—

MACNEIL: Power from public power is no cheaper than any other power when all the costs involved are put in. It's cheaper because some people don't pay the true costs.

COMBS: Now let me tell you something, Mr. MacNeil: the reason that you're wrong is a very simple one . . . I also am experienced in this realm of public utilities and power. The reason that government power, even if you include certain accounting costs which should not enter into the picture, is cheaper than power manufactured by our private utilities is very simple. The private utilities always retain in their rate base—that is, the evaluation of their property for rate-making purposes—obsolete equipment, inflated equipment, and they also operate on something known as reproduction costs of those facilities instead of the historical costs to them, and as a result of that, and complacent public service commissions in the states, they manage to rook the public royally and consistently all of the time.

BUCKLEY: Pure demagoguery. In the first place, depletion is fixed by law. It's an accounting factor that is not left to the caprice of individual . . .

COMBS: I'm talking about rate bases. It should be an element of cost.

BURT: I'm going to interrupt this because we're getting into an argument about public vs. private power, and it's not what we're talking about.

MACNEIL: May I say a word about the Hoover Commission's report on water resources? . . . It's the first time in the history of the United States that a proper study has been made of all these things, and it's going to be very illuminating. It's going to give the public the facts for the first time.

BURT: We have a report here which ultimately is going to be three million words long. It has a million facts in it. Do you think there will be congressional resistance to enactment of these reports?

MACNEIL: I think some of the reports, some of the recommendations, are highly controversial. We're not picking our spots for economies or anything of that kind. We're not trying to salve up certain people, and we're not trying to get votes, incidentally. We're trying to give the facts to the American public as they come. The only instruction that we have had from Mr. Hoover is to get the facts and give them to the public. In doing so, certain people didn't like some of the facts we brought up. We didn't make the facts. We simply report them.

BURT: Mr. MacNeil, how much of the public is going to read three million words?

MACNEIL: None. You don't read a daily paper through. You read what interests you and what concerns you. And our report is made to the Congress and this report goes into the archives and goes to all the libraries and the students will read it. The people dealing with the various functions of government will read it. The committees of Congress will read it, the ones that concern them, and so on.

BURT: Won't you have a situation arising, Mr. MacNeil, of special interest groups gathering concentrated strength to oppose your recommendations?

MACNEIL: Yes. That's happened already. It even happened before the reports were made, and the most violent of all those were in the public power area.

COMBS: Well, naturally, that's where the public interest is the most deeply touched.

MACNEIL: Four national organizations were formed of propagandists to fight the Hoover report on power before the task force was even formed.

BUCKLEY: I can certainly understand that, for example, the residents of Idaho would be much more interested in having the citizens of New York pay for their power than paying for it themselves. The question is, who is getting rooked?

COMBS: That isn't the question at all. The entire matter of power such as is represented by the Tennessee Valley Authority is a national rather than a regional matter. It enriches the economy of the whole country. We deal with dust bowls—erosion is a national problem. Why not the enrichment of our economy?

BURT: Mr. MacNeil, outside of public power where else will you encounter resistance—major resistance—to your recommendation?

MACNEIL: We have made an effort to bring out all the hidden subsidies. I notice the REA is crying aloud. I notice the veterans are crying aloud. We try to stop a lot of chiseling in government, incidentally.

COMBS: The veterans are chiseling?

MACNEIL: I didn't say that. But the chiselers are yelling. They don't like it.

BURT: Are you going to be very good at stopping what you call chiseling?

MACNEIL: No, but I think the American public will be. We're just giving them the facts.

BURT: The question is, can the American public be interested enough in the whole to apply enough pressure on their side to counteract the pressure of special interest groups?

MACNEIL: No, I doubt that. The previous Hoover Commission made 273 recommendations. They finished up in '49, and so far 196 have been carried into effect. I think it's better than 72 per cent.

PENTAGON AND HOOVER

By Hanson W. Baldwin

A special defense department task force has been established to study the 100 major recommendations and dozens of minor changes regarding the armed forces that were suggested by the Hoover Commission.

Various study groups or task forces of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government made these recommendations about the Defense Department and the services. They covered the fields of organization and policy. The Commission, headed by former President Herbert Hoover, endorsed most of the task force findings—some of a very sweeping nature.

Charles A. Coolidge, a former Assistant Secretary of Defense, heads the Pentagon group that is studying all of the Hoover suggestions. The group is expected to formulate a Pentagon "position," approving, disapproving or modifying the Hoover recommendations. It is expected that bills covering some of the points will be ready for presentation to the next session of Congress in January.

The Coolidge study is of fundamental importance to the armed forces. Many of the Hoover Commission recommendations were so sweeping in nature that service people fear their effects upon morale and combat effectiveness.

Medical care for dependents, travel regulations, the operation of commissaries and post exchanges would all be influenced — from the service man's point of view, adversely—by the Commission reports.

EFFECTS OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations also would tend to centralize even more authority in civilian management at the Secretary of Defense level, and would reduce the authority of military personnel, even in command fields.

Among the extensive and, in some ways, revolutionary recommendations advanced were more predominant civilian management of military transportation, civilian responsibility for military fiscal matters, civilian supervision for military legal matters and the suggested establishment of a "civilian-managed" agency . . . to administer common supply and service activities."

The Hoover recommendations regarding the Pentagon, with some notable and outstanding exceptions, approached the problem of military policy and organization primarily from the point

of view of dollar economy. The tenor of too many reports had the effect of under-emphasizing the reason for the existence of the armed services—combat effectiveness.

There were at least two notable exceptions to these strictures. The reports on research and development and on intelligence activities were among others that did not overemphasize the "dollar economy" approach, and their recommendations thus were more valuable and more convincing.

A MAJOR JOB IN PROSPECT

The new Pentagon evaluation task force has, therefore, a major job of sifting and analyzing recommendations, some of which are constructive, some of which could be destructive.

In making this analysis, it should reject two commonly accepted "principles." When applied to the Pentagon and the armed forces they have caused much of the confusion and red tape and difficulty with which the formulation of even the simplest military plans is now associated.

One of these shibboleths is that the armed services can be run like any business. The other is that any businessman can move into the Pentagon and quickly master, better than the professional, the intricacies of weapons systems, tactics, military personnel and morale and so on.

"I have heard it said, time and again," writes N. Henry Josephs, a New York attorney who has experience with the armed forces, "that the business of National Defense is the same as any other business. Men of big business argue, therefore, that there is no reason why general rules of good business management should not apply equally to the armed services. This false premise is responsible for the unrealistic approach to the problem by (some) of the Hoover task forces.

"Certain areas of waste in the armed services could and should be reduced, but in a manner which would not interfere with essential military patterns, or in any manner that would slow up, or interfere with, mobility of military command."

ANOTHER LETTER CITED

Another letter points out that "the invasion of civil administrators into what are clearly military functions is one cause of the confusion that plagues the top level military direction and command of our armed forces."

The letter also says in part:

"No experienced United States military officer questions the concept of civil superiority in policy-making and supervision . . . But the trend over the past decade has gone so far that we find unthinking acceptance of the idea that any successful business administrator or financial executive is by reason of his appointment competent to decide such things as weapon types, military organization, disciplinary matters, or solve the vastly complicated problems of military logistics.

"Too many of our military decisions in these and other areas are based on a newly appointed civilian's quick field trip, an oversimplified graphic presentation and a few hastily jotted memos prepared by a special assistant.

"In the not so distant past a civilian Secretary acquired some knowledge and considerable experience in the policy direction of an armed service simply by staying in office for a while . . . The rapid turnover today in the floating population of transient Secretaries and a corps of special assistants plays havoc with sound and authoritative military command."

"One far-reaching and adverse effect of this type of control," the letter continues, "is the drafting of legislation affecting our armed forces by civilian legal assistants whose closest approach to seafaring is attending a revival of 'Pinafore,' or whose military experience is documented by a reference in 'From Here to Eternity.'"

Objectives Of Hoover Commission

" . . . In our recommendations we have sought six objectives:

First—To preserve the full security of the nation in a disturbed world.

Second—To maintain the functioning of all necessary agencies which make for the common welfare.

Third—To stimulate the fundamental research upon which national security and programs are based.

Fourth—To improve efficiency and eliminate waste in the executive agencies.

Fifth—To eliminate or reduce government competition with private enterprise.

Sixth—and perhaps the most important of all—to strengthen the economic, social and governmental structure which has brought us, now for one hundred sixty-six years, constant blessings and progress.

—The Hoover Commission."

Contrasting Views on

THE BIG

4

President Eisenhower upon his return from the meeting at the Summit reviewed in this report to the nation the accomplishments of the conference. Also presented are excerpts of a later speech by the President before the American Bar Association in Philadelphia in which he elaborates further on results of the Big Four meeting.

Secretary Dulles and I, with our associates, went to the Big Four Conference at Geneva resolved to represent as accurately as we could the aspirations of the American people for peace, and the principles upon which this country believes that peace should be based.

In this task we had the bipartisan, indeed almost the unanimous, support of the country. This fact greatly strengthened our hand throughout the negotiations. Our grateful thanks go out to all your senators and your congressmen in the United States Congress.

Aside from this we had during the past week thousands of telegrams of encouragement and support from you as individuals. Along with these came similar telegrams from great organizations—church organizations, business and great labor organizations. All of these combined served to make us feel that

possibly we were faithfully representing the views that you would have us represent.

Now peace and the pursuit of peace involve many perplexing questions. For example, justice to our neighbors, great and small. Freedom and security for all these nations. The prosperity of their several economies and a rising standard of living in the world. Finally, opportunity for all of us to live in peace and in security.

Now, naturally, in a study of such questions as these, we don't proceed recklessly, we must go prudently and cautiously, both in reaching conclusions and in subsequent actions. We cannot afford to be negligent or complacent, but we must be hopeful. We must have faith in ourselves and in the justice of our cause.

If we don't do this we will allow our

own pessimism and our own lack of faith to defeat the noblest purposes that we can pursue. Now because of the vital significance of all of these circumstances they will be exhaustively surveyed by our government over a period of many weeks.

Tonight the most that I can give to you are a few personal impressions and opinions that may have some interest for you and certainly have some value bearing on the outcome, and on the process of those negotiations.

Of course, an interesting subject that could be taken up had I the time, would be personalities—the personalities of the several delegations, their relationships or apparent relationships one to the other, the principal considerations that seemed to motivate them. These all would have a bearing on this problem, but I forego them and take up instead just two general opinions in which I am sure every American shares.

The first of these is that we must never be deluded into believing that one week of friendly, even fruitful negotiations can wholly eliminate a problem arising out of the wide gulf that separates so far East and West, a gulf as wide and deep as the difference between individual liberty and regimentation, as wide and deep as the gulf that lies between the concept of man made in the image of his God and the concept of man as a mere instrument of the state.

Now, if we think of those things we are apt to be possibly discouraged. But I was also profoundly impressed with the need for all of us to avoid discouragement merely because our own proposals, our own approaches and our own beliefs are not always immediately accepted by the other side.

On the night I left for Geneva I appeared before the television to explain to you what we were seeking. I told you

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History-making Foursome. Left to right, Soviet Premier Bulganin, Premier Faure and Sir Anthony Eden.

—Wide World Photo

CONFERENCE

Foremost among the critics of the Geneva Conference is Senator Joseph R. McCarthy (Republican, Wisconsin) who spoke adversely on the results of the Conference before the United States Senate.

On June 16, and again on July 11, I discussed at some length the prospects for the Big Four Conference. I took the position that the decision to attend a summit meeting was ill-advised—that it meant, inevitably, a free world defeat. For reasons that are on the record, and thus need not be recounted here, I argued that no matter what form it took—territorial concessions or propaganda gains—the Communists would have the victory. I must now confess that the views expressed in those addresses were overly optimistic. I predicted a free world setback, but I did not foresee a rout. I foresaw serious breaches in the anti-Communist front, but I did not and I could not anticipate its total disintegration.

My critical mistake was to assume that after Geneva had failed our government would recognize and acknowledge that it had failed. I assumed that after Soviet leaders had dashed the world's hopes that communism had melted and had abandoned its goal of world conquest, we would recover our balance, and embark once again on a course of dedicated opposition to our mortal enemy. I thought that it would take some time to pick up the pieces, and to repair the Free World's position; but I did not reckon seriously with the possibility that the myth of Communist reformation would not only be alive and flourishing after Geneva, but that its foremost exponent would be the government of the United States.

True, the West made no specific territorial concessions at Geneva—so far as we know. But the Communists had set their sights on far more ambitious goals than the surrender of this Western outpost, or the neutralization of that one. The Communists set out to crack the West's will to resist, and in this—for the moment at least—they have been utterly successful.

Far better that we had lost only ter-

ritory. The outlook would be brighter had the Big Four meeting been a replica of last year's Geneva conference, where we made concessions—specifically half of Indochina; but where afterwards we felt the sting of defeat and thus were bestirred to make new resolves to turn back the forces of evil. Better that the West lose some land, as it did then, than to lose its soul, as the West is perilously close to doing today.

To grasp the magnitude of the Geneva disaster, we need only to state the argument of those who claim Geneva was a success—namely, that “we have made friends with the Soviet government.” For this is another way of saying that we have made friends with the apostles of hell.

We have, indeed, made friends with the Soviet leaders—who denounce God; who despise freedom; who deny individual rights; who exalt treachery; who counsel deceit; who practice terror, intimidation and torture as a part of each day's work; who have, where possible, exterminated every human being and every human institution that has opposed them; and who have acknowledged, as their supreme mission, the destruction of this country and the last vestiges of our way of life. Such men are now our very good friends.

So far as I know—and over the past week I have made a point of canvassing the subject—not a single speech, news column, editorial, or magazine article that has hailed Geneva as a success has failed to make the judgment, expressly or implicitly, that friendship with Communists is a good thing. Over the past years, in dealing with the subject of communism, I have found that a great number of things had to be said, or explained, that seemed to be elementary; but I never once felt that it had to be seriously argued that friendship with Communists is wrong. Now, in the wake of Geneva, this not only has to be said,

The sincerity and insincerity of the Russian rulers in their stated goal of world peace is the challenge today facing American and European leadership.

Accomplishments and failures of the Geneva Conference are given here by President Eisenhower, Sir Anthony Eden, Premier Faure, Marshal Bulganin, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, and Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper.

but it can be said only at the price of being considered a reactionary, spoilsun eccentric.

Yet, Mr. President, is it not still self-evident that hostility to the Soviet Union—overt, articulate, unyielding hostility—is both necessary and desirable? We must be hostile to the Soviet government for the same reason that truth is hostile to falsity, that freedom is hostile to tyranny, love to hate, and kindness to brutality—for the same reason that good is hostile to evil. Good cannot clasp the hand of evil without becoming evil, and without inviting destruction by evil. We cannot offer friendship to tyrants and murderers, as has the President of the United States, without advancing the cause of tyranny and murder.

It is the measure of the West's moral degeneracy that the friendship cemented at Geneva has been heralded—not as a harbinger of evil days ahead, but as proof that things are getting better. Only by thinking long and hard about this verdict, is it possible to appreciate the depths to which we have fallen.

(Continued on next page)



—Wide World Photo

Senator Joseph McCarthy

President Eisenhower's announcement that our government has made friends with the Kremlin leaders would have a precedent if the mayor of Chicago had publicly proclaimed in the early thirties that his administration had made friends with the Capone mob.

The moral implications of Geneva are shocking enough; but its practical consequences are just as grave. The Geneva friendship pact has already caused complacency and a false sense of security here at home. It is only natural that we relax our vigilance when we are told that our enemies are not such bad folk after all. Today the disintegration of the anti-Communist front is of the spirit. Before long it will affect armament and mobilization. Why foot huge tax bills, the American people may begin to ask, when the Communists have abandoned their plans for world conquest?

Whether the majority of the American people have accepted the verdict on Geneva certified by the administration and the press, I cannot say. But if it has and if it continues to accept that verdict, then the Geneva Big Four meeting will have written a permanent black page in the history book of the human race. The Geneva Conference will begin the last chapter on western civilization—as the event that ushered in its era of delusion and decline.

It is not enough to say that administration leaders and the press, when they interpret Geneva as a success, are ill-advised. In my judgment, they are guilty of something far more serious than having made a mistake. They have perpetrated a fraud on the American people. Their judgment is, no doubt, bad; but it is not that bad. As I see it, the primary concern of the administration and the majority of the press has been to vindicate their original judgment that Geneva was a good idea, and their secondary concern has been to disclose what they think is the truth about Geneva. The fraud is the more serious because, in a very real sense, the American people are at the mercy of the administration and the press.

The ordinary citizen is in a very poor position to form independent judgments on this subject. For one thing, he is dependent for information—almost exclusively—upon his national leaders who participated in the conference, and upon the press which reported it. If they mislead him, where can he turn? For another, the ordinary citizen usually does not concern himself with the details of such matters. Because of the demands of his private affairs and problems, his knowledge of international affairs is often confined to general impressions. When the decision was made to attend the Big Four meeting, the public's general impression was that the purpose of the meeting was to discover whether

there was sufficient evidence that communism had changed its mind about conquering the world, to justify a new American foreign policy—including the relaxation of our pressures on the Communists, abandonment of a hostile attitude, disarmament, negotiations, concessions, and the like. After the conference, the general impression conveyed to the public was that a favorable answer had been given to that question—that there was enough evidence that communism had changed to justify a new policy of reconciliation and friendship.

The only way the public could avoid getting that impression was for the administration and the press to tell the truth about Geneva.

The truth about Geneva is that it did not produce one scrap of evidence that the Communists had budged from their objective of world conquest. Every proposal made by the West, the Communists either rejected or ignored. Every proposal made by the Communists had been made, in substance, a hundred times before—and a hundred times had been unacceptable to the West.

Let us go down the list.

On Germany: We insisted on German unification, and on Germany's right to remain in the western defense alliance if she so chose; the Communists refused to agree to unification, and demanded that Germany withdraw from NATO.

On European security: We said we would not join the Russians in an overall European security pact until Germany had been unified; the Communists demanded such a pact immediately and refused to proceed with German unification.

On disarmament: The West once again asked for a reliable system of inspection; the Communists refused to agree to such guarantees, and insisted that both sides disarm, each side trusting the other to play fair.

On East-West contacts: The West requested, in effect, that the Soviets haul down the Iron Curtain; the Iron Curtain is still there and shows every sign of being permanent.

On freedom for the satellite countries: The President said he would like to discuss the question; the Communists refused, denying even the existence of a problem.

On international communism: The President brought up the subject; the Communists scoffed at the idea, called it an internal matter and, therefore, an inappropriate subject for discussion.

On the Far East: While the American people were led to believe the subject did not come up at Geneva, we now know it was discussed in secret meetings, where—let us hope—the United States argued that Communist aggression should cease; the Communists, we may be sure, renewed their demands for Red China's

admission to the United Nations and for the surrender of Quemoy, the Matsus and Formosa to the Communists. And on this subject, it is beginning to look as though the Communists not only stood firm, but that we gave ground.

So where is the evidence that Communist intentions have changed? The Communists said, as they have said, for Western consumption, ever since the Russian revolution, that they wanted peace. On the basis of words, and of words alone, the President led the American people to believe that there is sufficient evidence of Communist sincerity to go ahead with a new policy of reconciliation and friendship.

In handing down that verdict on the conference, the President betrayed the trust that so many Americans place in him.

I repeat:

In handing down that verdict on the conference, the President betrayed the trust that so many Americans place in him.

The vast majority of the nation's newspapers also gave that verdict. Thus, the press, too, betrayed any confidence the American people may still repose in it. We still have a free press in this country, but its reporting of Geneva confirms the fact that, for the most part, we have an irresponsible press.

Thank God this does not include all the press. A small segment of the press has accurately reported the Geneva conference.

Let us now turn from the question of whether Geneva was accurately reported and examine more closely the question of who won at Geneva. The best way to answer that question is to recall the aims, first of the Communists, and then of the United States.

Russia's aim was as simple as it was ambitious; and from the day the Communists began agitating for a summit meeting, it was understandable by all who wanted to understand it. The Communists' objective was nothing less than to destroy the West's will to resist. They would, of course, appreciate any concessions we offered them. But for the moment, in Communist eyes, this was not important. If the West's spirit could be broken, the territories would fall in good time.

The Communists appreciated that while pursuing an aggressive policy during the preceding fifteen years they had won tremendous victories. But Western defenses were now firming up, and thus future progress promised to be slower and perhaps costly. This prospect could be changed if only the West could be persuaded to hate communism a little less, fear communism a little less, and be less suspicious of Communist objectives.

So the Kremlin leaders decided to turn



—Wide World Photo

Council table in Geneva, July 18th. On the left (center) are President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles. In foreground (backs to the camera) are Russian Delegates Gromyko, Molotov, Bulganin, Khrushchev and Zhukov. The French delegation, headed by Premier Faure, is at the far end. The British delegation, Prime Minister Eden in charge, is at right.

back the clock twenty years, and try the approach they had used successfully during the popular-front era of the thirties. That policy had not yielded territories; but it had softened up the West, and paved the way for the conquests of the forties. The Western powers, the Communists reasoned, fell for the ruse once before; they, therefore, might fall for it again.

The Communist aim, then, was to establish an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence—an atmosphere in which the popular front would flourish once again, an atmosphere that would cause the West to drop its guard and to relax its vigilance. In this, the Communists were utterly and completely successful.

The way is now open for the re-emergence of coalition governments in France and Italy, for neutralizing Japan and Germany, for the development of "voluminous" East-West trade—to use President Eisenhower's word—which will bolster Russia's economy and strengthen her military machine. And, finally, the climate is right for persuading the United States to abandon its fighting allies, the Chinese Nationalists, the South Koreans, and the South Vietnamese.

So much for Communist aims and achievements. Now what did the United States hope to accomplish at the Big Four meeting? The doubletalk that emanated daily from the State Department and the White House in the weeks before the conference made this question difficult to answer; but it could be boiled down to this: we had two objectives—one which we might call the objective of "clarifying Ike's mind"; the

other, the objective of forcing Soviet concessions from "positions of strength." These two objectives implied very different approaches to the conference for the reason, I think, that the President and Secretary Dulles had, at that time, very different ideas to the real character of the Soviet peace offensive.

Let us, first, examine the Big Four's achievements in the light of the President's objective. Mr. Eisenhower set forth his views at a press conference on May 11. When asked why he had changed his mind about the desirability of a summit conference, he said:

"I would hope that my own mind would be clarified a little bit."

The President, in other words, was not quite sure what the Communists were after, and proposed to have a conference with the Kremlin leaders in order to clear up his doubts. I commented at the time that the President had no business attending a conference with Communists if he did not understand Communist objectives, and that, in any event, it was just a little naive to expect that the Communists, in their talks with him, would come clean as to their real aims.

What was learned at Geneva about Soviet intentions? The world learned—or, better, that part of the world that paid attention to the concrete positions taken by the Soviet delegation—that Communist intentions were the same as ever: destruction of Western civilization and Communist domination of the world. But what did the President learn? The President discovered that the Soviet leaders sincerely wanted peace. And how did the President arrive at that conclusion? Why, Bulganin told him so,

Khrushchev told him so, and—just in case any doubts lingered—his old chum Zhukov told him so. It mattered not to the President that the specific Soviet proposals, in every instance, refuted these assurances. For he had it on the solemn word of three Communist gangsters—whose present positions of power are attributable, among other things, to never having deviated from the Communist teaching that one must always tell lies when the interests of communism are served by telling lies—that communism sincerely wanted peace with the West.

To my mind, Mr. Eisenhower's profession of faith in the Communists' sincerity was the most astonishing statement ever uttered in public by a President of the United States. One would have expected the American press, had it still a sense of responsibility, to have heaped ridicule upon the President's head. Instead, the reporters and the columnists relayed the statement to the American people with the strongest implications that it was a carefully weighed, level-headed judgment, thoroughly warranted by the facts. The only thing to be regretted about the statement, the press observed, was that it might get the President into trouble with unimaginative politicians back home.

It is surely a sad commentary on the times, Mr. President, that it must be left to unimaginative politicians to point out the flagrant absurdity of taking on their face Communist assurances about their good intentions. Why did the press, itself, not make the point? One would have thought that the men and women, who once conceived it their solemn duty to remind the American people every day of the week that the Nazis could not be trusted, would have seen fit to advise the American people that Communists can be trusted no more than Nazis—that Bulganin's guaranty at Geneva was every bit as reliable as Hitler's at Munich.

And where were the members of this body, Mr. President, and of the House, when that outlandish statement was made? Why were they silent? The Democrats may be excused, for the habit of apologizing for visionaries and appeasers of their own party has probably desensitized them to such things. But why did not Republicans—every one of them—speak out? When Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman offered similar appraisals of Soviet intentions, in the heyday of our alliance with Russia, the Republican party denounced such foolishness in rounder terms than I am using today. Since Democrats have a President who thinks the way they do, and Republicans a President who, they feel, is indispensable for keeping their party in power, the number of protests can be counted on the fingers of one hand.

(Continued on next page)

So as to this first American objective, that of enlightening the President about Communist objectives, it must be said that the conference not only failed to enlighten him, but cemented his delusions and spread them to others.

Nor did our second objective—that of bowling over the Russians from positions of strength—fare any better. We heard a great deal of talk before the conference began to the effect that Russia was weak, that her economy had collapsed, that her empire was falling apart, that she was thus prepared to make concessions to the West in order to keep going. Secretary Dulles suggested we would be able to drive a hard bargain at Geneva, and could wrench some concessions from the Communists.

The first day of the Big Four meeting demonstrated how pathetically wrong Mr. Dulles had been. The President made a stab at starting up a discussion of issues regarding which the Communists might make concessions—those of the satellite countries and international communism. In practical effect, the Communists simply laughed in his face; our delegation then dropped the subject like a hot potato. Neither were the Communists impressed with our strong positions when the subject of Germany came up. And so on down the line.

Mr. Dulles' highly touted policy of negotiating from strength never got off the ground at Geneva. Today, it is utterly bankrupt. Not even State Department propagandists have dared suggest that in the coming negotiations with the Chinese Communists we are dealing from a position of strength.

Now, of course, these facts make it difficult for the administration and its apologists to claim that we won a victory at Geneva. Nonetheless, the claim is made, and it is made more confidently and more vigorously than had we forced the Soviets to disgorge half their empire. America won a great victory, we are told, because President Eisenhower emerged from the Geneva conference the most popular man in Europe.

The attempt to equate America's political fortunes with Dwight Eisenhower's ranking on a world-wide popularity roster began the day the conference opened; today it is revealed truth that American diplomacy triumphed because Mr. Eisenhower won the popularity contest. A more flagrant *non sequitur* can hardly be imagined. The argument assumes what I insist is demonstrably false—namely, that the views that made Mr. Eisenhower popular served the interests of the United States and the cause of anti-communism.

Of course, Mr. Eisenhower was popular with the European neutralists. Of course, they loved him. He said precisely what they wanted to hear, and did pre-

cisely what they wanted him to do. He announced that Communists sincerely wanted peace. He sealed a friendship pact with the Soviet leaders. He changed America's policy from one of militant opposition to communism to one that comes very close to wanting peace at any price. His lines at Geneva would not have read much differently had the European neutralists dictated every word he spoke.

Mr. President, let me cite a typical account of European reaction. This one is from the *Washington Post and Times Herald*, under the banner headline "Ike's Geneva Triumph Has Britain Cheering."

Here is the story:

"London.—Britain is in a mood of double cheering about the United States. For in British eyes, America has come around to a sensible approach toward Russia and has begun to give ground from its obstinate stand against the Chinese Communists. Most Britons probably would agree that both changes amount to American acceptance of the British approach toward the Communist world."

Then the article goes on to say:

"Unquestionably, the summit conference was President Eisenhower's triumph. To Britons and Western Europeans in general, the President's approach to the Russians represented a revival of the kind of American leadership in the grand manner to which they had been so accustomed in the day of Franklin Roosevelt."

A revival, Mr. President, in Franklin Roosevelt's grand manner.

I continue the quotation:

"In a way the President's performance wrote final finis to the dreary period of McCarthyism which caused such revulsion among America's friends in Western Europe."

Mr. Eisenhower's performance was, indeed, a return to the grand manner of Franklin Roosevelt—the grand manner of Teheran and Yalta. And it was, indeed, a repudiation of McCarthyism, which, in the eyes of our so-called European friends, is the symbol for hard anti-communism.

But before we rejoice any further over the fact that Mr. Eisenhower made a hit in Europe, let us think long and hard about how Jawaharlal Nehru would have been received, had he come to Europe as America's president, preaching his sell-out program. Or how the neutralists would have greeted Adlai Stevenson, with his very concrete plan for appeasement. The applause, if possible, would have been even more deafening.

Two years ago Mr. Eisenhower was not so popular with the Europeans, for his administration had adopted a policy of unleashing the forces of free China. By 1955 all that had changed. Mr. Eisen-

hower had become a hero, even before he arrived in Europe. For had he not said on March 2 that the United States would never support an attempt by China to recapture the mainland, because that would be aggressive war? And had not the Eisenhower administration already adopted, in practical effect, the policies that Secretary Dulles formally announced to the American people last week [July, 1955]—and I call this to the attention of every American who is interested in the enslaved peoples of the world—namely, that the United States would oppose any attempt by South Korea to release North Korea from chains, because that would be an aggressive war; that the United States would oppose any attempt by South Vietnam to release North Vietnam from chains, because that would be an aggressive war; and that the United States would continue to oppose the return of Chiang Kai-shek for the same reason. Our former liberation policy, which the Europeans despise, was almost dead when Mr. Eisenhower left the United States. He came to Europe to bury it where the neutralists could cheer at the funeral.

It is little wonder that Mr. Eisenhower won the popularity crown—not only from the Europeans but from the Communists themselves. At one point during the conference, the President turned to the Communist leaders and said:

"I can assure the people in this conference room that the United States will not be a party to an aggressive war and that under no circumstances would we approve of an aggressive war."

Europe cheered, and the Communists cheered. Since the President had adopted the Communists' definition—not our definition, of aggressive war—namely, a war by dispossessed peoples designed to recapture territories stolen by the Communists, his statement was, to Communist ears, the sweetest music ever heard. No wonder, the day the conference was over, Premier Bulganin joined the Eisenhower-for-President boom.

I ask the Senate: Would Senator Taft or General MacArthur, if one of them were our president at this time, have received the accolades of Europe? Most certainly not, and for the very good reason that neither Taft nor MacArthur would have been seduced by the blandishments of Communist propaganda. They would have denounced the Soviet peace offensive for the fraud it is.

There are some people, however, for whom Dwight Eisenhower is not a great hero. These people are in such circumstances that their voices cannot be heard. They are people who are now enslaved by the Communists, and could hardly be expected to cheer a pleasant social gathering between their oppressors and those upon whom their hopes for freedom rest. The enslaved peoples saw those

pictures of the smiling President, apparently exchanging pleasantries with the smiling Communist butchers. We may be sure that the Soviet government has had those pictures distributed in every city and hamlet behind the Iron Curtain—along with Mr. Eisenhower's statement that he believes the Soviets have good intentions. I cannot imagine a more lethal blow to the morale of the captive peoples than the reports they are sure to get of Mr. Eisenhower's friendly meeting with their oppressors.

While I am on this subject, I think it is finally time to say a word about the relationship between the President and Marshal Zhukov. If Dwight Eisenhower were a private citizen, his friendship with a Communist might be nobody's business but his own. But he is not. He is the President of the United States; and, as such, ought to have a decent regard for the feelings of his countrymen. Marshal Zhukov may have been Mr. Eisenhower's wartime "buddy," a comrade in arms, and all that; but it remains that he is a leading member of a ruthless cabal that holds one-third of the world's peoples in chains, and that, "to boot," is determined to destroy the United States. It goes without saying that Marshal Zhukov would not be where he is today, did he not support communism wholeheartedly and did he not possess the measure of deceit, treachery, and brutality that qualifies for membership in the Communist high command. The argument that, through Zhukov, we have a pipeline to the Kremlin is sheer nonsense; Zhukov is not going to tell the President anything the Communist leadership does not want him to know. Moreover, the sort of thing that Zhukov is likely to tell the President is the sort of thing the President should hear less of, not more.

Before I am berated for making an issue of the Eisenhower-Zhukov relationship, let me ask those who would berate me what they would have said and written had Franklin Roosevelt concluded a pact of mutual trust and friendship with, say, Hermann Goering or Joseph Goebbels.

So far, I have spoken of the Geneva conference largely in terms of the Communists' success in demoralizing the West. But it would be very wrong to suppose that the atmosphere of appeasement generated at Geneva damaged only our spirit, our will to resist. There is every reason to believe that concrete measures of appeasement were agreed upon at Geneva which have not been revealed to the American people.

Last Monday [July 25] the President assured us that there were no secret agreements—either written or otherwise—at Geneva. We were also led to believe that the Far Eastern situation was not discussed. But on Wednesday, Prime Min-

ister Eden told the House of Commons that the Far Eastern crisis had been discussed in the secret Big Four meetings. What was decided in those secret meetings, we do not know. But in the light of the State Department announcement—coming, as it did, right after Geneva—of talks with the Chinese Communists on the question of a ceasefire in the Formosa Straits, it is highly probable that the President agreed with the Communists to negotiate about Quemoy and the Matsus.

Moreover, in view of today's news that the Chinese Communists have released eleven of the remaining 477 American prisoners of war, it is possible that this week's ambassadorial talks will simply ratify a deal made at the Big Four meeting to surrender the offshore islands to the Communists, for it has long been apparent that we would bargain for the return of our prisoners of war by making territorial concessions to Red China.

Whatever agreement about the Far East was reached in Geneva, it is clear that the campaign to sell out free China is under a full head of steam. The administration has already gone back on its solemn promise to Chiang Kai-shek not to negotiate on questions dealing with the rights and territories of the Republic of China without the participation of the free Chinese. The administration does not want Chiang's representatives at those talks, for the understandable reason that they would oppose the administration's plans. Once Quemoy and the Matsus are lost, the Republic of China will be effectively neutralized and there will no longer be any realistic hope of having Chiang return to the mainland—a fact the administration knows only too well.

Our policy toward Free China is more than a betrayal of a devoted and fighting ally; it is a blatant repudiation of the Republican party's solemn pledges to the American people. Once again, let me recall to the Senate what we Republicans told the American people in 1952, when we asked them to elect us to office:

"We shall again make liberty into a beacon light of hope that will penetrate the dark places. That program will give the Voice of America a real function. It will mark the end of the negative, futile, and immoral policy of 'containment' which abandons countless human beings to a despotism and godless terrorism, which in turn enables the rulers to forge the captives into a weapon for our destruction."

Mr. President, the way we have lived up to that promise does not make me proud of my party. There are three areas in the world where we might have implemented a policy of liberation, but have refused to do so. We might have implemented it in Eastern Europe, along the lines I suggested several weeks ago,

by withdrawing diplomatic recognition from the satellite regimes, and by establishing governments-in-exile. But the administration is satisfied with expressing a humanitarian concern for the satellite peoples. We might have implemented it in Korea, by giving the armies of South Korea the equipment and support they need to liberate their northern brethren. But the administration has termed such a liberation attempt "an aggressive war," and we are now withholding the supplies which the South Koreans need in order to go it alone.

Finally, we might have kept Chiang Kai-shek's forces unleashed. But the Truman-Acheson policy has been revived, and we are proceeding with the neutralization of Formosa.

The coming sellout in Asia is different from most sellouts in the past, in that this time we can clearly see it coming. There is thus the opportunity to prevent it—if only there were the will. On the level of the national government, that will does not exist, for the once powerful opposition to appeasement, encompassing nearly every Republican legislator, has all but faded away. There is only the remnant. The Eisenhower administration has adopted every important plank of the Democratic party's foreign policy. And since the President does precisely what the Democrats want him to do, there is no chance of opposition there. Most Republicans, I think, are, in their hearts, opposed to the President's policies. But they have accepted the theory that they cannot return to office in 1956 without having Mr. Eisenhower at the head of the party ticket; and they are, I am afraid, prepared to subordinate consideration of sound policy to those of political survival. As a result, the Republican party platform is just a scrap of paper.

It is not a pretty picture—the Geneva demoralization and the China sellout, and it most certainly is not a hopeful one.

Five years ago I saw a picture that was only slightly less bleak and slightly less hopeful than this one. It depicted a situation that affected the survival of this nation every bit as seriously as does the situation today. As I saw it then, there was only one recourse—to take the issue to the American people. That is the only solution I see today. I shall go to the people.

If I, and the others who will join me in this fight, are successful it will be because the American people have the innate good sense to make sound and courageous decisions when they are given the facts. I propose to give them the facts. It may be too late, but insofar as my abilities and endurance permit, I shall see to it that this country does not die without the people of the country being given a chance to save it.

Report of President Eisenhower

(Continued from Page 6)

that we were going primarily to attempt to change the spirit in which these great negotiations and conferences were held.

A transcript was made of that talk and I should like now to read you one paragraph from it. This is what I said with respect to our purpose:

"We realize that one ingredient has been missing from all past conferences. That is an honest intent to conciliate, to understand, to be tolerant, to try to see the other fellow's viewpoint as well as we see our own. I say to you if we can change the spirit in which these conferences are conducted we will have taken the greatest step toward peace for future prosperity and tranquility that has ever been taken in all the history of mankind."

During last week in formal conferences and in personal visits, these purposes have been pursued. So now there exists a better understanding, a closer unity among the nations of NATO. There seems to be a growing realization by all that nuclear warfare, pursued to the ultimate, could be practically race suicide. There is a realization that negotiations can be conducted without propaganda and threat and invective.

Finally, there is a sharpened realization by the world that the United States will go to any length consistent with our concepts of decency and justice and right to obtain peace. For this purpose we will work cooperatively with the Soviets and any other people as long as there is sincerity of purpose and a genuine desire to go ahead.

Now, in the course of carrying on these discussions there were a number of specific proposals, some of which are items on the official agenda.

That agenda contains German unification and European security, disarmament and increased contacts of all kinds between the East and the West.

Now most of the conference meetings were given wide publicity and even some of the specific suggestions made in those conferences likewise were publicized. In any event, I can assure you of one thing. There were no secret agreements made, either understood agreements or written agreements. Everything is put before you on the record.

Now outside of these conference meetings there were numerous unofficial meetings, conversations with important members of the other delegations, and of course very specifically with the Soviet delegation. In these conversations a number of subjects were discussed and

among them the Secretary of State and I specifically brought up more than once American convictions and American beliefs, American concern about such questions as the satellites of Eastern Europe and the activities of international communism. We made crystal clear what America believes about such matters as these.

Now, to take up for the moment the items on the official agenda. Probably no question causes as much trouble as that of German reunification and European security. At first we thought that these could be dealt with separately, but the American delegation concluded that they had to be dealt with as one subject. We held that Germany should be reunited under a government freely chosen by themselves and under conditions that would provide security both for nations of the East and for nations of the West. In fact, in a framework that provided European security.

In the matter of disarmament the American government believes that an effective disarmament system can be reached only if at its base there is an effective reciprocal inspection and overall supervision system, one in which we can have confidence and each side can know that the other is carrying out his commitments.

Now because of this belief we joined with the French and the British in making several proposals; some were global, some were local, some were sort of budgetary in character, but all were in furtherance of this one single objective: that is, to make inspection the basis of disarmament proposals.

Now, one proposal suggested aerial photography as between the Soviets and ourselves by unarmed peaceful planes, and to make this inspection just as thorough as this kind of reconnaissance can possibly be. The principal purpose, of course, was to convince everyone of Western sincerity in seeking peace. But another idea was this: if we could go ahead and establish this kind of inspection as an initiation of an inspection system, we could possibly develop it into a broader one and eventually build on it an effective and durable disarmament system.

Now, in the matter of increasing contacts, many items were discussed. We talked about a freer flow of news across the curtains of all kinds. We talked about the circulation of books, and particularly we talked about peaceful trading. But the subject that took most of our attention in this regard was the pos-

sibility of increased visits by the citizens of one country into the territory of another, doing this in such way as to give each the fullest possible opportunity to learn about the people of the other nation.

Now, in this particular subject there was the greatest possible degree of agreement. As a matter of fact, it was an agreement often repeated and enthusiastically supported by the words of the members of each side.

As a matter of fact, each side assured the other earnestly and often that it intended to pursue a new spirit of conciliation and cooperation in its contacts with the other.

Now, of course, we are profoundly hopeful that these assurances will be faithfully carried out. One evidence as to these assurances will, of course, be available soon in the language and the terminology in which we will find speeches and diplomatic exchanges couched.

But the acid test should begin next October, because then is when the next meeting occurs. It will be a meeting of the foreign ministers and its principal purpose will be to take the conclusions of this conference as to the subjects to be discussed and the general procedures to be observed in translating those generalities that we talked about into actual specific agreements. Then is when real conciliation and some giving on each side will be definitely necessary.

For myself, I do not belittle the obstacles lying ahead on the road to a secure and just peace. By no means do I underestimate the long and exhausting work that will be necessary before real results are achieved. I do not blink the fact that all of us must continue to sacrifice for what we believe to be best for the safety of ourselves and for the preservation of the things in which we believe. But I do know that the people of the world want peace.

Moreover, every other individual who was at Geneva likewise felt this longing of mankind. So there is great pressure to advance constructively—not merely to re-enact the dreary performances—the negative performances of the past.

We, all of us, individually and as a people, now have possibly the most difficult assignment of our nation's history. Likewise we have the most shining opportunity ever possessed by Americans. May these truths inspire, never dismay us. I believe that only with prayerful patience, intelligence, courage and tolerance—never forgetting vigilance and prudence—can we keep alive the spark ignited at Geneva. But if we are successful in this then we will make constantly brighter the lamp that will one day guide us to our goal—a just and lasting peace. Thank you. Good night to each of you.

Excerpts from President Eisenhower's Later Speech at Philadelphia

The spirit of Geneva, if it is to provide a healthy atmosphere for the pursuit of peace, if it is to be genuine and not spurious, must inspire all to a correction of injustices, an observance of human rights and an end to subversion organized on a world-wide scale. Whether or not such a spirit as this will thrive through the combined intelligence and understanding of men, or will shrivel in the greed and ruthlessness of some, is for the future to tell. But one thing is certain. This spirit and the goals we seek could never have been achieved by violence or when men and nations confronted each other with hearts filled with fear and hatred.

At Geneva we strove to help establish this spirit.

Geneva spells for America, not stagnation, then, but opportunity—opportunity for our own people and for people everywhere to realize their just aspirations.

Eagerness to avoid war—if we think no deeper than this single desire—can produce outright or implicit agreement that injustices and wrongs of the present shall be perpetuated in the future. We must not participate in any such false agreement. Thereby, we would outrage our own conscience. In the eyes of those who suffer injustice, we would become partners with their oppressors. In the judgment of history, we would have sold out the freedom of men for the pottage of a false peace. Moreover, we would assure future conflict!

The division of Germany cannot be supported by any argument based on boundaries or language or racial origin.

The domination of captive countries cannot longer be justified by any claim that this is needed for purposes of security. An international political machine, operating within the borders of sovereign nations for their political and ideological subversion, cannot be explained away as a cultural movement.

Very probably, the reason for these and other violations of the rights of men and of nations is a compound of suspicions and fear. That explains. It cannot excuse. In justice to others and to ourselves, we can never accept those wrongs as a part of the peace that we desire and seek.

We must be firm but friendly. We must be tolerant but not complacent. We must be quick to understand another's viewpoint, honestly assumed. But we must never agree to injustice for the weak, for the unfortunate, for the underprivileged, well knowing that if we accept destruction of the principle of

justice for all, we cannot longer claim justice for ourselves as a matter of right.

The peace we want—the product of understanding and agreement and law among nations—is an enduring international environment, based on justice and security. It will reflect enlightened self-interest. It will foster the concentration of human energy—individual and organized—for the advancement of human standards in all the areas of mankind's material, intellectual and spiritual life.

Can we achieve that sort of peace? I think we can. At times it may seem hopeless, far beyond human capacity to reach. But has any great accomplishment in history begun with assurance of its success? Our own republic is a case in point. Through a long generation there was almost a unanimous world conviction that the United States of America was an artificial contrivance that could not long endure.

And the republic survived its most perilous years—the experimental years—because of dedicated efforts by individuals, not because it had a built-in guarantee of success or a path free from obstacles.

Our case for peace, based on justice, is as sound as was John Marshall's for the Constitution and the Union. And it will be as successful—if we present it before the bar of world opinion with the same courage and dedicated conviction that he brought to his mission.

In our communities we can, each according to his capacity, promote comprehension of what this republic must be—in strength, in understanding, in dedication to principle—if it is to fulfill its role of leadership for peace.

In the search for justice, we can make our system an ever more glorious example of an orderly government devoted to the preservation of human freedom and man's individual opportunities and responsibilities.

No matter how vigorously we propose and uphold our individual views in domestic problems, we can present abroad a united front in all that concerns the freedom and security of the republic, its dedication to a just and prosperous peace.

Above all, conscious of the towering achievements manifest in the republic's history under the Constitution, assured that no human problem is beyond solution given the will, the perseverance and the strength—each of us can help arouse in America a renewed and flaming dedication to justice and liberty, prosperity and peace among men.

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THE BIG FOUR CONFERENCE, Continued

Following are remarks of Sir Anthony Eden, Premier Edgar Faure, and Marshal Bulganin at the conclusion of the Geneva meeting:

Sir Anthony Eden's Speech

We have now concluded the conference of the heads of governments which has been so much discussed and so earnestly advocated, notably by Sir Winston Churchill more than two years ago . . . This conference set itself a limited task. This it has more than accomplished.

Ten years ago the war in Europe was brought to an end. Now at last we have made a start with the work which we might have hoped to begin in 1945. What we have now agreed makes it possible to get to grips with the twin problems of the unity of Germany and the security of Europe.

No one expects that it will be easy to settle every detail of these complicated issues. But there is now a better chance than we have known at any time since the war to get to work on practical proposals to solve the differences which have divided Europe all these years.

At this conference we did not set out to make a detailed plan in these few days. For all that, it will be found that in our directive to the foreign secretaries we have included the essentials of a comprehensive settlement.

The world will have observed the tone and temper in which our work has been conducted. Those of us who have been engaged in the actual negotiations have been aware that a new spirit of conciliation has been present at our meetings.

But in addition to this formal work, we have had many opportunities for personal contacts, which I know we have all found invaluable. I am quite certain that the exchanges which have taken place outside the conference room have given all of us a far better understanding of each other's points of view and of the problems each has to face.

If we can continue our work together in the spirit of this meeting, what is hopeful promise today should become solid performance as events unfold.

Premier Faure's Speech

(Translation from the French)

Our meeting is drawing to a close. But for all that, we must not separate. I mean by this that if the four of us are no longer present in one room, we must remain morally united with one and the same will.

I consider that over and above the agreements which we have reached between us on certain subjects, texts and directives, the very fact of our meeting, the spirit which has governed our de-

bates and the mutual understanding which resulted from it, will leave a profound mark on international relations and will have a happy influence on their evolution.

We have shown here a common resolve. It is now our responsibility to find the means. The first step has been taken along this path, but there are still obstacles to overcome. We have not sought to hide them, for it is through truth that all progress is achieved.

If it is true that life today is characterized by tension and force, may this tension and strength be that of understanding and friendship, and no longer of hostility and distrust. To the peoples who look to us, and not only to those for whom we have responsibility, we must be able to propose the progressive substitution of constructive and beneficial tasks of peace for the security measures which are still necessary.

Marshal Bulganin's Speech

(Translation from the Russian)

There is no doubt that the present meeting in Geneva of the heads of governments of France, Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union has a positive meaning for the easing of tension in the relations between the governments and for the inevitable increase in confidence between them.

Above all, this was facilitated by the personal contact in Geneva between the leaders of the four powers. We got to know each other better here and exchanged opinions on a series of important international problems.

Despite the fact that on some questions our points of view did not coincide, on the whole the meeting proceeded in an honest atmosphere and was marked by efforts of its participants to achieve mutual understanding.

The Geneva conference attracted the attention of the nations of the whole world and further strengthened their desire for the lessening of international tension and for the shortening of the cold war.

We hope that all of this will play its positive role and will facilitate the achievement of a worthy goal—the securing of a solid and lasting peace.

The Soviet delegation came to the Geneva meeting with the good intentions of facilitating the organization of practical work for the solution above all of these basic international problems—such as, for example, the organization of European collective security and disarmament.

In present conditions these questions

have a decisive meaning for this task of strengthening world peace.

The most important issue of the Geneva conference was the problem of European security.

The Soviet delegation considers that, in the interests of strengthening peace, a system of collective security should be created in Europe, based on the participation of all European governments and the United States of America.

Our new proposals on this question, put to the Geneva conference, are based on the consideration that in present circumstances—when opposing groupings of nations have been created in Europe—it is necessary above all to put the relations between the nations included in these groupings on the path of normal peaceful cooperation and of the peaceful solution of disputes between them.

In this first stage of the creation of an all-European security system, the Soviet proposals do not envisage the liquidation of the North Atlantic bloc, the Western European Union or the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

With the passage of time, in the second stage, when successes in the lessening of tension in Europe will have been achieved and confidence between governments will have been established, the above-named groupings may be dissolved and replaced by a collective security system in Europe.

Together with this, the Soviet delegation proposed that, before the creation of a European collective security system there should be agreement on the conclusion of a pact between the governments participating in these groupings in Europe to reject force and to use only peaceful means to settle their disputes.

The exchange of opinions on this problem of European security showed that all of the participants of the conference wished to find an agreed solution for this important problem.

We hope that in the course of future consideration of this problem even greater success will be achieved.

On the question of disarmament the Soviet government tabled even before the Geneva conference—on May 10—concrete proposals for the reduction of armaments, the outlawing of atomic weapons and the removal of the threat of war.

At the Geneva conference we proposed to define the already achieved agreement on aspects concerning which our positions are either fully at one or have come significantly closer together.

This concerns first of all the fixing of the level of armaments of the governments, prohibition of atomic weapons and the necessary establishment of a system of effective international controls.

The discussion of the question of disarmament showed that all of the participants in the conference wished to find an agreed solution of this very important

problem which has decisive significance for the security of the nations.

In this connection it is necessary to point out that in the course of the discussions on disarmament the participants of the conference made proposals which indubitably will be studied in the course of further negotiations on this problem and will serve to achieve the necessary agreement between them.

The Soviet government states that in the further consideration of this disarmament problem it will make the utmost efforts to find a solution to the problem, answering the yearning of the nations.

There was an exchange of opinions between us on the German problem. Various approaches to this problem were expressed.

The United States, British and French delegations, speaking of the reunion of Germany, based their arguments on the assumption that West Germany, which is to be remilitarized in accordance with the Paris agreements—and later a reunited Germany—must enter into the blocs of the North Atlantic pact and the Western European Union.

The Soviet government, therefore, which is consequentially seeking the creation of German national unity, has drawn attention even before the ratification of the Paris agreements to the fact that the coming into force of these agreements would create difficulties for talks on the German problem and make pointless any discussion on the reunification of Germany.

The Soviet government believes that it is necessary to take the facts into consideration.

War in Europe ended ten years ago. Since that time two Germanies have appeared—the German Democratic Republic and the German Federal Republic—each with its own economic and social structure.

Besides this, in accordance with the Paris agreements, the German Federal Republic entered upon the path of remilitarization and was included in the military grouping of the Western powers.

As far as the German Democratic Republic is concerned, in view of the conclusion of the Paris pacts, it has taken the decision to participate in the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

It is clear that in such conditions we cannot argue the question of the mechanical union of the two parts of Germany—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic—because this would be an unrealistic approach to the problem.

The Soviet Union was and remains a warm supporter of the reunion of Germany as a peace-loving, democratic state.

We are deeply convinced that the German problem must not be discussed without the participation of the representatives of the German Democratic

and the German Federal Republics.

In the situation which developed in Europe, the only real approach to the reunion of Germany appears to be by way of a coordinated effort of the four powers, and also of the German people, which is directed toward a relaxation of tension in Europe and the establishment of confidence between the states.

Just this goal would be served best by the creation of a European collective security system, with the participation of both parts of Germany on a basis of equality until reunion is achieved.

Since this would lead to the strengthening of peace in Europe and create an obstacle to the growth of German militarism, the obstacles at present in the path of a German reunion could be done away with.

On the other hand, for the reunion of Germany from the point of view of her internal conditions, the rapprochement between her two parts is of the utmost importance.

The Soviet delegation regrets that further attention was not given to the problems of Asia and the Far East at our conference.

Among others, such questions as the restoration of the legal rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations organization, the regulation of the situation in the Formosa region on the basis of the recognition of the indisputable rights of the Chinese people, the execution of the Geneva agreements on Indochina and other problems will not tolerate postponement.

We can never escape these problems. They must be solved in the interests of peace and security in Asia and the Far East, in the interests of world peace.

The Geneva conference opened the road for the further treatment and solu-

tion of the matured international problems.

We also made an important decision about the necessity for widening contacts between East and West and about the development and strengthening of economic and cultural ties between our states.

With these decisions we have laid the basis for a wider cooperation between our countries.

The Soviet government, on its part, is ready by all means to facilitate such cooperation. It expects that other participants in this conference will travel along this road, which serves the interests of our peoples and the interests of world peace.

We all recognize the importance of the decisions made here. They are the beginning of a new stage in the relations between our countries. They will facilitate the strengthening of confidence between us, between our peoples.

These decisions will have a positive meaning also for other countries and for the strengthening of world peace. The warmest yearning of all nations is the yearning for peace.

The Soviet government will make the requisite efforts to translate into action our decisions which are directed toward the relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of world peace.

This requires the patient and loyal examination of those problems which we must still discuss and resolve. But if this same spirit of cooperation is shown by all of us, as it has been shown at the Geneva conference, this will be a reliable pledge that the noble goal of the maintenance of peace will be achieved and the peoples will be able to look calmly toward the morrow.

(Continued on next page)



Peace Conference, World War I. The "Big Four," left to right, Orlando, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Woodrow Wilson.

—Wide World Photo

Accomplishments and Failures at Geneva

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Republican, Iowa), a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and ranking minority member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy expresses his views on this controversial subject while being interrogated by Jack Doherty of the *New York Daily News* and John Madigan of the Washington Bureau of *Newsweek* on Facts Forum's Reporters' Roundup program.



(MADIGAN): Senator, do you believe that the U. S. made any mistakes at the Big Four meeting?

I think that the Big Four meeting just concluded at Geneva was a highly successful meeting from our standpoint. To answer positively that no mistakes were made, I think, is impossible. I don't know of any major mistakes that are apparent at this moment.

(MADIGAN): Regarding President Eisenhower's proposal for a free and open exchange of blueprints and inspection between Russia's military strength and the installations here in the U. S., do you believe that such a proposal would ever be acceptable to the American people?

It would be and I think it was a very dramatic demonstration of the fact to the peoples of the world that the U. S. is bent on peace and it now is up to the Russians to answer this and see whether they really are sincere in their desire for peace.

(MADIGAN): Would such a proposal take legislation in the Senate and the House?

I believe it would not necessarily take legislation. There might be a few phases of it that would require authorization—

(MADIGAN): Is it not a fact that many of our atomic installations now are restricted areas to people from our nation?

There are restricted areas to people of our nation at the moment and that is on a basis of security. However, the Atomic Energy Commission has broad latitude to declassify information and installations and I think that that authority probably would be sufficient, although I would have to check it a little more closely.

(MADIGAN): Do you believe that Russia would accept this proposal of the President's?

No, I don't.

(DOHERTY): Well, Senator, in the event that Russia did accept this dramatic proposal of President Eisenhower's, wouldn't that mean that we would open up every single secret thing we have, lay it on the table and say, "Here it is, come take a look at it?" By that same token wouldn't we then have to throw away our entire security organization which is meant to protect our secrets from people even in this country?

No, I don't believe that the proposal contemplates such a broad and minute inspection of everything we have—

(DOHERTY): President Eisenhower used the word blueprints—

I understand, but blueprints indicate the location of our military installations and our plants, and the offer as I see it did not go to the disclosure of every last secret development which we have, engineeringwise and from a scientific standpoint. It offered to let the Russians make aerial photographs providing they gave us the same information regarding locations of their plants, types of plants, and the permission for us to make simultaneous aerial photographs. I don't believe it included all of our scientific knowledge. We do not maintain secrecy in these plants in order to keep the information away from the American people. We maintain secrecy in order to keep information away from those nations who are opposed to us, and from our enemies who would increase the threat of war if they learned about it. That is the purpose of secrecy.

(DOHERTY): Well, speaking merely hypothetically, Senator, if we were to exchange this information with Russia, isn't it possible that some nation might take advantage of this and knowing our weaknesses build up and try to do something against them?

Well, I presume hypothetically that might be possible, and yet I think the benefits which would accrue to the cause of peace and to ourselves would overshadow the dangers. I think it is a calculated risk, one of those calculated risks it is worthwhile to take.

(HURLEIGH): Senator, a moment ago you suggested that the President's agreement, if accepted, to give blueprints and aerial photography rights to the Soviets would not necessarily need legislation. Would that mean that it would come under an executive agreement between the President and the head of state of the Soviet Union?

The authority for classification of information in the atomic field is vested almost entirely with the Commission—the AEC. They can classify or declassify as their judgment and the sensitiveness of the information indicates. In connection with our military establishments, there is what they call "war information" or "military information" of a sensitive nature which is generally in the province of the Secretary of Defense or the President to hold secure or to release, and while there may be certain things that are protected by law, and I can't recall if there are such areas, it is my view at this moment that the entire discretion would be lodged either in the President, the Secretary of Defense or the AEC in connection with the declassification of most of these plants.

(HURLEIGH): But, there would have to be an agreement, there would have to be authority, there would have to be some sort of a signed paper—

There would have to be a simultaneous authorization or permission given by the Kremlin to our people at the same time they were permitted to come here and take a look and to make aerial photographs.

(HURLEIGH): I am only trying to establish whether or not the President would be doing this in his capacity as the President through an executive agreement rather than as a treaty which would have to be ratified by the Senate.

Well, you have raised a question which I just haven't looked up in the time since it was proposed, but it is my view at this moment—subject, of course, to change if the law is different than I think it is—it is within the power of the President now to make information publicly available, or in the Secretary of Defense or in the Commission itself.

(MADIGAN): Can we now trust Russia, in your opinion?

No, no, I don't think we can. I think the Russian objectives have not changed one iota; their objectives are still fundamentally world communism—to communize the world. I think they are in a period in which they use blandishments and put on their best and most friendly face. My own personal view is that they are playing for time and not necessarily playing for a genuine peaceful settlement of world tensions, but by the same token, perhaps the time which may be obtained here by these mutual discussions may also work to our benefit. It may, in the long run, work more toward peace than against it.

(DOHERTY): Senator, to get back to President Eisenhower's disarmament proposal. Even though you claim this could be done by the President under his authority as Commander-in-Chief, and through the departments, can you conceive of his taking any such drastic step as this without consulting Congress?

I think it is very possible that the President may do as he has done frequently in the past—ask for consultation with the Congress and perhaps an expression of their views on the matter if, as, and when it ever may come to an agreement.

(DOHERTY): By that, Senator, do you mean having select groups of congressmen of both Houses and both parties being summoned to the White House and told what is going to happen?

The President may continue that bipartisan method or he might ask, as he did in connection with Thailand and the Pescadores, the view or the cooperation of the Congress in the matter. I don't know what method he would choose to follow.

(MADIGAN): Senator, could we move to the Far East for a moment? Almost immediately at the conclusion of the Geneva meeting, the tension throughout the world centered again on the Red China area with some foreboding that trouble will break out there. Proposals have been made that we meet in face-to-face conference with Red China at the foreign minister level within the next three, four, five, or six months. Would you favor such a meeting?

At this particular moment, unless there were some more concrete proposal for an honorable and a reliable peace in the Far East, in which the good faith of the Reds had been demonstrated, I would approach the idea of any such conference with misgivings. At this present moment, I can see nothing that could be accomplished except something that is adverse to the free world. In six months or a year from now, I might believe that the climate were such that we might approach such a conference.

(MADIGAN): What would be the expressions of sincerity that could come from Red China which would make you agree? Name two or three things they should do immediately.

I would say among a great number would be the release of the war prisoners which they hold, the restitution for the criminal acts of many kinds which they have performed, the willingness, by demonstration, to conform to the moral principles which the free world believes to be sound, the keeping of agreements, and all those things.

(MADIGAN): Do you know if that is the general feeling of the Republican leadership in the Senate?

I am on the Policy Committee in the Senate and that particular matter has not been one for serious discussion up until this moment.

(MADIGAN): Would you vigorously oppose it in the Policy Committee in case it should come up for discussion?

If it were proposed at this time to hold a discussion with the Red Chinese leaders officially which would be tantamount to recognition of them, I would not be in favor of it because I don't think they have demonstrated their good faith.

(MADIGAN): If Nationalist China were allowed to sit in on a three-way conversation, would that change your viewpoint? Red China, Nationalist China and the United States?

At this moment, I could not conceive of anything to be gained by bringing Red Chinese leaders into a conference with the Nationalist Chinese and ourselves. We do not recognize the Red Chinese leaders. It is a bandit government and I am opposed to permitting any group to shoot its way, for instance, into the United Nations—

(MADIGAN): Well, what do you suggest we do to force this change of mood and change of tactics on their part?

I don't know that we can force anything. I think the change in attitude must come from there.

(MADIGAN): And we have to just sit and maintain a status quo?

Well, we have to take care of our own interests and our own security, and we have done a great many things in an attempt to establish peace and security in the world. Unfortunately, we have been met at every turn by the hostility and opposition of Russia and the Red Chinese, and I think they could well change their attitude in many ways which would probably give us a little more confidence in their good faith, and then we could see whether a discussion was in order or not.

(DOHERTY): Senator, do you think the Chinese could do all these things you have suggested without losing face in the Orient?

I don't know. The Orient is a complicated grouping of nations and ideologies and peoples. If they made a substantial reversal of their position they might lose some support which they now have in the fringe areas, and I do think that if they made a change in their position internally in China and gave some freedom inside of China and more self-determination they would gain favor with the Chinese people.

(DOHERTY): You mean if they held an election for instance?

If they held elections, yes. The same thing applies to the satellite countries, in the Balkans and Latvia and Estonia.

(HURLEIGH): Senator Hickenlooper, would peace with Russia bring prices and taxes down in this country?

I think if a reliable peace could be assured, we would have less money to spend for armaments which would reduce taxes. So far as prices are concerned, I think prices would remain at a substantial level because of increased demand, increasing population and the increased need for consumer goods.

(HURLEIGH): Do you think that Eisenhower is better equipped politically to cope with the present Big Four conference than was Wilson with the Big Four statesmen of World War I?

Well, with a great deal of respect for former President Wilson, I feel that President Eisenhower is better equipped because of the years of turmoil and experience which we have had with this Communist world-wide conspiracy which had not been the experience prior to the close of World War I. The circumstances are different, but I think the base of experience is much broader.

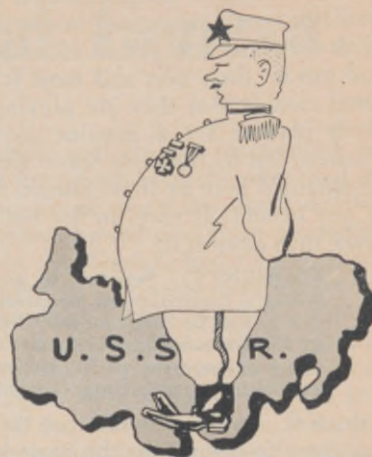
(HURLEIGH): What do you think is the real reason why Russia has recently assumed a conciliatory attitude toward democracies?

Internal difficulties, I think, are besetting Russia so far as economy is concerned. I think she is having troubles and I think the Russian leadership, at this moment, at least, is playing for time. I said a moment ago that I don't believe the Kremlin has changed its fundamental objective of world communism. They are merely taking a new tack. However, the time which may be gained also may work to our advantage because during the interim the hearts and minds of people may be changed somewhat. I hope so.



Can We Be Sure of Germany?

By FRED A UTLEY



SOON after the Bolsheviks seized power, and while it was still uncertain whether they could hold on to it, Lenin said that he would risk all their gains in Russia for the hope of a Communist revolution in Germany. Those were the days when Communists were Marxists who believed that socialism could be established only by the proletariat of an advanced industrial country, and that, therefore, backward agrarian Russia must be joined by Germany if "the revolution" were to achieve its aims. After Lenin's death Stalin forced his party to believe, or pretend to believe, that "socialism in one country" was possible, even in Russia, provided that the Communist dictatorship were ruthless enough to impose it against the opposition of the great majority of the people, and to carry out a program of forced industrialization, at a cost of more blood, sweat and tears than any government ruling by consent of the governed could possibly have contemplated.

Nevertheless, the Kremlin's policies continued to be influenced by the belief that the union of German scientific and technical knowledge, skilled labor, discipline and organizational genius, with Russia's natural resources and manpower, was the only possible combination of forces which could ensure the defeat of the "capitalist imperialist" West. Thus, both before and after Hitler came to power, as again today, Moscow has sought by one means or another for an alliance, or partnership, or understanding with Germany.

Now that atomic power has become the key to world domination, the reasons for this unchanging aim of Communist policy have become more compulsive than ever before.

As Dr. Medford Evans points out in his book, *The Secret War for the A-Bomb*, it is unlikely that Soviet Russia on her own can ever develop and operate

an atomic energy project comparable to our own because:

The most striking difference between American and Soviet accomplishment appears in certain industries... requisite to a viable atomic energy project. These industries include the electronics and electric appliance group, the telephone industry, the automobile industry, the chemical industries, including petroleum, and the metallurgical and metal industries, especially non-ferrous.

It is not unreasonable to assume a significant positive correlation between a nation's atomic potential and its actual performance in the telephone industry.

Since Germany is second only to the United States in the electronics and electric appliance group of industries, and used to lead the world in the chemical industry, it would be logical to suppose that Moscow is today, more than ever before, determined to win Germany over to her side; or somehow or other, induce the Germans to work with or for them.

Herein lies the real significance of the Austrian Treaty, suddenly concluded by Moscow after years of stalling, and of the invitation extended to Dr. Adenauer to come to Moscow for negotiations.

By "freeing" Austria on condition that she become "neutral" and also pay enough to Russia for the next ten years to put her "in hock" to the Soviet power, the masterminds in the Kremlin have not only weakened NATO by cutting off Italy from direct communication *via* the Brenner Pass with the American and British forces in Germany, they also served notice on the Germans that they too could become united and freed from all occupation forces, provided that they agree not to contribute armed forces to the Western alliance, and to render economic aid to the Soviet power.

Dr. Adenauer has felt it necessary to warn his countrymen that the freedom from Russian occupation won by Austria at the cost of a huge indemnity payment, as well as by a pledge of "neutral-

ity," does not offer a parallel opportunity to the Germans to ransom their enslaved countrymen in East Germany. Unfortunately, President Eisenhower is not so well informed as to the underlying purpose of Soviet policy as the Chancellor of the German Federal Republic. This was made all too clear on April 28th when the President at his press conference, cited Russia's "sudden" readiness to conclude a treaty with Austria as evidence for his "feeling" that "things are on the upswing."

THE KREMLIN'S "NEW LOOK"

A more realistic appraisal of the Kremlin's new look in foreign policy suggests a very different conclusion to the optimistic one drawn by the White House and the State Department. Namely that the Kremlin has decided that the policy now most likely to succeed in breaking up the Western alliance is to offer peace to all, and freedom and unity to the Germans, provided that we pay tribute to Russia in one form or another, and also make substantial military concessions to ensure the "security" of the Soviet Empire in Europe and Asia.

In the final outcome it is usually America which pays reparations by giving to others the means with which to pay them. This is notably the case as regards Austria, which after having been saved from starvation and put back on its feet by one and a half billion dollars of American aid, will undoubtedly now require more help from us in order to pay the huge price exacted by Moscow for letting her go free. Alternatively, she will eventually be forced into the Communist camp by her economic difficulties.

By the terms of the Austrian Treaty drawn up by the USSR, and joyfully signed by the United States, Britain and France, this little "liberated" country will not only cease to enjoy the military

protection hitherto afforded her by the presence of American soldiers on her territory, and be deprived of the substantial benefit of our armed services, dollar expenditures and the "offshore purchases" which now take the place of Marshall Plan, or ECA aid, in bolstering the national economies of our European allies; in addition, Austria's population of seven million, living on a territory about the same size as Maine, and possessed of few natural resources, is to pay 320 million dollars to Russia during the next decade, after having already been looted of some 500 million dollars worth of industrial equipment and oil by the Russians since 1945.

The 320 million dollars which Austria's seven million people are to pay is to consist of 10 million tons of oil to be delivered from wells which the Russians have already almost depleted, and of 150 million dollars worth of industrial goods to be handed over to the Soviet Union within six years. If the Austrian people are also to redeem the Danubian shipping seized by the Russians as "war booty," they will have to pay an additional indemnity of 20 million dollars.

A HUGE RANSOM

All in all, it is difficult to understand why President Eisenhower should have hailed the Austrian Treaty as the first sign of a new dawn, since Austria, which was supposed to be a "liberated" country, has actually fared worse than Finland which dared to fight the Soviet colossus. Finland's four million people paid an indemnity of 227 million dollars, as compared with the total of past and future payments of 820 million dollars squeezed out of Austria's seven million people. Moreover, although Finland lost some territory, she was not occupied and looted by the Red Army.

The price of freedom certainly comes high in dealing with Moscow. The Austrians will have to work for ten long years in return for their precarious liberty and independence, and their "free" service may well prove more profitable to the Muscovite Empire than the forced labor of its satellites.

The East European countries, delivered over to the Communists at Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, having already been stripped of the removable wealth which Moscow could conveniently remove, and slave labor being notoriously unproductive, it may be that they now constitute more of a drain than an asset to the Kremlin, in view of the high cost of terrorizing all the people all the time. So it is not inconceivable that Moscow should decide to let them go free for a huge ransom, while retaining the whip-hand by the presence of the Red Army on their borders. It is also possible that the junta which now rules over the Communist world would feel more secure with a Russian frontier to defend instead

of a weak front of subject peoples who cannot be expected to fight against the West with any enthusiasm. The Kremlin may have learnt from Hitler's experience with Italy, that weak allies are worse than useless and had better stay neutral.

Fortunately, it has been proved that the rulers of Russia are often even less intelligent than those of the free world. So it is possible to hope that they will fail to take advantage of their opportunity to win both material, political and military advantages by cutting their losses in Eastern Europe.

Centuries ago there was a popular jingle in England which ran:

In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch is giving too little and asking too much.

Transposed into the political and military sphere this perfectly describes the "fault" of the Soviet government. Today, by asking too much, the Communists may fail to sell us the idea of a "neutral" block of buffer states stretching from Austria to Scandinavia in return for the removal of U. S. forces from Europe or our retreat behind the Pyrenees.

However, the rulers of the Communist world have proved themselves very skillful in getting others to pay them for doing what they are compelled to do, as, for instance, when we gave them eleven billion dollars worth of aid to fight the war they were forced to fight by Nazi Germany's attack. Today they need a breathing space and may be looking for a way to make a profit out of necessity by inducing us to retreat in return for the withdrawals which are forced upon them by their economic and political difficulties. To judge by the attitude of the Western governments and press, they may yet succeed in getting the United States to compensate them for doing what they must do to survive.

Even the *Washington Post* recognizes the fact that the Soviet government has "three constant aims: to neutralize a united Germany, to paralyze NATO and force the United States out of Europe."

And although their voices are suppressed, by our optimistic President, or by our wishful thinking press, the Pentagon undoubtedly contains intelligent officers who realize that the most vital concern of our enemies is to win a period of peace and security until such time as their air force and atomic potential equals ours, and they shall have developed long range atomic rockets which would render the United States as indefensible as the Soviet Empire is today.

In a dispatch from Paris dated June 23 last, William H. Stoneman reported to the *Chicago Daily News* that "Western air force higher ups" were explaining that Russia's desire for "peace" was due to her now being "virtually wide open to attack." He quoted them as saying that American air bases in Africa and Turkey, the United Kingdom, our own territory and the Pacific islands, constituted a "vast arc, over which attacks might be expected" making the defense of the Soviet Empire virtually impossible at the present time. As against its vulnerability, they said, the U. S. "is only directly exposed along a much shorter arc, the one covering the Arctic approaches." But, they warned, our present great advantage will be annulled once the Soviet Union slaves have perfected the "intercontinental ballistic missile" against which there is no defense.

Here we come back to the importance of Germany to the scientific, military and economic requirements of the Communist empire if it is ever to match or surpass our power.

RUSSIA'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

All the potentialities of the Soviet military apparatus will be of little worth if the tremendous effort required to prepare for the conquest of America leads to a breakdown of the Soviet economy. The Russians are inured to working long hours for a bare subsistence, but even they cannot live without food, which is now being produced in lesser quantity per head of the population than in Czarist times. Nor do the spectacular suc-



—Wide World Photo
Signing of the Austrian State Treaty of Independence in Belvedere Palace, Vienna, May, 1955, giving freedom to Austria after seventeen years of foreign occupation.

cesses of the Russians in the construction of advanced models of jet planes, or other weapons of war (to which our attention is continually being drawn by the columnists and commentators who urge us to let our policy be governed by fear), compensate for the generally low skill and productive capacity of their labor force, whose condition can best be described as that of state serfs. The Soviet Empire, including China, desperately needs trade with the West on its own terms, or tribute in the form of dollar aid or payment for peace, or reparations, in order to surmount the economic difficulties caused by its system, and its ambition to conquer the world.

The pound of flesh demanded of Austria by Russia as the price of her freedom, can do little to alleviate the grave economic problems of the Soviet Empire. Nor can Austria's contribution of oil, and machinery or technical skills contribute in any substantial measure to Russia's and China's great need. But, if the Germans could be induced to follow Austria's lead, the Communists might feel assured of eventual triumph over America in the struggle for the world.

Payment by Germany's seventy million people of a sum proportionate to the 320 million dollars to be paid by Austria's seven million population would give Russia more than three billion dollars. Since Germany is, or was, a vanquished nation, whereas Austria is supposed to be a "liberated" country, Moscow would, no doubt, demand an even larger *per capita* indemnity payment as the price for German freedom. Nevertheless, a majority of the German people would probably consider twice three billion dollars as a price worth paying for the liberation of their countrymen under the iron heel of Communist dictatorship in East Germany. Since the Germans are the hardest working and most resourceful and inventive people in Europe, they would count upon being able to bear a greater burden than Austrians without collapsing.

The mothers and wives of our prisoners in Chinese Communist hands would, no doubt, give everything they possess to free their loved ones. Most Germans in the West have relatives or friends in the East Zone, or in Russian slave labor camps to which they were consigned either as prisoners of war or because they resisted Communist tyranny. It would therefore not be surprising if the German nation would agree to pay huge reparations to Russia if this seems to be the only way in which they can liberate their countrymen in the East.

There is no doubt that the great majority of the German people want to stay with the West; or, more precisely, with the United States. So long as Dr. Adenauer lives, the West German government is likely to continue to be our most loyal ally in Europe in spite of every-

thing we do, or fail to do. But Adenauer is mortal and already an old man. If we continue to offer the Germans no real hope of reunification, and at the same time arouse their fears that we lack the courage or conviction to resist Soviet threats and blandishments, they will begin to listen to Moscow's siren voice. This will not be because they have any real faith in Communist promises, but simply because they have ceased to believe that American power will be exerted in time to prevent the destruction of what remains of the free world. The law of self-preservation is paramount. Men are ready to die either for the defense of their nation or for an ideal. But no people can be expected to give themselves up as a burnt offering on the altar of appeasement for the supposed benefit of other nations hoping to enjoy "peace in our time" by sacrificing others.

As a consequence of their defeat in two world wars through American intervention, the German people became convinced that the United States is the greatest power on earth, and that ours must always be the winning side. Hence their readiness to support Dr. Adenauer who believes that the best hope of his people lies in becoming a full-fledged ally, and junior partner, of the United States; instead of ever again endeavoring to pursue the chimera of world power, either as allies of Russia, or by playing off East against West. The belief, burnt into the consciousness of every German, that whereas they could vanquish every European nation, American power is irresistible, has been our greatest asset. Coupled with the average German's realization that Americans were the least vengeful and most friendly and helpful of her conquerors, (once the influence of Roosevelt heirs and the Mor-

genthauists or pro-Communists had been eliminated) this fact gave popular backing to the Bonn government's willingness to do anything we required of it. Moreover, in recent years, new ties between America and West Germany have been forged by the intelligent and generous attitude of many American businessmen who, instead of taking advantage of U. S. power as occupiers of Germany, have been sharing their know-how with German firms, and even permitting them to enter markets which they could easily reserve for themselves if they cared to use their financial power to do so.

PROFOUND RESPECT FOR AMERICA

There is in fact a natural affinity and mutual respect between American and German businessmen, as also between the German people and the American GI's who found the Germans to be clean, honest, hard-working and self-respecting even in the period of their greatest distress in the immediate postwar years. Nevertheless, if American irresolution, or our readiness to succumb to the appeasement influences emanating from Britain and France and India, and voiced by our own pseudo-liberals, pacifists and anti-anti-Communists, were to convince the Germans that we cannot be counted upon to risk war in defense of our allies and our pledges, there would be such a drastic change in German sentiment that Adenauer would no longer be able to keep his people in our camp.

In a word, our prestige in Germany, and the liking and respect which the German people have for America, are based on the belief that we are not only the most benevolent, but also the strongest power on earth. If we show evidence of our inability, or unwillingness, to use our power against the Communist totali-



The Volkswagen Auto Works in Wolfsburg, West Germany, which was a target for bombs in World War II, now turns out nearly 900 automobiles each day.

—Wide World Photo



—Wide World Photo

In 1953 West German shipyards produced over 10 per cent of the world's ships, making Germany the second-ranking shipbuilding nation of the world.

tarians, as we used it against the Nazis, the confidence which the German "common man" has in us will fade away. For the average German has learned from experience a basic truth which neither our liberal or conservative intellectuals know, namely, that the Communists do not advance from strength to strength by their "power of attraction," but by the fear they instill of the terrible reprisals which await all who oppose them once they come to power. They are winning the struggle for the world because more and more people in both Asia and Europe have become distrustful of our determination to stand by those who stand by us. Fear of death or slavery for everyone who has espoused the cause of freedom, together with genuine lack of confidence in America's willingness to use our power to defeat Communism, is the reason why we are losing allies and failing to influence people everywhere in the world.

A German friend of mine, who went into exile in America rather than submit to the Hitler regime, and who is today a correspondent of the Hamburg newspaper *Die Zeit*, told me in June, while visiting the United States, that one reason why his people have not, as yet, been too seriously affected by our policy of retreat and appeasement in the Pacific is the influence of the British press in Germany. Paradoxically, the fact that the British have been denouncing America's "aggressive" Far Eastern policy, or our refusal to come to terms with the Chinese Communists, has, he said, "kept German faith in the U. S. alive." This German journalist, whose name is von Zuehlsdorff, was particularly anxious to interview Knowland because the California Senator is held in the highest esteem in Germany for his uncompromising "stop the Communists" attitude.

As illustrated by this incident, neither the administration nor the American public is well informed as to the real opinion of the peoples of Europe and Asia. Most of our newspaper correspondents, columnists, and radio or TV commentators tend to report as "European opinion" either their own prejudices, of the information they obtain from U. S. embassy handouts, or from the British and French press. Few of them speak any language except English, or at best French, and many of them owe their jobs to the reputations they made during the war, and immediate postwar periods when it was popular to be pink, and when to be anti-Communist was tantamount to being pro-Nazi, and therefore the sure road to ruin or oblivion.

The situation with regard to reporting on Germany is the worst of all. For here the habit was formed, during the long period of occupation, of relying on the U. S. military government, and subsequently on the U. S. High Commissioner's Information Office, for all news and views. And even after American correspondents in Germany began to establish some contacts with the people, they usually met only the representatives of the Bonn government, or of the newspapers and business circles which had unconditionally surrendered to the official American point of view.

Dr. Adenauer is no quisling. He has been God's gift to Germany and to us. He has brought his country back into the community of free Western nations not only by his firm guidance of his people, but also by his defense of their inalienable rights in his dealing with the occupation powers. Nevertheless, it is unfortunately true that, owing to the control originally exercised over the German press and radio by the occupying powers; as also to the subsidies given to the German newspapers approved of by McCloy and his "liberal" advisers, and to the dependence of the German authorities on our goodwill or support; the only voices to which we have lent an ear are echoes of our own, or, to be more precise, the only German "opinion" of which we are cognizant is that which repeats the views held by the dominant forces in the United States' administration and press.

GERMANY A BARGAINING COUNTER

Were this not so, we should realize that Soviet Russia is now winning a measure of success in her efforts to wean the German people from our side, by playing upon their fears that we are now as ready to buy peace in our time, at almost any price, as we were to embrace Communist Russia as an ally in order to defeat the Axis powers. Hence, the sensitivity displayed by Dr. Adenauer when President Eisenhower, at his May 18th press conference, "indicated keen interest in the suggestion that a series of

neutralized states between East and West might be created in Europe." Subsequently the Chancellor was assured by Mr. Dulles that the President had not meant to express approval of the Soviet suggestion of a reunited but neutral Germany. But the harm had been done. The President's "off the cuff" remarks had stimulated the latent neutralist sentiment in Germany which stems in part from the fear that adherence to NATO condemns the East Germans to perpetual Communist rule; and in part from the doubts as to whether the United States, at French insistence, may not come to an agreement with the Soviet Union at the expense of all Germany.

It has not been only the Social Democrats who have wished to explore the possibilities of German reunification through neutrality. Last year Dr. Bruening and Dr. Luther, both of whom were chancellors of the Weimar Republic, came out in favor of negotiations with Moscow. As Dr. Adenauer himself observed at the Brussels conference last year, "In a race for Russian favors, Western Germany, not France, is the likeliest winner." It is therefore hardly surprising that some Germans should conclude that their country stands to gain more by making her own bargain with Russia, than by letting the Western powers, which show signs of being dominated by appeasement influences, use Germany as a bargaining counter.

During the first years of the occupation the Germans were given ample reason to suppose that we had no objection to communism so long as it did not menace us. U. S. military government, acting on instructions from Washington, treated the Communists as Democrats and went so far as to give them leading positions on newspapers and radio, as denazification officials, and in local government. Allied Control Council Law No. 4, drawn up by Marshal Zhukov, forbade the Germans to publish or read anything "directed against" any of the occupation powers. There were even cases of Germans imprisoned in the Western zones for having spoken out against Soviet atrocities in the East.

It was not until after the blockade of Berlin in 1948 that a radical change began to be made in our official attitude toward the Communists and in our treatment of the German population. An end to the dismantlement of German factories, and cessation of the stupidity of shipping arms manufacturing equipment to Russia, came only in 1949-1950 at the insistence of the U. S. Senate. And it was not until after the Korean War began that we ceased to treat the Germans as a conquered nation and came to consider them as allies. All in all, there was a bitter truth behind the joke I often heard in Germany in 1948, to the effect that the Germans should be grateful to Stalin

for their better treatment by the Western powers. There was, in fact, no doubt that our changed attitude toward the Germans was in large part due to fear of Soviet Russia.

In view of their experience during the period when Americans still retained their affection for "Uncle Joe," it is not to be wondered at if today many Germans greatly fear the consequences to themselves of the end of "tensions" between East and West, or "peaceful co-existence." The British and French may be happy when President Eisenhower says that in this atomic age "there is no alternative to peace," and that he is prepared to meet the Communists "half-way." But to many Germans these words arouse latent fears that we may make a deal with Russia at their expense, leaving them disarmed and defenseless in a neutral no-man's land. Nor have the Germans failed to realize the implications of our treatment of Chiang Kai-shek. Since America has told her Chinese ally that he must renounce all hope of liberating China as the condition of continued American aid and support, how can the Germans believe that we shall ever help them, or permit them, to liberate East Germany?

The repercussions in Europe of our China policy are unknown to the American public because most of the correspondents of American news agencies and newspapers abroad consider only British and French appeasement opinion as the voice of Europe. Also, of course, because so many of our foreign correspondents are themselves graduates or adherents of the Lattimore school of thought, which is still predominant in England.

TAUGHT BY EXPERIENCE

If we are to understand their views, fears and hopes, we must rid ourselves of old prejudices, engendered by wartime propaganda, and realize that Germans are people much like ourselves. They differ from us only in their greater understanding of communism, and of totalitarian methods and aims, thanks to their past experience. In the first place they know far better than we do the terrible compulsions which a totalitarian state, whether Nazi or Communist, uses to keep people subservient and to prevent rebellion. Secondly, owing to their experience as soldiers and as prisoners of war in Russia; or because of the terrible treatment they received at the hands of the Red Army in Eastern Germany and Berlin; or because of the sufferings of their relatives and friends in the East German People's Republic, the German people know better than anyone else on our side of the Iron Curtain—excepting only the Americans taken prisoner by the Communists in Korea—what it means to be at the mercy of the Communists. But precisely because they



—Wide World Photos

The capitals of East and West Germany are only 400 miles apart, but much farther apart in their thinking and activities. East Germany's "Little Kremlin" at Pankow (top) where no vehicles or persons may enter without going past barrier and the building (arrow) shown. West Germany's capital, Palast Schaumburg in Bonn (below) is the official seat of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer.

know so much better than we do what Communist conquest means, they fear the consequences of appeasement more.

The Germans also know what it takes to fight Russia. They cannot be kidded into believing that twelve divisions of German troops, severely restricted to arms and weapons, can turn NATO into a real, defensive force. They know that only the unrestricted use of all the power which the West possesses, actually or potentially, including atomic and hydrogen bombs, can defeat the Communist empire in Europe and Asia. They also know that the Paris agreement of last summer, far from establishing a viable European defense system, ensured that Europe, and in particular Germany, should not raise and equip sufficient forces to defend themselves against the Soviet power.

According to the text of the "Brussels Treaty Organization," subsequently called "Western European Union," and ratified as part of the Paris Accords, its signatories promise that no one of them will ever exceed the low level of armies and armaments agreed upon. The "functions of the agency," as laid down in paragraphs one to twelve, are entirely negative. Instead of insisting that all the members of the Western alliance fulfill their defense obligations, these twelve paragraphs are designed to ensure that "the prohibition of the manufacture" of certain types of armaments is being observed; to control the level of stocks "of other permissible armaments"; and to make sure that "those forces remaining under national control" shall not have

stocks of arms larger than necessary for their "size and mission."

Nor is this all. The worst provision of the Paris Accords is one which repeats the major weakness of the United Nations; namely, the veto power given to any one member to enable it to defeat the main purpose of the organization. It provides that: "The maximum defense contribution to NATO of all members of the Brussels Treaty Organization will be determined by a special agreement fixing levels which can only be increased by unanimous consent." (Emphasis supplied). Thus, France, or any other member country where "neutralist" or appeasement sentiment is strong, is put in a position to prevent any increase in European armament which might "provoke" the Soviet Union. The Paris Accords in fact appear to have been designed with a view to "containing" Germany rather than the Soviet Empire.

It is impossible to contain Germany while using her to contain Russia. However much we may dislike the prospect, it is a fact that Europe cannot be united, or defended by its own forces, without the Germans becoming the paramount power. They are the only people on the continent of Europe capable of playing the leading role which France considers to be hers by right, but which she is incapable of performing. In the military as in the economic sphere the Germans are bound to be superior to France in a united Europe. This is, of course, why the Germans are for, and the French against, the creation of a united Europe without customs barriers, import quotas, and other hindrances to trade.

Germany has received far less material aid from us than most other nations on our side. They have paid more in occupation costs than the three billion dollars they have received from us. The "miracle of German recovery" is in fact mainly due to their own efforts. At present the "dollar gap" caused by their need to import grain from the Western Hemisphere, to make up for the loss of their Eastern "bread basket" is met by our offshore purchase of about 240 million dollars a year. So long as they continue to be able to earn their living by hard work, and expanding exports, they will almost certainly continue to support Dr. Adenauer's policies, whatever their misgivings on the score of their future security.

Since the Germans are far better disposed toward us than France, and since the Bonn government is indisputably loyal to America, logic and common sense have been pushing the United States into a closer relationship with our former enemies, in spite of the influence of our Francophiles. But we are still failing to face up to the realities of the situation. Instead of helping the pro-American and democratic forces in Germany to

maintain their ascendancy, we are now unwittingly giving encouragement to the minority which argues that Germany can never be reunited, or have any hope of security except by making her own bargain with Moscow.

It may be that our "re-education" of the German people has succeeded all too well as evidenced by the opposition to military service evidenced among the youth. But even if the old courage and patriotism and capacity for self-sacrifice in pursuit of an ideal—true or false—have survived among the German people, we cannot hope to enlist these qualities for the defense of Western civilization so long as we continue to deny them the right to pursue legitimate national objectives; and prevent them from developing their military potential to the full extent required to safeguard Europe from Communist conquest—much less by creating the impression that German soldiers are to be cannon fodder for the defense of France, as happened when General von Bonin was recently dismissed from the Bonn government's embryo Defense Ministry for his opposition to the NATO strategy of holding the Rhine line instead of the Elbe.

Nor should we continue to ignore the effect on German opinion of our continuing to hold incarcerated at Landsberg, in Bavaria, German soldiers and officers who were condemned by U. S. Military Courts for having obeyed orders, or because they were induced to "confess" to war crimes by methods similar to those used upon our own American prisoners of war captured in Korea. We should ask ourselves how young Germans can be expected to enlist voluntarily, or

agree to be drafted, into a new German army, so long as we still hold prisoner men who were teenagers in 1946 when they were condemned by U. S. Military Courts, on no better evidence than their "confessions" under torture, or the word of Communist accusers who long since took refuge in the East Zone of Germany or in Soviet Russia.

The subject of U. S., British and French "war crimes" trials, like that of the Nuremberg tribunal, would require a separate article. Here I am concerned only to point out that we cannot expect the youth of Germany to be ready to fight at our side in defense of liberty, so long as other Germans languish in the jails to which they were condemned without "due process," during the period when woe to the vanquished was the mainspring of our policy, and when we treated the Communists as "democratic" allies.

The majority of the people of West Germany may not care enough about their "brothers in the East" to risk their own security in order to liberate them. The danger lies rather in their growing doubt that the security of the Federal Republic is insured by its adherence to NATO and its close ties with the United States. Colonel William Heimlich, a former U. S. Army intelligence officer who recently returned from a visit to Germany, has told me that Moscow is now wooing the Germans with the following argument, presented to them by the Communist spokesmen of East Germany:

Twelve divisions of German troops will be worthless for your defense so long as the United States denies you either atom bombs or guided missiles, and otherwise

restricts your military capacity in deference to France. If, on the other hand, you will break your ties with the West, we will not only permit the reunification of Germany in "peace and freedom" but also offer you the prospect of developing atomic power in partnership with us to our mutual advantage.

On May 19th General Gruenther told the U. S. conference of mayors, meeting in New York, that the Soviet campaign of "sweetness and light," is intended to prevent Germany from contributing to Western military strength and to ban atomic weapons. He went on to say that the A-bomb is the only weapon which gives the Western powers a chance to balance the military equation, and that therefore "it would be folly to throw it away." After expressing his belief that the West, on account of its overwhelming air capabilities, could defeat a Russian attack in Europe now, he stated that NATO "could not prevent the overrunning of Europe until it had German military support" and unless we can use the atomic bomb. General Gruenther also said:

There is very great danger that public opinion will force political leaders into dangerous compromises that might eventually turn to our great disadvantage.

Since Geneva there is reason to believe that the Germans are more afraid that we shall succumb to the temptation to make a disastrous deal with Moscow for the sake of "peaceful co-existence" than of their own neutralists or appeasers; or of those few Germans who harbor the illusion that if Germany and Russia get together the Germans will eventually rule the roost.

In a word, we can be sure of Germany if she can be sure of us.

Fair Means or Foul

By JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER
U. S. Senator from Maryland

All the world knows the spirit of the Olympics. It is the very spirit of amateur sportsmanship. It is the spirit that encourages observance of moral laws. It is the spirit that generates a wholesome respect for ethical standards. It is the ultimate expression of that intuitive sense of honesty, integrity, and fair play that can be found and cultivated in the heart of every man—regardless of race, creed, political conviction or social standing.

Since the revival of the Olympic Games in Athens, Greece, in 1896, Olympic Committees of every nation have recognized that the true spirit of sportsmanship rules out even the slightest taint of professionalism or commercialism. They have realized that a subsidized athletic endeavor is subject to the control and domination of the sponsoring agent—be it private interest or national government.

Yet, are we in the United States—where our record of excellence in the field of amateur sportsmanship is a by-product of our unique system of government—allowing the Soviet Union to pollute the Olympic Games; to use, with diabolic deceit, the spirit of sportsmanship as a velvet-gloved iron fist to ruthlessly hammer out their godless propaganda?

It should be clearly evident to those with eyes to see that the Communists—who will subvert everything from the Deity to the invention of the sewing machine, to serve their cause—have their sinister eyes fixed upon the 1956 Olympic Games. And their ulterior motive is to advance not the cause of fairplay and sportsmanship, but the international Communist conspiracy.

The Soviet athlete is not an amateur. He is a paid propaganda agent. He is just one more slave in the hideous chain-gang of brainwashed individuals. He must win, not for the indulgence of his understandable human desire to excel, but to enhance the prestige of that vast, sprawling Soviet slave state which is unalterably committed to the ultimate extinction of every principle which the Olympic Games attempt to promote.

Make no mistake, the Soviets are not interested in games . . . in sports. They are committed by their Marxist ideology, by their literature, by their passion for world domination—domination in athletics today, domination in world conquest tomorrow—to win. To win by fair means or foul! The least we can do is to bar the Soviet Union and its satellites from the Olympics until such times as they show "some respect for the cardinal rules of the game."



Senator Humphrey



Senator Jenner



Senator Sparkman

No other issue facing the American people today is more important to the preservation of world peace or has greater effect on domestic prosperity and individual freedom and initiative than the foreign policy adopted by our government. There are, of course, opposing views concerning our present foreign policy. Presented here are divergent statements on this subject made by four outstanding U. S. Congressmen: Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D) of Minnesota, Senator William Jenner (R) of Indiana, Senator John J. Sparkman (D) of Alabama, and Representative Alvin O'Konski (R) of Wisconsin.

U. S. FOREIGN POLICY R

The Strength and Weaknesses of Our Foreign Policy

Speech by Hon. Hubert H. Humphrey, U.S. Senator from Minnesota, before Colgate University's Seventh Annual Foreign Policy Conference, July 11, 1955.

NEVER were truer words written or spoken than the motto of Colgate University's seventh annual foreign policy conference, "Foreign Policy Is Everybody's Business." Our very survival, our hope of a better future, the continuance or defeat of the principles of freedom and justice are intimately related to our foreign policy. . . .

The greatest challenge of our time is to recognize the kind of world in which we live, and to profit and learn from the lessons of history—a world in revolutionary change.

We here in America have learned that

peoples of different backgrounds, races, national origins, and creeds can live together, work together, and build together. This achievement was made possible by a belief in and dedication to the universally accepted principles of a free society—the dignity of man, freedom of conscience, and a recognition of fraternity and brotherhood. Our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution, the principles of the French Revolution and the Magna Charta are the historical testimonials to the practical adaptation of these democratic ideals and principles. If it is possible to build a great nation whose destiny and progress is guided by these ideals, it should give us faith and hope that we are capable of doing our part in building a world order that will not sacrifice these principles and the institutions of freedom and justice.

Our history, our heritage and experience in self-government, yes, our own revolution, are in fact the sources of our strength. Our foreign policy is weakened and limited only insofar as

we forget or fail to apply the yardstick of our democratic experience to the complex and intricate problems of the world in which we live. The enhancement of freedom is not made possible by aping the enemies of freedom. Democracy and free institutions are not made more secure or advanced by utilizing totalitarian techniques. To be strong we must be true to ourselves.

Now having philosophized with you for a few moments, let me get down to the particulars. In the main, I am proud of what our country has done in the field of international relations.

Fortunately, we have learned that national independence can be sustained and made meaningful only by a recognition of international interdependence. It took us two world wars and a worldwide depression to have this fact driven home.

It is to our credit, however, that we have learned our lesson and to our sorrow that we have had to pay so dearly for this belated knowledge. Today the climate of public opinion in America



Representative O'Konski

and charity, here was forgiveness and kindness, here was the full expression of American generosity and faith.

I have little time for those who are critical of the details—the little mistakes—when great decisions had to be made. Of course we made mistakes. We were neither prepared by experience or knowledge to undertake all the responsibilities that befall us. We recruited people from all walks of life to administer these huge programs of relief and economic rehabilitation. It was a difficult assignment just to find the people, much less to find people competent and trained for the task. We Americans had been so absorbed with the challenges of American political and economic life that we were not prepared, either psychologically or professionally, for international administration or participation, but we did the best we could.

We worked with what we had. We compensated for our lack of expert knowledge and training with a will to succeed, an abundance of resources, and a spirit of compassion and generosity. The strength of our foreign policy in this period was the strength of a good heart and a willing spirit. It was the strength of practicing our ideals. It was

War II. Not only were things ruined and demolished, but human spirit was almost destroyed. Established social patterns were uprooted, millions of people were wandering on the roads, dying in prisons and concentration camps. All of this was but only yesterday. Fear and frustration stalked the land. The political and economic climate was ripe for demagogues, dictators and opportunists. The forces of communism moved in, backed by the power of the Red Army. It was this unhappy event that compounded the problems and difficulties which faced mankind after this most hideous of all terrible wars. It was almost beyond human capacity to rebuild a war-weary world. But to this awful burden was added the even more intolerable burden of resisting and defeating the inroads of Communist imperialism and subversion. It is nothing short of a miracle that the areas of human freedom are as great as they are.

Again, not because of plan or design, but simply because we were the only nation with the resources and the strength, we were compelled to meet and challenge this evil force. Here again we were not prepared by experience or expert knowledge. But we did not shirk from the ordeal. We moved into action. It was here that NATO played such a significant role, because supporting Communist subversion was the power of the Red Army. The Marshall plan met the Communist aggressor on the economic front. In both areas we checkmated the Communist conspiracy. The Red Army did not move. The Western European economies did not fall prey to collectivism and communism. Germany did not fall into the hands of the Kremlin. Berlin was not strangled into submission. Soviet troops were removed from Iran. The Mediterranean area did not become a Soviet lake. Greece and Turkey were not destroyed by Communist subversion and armed attack. The Truman doctrine, backed by the Greek-Turkish aid program, filled the power vacuum that was left by the withdrawal of British strength from the Mediterranean. Men like Mayor Reuter, of Berlin, Chancellor Adenauer, of West Germany, supported by American aid, defied the Communists and brought Germany and Berlin safely through the Communist onslaught.

These developments represent the strength of American foreign policy, but a strength that was always fortified by the wholehearted cooperation of our allies and associates in the great North Atlantic Treaty alliance.

Communist aggression and subversion checked in Western Europe moved to a new front and the attack was launched on South Korea.

The decision of our government and of the United Nations to resist aggression in Korea may well be recorded in

Right or Wrong?

is one of acceptance of international responsibility. Isolationism is a thing of the past. The acceptance of our role in the affairs of the world is the most prominent political fact of our generation.

The crowning glory of the 20th Century is the creation of the United Nations. We can be ever proud of our leading role in this greatest of all achievements in the realm of international politics. Once the victory on the battlefield was won, we did not turn our backs upon a war-weary and stricken world. Our finest hour was yet to come. We mobilized our resources to help the needy, to feed the hungry, to heal the sick, to rebuild the devastated cities, to help others reconstitute free government, to reestablish commerce and trade, to rehabilitate the exhausted economies of friend and foe alike. Here was the true expression of the spirit of American democracy. Here was a practical blending between applied democratic policy and the spirit of our religious teachings. Here was compassion

the strength of doing when something needed to be done. It was the strength of action when those of lesser courage might have hesitated.

Nor should we forget or underestimate the incredible accomplishment of creating the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—the most successful and the greatest alliance in the world's history. We did not content ourselves merely with a paper structure. We set ourselves to the task of building muscle and sinew around the structural anatomy of a collective security pact. The programs of military assistance, the Marshall plan, and mutual security gave spirit and strength to nations that only yesterday were weak and helpless. The Marshall plan will live in the pages of history as the most successful program of economic rehabilitation and recovery of recorded history. Not only was it great and imaginative in its design and purpose, but it has been equally great in its accomplishment.

I wonder sometimes if we have forgotten the terrible destruction of World

history as the turning point in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism. The design and plan of the Kremlin, thwarted in Western Europe, was now challenged and defeated on the battlefield in Korea. Collective security had met its first test and it succeeded. The free nations stood together.

I call to your attention the meeting of the Communist chieftains in Moscow in September and October of 1952. It was here that Joseph Stalin outlined the change of Soviet tactics and strategy. The program of open violence and aggression was to be replaced by a policy of political maneuver, economic warfare, stepped-up subversion, and dividing the United States from her allies. I recommend to the attention of every participant in this conference a careful study of the 19th Annual Communist Party Conference at Moscow in the fall of 1952. You will note that it was timed to take place during our presidential election. We were immersed in domestic politics. I regret to say that far too little attention was given to this important meeting by those presently responsible for our foreign policy.

The tip-off of the present Soviet peace offensive is to be found in the proceedings of this conference. Even Malenkov was unveiled at this meeting. General Zhukov came back into the limelight.

A weakness in our foreign policy is the failure on the part of Congress and appropriate committees of Congress to carefully study the strategy and tactics of Soviet foreign policy. We are always being caught off base, thereby placing us on the defensive. We seem to spend far too much time in counterattack rather than in planned programmed political offensive. I have urged and recommended that a special subcommittee be appointed to maintain constant review and study in this field. Likewise, Senator Mansfield, of Montana, has sponsored a resolution to provide a Joint Committee on Central Intelligence.

The recent United Nations Commemorative Conference at San Francisco revealed the weaknesses and strengths of our foreign policy. Much that I have said here today was underscored and verified by the series of addresses delivered by UN delegates on the historic occasion of the commemorative conference. It was my privilege to attend those meetings. I digress to say I was the only member of Congress to attend this conference. This fact within itself reveals a weakness in our foreign policy. Members of Congress should do more than issue statements on foreign policy. We must actively participate, whenever it is possible, in the meetings or conferences that lead to the discussion, review, or formulation of our foreign policy. If our foreign policy is everybody's business, then indeed it is above all the business of the members of Congress.

I left the UN conference convinced that we had won our case against the Kremlin in the court of world public opinion. Even the hardbitten, disciplined Soviet delegates could not ignore the climate of political friendship and association of free nations. The address of Mr. Molotov was an unintentional testimonial to the solidarity of free nations. Every point that Mr. Molotov emphasized related directly to what we had done or had not done. It was clear from his speech that NATO is successful, that the Soviet has given up in Western Europe. It was evident that our foreign policy this past decade has, in the main, been effective, particularly in those areas where we have an intimate knowledge and understanding of the political and economic forces.

The most significant observation to be made about the United Nations meeting was the unity of free nations despite all of the Soviet tactics to divide us and create distrust. You may recall that the address of Mr. Molotov was carefully analyzed and answered by our Secretary of State. Mr. Dulles did a good job in refuting Molotov's arguments. If I were to have judged these two addresses as a debate I am sure that Mr. Dulles would have won. But there is no reward in debate at this time. We have already won the argument, but we have not won the cold war. Regretfully, we have permitted ourselves to get bogged down in proving the fallacy and duplicity of Soviet pronouncements. We have won this argument, yes, won it over and over again. We win it in every United Nations session. It is one thing to prove the Soviets to be wrong, and yet another thing to prove ourselves to be right. The margin of clear-cut victory lies with the new, the underdeveloped, and the yet uncommitted nations. It is just in this area that the policy of the present administration is weak, confused, and at times petty.

Let me explain what I mean by relating this world struggle to the American political scene. You do not win elections by continuing to convince the convinced, or by discrediting an opponent already discredited. We in American politics understand it is the independent vote that determines the outcome. You gain that vote by standing on principle and coming forth with a program that has a wider appeal than just to the partisans you have already won. To put it another way, I have a feeling that we have become more concerned about the importance of exposing Soviet tactics than we have of expounding a dynamic and constructive American foreign policy.

One could not help but sense at the San Francisco United Nations Conference that people were looking to the United States to offer inspiration on a new level, to emphasize our positive

goals for an honorable peace, and strengthening of underdeveloped areas—this was not done. The world is hungry for peace. The Soviet talks peace. They seem to sense world public opinion. To be sure, the Soviet is not able to convince the leaders of the nations that their program for peace is honorable and true. These leaders, however, are always subject to public opinion of their respective countries, and I noticed that Mr. Molotov again and again appealed over the governments to the people. He subtly intimated that the leaders of the Western nations were blocking Soviet efforts for peace. He attempted to drive a wedge between the governments and the people. He identified governments with the United States. He identified peoples with the Soviet Union. Soviet propaganda has never convinced delegates to the United Nations, but it has been effective in the villages, cities, and rural areas of countries that have delegates in the United Nations. The Soviet propaganda repeats the word "people" again and again, and regretfully the statements of our present diplomatic officials reveal that we are permitting our diplomacy to become the special privilege of the elite—of the diplomat—or even more unfortunate, sacrificing sound policy for domestic political advantage.

We must remember that there has always been and still continues to be a natural suspicion on the part of people everywhere over the so-called "art of diplomacy." Too many times in the history of the world, people have been deceived by their diplomats. There have been too many secret agreements, too much duplicity, and Machiavellian expediency. The Soviet propagandists seem to sense this natural suspicion by people in free countries of their State Department and foreign ministers. Therefore, Mr. Molotov called upon the people to join with the Soviet in seeking peace—peace on Soviet terms. Now let us not underestimate the impact of this carefully conceived strategy. It could very well be dangerously effective, particularly if we permit it to go unnoticed or unchallenged. You do not successfully challenge this political strategy by merely pointing out that it is a fraud. More needs to be done. Surely the representatives of democratic republics and free nations should be the first to appeal to the people, to take their case to the people, to interpret their policy in language the people can understand.

Governments come and go, but the people go on forever. A successful foreign policy is one that has the support of the people back home as well as the acceptance of the people abroad to whom it is directed. A weakness in our foreign policy is that too much attention is paid to the embassies and the foreign ministers and too little attention to the workers in the factories, to the natives

in the villages. How paradoxical this is.

Here we see the ironical situation of the dictators speaking like democrats, with a small "d," appealing to the people; of the tyrant extolling the virtues of freedom; of the oppressor dramatizing himself as the liberator and the emancipator. Yes, the irony of an imperialist extolling the virtues of self-determination. In our anxiety to win the debate point by point, to discredit our opponent on each and every occasion, we sacrifice the affirmative case that we need to make.

To be sure, this is not always the case. The President's proposal of use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is an example of what I mean by accentuating the positive and stating the affirmative case. Whenever we have done this we have been on the march to victory. The Marshall plan is another example where we literally ignored the arguments of the Kremlin and proceeded with our own program. NATO again provides a concrete example of action. The Point Four program is another example where a positive and constructive proposal left the Communists bewildered, confused and weakened. We have examples of seizing the initiative, but all too often once we have seized it and are parading down the boulevard of a better world, we lose our trail and end up in a side street or back alley of bitter argument with the Communist protagonist. There has been far too much "playing to the domestic political galleries" for purposes of partisan political expediency. Too much doubletalk—a policy for home consumption and another for foreign use. What is worse, this doubletalk has come from the State Department. . . .

We may very well have to shift the emphasis in our foreign policy in the days to come. I am personally convinced that the Soviet Union has given up any hope of any further success in Europe. She may well seek to stabilize Europe even to the point of cooperating in the reunification of Germany and granting her satellite states a degree of independence and autonomy. We have no accurate way of knowing how much trouble, economically or politically, exists within the Iron Curtain area. We do know that all is not well. We do know that if the burden of rearmament is heavy upon rich America, it rests much heavier upon the much weaker Soviet economy. Remember it costs money to build guns, tanks, and planes in the Soviet just as it does here.

I am always shocked and disappointed when I hear spokesmen of American finance and industry expound upon the fear of bankruptcy for our country if we maintain a strong defense program. They show little faith in free political and economic institutions, or possibly

they reveal gross ignorance of what the burden of such a rearmament race is upon a relatively poor and collectivized economy.

Then I imagine it is fair to assume that all has not been well in the satellite countries. They were impoverished and destroyed by the war, as were huge areas of the Soviet Union itself. Add to this the costs of the Korean war to the Soviet, her aid to China, the admitted deficiencies of Soviet agriculture, the difficult task of rebuilding the areas destroyed by World War II, and it seems reasonable to say that there is and has been trouble behind the Iron Curtain.

But it would be equally wrong to assume that economic difficulties alone would prevent the Soviet from being an aggressor or engaging in war. Possibly the most compelling factor, if there is only one, that has temporarily changed the Soviet attitude is the terrible reality of nuclear warfare. We now know that the Soviet military has a closer identity with the present regime than before. Possibly General Zhukov and some of his associates have been able to explain to the Soviet leaders what would happen if the United States and the Soviet Union were to engage in war. The awful potentialities of the hydrogen bomb, and the guided missile with hydrogen warheads cannot help but have an effect upon men who now hold power and position and wish to continue in that favored role.

There is more reason to believe that the men in the Kremlin want time to consolidate their empire, time to strengthen their economy, time to consolidate their position—a position which has been very unstable since the death of Stalin. Whatever may be the reason for the Soviet peace talk, there is ample evidence to lead one to believe that concessions will be made, that tensions, at least temporarily, will be eased, that there will be a period of time when the possibilities for peace look more inviting and encouraging.

The one word that seems important to me is time. But this concept of time is meaningless unless it is used, and the question is who will use the time and for what purpose. If there is to be a time period for easing of tensions, will this mean less effort on our part? Are we to assume that the long-range objective of communism—namely, to dominate the world—will be given up or set aside? I see no convincing evidence to lead to that conclusion. Therefore time is an ally to whomever pre-empts it—uses it. We can be sure the Bolsheviks will not waste it—whether we like it or not, coexistence will be competitive. . . .

We Americans are prone to underestimate the technical competence of the modern Soviet system. The record should be clear: The Soviet has made

remarkable strides in technical and scientific advance. She emphasizes her educational structure, science and technology. Every policy and every directive is concentrated on producing military strength. Civilian goods, the needs of the consumer, are subordinated to the production of capital goods and modern armaments. The police state is not responsive to public opinion as is a democratic state. We must never forget that dictatorship removes dissident elements through the cruel and heartless process of liquidation, murder, and banishment. Public demonstrations of protest are crushed, at the same time that the dictator arouses in the minds of the people a fear of foreign intervention, encirclement, or attack.

I say these things because even some of our own policymakers have, on occasion, indicated that there may be a split between the Russian people and the Communist party. The people have nothing to say about the government of the Soviet. The Communist party and the government are one and the same. They are political Siamese twins, but with only one head—the Communist party apparatus.

It is wishful thinking to base a foreign policy upon any major upheaval in the Soviet Union, or even in the satellite states. What is more, when one such upheaval did take place, namely, the riots in East Germany and Czechoslovakia in June of 1953, we were unprepared, we had no policy. All the loose talk of liberation that was so much a part of the 1952 presidential campaign, was either forgotten or forsaken. We were without an Ambassador in the Soviet Union on the death of Stalin. Our Central Intelligence was unable to obtain any information that indicated the demotion of Malenkov and the elevation of Bulganin. We were short of facts and information, and therefore unprepared to make any policy shift that might have worked to our advantage.

Every conceivable effort should be made to expand our intelligence service to give us more information. We were caught short even at the time of the North Korean invasion, despite the fact that our own military had been in North Korea for at least two years prior to the agreement on the 38th parallel as a line of demarcation between North and South Korea.

Therefore, wishful thinking about the condition of the Soviet will get us nowhere. What is more important is to build strength and cooperation between ourselves and our allies—to use every means at our command to expand the area of freedom, to strengthen the independent and neutral nations so they can resist subversion from within and aggression from without. Yes, to be prepared for every eventuality, recognizing

we face the most powerful and diabolical menace the world has ever known.

Having said this, what do we do? I offer these suggestions:

(1) Until some foolproof, ironclad universal system of disarmament can be arrived at and fully agreed to with proper supervision, or other protective devices, we must maintain in cooperation with our allies a powerful defense force. The heart and core of that defense force must be continuing and expanding emphasis upon research and development. This includes both basic and applied research. Here the present administration flounders and vacillates. Nor will slogans suffice—"bigger bang for a buck" does not mean greater defense.

I am not a military expert, but I do suggest that it should be a matter of firm national policy that this nation have the greatest air force in the world—modern, available, combat effective. The Air Force, of course, must be supported by modern weapons. We cannot afford to be second best, nor can we be satisfied with having the planes on the drafting board or the modern weapons at laboratory research state of development. I am talking about a defense force in being. Whatever the cost of that defense force we must be prepared to pay it.

I reemphasize the importance of scientific and technological development. This means giving our scientists greater leeway, being less suspicious, recognizing that scientists frequently are unorthodox in their social and political views. There is a wide difference between disloyalty and nonconformity. We must protect our nation from disloyalty and subversion. But this does not necessarily mean discharging a scientist of foreign birth who maintains his citizenship in a country like Switzerland, who is a known anti-Communist. We need the intelligence and scientific know-how of free men everywhere. Just as we have created a collective defense force in NATO, I suggest we build a collective scientific force among the free nations, pooling ideas and knowledge, and drawing from that common pool for the development of defense and the expansion and progress of the partners.

To summarize, in the kind of world in which we live, a protective shield of strength is the first essential of a program of security. That shield must never be lowered, that sword must never be sheathed, until all nations are willing to beat their swords into plowshares and make war no more.

(2) I have emphasized military strength, but I want it clear that military strength must be supported by a dynamic and expanding economy. Therefore, the relations between defense policy and domestic, political and economic policy are one and inseparable. The margin of superiority that we now maintain over the Soviet and its satellites is not in arms, but in the reservoir of economic and political strength that is ever present in free nations. The shield of strength that I have emphasized need not be brandished before

friend and foe alike. It should be a shield, consistently maintained and quietly guarded.

I suppose Teddy Roosevelt put it in the layman's language when he said, "Speak softly and carry the big stick." Regretfully, we have spoken loudly—very loudly—and the big stick that supposedly we were carrying wasn't nearly as big as we thought it was, and most of the time not available.

We have frightened our friends more than we have our foes by irresponsible talk. Too frequently public officials have talked of dropping bombs to solve different international situations. These A-bombs do not solve problems—they just dissolve things and people. Politically designed speeches, incorporating clever catch phrases, such as "massive retaliation," "agonizing reappraisal," "New Look," may make good headlines for an emotional public, but they do not make good policy, nor do they provide even strong defense. I suggest we get on with the business of building a security force second to none, and quit bragging, threatening, and boasting. Actually, if the present administration would be more frank and open about our state of preparedness—and less addicted to official secrecy and censorship, it would have a sobering effect on both the Congress and the public. Censorship compounded by propaganda is no substitute for freedom of information supported by facts.

Having once developed the kind of military security that is essential for the defense of free nations, let us remember that the ultimate answer to the problems that beset us is not to be found in war. Military strength in this day and age is but a part of the apparatus of diplomacy, unless mankind indulges in the madness of thermo-nuclear warfare. No one can predict what the future will offer if such a catastrophe befalls us. We must look upon military strength as a means, one of several means, to arrive at agreements. . . . This has been referred to as negotiation from a position of strength. But that position of strength needs to be more than military power. The position of strength that we need, and must maintain, encompasses the closest cooperation with our allies. We must speak in one spirit—in unity for common objectives.

The first principle of Soviet strategy is to divide us from our allies, to break up the grand alliance. To portray America as the real threat to the independence and self-determination of peoples and nations. Therefore, every conceivable effort must be made for a meeting of the minds, for a common understanding by the leaders of the nations of the free areas of the world. This requires patience along with respect for and confidence in our partners. We have allies, not satellites. We cannot bully

and coerce. We can only seek to persuade and give counsel. But decisions arrived at through consultation and discussion are firm decisions—the privileged possession of all participants.

I also urge that we give special attention to the attitudes and policies of our Asian, African, and Latin American neighbors.

Negotiating from strength, therefore, means military power and political unity, based on mutual respect and confidence amongst the free nations.

If we are correct in assuming that the Soviet does not now seek war, but rather seeks time and the easing of tensions, then we must re-examine our policies in light of this development, without sacrificing the first two essentials—military strength and political unity.

Any step in the direction of relaxed tensions must be welcomed by us and we should lead in this effort, making it ever clear to the simplest soul in the far corners of the world that the nation of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Roosevelt is a nation of peace, of freedom, of compassion, and justice.

I have been disturbed because of the reluctance of some of our top officials to recognize the opportunity that was at hand once the plan of a Big Four conference crystallized. This is no time for timid souls. This is the time for men of imagination, courage and daring. The peoples of the world are weary of the constant threat of nuclear war, and particularly when that threat keeps coming from us in the strident voices of small men. The peoples are looking for a clear and challenging political faith that will arouse them to self-determination and liberation from both political and social tyranny. The toxin of fear has run its course. A tired and suffering humanity seeks the nourishing food of applied idealism. This is to our advantage. We are not warriors in the strict interpretation of the word. Our history is traditionally one of an expanding democracy—the fulfillment of equality of opportunity, the relation of human equality of law in the social order, and the dedication to a rising standard of living for all. It is these very virtues that fit the present world scene.

It is time, therefore, that we walk confidently in the stature, strength, and competence that our history and our present circumstances verify. In a world that is desperately in need of capital, we have the greatest capital resources among all nations. In a world where people are anxious for the blessings of science and technology, we are richly endowed with these blessings. In a world where the majority of people are ill-housed, ill-fed and ill-clad, we are privileged to have an abundance of food and fiber and the knowledge of scientific progress for health and shelter.

We have that intangible source of strength that was so brilliantly emphasized in the recent Bandung conference, the spiritual values of freedom, the history of a people that cast off the yoke of colonialism, the thrilling and inspiring story of a new nation conceived in liberty, with a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Our leaders were far too pessimistic about the Bandung conference. Official statements indicated that the Asian-African conference might very well become a propaganda springboard for the forces of communism in the Far East. We again underestimated the importance of this conference. Our government hesitated to even send official greetings. We apparently underestimated the great reservoir of good will that still exists in Asia and Africa for America—the America that had given freedom to the Philippines and Cuba, for the America that has always championed the self-determination of peoples. It was spiritual values and political idealism—yes, the moral forces that have made our country great—that served as our ally, our defender in this unique and all-important meeting of the Asian and African nations.

I know we Americans take all of this for granted, but it truly is the good news of the 20th century. Millions of people in Asia and Africa are repeating in their own way the dramatic story of American independence. They are doing what we did. We, above all people, should be understanding and sympathetic to their cause. There is an identity of interest, of purpose, and of history, if we will but see it and make ourselves a part of it. National independence, self-determination, liberation from colonialism—all of this we have experienced. This is our message to the world. This message, found in the Declaration of Independence, has given faith to millions of people seeking dignity in all corners of the globe. This message of faith in human brotherhood and in human equality is our reservoir of good will in the world. It was this message that found its way into every speech at Bandung, save that of Chou En-lai. It is the spiritual and political values that make our society what it is, that really topped the news in the Asian-African conference. America was respected not for her atom bombs or her wealth, but for her ideals and her history. We must be true to these.

To the extent that we have lost friends, we have done so because we have forgotten the message of human brotherhood and equality, or forgotten to preach and live that message.

The time is ready for us to dedicate our talents, our resources, to winning the cold war, not just stabilizing it.

Specifically, I suggest, first, we join

with the spirit of nationalism that grips the underdeveloped and underprivileged countries. Remind these people that we too are the children of self-determination, of revolution, and of a will to freedom and independence.

Second, respect the so-called neutralism of newborn nations, and make it clear that we understand their neutralism to be one predicated on independence, self-determination, and self-government.

We must understand this neutralism and what it is—namely, a spirit of nationalism in former colonial areas. These neutral nations do not want to be appendages to Soviet imperialism or Western collective security. They have unhappy memories of exploitation by certain Western European countries who are now our allies. Their leaders have a keen awareness of the dangers of Communist infiltration and subversion and have taken strong measures to defeat the Communist conspiracy. These neutrals are not pro-Communist—they are pro-themselves. And I suggest that as long as nations remain free, as long as the new nations of Asia and Africa work for themselves, create self-governments, build their own economies, they are in fact strengthening the forces of freedom in the world. Why are we so much more critical of the neutralism of Burma and India than we are of the neutralism of Switzerland, Finland, and Sweden. Surely we realize that our friends of Switzerland, Finland, and Sweden are pro-democratic, pro-freedom. We admire their qualities, we admire their democracy, we herald their accomplishments. Let us be equally tolerant with the Asian nations.

Third, we should engage in greater use of our capital through international organizations such as the UN, the World Bank, and other international financial development groups—doing much more than we ever contemplate, not on the basis of gifts, but on the basis of long-term loans.

Fourth, we should step up our own Point Four, but even more important, work through the UN and offer to greatly expand UN technical assistance. Let us take the initiative in this area.

Fifth, let us use our blessings of food and fiber. We can proceed through the UN, offering vast quantities of food and fiber to be placed under the general direction of the UN Food and Fiber Reserve. Here we can seize the initiative. We have the food and fiber—we can call upon others to share.

Sixth, we must set a good standard at home—revise our immigration laws, immediately liberalize our refugee act, implement our program of civil rights. Any act of Congress that gives offense to large segments of free peoples of the world adversely affects American foreign

policy. Our present immigration laws reflect adversely upon many people and do a disservice to the true tradition of the United States.

Seventh, we should authorize a dramatic expansion of student exchange, along with the exchange of technicians, professional people, farmers, laborers, businessmen, journalists, and others engaged in public communication.

Eighth, unstinting support of the UN, with particular emphasis on the World Health Organization, Food and Agriculture, Children's Emergency Fund. These programs represent America's compassion and generosity exercised in a spirit of international cooperation.

Ninth, the systematic reduction of tariffs and other artificial obstacles to world trade, including re-examination of East-West trade restrictions.

Tenth, we must make unceasing efforts toward the reduction of armaments and the realization of universal disarmament.

Let us instill spirit and meaning into the disarmament discussions by demonstrating imagination. Let us offer to join with the rest of the world in reducing and then eliminating our armaments race, accompanied by a joint pledge that we spend a portion of the money we thereby save in helping to eliminate poverty in the world. The proposal of the late Senator Brien McMahon is one which should constantly be in the forefront of our minds as we participate in the disarmament discussions.

I welcome the proposal of the President in creating the Office of Special Assistant in Charge of Disarmament. I now hope that my own proposal for the creation of a Special Subcommittee on Disarmament that is to match the action of the Executive and strengthen our hand for disarmament will be accepted.

I have emphasized our more active participation in the United Nations, and its related agencies, because I am convinced that the most practical approach to the areas of Asia and Africa is through the United Nations. This great organization will be only as strong as the use that is made of it. It can only do as much as it is permitted to do by the great powers. Our entire international policy is based on our adherence to and respect for the Charter of the United Nations. We must become champions of that charter. On every occasion, in every conference, in every policy statement, we must relate our actions to the fulfillment of the principles of the United Nations Charter. The Charter of the United Nations is for the world what the Declaration of Independence is for us. It is a world charter of freedom and justice. It is the 20th century Declaration of Interdependence.

I recognize the weaknesses of the United Nations. But I also recognize

that if this great instrument of international cooperation fails, then the law of the jungle prevails and modern civilization is on the precipice of disaster.

The achievements of the United Nations are significant. Its future possibilities are unlimited. The time is right for the government of the United States to lay before the United Nations Assembly a comprehensive program for building a true and honorable peace—and pursue it relentlessly, boldly, and confidently.

The program I have outlined here, while not new, is, in my mind, a proper emphasis of what needs to be done.

Let us again and again challenge the Soviet Union to fulfill the requirements of the charter. Ask her to join with us in the expansion of the agencies and services of the United Nations. Ask her to join with us, not only in a program of disarmament, but in a program of economic rehabilitation under the guidance and direction of the United Nations. Let us be so bold and daring and imaginative with our program and proposals that a refusal on the part of the Soviet to go along will leave her alone and forsaken.

It is time we recognized that power is more than armaments and wealth. Power is people and ideals—people who aspire to freedom and dignity; ideals that make possible an enlightened and civilized society.

I shall long remember what the Prime Minister of Burma had to say on his recent visit here to Washington. He said, "American ideals are more explosive than your atom bombs."

Here is the voice of the new Asia asking us to reassert our faith; asking us to live by the inspiration of our own traditions. Reminding us that the strength of the spirit is mightier than the sword.

It is this strength of spirit that represents our superiority over communism. It is this God-given strength that appeals to God's children.

The Irrepressible Conflict

Address of Hon. William E. Jenner, of Indiana, before Magna Charta Dames, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 19, 1955.

EDGAR ALLEN POE tells a story of a beautiful house, whose fine lines and perfect proportions stood out against the landscape, and brought a sense of dignity and strength to all the neighborhood.

Nothing happened to the house, that is, no outward blow or injury. But it was affected by an inward decay. The change was imperceptible, nothing one

could grasp or measure. But slowly the great house changed. All its strength and beauty disintegrated until it became only a corpse of a house, ready to fall into dust.

This story, called the Fall of the House of Usher, is a symbol of American foreign policy over the last seven or eight years.

Even a few years ago, our country stood like a tower of strength, bringing security not only to our own people but to those who loved freedom everywhere.

Nothing has happened to our country, at least not outwardly. No one has attacked it. No blow has been struck. But it has suffered an inner decay. The change is almost imperceptible. No event or act marks a clear turning point. It is almost impossible to grasp what has happened. But the beauty and dignity and strength of America are slowly dying. The noble edifice of constitutional liberty is silently disintegrating into a crumbling ruin.

How dare I stand before you and make such a statement, when no single injury or weakness is visible, no single event marks the moment when the sickness struck?

I am going to remind you of the various foreign policies of the American government over the last years, but I shall have to make two lists. First, I shall describe the bold new policy that was pronounced at each successive stage. Then I shall describe the pitiful craven policy that replaced it in action.

This continuous silent disintegration of every policy we make is due to the most important political fact in the world today. We have in the United States not one center of government policy but two. One center I shall call the collectivist one-worlders. The other is the legal constitutional government.

The collectivist bloc has been operating now for 20 years. It has the strong root system that comes from 20 years of unhampered growth. The chief characteristic of this collectivist bloc is that it operates above the Constitution and above the law. Its members are carrying out a secret revolutionary purpose, without any attempt to tell the American people what they are doing, or asking their consent.

I say that there is an irrepressible conflict between this elite which operates above the Constitution and the laws, and the American people, and those members of Congress, of the courts, and of the executive branch, who operate under the Constitution and the law.

I am taking foreign policy as the best example of the tug-of-war going on constantly within the United States, between these two forms of government.

In the Teheran-Yalta period, roughly 1942 to 1946, the Big Three dominated

world policy-making. The American elite, working with the Communist leadership, dominated the Big Three. The elite gave the Soviet Union the great heartland of Central Europe from the Baltic States to the borders of Greece. They let East Germany fall to the Reds. They gave the U.S.S.R. the keys to the heartland of Asia, the mainland of China.

You will ask why did Britain and the United States agree to this remaking of the world when there was no profit in it except for Stalin and his friends? Recent publication of the Yalta papers, and the much-needed publication of the Teheran and Potsdam records, will show how the elite were dizzy with success from exercising their fantastic war powers.

I am concerned with a later and I believe a far more dangerous period.

The American people were never foolish enough to accept the Soviet Union as an ally. We did not accept the Czar's government as our ally in the First World War against Germany. The idea of our alliance with the U.S.S.R. is a myth, invented by the political elite and spread by their docile press.

Many in the government, in the military service and in the press, had grave doubts about the postwar conduct of the Soviet Union but they could not be heard in the din of victory.

Slowly the true Americans began to point out the danger to our security. The first victory of the pro-American group was signalized by the Forrestal proposal of military support for Greece and Turkey. President Truman told the Congress on March 12, 1947, "At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. . . .

"One way of life is based on the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

"The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

"I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure."

Isn't that the recent Formosa resolution?

There is no appeasement here.

We made one serious mistake in understanding this pronouncement.

We believed that the American government could reach a policy decision

by constitutional means, and make it stick. We took for granted that resistance to Communist attack would remain our national policy.

If the President had stated what was official policy, what could hinder us from following the new course? We did not believe the one essential fact—the collectivist, global, pro-Soviet elite never quits. It only goes underground, until the conflict is forgotten. Then it surfaces again, ready for action, while we sleep. It puts on a new cover of pro-Americanism, but it is unchanged.

From 1947 to today the collectivist elite has let the pro-Americans win the public victories, but it has promptly pulverized the true American policies in secret.

It may help to call the globalist-collectivist-pro-Russian group the Acheson group. We are, however, dealing with something much stronger than personalities. Forrestal is dead, but his policy has been revived again and again. Acheson is gone, but the evil that he did lives after him.

The important point is that we did not have a united American government which could, after debate, set a final American policy. We had two centers of policymaking competing for mastery.

The globalists made no attempt to attack or debate the Forrestal policy of rearming. They set out secretly to undermine it, so that it would sink slowly, silently into the ground, and collapse in a heap of dust.

As soon as they thought it safe their tame columnists began to beat the drums. Their friends in the State Department and other government agencies came forward piously with their loaded proposals—always under a carefully innocent surface, proposals to sabotage hard military resistance and go back to the Teheran-Yalta policies.

You know what happened to Forrestal. You may not remember what happened to his successor, Louis Johnson. He tried desperately with reduced appropriations, to get American military forces in readiness in 1950. A few weeks after the Korean war began, the columnists who worked with the elite began a bitter attack on him. He was let out summarily. He learned from the newspapermen of his replacement by General Marshall.

On the foreign-policy front the collectivist one-worlders diverted the Truman doctrine for hard military aid against communism into the Marshall plan for economic aid for people in the line of march of the Communist legions. I have said again and again that the Marshall plan was Greek-Turkish aid with its claws pulled. It could roar fiercely at Soviet Russia but never hurt it. In fact, it was setting the table for Stalin, enriching the countries the Soviet

Union intended to take without conquest.

Was President Truman to blame for abandonment of the hard Truman doctrine and its replacement by the soft policy of economic aid? I do not say so. So long as two competing centers of power battle for control of the American government, any President is nearly helpless. The elite was stronger than President Roosevelt. It was stronger than President Truman. Early in 1952, in describing the Colossus on the Potomac, I said I did not want President Truman to head up such powers. I did not want any Democratic President to head up such powers, and I did not want any Republican President to head up such powers.

Neither am I criticizing the Democratic party. This supraconstitutional elite is stronger than any American political party.

Slowly our security deteriorated on every front.

In June, 1948, Senator Vandenberg had introduced the resolution authorizing a regional pact with European nations. He did not suspect this was one of the interchangeable parts in the plan for NATO. Our security was tied to nations in which nearly one-third of the electors voted Communist, and where the trade unions, seaports, rail lines, and other services were under tight Communist control.

Secretary Acheson drew a line in the Pacific leaving Korea to the Communist Empire. Our troops were withdrawn and Formosa was solemnly excluded from the territory necessary to make the Pacific a peaceful lake, and to keep the west coast of the United States secure.

When the Communists struck in Korea, the collectivist one-worlders talked victory but they set out secretly to undermine it, to belittle it, to tie it up in a legal maze. You remember the steps.

The one-worlders put our troops under the United Nations, but the UN included Soviet Russia and her satellites. They pretended we were fighting the war in Korea for Korea, though the war actually was for all Asia, and it should have been fought on the territory of the real enemy—Red China. The elite diverted badly needed American troops to Europe in spite of bitter opposition in Congress. Then when victory was in sight, they agreed to a cease-fire on terms the Soviet Union had proclaimed six months before.

Our pro-American military and naval officers pulled us out of the cease-fire negotiations with honor. They refused to return the anti-Communist Chinese prisoners of war to the Communists to be murdered like the hostages surrendered at Yalta.

That success, however, was not to last. In December, 1952, at the UN, Krishna-

Menon, in league with the American one-worlders, rewrote the cease-fire agreement and provided for a new brainwashing of the pitiful prisoners, so the Communists could be saved from the disgrace of losing most of the Chinese soldiers, who found a chance to get away.

In the election of 1952 the American people voted overwhelmingly for pro-American foreign and military policies, but that meant nothing to the globalist elite. They went underground again.

President Eisenhower replaced obsequious Joint Chiefs of Staff with a vigorous pro-American body. Secretary Wilson and the new Joint Chiefs set out to repair the damage from our "accordion" defense policy, which by running appropriations up and down has kept our military program in turmoil.

President Eisenhower also rescinded the shameful order by which the 7th Fleet had been sent to defend the Red China coast against the Nationalist blockade.

Peace was imminent in Korea. The American military were aware of our obligation to make sure the battle-hardened Chinese armies in North Korea were not moved to another place on the chessboard, like Indochina, to capture more millions of human slaves.

Americans breathed easy for the first time in many years. That was our mistake. It was the moment the elite were waiting for.

The one-world collectivists knew they could soon surface again, and reduce to dust the courageous policies of the President and the Joint Chiefs.

In Berlin in February, 1954, the Red Chinese were given de facto recognition as the legal government of China, on equal footing with the United States.

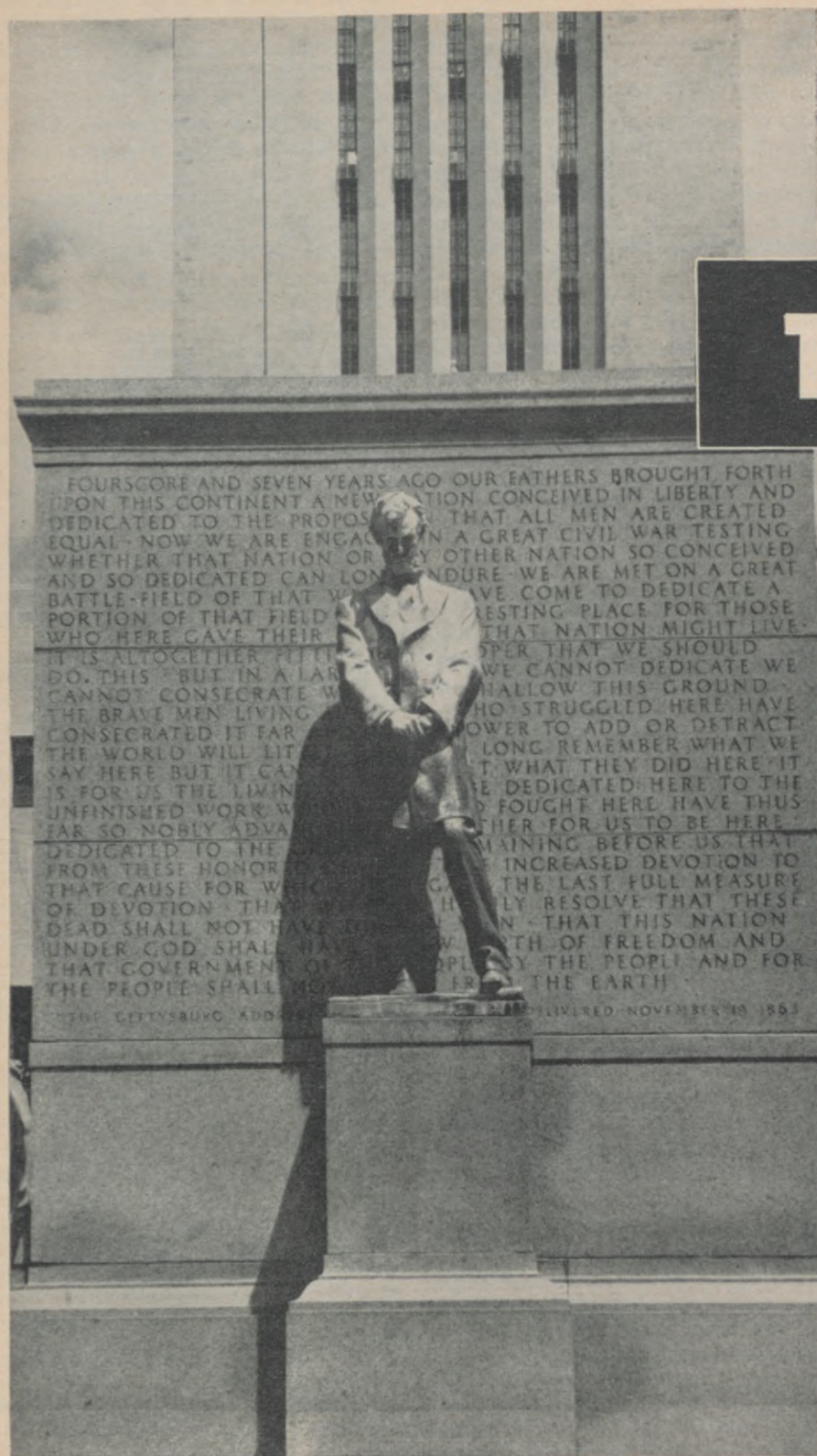
The siege of Dien Bien Phu, which had some of the earmarks of a planned disaster, focused the world's attention on the difficulties of jungle fighting. In a theatrical atmosphere of defeat the Western nations surrendered at Geneva half of the richest section of Asia, the military key to the South Pacific.

Our military were caught napping. Suddenly they talked of entering the Indochinese war by sending Americans to fight on the soil of Indochina. The only sound strategy would have been to equip both the South Koreans and the Nationalists to the highest point of efficiency and then say to Red China—"The instant there is a Communist uprising in Indochina, the Koreans and Nationalists will move in on your railroads and airfields."

We can have confidence in the patriotism and intelligence of our military men. It was from them I learned of the pitiful transportation lines from North to South

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The FOUR



—Photo by Underwood & Underwood

Let's **WORK** hard and earnestly at the task of strengthening ourselves spiritually, morally and economically.

Let's **SAVE** our free American way of life, no matter what the sacrifices may be.

Let's **VOTE** at every election for people who place the welfare of their country above their personal political welfare.

Let's **PRAY** for the wisdom and the courage to do our duty as good Americans, faithful to God and to our country.

Most of us today are knee-deep in confusion and uncertainty. We are not quite sure which way to turn or what to do. Within the nation, we see and feel the effects of inflation upon our income and our savings.

We see communistic termites trying to destroy the very foundation of our free government and our free economy.

We see the nation's political leaders divided among themselves over what should be done to arrest inflation and to meet the challenge of communism.

We see more and more of our earnings being consumed by taxes.

We see all of these things—and more. It's enough to arouse fear, to cause confusion and to create uncertainty.

In view of the turbulent present and the uncertain future which all of us face together, we need to examine the cause of our trouble.

If we turn back a few pages of history, we find that the *threat* to our free way of life is the root of our trouble.

Twice in one generation we have fought two world wars in defense of freedom.

A considerable proportion of our public debt of approximately 256 billion dollars was created by wars fought to preserve freedom.

And a major portion of our multi-billion dollar national budget each year goes for the cost of wars—past and impending—all in behalf of freedom.

Yet, over the years, many of us have taken freedom for granted.

By now we should be acutely conscious of the fact that freedom, like everything else in life, comes at a price.

But no matter what that price may be, we must pay it, for nothing could be worse than to lose our God-given rights and our human dignity.

The outlook is not bright. We'd be deluding ourselves and betraying our children if we considered the recent Korean War a little international skirmish.

PIILLARS of Freedom

by W. G. Vollmer, President, The Texas & Pacific Railway Company

It was nothing of the sort.

We were at war, whether we wanted to call it that or not. Approximately 60,000 casualties in the first ten months of that war attested the fact.

When the smoke of the conflict clears away, and it cannot be considered cleared away while Red China continues to shoot down our airmen, either the free people of the world or the Communists will emerge victorious.

It now is self-evident, if it has not always been, that democracy and communism cannot exist side by side.

Democracy is founded upon faith in God, in the dignity of man and upon the concept that the government is the servant of the people, not their master.

Communism is founded upon atheism, strife, fear, tyranny and the philosophy that the government is the supreme master of the people.

Thus, the principles upon which democracy and communism are founded are as far apart as love and hate, or as good and evil.

Since the cause of freedom is founded upon justice and righteousness, we and the other free people of the world are invincible if we unite in purpose and in action.

I say this because we have the know-how and the productive capacity to turn out the goods and services essential to the preservation of freedom.

But it's going to take more than money and machines and know-how to win. It's going to take the will and the courage to WORK, to SAVE, to VOTE and to PRAY.

In the midst of our dilemma, here are four basic points upon which I feel all of us can unite.

I call these four points "The Four Pillars of Freedom" because no matter how great our trials and tribulations may become, we can preserve our freedom if we have the will and courage to WORK, SAVE, VOTE and PRAY.

I realize there are other important pillars of freedom, but I have suggested these four because they are basic, and because each of us can have a part in giving them life and meaning.

First, there is WORK. Ever since the dawn of history, man has had to work in order to survive.

There is no way to supply our needs and protect our freedom except by work.

Nature has a way of balancing the books of life. If we work wisely and efficiently, we produce abundantly the goods and services essential to better living.

If we work poorly, or not at all, we live poorly or not at all.

The reason we in America live better than any other people of the world is because we have developed to a high degree the tools of production and the technique of using them.

There are any number of countries in the world equally as rich in human and natural resources as the United States. The thing that makes the difference between abundance and poverty is the wise and the efficient use of tools.

Approximately 95 per cent of our productive energy is provided by tools. Only 5 per cent represents animal and human energy.

In the countries where famines and starvation stalk the people all the days of their lives, the energy percentage of productivity is just the reverse.

There's a vital relationship between the abundant life and these energy-producing percentages. The higher the percentage of tool energy, the better people live; the lower the percentage, the poorer they live.

In our fight against inflation, the only sound way to overcome it is to increase our production. The fundamental law of supply and demand cannot be changed by governmental decrees. Increased production is the real antidote to inflation.

This brings me to the next point of "The Four Pillars of Freedom." SAVE.

How did we come to have the great mass of energy-producing tools? By saving. Past thrift is one of the principal reasons why America is strong today. Millions of people, young and old, rich and poor, saved part of their income instead of spending it as they earned it. Then they invested their savings in factories, machines, mines, oil fields and railroads.

These savings made possible our great productive capacity and thus the great outpouring of goods and services which we, in America, enjoy today.

These savings made possible the bulwark of our defense against communism.

Each American worker is now supported by machinery — that is, the tools of production — which cost an average of more than ten thousand dollars per worker.

In the railroad industry, the investment averages \$21,000 per worker.

What was it that encouraged the American people to save a portion of their earnings instead of spending all of it?

It was the freedom to enjoy the fruits of their labors. The right to have and to hold what they earned and saved.

If we should ever lose that right, then savings will dry up and there will be no private money to provide the tools of production.

Of course, our government could provide the tools, as is done in communistic countries. But then the people would be ordered to "invest" a portion of their earnings in government bonds. And that is one of the things we are fighting to prevent.

The need to save does not rest alone with the individual.

The government should set an example of thrift by abandoning non-essential expenditures. The various so-

called social programs, benefits, bounties and aids should be discontinued.

The government does not owe anyone a living unless it be a person injured in the service of the country.

When the government undertakes to provide a living for any person or group of people, the cost of that living must come out of the work and the earnings of other people. And that sort of living cost comes high for the people who foot the bill through taxation.

The people of the cities and communities of the nation should join in saving public funds. They can do this by ceasing to demand federal funds for local pet projects . . . many of which are neither militarily essential nor economically sound.

To make America strong, the federal, state and local governments should join with the individual in saving. Unless governments are thrifty, individuals have little opportunity to save.

Heavy taxation takes care of that.

The third point of our program is VOTE.

In recent years, there's been a good deal of conversation about getting out the vote. But like the weather, which provokes a great deal of talk, many of us merely talk instead of acting.

It has been estimated that approximately 40 million people in the United States failed to vote in the 1948 presidential election.

Why? Different reasons . . . or rather,

different excuses. Seldom is there a good reason why we should not register and vote. Most of the time, it's just too much trouble to register and then go to the polls on election day.

Some of us brush it off by saying that "our vote doesn't count, anyway." If every person did that, our republic would collapse. And our freedom would be lost.

Every vote does count, no matter what the election.

Voting is one thing we must do for ourselves. We can't delegate it to someone else. That responsibility is ours, not the other fellow's.

It's our sacred obligation to protect our right to vote. And the only way we can do that is by voting.

Failure to vote at any time is dangerous, but with freedom at stake as it is today, failure to vote now can prove disastrous.

It could be that our failure in years gone by to do our full duty in this area of citizenship is responsible, in part at least, for our present predicament.

Perhaps unthinkingly we have shown too little pride in the priceless gift of personal liberty, thereby permitting others to trade off our personal opportunity and part of our freedom. If we have been negligent in this respect, we have been disloyal to our country and unfaithful to our children.

So next election, no matter what kind, nor how much it may inconven-

ience us, let's go to the polling place and cast our vote. And let's urge our friends and neighbors to do likewise.

If we do that as wisely and as well as we know how, then we have fulfilled that important part of our citizenship responsibilities.

In discussing the four-point program to help make our country strong, I have placed PRAYER fourth in an effort to give it additional emphasis.

It is, of course, the most important single thing we can do today.

We need to pray for an abiding faith in God and faith in ourselves.

We need to pray for faith in our fellowman.

We need to pray for guidance and wisdom.

We need to pray for the courage to do those things which, in our heart, we conceive to be right and honorable.

We need to pray for the strength to bear whatever burden we may be called upon to carry.

The responsibility for freedom and for peace does not rest in Washington, London, Moscow or Paris . . . or the other capitals of the world . . . but in the hearts of the people of the world.

We have at our command the tools to preserve freedom, and to aid in restoring peace to a tired and unhappy world.

Let's use these tools . . . Work, Save, Vote and Pray . . . patriotically and unselfishly.

FOREIGN POLICY

(Continued from Page 31)

China. From them I learned of the ease with which railroads and airfields can be bombed from sea and air, without landing a single American foot soldier on the mainland of Asia.

Why did we fail to release Korean and Nationalist planes against the supply lines that led to Indochina? I am certain from reading the columnists that our military officials had the right plans but were outwitted by the collectivist elite.

Our military leaders—like most Americans—have not yet accepted the fact that we have two centers of policy-making within our government, one under the Constitution, the other above it. One works for American security. The other would put an end to American independence. We can have no rest until one or the other of these power centers is destroyed, and the American government is unified again.

I have not even begun to list the brave and dignified pro-American policies which saw the light for a little while,

and then were turned to dust by this secret undermining. Our European policy is tied in with plans for Atlantic community, in which a supranational agency in NATO will have superior control over our troops, our foreign policy, our funds and our right to withdraw.

Our German policy has been subordinated to plans for one world through the knitting together of the Atlantic community in NATO.

Our Asian policy is tied to the hated colonial powers through SEATO. We are allied with everybody except the nations which have fought communism. The Nationalists are permanently leashed in the China Defense Treaty. The Koreans are going to be allowed to die on the vine.

The brave showing of the Formosa resolution has already been replaced by a series of proposals meant to let it disintegrate into a heap of dust. The counter moves include appeals for a cease fire, intervention of UN, confusion over Quemoy and Matsu, appeals to bring

our allies into the defense of Formosa, recognition of two Chinas, trusteeship for Formosa, and a plebiscite of the inhabitants.

Let us remember one thing. The issue in the Formosa Strait is not Formosa. It is the whole free world. At Formosa Strait, all the free nations are lined up face to face with the Communist empire. We cannot retreat an inch at Formosa without endangering Korea, Indochina, Germany, Italy, and California.

The strait of Formosa is the danger spot in the long line that encircles the Communist empire, and keeps it from world conquest. If Quemoy is abandoned, the whole line falls back. The strait of Formosa is the Korean battle-line, it is the Berlin airlift, it is the Battle of Britain. It is Valley Forge. It is Thermopylae.

The elite will work incessantly to undermine, to corrode, to pulverize the Formosa policy, because it is the Truman doctrine of Greek-Turkish aid, the military intervention in Korea, the landing at Normandy. It is the doctrine that there can be no compromise morally with communism, that the only answer to force is readiness to use force and that America cannot stand by and see

her friends, the free anti-Communist nations, ground to dust, so the road will be clear for a Soviet attack on us.

I am not going to discuss a plan of action for this crisis. It is more important to understand the nature of the crisis.

The contest between the one-world elite and our constitutional government is an irrepressible conflict. The American government cannot operate half under the law and half above it.

We cannot take care of any other business, including national defense, until this conflict is decided. There is no way by which foreign nations can trust our public statements if they do not know whether the one-world elite or the constitutional officials will have the final word.

If the contest continues much longer, the elite have won. We cannot defend our country or help other nations to remain free, if our policies shuttle back and forth from one power center to another. The elite does not have to win. Their purpose is destruction. Every move they make helps their final victory. They can send our defense appropriations up and down, arbitrarily increase and decrease the number of members of our armed forces, make treaties with other nations in which the fine print gives away our position. No matter how hard the true American resister may work, our policy will look faltering and feeble. Our word will be without value. We shall antagonize all our friends and build up the strength of our mortal enemies. Like the House of Usher, the dignity and strength of America will deteriorate from invisible hurt.

The task of uprooting the elite cannot be left to any one person or group. The President alone cannot do it. Congress cannot do it. Neither party alone can do it. It is a task for all Americans, in Congress, in executive office, in the courts, among the press, the scholars, and the people.

Second, while the elite is in power, nothing can be settled by agreements. The American government and political system have always operated under a kind of gentlemen's agreement—that no one seeking office or in office would do a single thing to weaken the Constitution. Limited government is government by mutual trust. In a happy family we do not frisk each member to be sure he does not carry hidden guns. In a happy country we do not have to investigate each officeholder to be sure he does not carry a deadly weapon with which to slash at the Constitution.

We shall never go back to that world of mutual trust, until we drive out of office and positions of power the men who are not playing the game according to the rules, the men who desire power even when it means the sacrifice of honor.

The elite keep no agreements, whether it is the Truman-Forrestal doctrine, or the Korean ceasefire or the Formosa resolution. They regard agreements as a play to fool the innocent, behind which they can constantly chip away at any program which would strengthen our country.

The principle burden of removing the elite falls, I believe, on Congress. Congress must take back the money it has given the elite to consolidate its influence. Congress must take back the loose powers which it has carelessly surrendered. Congress must rescind any legislation which commits us to the collectivist one-world supergovernment which is so rapidly taking over the world. Congress must strengthen every official and every sector of our government which operates under the Constitution and adheres to the ideals of the founders of our nation.

We must plainly tell other countries that if they do not wish to get rid of their own collectivist elite we are through. I said "through." We cannot give economic aid or military aid to nations governed by a collectivist elite friendly to communism. We must build American policy on firm agreements with nations which have cleaned their own house.

If the American people will recognize their real enemy and their real danger; if they will work together to destroy every vestige of collectivist supergovernment which has grown up since 1933, I have no doubt of the outcome.

This is the only road to peace. The Communists in Russia are not strong enough or smart enough to destroy the free nations without help of their supporters from within other countries. If we join hands with any nation working to rid itself of a fifth-column elite, we can build a ring of steel about the Soviet empire. When it is shut off from new conquests, from the resources it must get from its secret allies in the free countries, the Soviet government will wither away, and the people who live under slavery can once again be free.

If we fight this one battle, we can look forward to a world of peace, of law, of decency, of honest agreements. This world can be built on a firm foundation of government under law, obeying the desires of decent moral people.

The American people know we have inherited the most perfect design for a government under law and serving the ideals of harmony and truth. We do not need to seek a new way of life. We need only be true to our own great ideals. Then we shall emerge from the shadows strong and clean and free, and give to the world the glad tidings that America is true to herself once more.

Should Foreign Aid Be Terminated?

The following views on our foreign aid program were expressed by Senators William E. Jenner and John J. Sparkman on a recent Facts Forum radio program, and are presented here as a continuation of the opposing viewpoints regarding U. S. foreign policy.

Senator Jenner Speaks:

Fellow Americans, every year the Senate and the House go solemnly through the motions of debating foreign aid spending, but the bills are always passed. This year, as usual, I pointed out on the Senate floor that the Executive branch has on hand nearly nine billion dollars for foreign aid, which is still unspent. That is enough for three years' work, but Congress was asked to appropriate three and a half billions for the years in the future, and we had to put the government further into the red to do it. Everything is all set for you to keep on paying out these billions every year from now 'til eternity. You don't have to do a thing if you like taxes. Congress can do nothing without your help.

Let us face the essential fact: foreign spending has become a gigantic boondoggle. For example, you are paying the salaries of people who are sent to Yugoslavia to ask Tito to please take some of your money for his roads and his colleges, while our states badly need roads at home and our colleges are searching desperately for means to carry on. Now, what is boondoggling? Is it just a way to waste your money? No, indeed. It would be much better for you if the money was wasted. Boondoggling is a very useful thing. It is not useful to the taxpayers; it is not especially useful to the recipients. Boondoggling is useful to ambitious men in government who want to get hold of tax money and make it into a political machine so they can stay in power. Boondoggling helps the power seekers in two ways. It gives them a full time staff of thousands of people who can carry out their plans. With this staff the political climbers can give your money away, but, you give it only to pressure groups who will repay the gifts with votes and other political favors.

Harry Hopkins built a huge WPA staff which handed out your money for folk dances and counting squirrels and other such projects. But it is a mistake to imagine he did not care where the money went. Hopkins watched every dollar with the closest attention. He gave your money to mayors and governors who organized the unemployed into pressure groups, which came to

Washington yearly to demand more money for relief spending. He gave your money to writers, and artists, and college teachers who propagandized you in favor of big spending. He gave your money to unemployed in the districts of the right political bosses.

Now it may surprise you when I say foreign aid has been made into a vast political machine. You would never guess that from the official handouts about our spending abroad. Foreign aid requires a huge staff which operates all over the globe. This staff gives away your money but only in the right way—to people who will be useful in building up a political machine and a vast propaganda at home. Remember, what we call foreign aid buys American coal and books, wheat and radio services; it gives orders to American manufacturers and farmers. It gives insurance to firms operating abroad. It gives guarantees against loss to American magazines and newspapers. It gives business to ship-owners and airplane companies. It gives pleasant grants and travelling expenses to college officials, religious leaders, women's clubs presidents and businessmen. The name of the agency changes every year or so. Ambitious leaders struggle for the top control, but the purpose of foreign aid spending is always the same—to build a political machine which, by bringing gifts and business orders, makes pressure groups helpful to the man who directs it.

Many people do not realize that even our military aid is under the boondogglers. Since the global welfarists are usually one-worlders, their control of our military aid is doubly dangerous. Mr. Harold Stassen and the foreign operations administration were given the money for military aid as well as for global welfare. They wrote their appropriation bill so our money could not be allocated to our own military for aid to our allies unless it was in accord with the United Nations. They interpreted this to mean, naturally, that no military aid could be given to any country for a purpose which the United Nations—that is, Soviet Russia—might object to. We agreed to give our allies guns if they promise not to fire a shot. Now you can see why we give millions to the Free Chinese on Formosa, but they do not have the weapons to deter the Red Chinese. Now you know why we spend billions in Korea for shiny new guns, but they won't give the Koreans ammunition for more than a day or two. If the Red Chinese break through the cease-fire line, Americans will have to detail part of their fighting forces to deliver ammunition to the Koreans.

Now the spenders have nothing to spend but your money. The taxes pinch you whenever you pay your milk bill or go to the dentist, or your wife needs a winter coat. Only you can stop this

spending if you and your friends get together in your congressional districts and nominate senators and representatives who will safeguard your money as they would their own. You can restore the American design for freedom in which government is limited and no one has easy money with which to build himself a political machine. That is the only kind of government which will restore America's true leadership in the world.

Senator Sparkman Speaks:

THIS question can perhaps best be answered by considering another question: Do our foreign aid programs benefit the United States? In my opinion they have brought and are bringing great benefits to us. Unfortunately, the term foreign aid means to some that we are squandering our hard earned substance in the interest of some other nation or nations. If this were a correct interpretation, we would all oppose the program. But suppose the program is not just foreign aid, but primarily national aid? Suppose that it is absolutely essential for the security and welfare of this country? Who would object to it then? I believe that we're dealing with just that—national aid, and if we ask ourselves a few questions honestly and answer them honestly, I believe we shall see that that is the case.

For ten years two presidents, one a Democrat and the other a Republican, have been calling on the American people to spend billions of dollars to build up the armed forces and to develop the atomic weapons of this country. They have also asked us to spend a fraction of that amount to strengthen free countries abroad in order to keep them free. As long as it was a Democratic president alone who recommended foreign aid, isolationists and political opportunists at the worst accused him of treason; or at the best, explained it simply by saying that a Democratic administration just can't help squandering the taxpayers' money. These people are out on a limb now that a Republican president wisely asks that this worthwhile Democratic program be continued. These expenditures to help free nations to build up their armed forces and economic strength have had one overriding purpose. That purpose is to strengthen the total defense of this country and that of the other free nations against aggressive communism.

To those isolationists, largely Republican, who believe expenditures on aid abroad are unimportant to us, let me quote from a recent statement of President Eisenhower's Chief of Staff, who ought to know something about these matters. This is what Admiral

Radford had to say about foreign aid (and I quote his words): "The provision of military assistance to our allies when combined with the resources which they contribute results in the development of collective military strength much larger than the United States could provide or maintain on its own."

Now let's ask ourselves a few more questions. Is it in our national interest to disarm South Korea? Discontinue this aid program and you have all but disarmed the South Koreans. Is it in our national interest to lay open Greece, Turkey, Italy and other countries in Western Europe to Communist conquest? That is what would happen if we discontinued this aid program, and I am sure that no stalwart opponent of communism wants that to happen. Do those who oppose foreign aid think it in our national interest to abandon Indochina? Do they think it in our national interest to give up our military bases in Japan, the Middle East, North Africa, Great Britain and France? That, in effect, is what they suggest when they say, "Terminate the aid program." And that seems a strange way for people who yell the loudest about communism to be fighting communism.

Let's look at a few statistical facts. In fiscal year 1954, to use that year as an example, our government extended about five billion, two hundred million dollars in foreign aid. Three and a half billion, or 67 per cent of that was military; 21 per cent was in form of loans, and 12 per cent outright economic grants. The military aid given abroad should mean just that much less military expenditures needed at home. So far as the taxpayers' burden is concerned, the same holds true for that part of the loans which are paid back. As for the approximately half billion dollars of outright economic gifts, our return there is expected to come from the advantage of having stronger friends. During fiscal year 1954 the amount of gifts of this sort was less than one-seventh of 1 per cent of the gross national product in the United States.

What we're talking about in short is national aid more than foreign aid. It is necessary to fight the cold war, it is necessary to prevent a hot war. It is necessary to win a hot war if one should be thrust upon us. We may move toward peace as the result of the Geneva meeting. If so, it will be because the groundwork for peace has been laid by the foreign aid programs of the Truman administration and because President Eisenhower in spite of the strong opposition from the isolationist wing of his party, recommends their continuation. And even if the Russians again frustrate the hopes of people for peace, this aid will have served to add to our

national security as well as to the security of other free nations throughout the world.

History of Foreign Aid Destructive

Views on Foreign Aid expressed before U. S. House of Representatives by Hon. Alvin E. O'Konski, Congressman from Wisconsin:

I want to submit for your consideration this thesis: Every foreign aid bill the United States of America has adopted since 1919 has led to death and destruction for the United States of America. I would like to start with Germany, in 1918 to 1935. I wonder how many of you read the debates in the Congress during those years and how many of you read the State Department papers that were wrapped up in a nice little red book that they sent to your offices? How many of you read the communiques exchanged between the German government and our government from 1918 to 1935. Everyone of those communiques says, "Send us more money into Germany and save us from the Bolsheviks." They did not use the word communism then—it was the Bolsheviks. And we sent them the money. We had the Dawes plan. We had the Young plan and I remember in 1930 and 1935 when we had as many as ten million unemployed in the United States of America, we were building steel plants and we were building Stuka bomber plants and stadiums in Germany. Sure we saved the German people from the Bolsheviks, but we gave them Adolph Shickelgruber. Our foreign-aid program in Germany led to nothing but death and destruction for the United States.

From 1933 to 1936, when we recognized Russia, we sent them boatload after boatload of farm machinery and industrial equipment, and the Soviet Union under the first five-year plan was built up by technical experts we sent there. If it had not been for the first five-year plan and the help received from the United States of America, communism would never have survived—or Bolshevism at that time—in the Soviet Union. We saved Bolshevism for the Soviet Union. There again the American foreign aid program led to death and destruction for the United States.

In 1935 to 1939, we were shipping scrap iron and high-octane gasoline to the Japanese trying to buy their friendship by the carload. They had enough high-octane gasoline and enough scrap iron from the United States in 1939 that they could fight the war for one year without doing anything by themselves for fuel or scrap iron. Much of

that scrap iron is in the bellies of dead United States soldiers.

Then from 1940 to 1946, we started the lend-lease program and here we really made the enemy that we are facing in the world today. With thirteen billion dollars we took good care of Uncle Joe before we took care of our own interest at that time. It was under this lend-lease program that we also made Communist China strong. That is where Mao came into power with our lend-lease equipment. They had better equipment and better guns and tanks than we ourselves had. It was this time also when Ho Chi Minh, who conquered China, came into being with the aid of the American equipment handed out under the lend-lease program.

In 1946, we started the UNRRA program. If the Communists believed in God, they would get down on their knees and thank God for the UNRRA program because we did more to help them entrench communism behind the Iron Curtain with UNRRA than any program that they could possibly conceive of

themselves.

Then we had the Marshall plan in 1947. Do not be mistaken. When the Marshall plan was first enunciated, we invited the Soviet Union to come in and get their billions. Originally, the Marshall plan called for a foreign aid program of ten billion dollars a year and we invited and begged the Soviet Union to come in and take part of it. In other words, the original Marshall plan was to give it to everybody who would come and help themselves. But the Soviets turned us down. Then we started the mutual security program and said now we are going to give money only to those who fight against communism. Now we have even changed that. We now have a program saying we will give the money to anybody who is not only against communism, but anybody who says that they hate communism just a little bit less than they hate us. I say for your consideration that every foreign aid program adopted by this country has led to death and destruction for America.

CAN WE WIN THIS WAY?

Excerpts from a speech by The Reverend Louis H. Evans, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., Los Angeles, California; Minister-at-Large, Board of National Missions, Presbyterian Church, delivered before the Economic Club of Detroit, Michigan, May 24, 1954.

These Communists are serious. A man told me this story sometime ago. He was walking across the street and a man accosted him and said, "I would like some money for a meal."

He said, "I won't give you money for a meal. I don't know how you'd spend it. But I will give you the meal. Come with me."

"No, if you don't mind, don't waste your time. Just give me the money for the meal."

"No, I'll feed you." So he did and the man ate avidly. As they were going out of the restaurant the man asked of the man who had asked alms, "You know, you weren't going to spend that money for a meal, were you?"

"No, sir."

"What were you going to do with it?"

"You have been kind to me. I will tell you. We have a Communist book store two blocks down this street. We've got the message all set up in type but we ran out of paper, and three of my comrades and I said we would go without eating for four days and give the equal of the money for four days of food, to get the message out. You see, we must get the message out!"

Does that frighten you? How many of us ever went without eating for one day, to get our "message" out? One

thing these Communists have taught us: that any untruth like communism, wholeheartedly propagated, will seem to get the best of truth like ours, half-heartedly propagated. At any given moment in history, that moment belongs to the enthusiastic and the dedicated . . .

One GI, feeling that too many people were "passing the buck," and too few were carrying the responsibility, wrote this:

Population of the United States	145,000,000
People over 65 years of age	47,000,000
Balance left to do the work in the U. S.	98,000,000
People under 21 years of age, too young to work	54,000,000
Balance left to do the work	44,000,000
People working for the Federal Government	21,000,000
Balance left to do the work	23,000,000
People in the Armed Services	10,000,000
Balance left to do the work	13,000,000
City and State employees	12,800,000
Balance left to do the work	200,000
People in hospitals and institutions	126,000
Balance left to do the work	74,000
Bums and others who won't work	62,000
Balance left to do the work	12,000
People in jail	11,998
Balance left to do the work	2

—And I'm doggoned tired of working alone."

Judge Medina presided over the sensational trial in 1949 of the leaders of the U. S. Communist party, a trial which lasted for nine months and ended in the conviction of all eleven of the accused for conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government by violence. In 1951 he became a circuit judge of the U. S. Court of Appeals.

Following is a speech Judge Medina delivered recently before the Illinois State Bar Association.



—Wide World Photo

The Inside Story of the **Trial of the Eleven Communists**

By Judge Harold R. Medina

I am going to tell you something of the inside story of the Communist trial. It is six years ago now. I thought people would have forgotten all about it long ago. I resolved when it was over that I would not say anything about it and I did not for years. I thought I should not, especially when the case was on appeal, and years went on; but now . . . I am going to do it.

One of the first things I began to hear in that trial was Abraham Lincoln. They took all of our great American characters and they tied their own propaganda on to those names. To the ignorant and the ill-informed they seemed so plausible! Abraham Lincoln was one of their key words. They were always talking about him and oh! how he must have turned in his grave when he heard them taking his name in vain as they did. When I started in with that trial I had an idea that it was going to be kind of rough, and that the Communists were people who wanted to divide up other people's property and make trouble and all that, but I was like most of you people, I didn't believe all that I read in the papers.

I was very skeptical about all this tie-up with Soviet Russia, and I had no conception at all of what I was going to be up against. I did study with some care the record in a previous sedition trial where the judge wore himself out and died. I read about a good deal of shouting and arguing and gavel banging and punishing people for contempt during the continuance of that trial, until the judge wore himself down; and I said to myself I wouldn't do that. And so, without any real understanding of what was coming, I started in.

To begin with I had to deal with delegation number one. I said, now those fellows are Americans and somebody has got to tell them what American justice is like, so I brought them in and I said, "Now look here, what do you fellows want here?"

"Well, this is a political persecution and these fellows and this case ought to be thrown out," and this and that and this and that.

I said, "Now you have no business coming around and

telling the judge what to do with the case. That is un-American. We don't do things that way. What would you think of it if some rich man or some politician who had no business to come around, came around to my chambers and started telling me how to decide a case? Now you fellows get on out of here."

But there was another delegation—maybe two or three—from some rubber factory in Ohio or from someplace down in Mississippi, or from someplace out in the state of Washington, or from Oklahoma. There were delegations, delegations, delegations. When I got through with one delegation there was always another delegation, and there I was, figuring I was kind of representing America. I was trying to tell these people that we Americans can't do this kind of thing. Each one had to put in his two cents worth, and then when I got them out there was another bunch waiting there from all over this great United States of America. Every part of America. There were housewives' delegations, veterans' delegations, purple heart veterans' delegations, and workers' delegations of every name, nature and description, from the South, from the North, and all over the country. I lost a couple of days and I went without my lunch seeing those fellows.

I didn't get out of the courthouse until half past seven or eight at night, until all of a sudden I said, "Why, Harold, this is just an organized effort here." Why I didn't see it quicker I don't know, but you can put yourself in my position. I wanted these people to understand you just can't do this sort of thing. They looked like ordinary Americans—they didn't look like these Commies are supposed to look at all.

Then I said, "No more delegations," and it was just as though I had turned off a faucet. Just let this soak in for a minute. Think of the power of that organization. That they could get all those fellows coming, although whether they really came from all those places or not I had no means of knowing; but I believe that they did. But when that particular strategy reached its end, and I said no more delegations, they stopped instantly. Not a single one turned up

from anywhere, and I thus learned for the first time that the blue chips were down.

This was much more serious than I had any idea. Here were not defendants who were trying to be acquitted! I really think that if they had tried the case along traditional American lines it might have had a different result. I don't know why, but they did not—they tried it along lines that were invented somewhere else, somewhere outside of the territorial limits of the United States of America. What they were trying to do, instead of getting an acquittal, was first to spread Communist propaganda. From morning 'til night they were at it all the time—all the time—all the time. I found as day after day went by that the only alternative was to break up the trial and thus demonstrate that American justice was unequal to the task of trying a Communist. That is the way the blue chips were down and it was those delegations that gave me the tipoff. That is when I started that regime of mine that you read about.

I parceled out every minute of my day so that I did the same things at the same time every day. I got up at the same time, I went to bed at the same time, I ate my meals at exactly the same hour every day. When I came up for my lunch—you can wonder how I ate so many lamb chops and spinach, but I had a lamb chop and spinach every single day at the identical hour, and then I lay down for that nap. It took me a little time to get used to it the first week, but pretty soon by doing it just exactly the same every day I did get used to it. If you want to conserve energy, physical energy and intellectual energy, that regime of doing the same thing at the same time is the greatest way to conserve energy that I think you can possibly find. After a week or so I would lay down, go to sleep immediately, sleep there for a certain period of time and then wake up and get back to work and get down into the courtroom again. I kept that up for the whole rest of that trial.

I want to get over to you in some way the efforts they made to break up that trial. It is pretty hard for people to grasp the ingenuity that these people have. You are all familiar with the shouting out around in the courtroom and accusing me of being a crook and accusing me of all kinds of wrongdoing. It is pretty hard for a judge to stand there day after day and have that go on, knowing that if you start putting one of those lawyers in jail you are going to break up the case, that it would take months of time for some new lawyer to be put on the job who would learn about the case, and if you had a lawyer in jail he certainly could not advise his client any more.

And imposing a fine—why you can imagine those fellows over there in the Kremlin, you can imagine the smiling they would do at putting up a few dollars for the fellow looking the judge in the eye and calling him a crook. Why, they would be at that from morning until night every day.

They had a different line they started about every six weeks. One of these lines was accusing me right in open court of being a discriminator. The lawyers looked me right in the eye and would say how I hated the Jews and how I hated the Negroes, and how the Jews were always supposed to be excluded from everything, and how the Negroes were always supposed to be excluded from everything and all this and that. They kept at me all of the time in open court about my being a discriminator and being disqualified and all this and that. But what was happening outside the courtroom?

They got up handbills that described me as a monster sort of discriminator, and they would take those handbills and in the subways they would put them into people's pockets when they were not looking. A person would get home and put his hands in his pockets and there was one of those handbills. They put them in parked automobiles, particularly in the more dilapidated kind of automobiles in the poorer sections of the city. They were pushed under doors in apartment houses—so that, of course, dozens and dozens of those

came back to me. The people would write in and say, "What is the matter with you, Judge? What have you got against the Negroes? Why do you hate the Jews the way you do?"

Well, if in your soul you think it is wrong to discriminate against people who are different—and then are told day after day that you are just the kind of person that you would hate yourself to be, I tell you it *hurts*. You think that other people will believe it. You wonder if maybe somewhere in your inner consciousness there is some truth in it. You see these fellows are awfully shrewd, psychologically. An honest person is never so awfully sure he is right. He wonders—he wonders if there is something in it. Can it be that I have fooled myself about this? That I feel as I think I do, but maybe way down behind I am different—well, that is the sort of thing they did.

Then we came along to the big efforts to break up the trial. The first of those, I think, chronologically, was one day we had one of these defendants on the stand being cross-examined and he was asked a question that was a perfectly proper question on cross-examination. It was objected to on the ground that it was an infringement of his constitutional privilege not to testify against himself and thus incriminate himself. I said to the lawyer, "This man took the witness stand in his own defense voluntarily. He did not have to do that, and I think this is a proper question, but I am not going to take a chance about it. I am going to think about it overnight." I said to this witness, "Now, you talk to your lawyers overnight about this and I will rule on it in the morning, but I think this question is a proper question." We got back in the morning on the third day of June, 1949, I will never forget, and we started out.

The United States Attorney withdrew that question and then he put another one to him that was even clearer than the first. It was objected to. I overruled the objection. After I overruled the objection the witness then asserted his constitutional privilege. I overruled his constitutional privilege and directed him to answer, and when he refused to answer I said, "I sentence you to prison for thirty days for contempt of court or until you sooner purge yourself of contempt." I suppose that everybody in that courtroom with the exception of the lawyers for the government—clerks, marshals, etc.—were Communist sympathizers. They would get in there every day. They would get in the line about eight o'clock in the morning, so when the doors opened



—Wide World Photo

Eleven top-ranking Communist leaders in the United States during their conspiracy trial in New York City, October, 1949. Left to right, front, are: Robert Thompson, 34; Henry Winston, 35; Eugene Dennis, 44; Gus Hall, 39; and John Williamson, 46. Left to right, rear, are: Jacob Stachel, 49; Irving Potash, 46; Carl Winter, 43; Benjamin Davis, 46; John Gates, 36, and Gilbert Green, 43.

in went all the Communist sympathizers. It was just one mass of Communist sympathizers. When I made that adjudication, you just can't imagine what happened. That mass of humanity rose as one man—all the defendants, all the lawyers, all the spectators, and there was a shouting and hullabaloo such as you never heard. It was designed to break up that trial then and there.

As I look back, I realize it would have happened but for the fact that *someone else* was helping me that day. I sat there and I didn't raise my voice, but I picked them off one after another. "This is Mr. Hall, Mr. Reporter. Mr. Hall just said thus and so, and Mr. Hall I remand you for the balance of this trial." With the shouting and hullabalooing still going, I picked off another one. "Mr. Winston, you just said thus and so. I remand you for the balance of the trial." Then I got another one—then another one. All quietly, without any hullabaloo, without any shouting, without raising my voice at all, and pretty soon it began to look a little menacing and the shouting and hullabaloo quieted down.

They were all still standing and there was a Mr. Dennis right in the middle. He was the leader of the whole group—their spokesman, and he was his own lawyer. He leaned back and started giving me a tirade. I said, "Mr. Dennis, don't you remember I told you I would treat you as one of the lawyers and so whatever you say, I am not going to put you in jail with your friends. But really, Mr. Dennis, you look a little silly to me." Well he began to feel a little silly to himself, and it just goes to show you how quiet firmness will accomplish things. He just could not go on, and I said, "Now, Mr. Dennis, why don't you sit down?" Well he did not want to sit down, but after a moment or two he turned to the rest of them and he said, "Sit down," and plop they all went down. Mind you, they paid no attention to me—but when Mr. Dennis said sit down they all sat down and the crisis was over; and we went on with the rest of that session. On Monday came the sequel.

Monday morning we went on with the trial the same as usual. These fellows that I had remanded were brought down from the jail handcuffed to the marshals. When they were brought in they sat down with the other defendants. After lunch, when I came back to the afternoon session of court, I noticed the lawyers wanted to see me in the little room back of the courtroom. When they came in, I saw all these Communist lawyers beaming and smiling and I knew there was something up so I asked what was going on. "Well," said one of them, "we argued before Judge Lybell this morning Writs of Habeas Corpus in connection with the imprisonment of those men that you tyrannically put into jail last Friday." Incidentally, that Friday when I put them all in jail the Communist line was that I was a tyrant—the worst judicial tyrant that the world had ever known. This came out over the Moscow short wave radio, it came out in the *Daily Worker*, it came out of Mr. Vishinsky in the United Nations, and it came out of Henry Wallace, who issued a statement almost word for word the same as all these others. It was the new Communist line that I was a tyrant for putting that man in jail for refusing to answer a perfectly proper question. What was I to do? Abdicate? Abdicate the authority of administration of justice of the United States because this man challenged it? Or do what was right, and be called a tyrant by everyone who chose to follow the Communist line of the moment?

Well, anyway, there I was and they said Judge Lybell had prepared some questions for me to answer. Remember, all I had said was, "I remand you for the balance of the trial," and I had not said for what. They had these questions in an envelope, and I said, "Let us open the envelope and see what the questions are."

"Oh no!" they said—these spokesmen for the Communists—"Judge Lybell has directed that you open this envelope in open court and give your answers to the questions there." Well, you can imagine what I thought about Judge



—Wide World Photo

Demonstrators march in New York's Foley Square, January, 1949, in protest against the trial of the 11 top-ranking Communist party leaders on charges of conspiring to advocate the forceful overthrow of the U. S. government. In the background is the Federal Courthouse, scene of the trial. The demonstrators marched under the watchful eyes of a special force of police assigned to the trial.

Lybell at that particular moment. As it turned out, it was the only thing for him to do. I saw that after I had a chance to think about it. Mind you, I had been accused there day after day of conniving with this, conniving with that, conniving with Judge Knox to monkey around with the jury system so that we would have nothing but jurors who were executives, and all this and that, and so when Judge Lybell used the device that he did, he did the right thing. I see that now, but then—I realized how alone I was, there in the great United States Courthouse with all the other United States judges. I was alone—I had to deal with the case by myself—no one could share that responsibility with me without giving these fellows some opportunity to start some new kind of proceeding and muddy the waters by some new accusation of one kind or another, and so I put on my robe and I went on the bench. Of course, I could have opened the envelope, nobody could have stopped me, but I was not going to show the white feather.

I said, "All right, give me my robe," and I got up there on the bench and I opened the envelope. There was question one: "Did you remand the defendants thus and so and thus and so as and for a criminal contempt of court committed in the immediate view and presence of the Court?" Question two: "Did you remand them in the exercise of your plenary powers as a trial judge to supervise the bail?" Well, I looked around and fortunately for me the right answer was clear enough. I suppose anybody would have thought of it, and I said, "I sentenced them for a criminal contempt in my immediate view and presence and in the exercise of my plenary powers to regulate the bail of the defendant on trial, and in the exercise of any and all other powers that I possess under the Constitution and laws of the United States." These fellows were not smiling any more then. Every adjudication I made, and every ruling through that long perilous trial stood up on appeal. If they had reversed one of those there would have been the foot in the door—the beginning of the demolition process that they planned all along. Well, that was just one of the things that they did to break it up.

We got around into the summer, and oh, my! by that time I was really hanging on by my eyelashes. You see, I didn't dare have a recess. We had a jury there. They had already been tampering with two of the jurors, but I won't go into that and tell you about that now. I didn't dare have a recess of even a day. I had to keep at it all the time, because I didn't want to have the jury confined to some hotel, put out

of circulation away from their homes. It was a continual exercise of matters of judgment and decision on which large, large questions of the welfare of our country depended. They had to be decided quickly, and I was getting very tired.

Then they started some new business—first it was “How do you spell Medina?—R-A-T; How do you spell Medina? R-A-T!” All those pickets out in front of the Courthouse chanting all day long with big signs that they carried around. Well that didn’t bother me at all. I just went on and then after about a week of that, they started a new one. “Judge Medina is a blankety blank.” I won’t tell you what they said, but they kept that up, the use of that obscene language, all day chanting, hundreds of them, “Judge Medina is a blankety blank, Judge Medina is a blankety blank”—you could hear it all the way up there in my chambers. I soon began to see the ingenuity of these fellows.

They didn’t think I was going to get angry at the names they called me. Not after what they had been calling me all along through this trial. That was not the point. They were trying to get me to start some contempt proceedings against these pickets. Mind you, it had already been demonstrated that no judge would touch this trial or any part of it with a ten-foot pole, and thus take part of the responsibility. I don’t think that they should have and I don’t blame them for that, but these fellows saw that one man was running the show. If they could only get him to start a few contempt proceedings, they could finish him off. I was tired, tired, tired. It was hard to keep going. Then I began to get what they planned I should get—telephone messages from other judges in New York—friends of mine—“Harold, can you stand this? Haven’t you got any guts? Are you going to let these fellows get away with calling you these names right here in public—right here in New York—what will the people all over the country think of us?” And there were letters from all over the country saying I had to do something about this, which is exactly what these Communists were up to, which is what they knew would happen, and so the pressure was on. The pressure was not from their calling me names. The pressure was coming from my friends and from my well-wishers, from the people who love America and love American justice, and who just don’t get the point that if I once started a few contempt proceedings against these fellows, with all the getting of the evidence and the having of the hearings and doing this and that, I wouldn’t have lasted a week.

It was not long after this that I was sitting there in court one afternoon and I began to feel dizzy and weak and I was afraid I would faint on the bench. I did not know what to do and finally I said, “I have got to take a recess; I don’t feel well and I am going out to lie down.”

If you could have seen the look on those Communists’ faces when I said that, as much as to say—“We have got him now, we have got him now,” and I thought they did have me. I really did not think I was ever going to be able to go back. I went out into the same little room where we had the colloquy about the questions that Judge Lybell had formulated, and I lay down there on a couch. I tell you, I did some praying there that afternoon. You know, faith is a wonderful thing. When I prayed, I really meant it, and there were a lot of other people praying for me while that trial went on. Don’t ever underestimate the power of prayer. You never know when the crisis will come for you. When I was practicing as a lawyer, I never dreamed that I would ever get into such a thing as that. I don’t know why I was ever selected. I guess no one knows. But ten or fifteen minutes in that little room and I felt stronger. I went back on the bench again and I continued on to the end.

When this trial was all over I sentenced the lawyers to jail and sentenced all the defendants to jail, and I was getting ready to go away for three or four months, and get a little rest. I came down to the courthouse to say goodbye to

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the staff and clear up a few little odds and ends when I noticed the letters that had started coming in—thousands and thousands of them. One day I went in and there was a whole bale that the postman had brought in—a whole bale! You can't imagine how many letters it takes to make a bale! I was just overcome. I had three girls working in shifts. There I was reading the letters and throwing them away—answering maybe two or three out of a hundred.

You can imagine voices coming out of your past when you were young—boys and girls I had been to grammar school with at Public School 44 in Brooklyn that I did not even remember until I saw their names—teachers I had in grammar school or in prep school—some were blind people or old people that said they had to write; well, those were the ones I was answering. I began to feel the impact of what was happening and I suddenly realized that I was in the midst of a great spiritual force that had been released. It's hard to explain it to you, but I am going to try with a few illustrations.

Those letters were so close—they were so intimate—over a thousand of them were signed by the man and his wife together. I received letters from little shops—not so much from the bankers and big businessmen and big judges and all that, but all the little fellows that make up America. Their voices came to me. They wanted me to know what the name of each one was, what his job was, what he was doing, and were they telling me that I was a great fellow?—oh, no!—they were telling me that they loved America and that they understood American justice; that they knew that without American justice, without the firm and fair administration of justice, that America could not exist. All our liberties, all our rights, all those precious things that we have are nothing unless the judges and the courts will sustain them and give them life, and all these people all over America, all these so-called little fellows, they knew that. They knew it better than some of the big ones, and they were telling me.

One telegram came from all the patients in a hospital—they all had their names on, and each one of the nurses put her name on it too. They didn't say the nurses in such and such a hospital, but Mary Jones, Mary Smith and so on, and it got over to Western Union and all the Western Union girls signed up too. They all wanted me to know that each one of them individually cared. I don't know whether you have been to see this movie called "Lily" where the girl goes to the puppet show and she is singing to the puppets that nobody cares. This is a circus picture and the audience is there watching her and they're so affected by her little song that one will say, "I care" and another "I care, I care." Well, that is what I heard from all over America, these millions of people represented by the thousands who wrote to me were saying "I care, I care for America, I care for American justice." I went through an experience I will always be grateful for—not just for the letters but for the way people have treated me since then. . . .

And so, there was born in my head the knowledge of what I call the *spiritual quality of justice*. It is a wonderful thing. When I got to thinking about a spiritual quality of justice, it was only a step to wonder what is a spiritual force anyway? Surely it is not restricted to going to church and saying one's prayers. Oh no! It must be different from that, although it includes it, and so I slipped along to the notion of good will. Love thy neighbor as thyself—follow the golden rule, use good will toward everyone else—that is something we must do. Our destiny as a nation will not depend upon bombs or upon material wealth or upon our great production, but upon our spiritual resources and their development. We are rich above all the nations on the face of the earth in those spiritual qualities. They are our heritage. We got them from our forefathers. They are the things that spell our destiny.

"INFILTRATION of Government Beyond Imagination"

states Rep. Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee

Discovery of Communist party cells among staff employees of the U. S. Senate, in the National Labor Relations Board, and in the War Labor Board have been testified to under oath according to Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

This Committee, according to Chairman Walter, has found, and very shortly will conduct hearings in connection with, infiltration beyond the imagination of anyone in the federal government. This will be done when the facts are able to be demonstrated "beyond any peradventure of a doubt that there had been successful infiltration into positions of our government." "Then," said Representative Walter, "we are going to hold hearings, and let the chips fall where they may."

Congress has charged the House Un-American Activities Committee with the duty of investigating the extent, character and objectives of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda which is instigated from foreign countries, or of domestic origin, and which attacks the principle of the form of government guaranteed by our Constitution, and all related questions which would aid Congress in the performance of its responsibilities.

Speaking at a rally held in New York City by Alliance, Inc., an anti-Communist organization, Representative Walter explained that his Committee is required "to make the American people aware, if possible, of the infiltration of communism in all phases of U. S. society."

Over the years during which Mr. Walter has been a member of this Com-

mittee, they have been subjected to ridicule on numerous occasions. Mr. Walter told of the Committee's recent reception in New York by a mob of approximately two thousand, many of whom were reportedly brought in from outside New York, which staged a demonstration carrying such placards as "Walter Is Worse Than McCarthy," "Down With Walterism," etc. This, he stated, was no different from the reception of the Committee in other places. Several years ago when the Committee was investigating communism in Hawaii, the Hawaiian left-wing press attacked Congressman John Wood, then Committee Chairman, to such an extent that in order to weaken pressure against the Committee, Representative Wood remained in the mainland United States while the Committee went to Ha-



Rep. Francis E. Walter

Harris & Ewing Photo

Red Cell Claimed In Senate's Staff Rally Told Of Inquiry By Walter

NEW YORK (AP).—Rep. Francis E. Walter (Dem.) of Pennsylvania said Monday night he had been informed of the existence of a Communist Party cell among staff employees of the U. S. Senate.

Walter said he also had heard a man testify under oath in the Communist cells existed in the National Labor Relations Board and the War Labor Board.

There was no immediate comment from the National War Labor Board. The War Labor Board is no longer in existence.

waii to conduct their hearings without him. They were met at the plane by people bearing banners and placards, "Go Home, John Wood," but John Wood had stayed home.

Implying that the chairman of any committee investigating subversive or un-American activities, can expect to receive such treatment, Representative Walter said, "You have wondered why Joe McCarthy's name hasn't been in the papers recently. Well, he's no longer chairman of a committee. I am."

Mr. Walter stressed that special precautions have been taken by his Committee to avoid injury by them to any innocent person. A subcommittee of his Committee was set up to devise rules of procedure for this purpose. Rather than receiving the commendation of all for taking such precautions, a vociferous complaint was immediately raised on all sides about congressional committees not having rules, although they were already operating under rules. A special committee, including Representative Walter, was then appointed by the Speaker of the House to set up rules and procedures before all congressional committees. That group recommended that the rules of the House Committee on Un-American Activities be adopted for all committees.

"There's a very fine line of demarcation . . . a very fine question on looking into beliefs that our Committee avoids . . . on compelling witnesses to give

The chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee made the statement at a rally of the Alliance, Inc., an anti-Communist group. He told some 2,000 persons he is preparing an investigation of the Federal Reserve Bank and will probably be giving open hearings in February. "let the chips fall where they may," Walter told the audience the night of the summit meeting at the Empire State Building. "I hope and pray that because of it the American people will not be misled into a false sense of security," Walter said. "I am in New York City in connection with his committee's probe of Communist influence in the theater, radio and television. He said of the investigation during which seven witnesses balked, that his committee 'has taken the most unusual precautions possible to prevent an injury being done to any innocent person.'"

The audience roared a derisive "no" when Archbishop R. Roosevelt (Sec.) Joe McCarthy said "I heard a man testify that there is a Communist Party in the U. S. Senate." However, newsman planned to interview Walter in his speech. "I heard a man testify that there is a Communist Party in the U. S. Senate." However, newsman planned to interview Walter in his speech. "I heard a man testify that there is a Communist Party in the U. S. Senate." However, newsman planned to interview Walter in his speech.

testimony, although in that respect I am firmly convinced that the courts have leaned over backwards, because, after all, the Fifth Amendment was designed to protect people from testifying against themselves in criminal proceedings.

"Be that as it may," he continued, "let us assume that the construction placed upon the Fifth Amendment by the court is correct. Nevertheless there comes a time when the refusal to answer the questions of the Committee and questions, all of which are designed to throw some light on this conspiracy, are not answered, then it's because of

the contempt that the witness has, not for the Committee on Un-American Activities, not for its members, but upon the very foundation of our beloved republic."

Mr. Walter expressed the opinion that the summit meeting produced nothing, and that he hoped and prayed that because of it the American people would not be lulled into a feeling of security. "Within minutes after it was held," he stated, "William Foster said, 'This is the time to repeal the iniquitous Walter-McCarran Immigration Law.' And you'll find on all sides drives being made by

people of design, wicked design, for us to let down our guard. But this is no time for us to lose our proper perspective, this is no time for us to overlook the real objective of the Communist conspirators."

"It isn't nice for us to contemplate, it isn't nice for us to realize that there is in our midst a group who would destroy the blessings of liberty that is America. But we've got to be realistic about it. They are here, and it's our duty as Americans, engaged in this 'cold war' as we are, to defeat the common enemy."

"IS SUBVERSION STILL A THREAT?" was asked of Senator John Sparkman of Alabama, and Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana on a recent Facts Forum program. Representing opposing philosophies of government, these gentlemen nevertheless agreed that such a threat does exist at the present time, and probably will continue to exist.

SENATOR SPARKMAN decries hysteria and unjust accusations

Subversion in government is a problem that has existed since this nation was formed. It is a problem which every nation has experienced and no doubt will continue to experience. The more powerful the nation and the more influence it has in world affairs, the more likely it is that agents of foreign nations will attempt to infiltrate. Thus, our tremendous power in world affairs during recent years has made our government a particular target for subversive infiltration. Threat of subversion, however, is no excuse for political shenanigans, disregard of individual's rights, persecution of falsely accused citizens, and outright accusation that those who do not conform to thought control are subversives and Communists.

Under the pretense of national security primarily for selfish and political advancement, too many Americans have committed these un-American practices. The Vice President and a few of his like-minded colleagues made speeches from one end of this country to the other in 1954 charging that thousands of disloyal government employees had been dismissed from office. They phrased their charges in subtle language designed to leave the impression that all these people were security risks. They tried to make it appear for political purposes that all those separated from federal employment were disloyal and that many were Communists. It has not been proved however that a single known Communist was involved in those dismissed. The hysteria and unjust accusations deliberately created by

high elective officials of the Republican party were enthusiastically participated in by appointive officials of that party.

Typical is a certain Cabinet member who told a congressional committee that all of his one hundred sixty-six employees terminated under President Eisenhower's new security program were security risks, although an official announcement of his department had earlier declared that one hundred forty-five were separated by regular, established Civil Service procedures, and twenty-one had resigned. These rank injustices extended to government scientists who played leading roles in the development of the atom and hydrogen bombs. Of this fact Dr. Vannevar Bush, one of the world's greatest scientists said in December, 1954, "The test in this country is whether we can truly maintain our freedoms and guard our way of life against threats from without, against subversion within, and against our own errors and aberrations. We have the evil practices of ruthless, ambitious men who use our loyalty procedures for political purposes. Suspicion and distrust are rampant in the land." There are literally thousands of cases in which, for the purpose of political advancement, employees were unjustly fired as security risks. They were not allowed to face their accusers and were suspended without pay so as to make it almost impossible for them to fight for their rights. People became so suspicious of one another that even some lawyers refused to handle cases because of fear that doing so would cast suspicions on them.

A *Washington Daily News* reporter quoted Attorney Carl L. Shipley, former

head of the District of Columbia Young Republicans, as saying that some of these unfortunate persons had come to him. Let me quote what Mr. Shipley said: "Some of them were terrible hardship cases, but I couldn't take them. They asked me to recommend other lawyers but I wouldn't be caught dead sending them to another lawyer for fear he would think that I thought he was a Communist or something. I know that's bad but most lawyers feel the same way."

With Democrats now in control of Congress, with thoughtful citizens sensing the deliberate destruction of our liberties and with a handful of leading Republicans realizing that traditional rights of Americans were being destroyed for selfish political gains, the tide has turned. Former Senator King, Republican of Washington, has been particularly effective in bringing an end to persecution of innocent people. Let me quote him: "My only major concern," he said, "is with what we are to be when the international communism's ambition for world domination has been defeated in one way or another. Will we or those who follow us be able to say after the conflict has run its course that through its years, even though they be a hundred, we Americans in our government have maintained and left untarnished our self-respect. I want no victory over the godless forces of oppression that does not include the preservation of those assets without which a free people die and wither away." A pro-Eisenhower Scripps-Howard newspaper recently said: "Uncle Sam, Republican version, has ended the numbers game with security risks. We've been exposing this piece of bunkum for a year. Up until now the administration has fired government workers under regular civil service procedures and then these firings have appeared later in totals used by Vice President Nixon and other politicians as security risks. These totals were used to deliberately distort for political reasons the number of

actual security risks. This election farce constituted a libel on the federal work force."

SENATOR JENNER cites Communist campaigns against congressional committees—

Fellow Americans, our country is so beautiful, so strong, so free from jealousy toward other nations that Americans find it hard to believe anyone would want to destroy us. Envy is a burden which the wealthiest nation must always bear. It may be incredible to us but it has been only too common history. In our day, envy has been changed from an ugly emotion into a political movement, supported by a government controlling a hundred eighty million people and over a half-billion satellites. Communism is rooted in envy. In internal policy, communism means unrelenting attempts to destroy all nations whose people are richer than theirs. The bitterest venom of Communist hate is reserved for us. By following the gospel of live and let live, of self-help, and non-interference, our people have become too prosperous for the Communists to bear.

Let us not fool ourselves. The Communists do not think the destruction of America is easy. They study every bit of information about our country on which they can lay their hands. They collect every fact about Congress and about the government departments, about our laws and our courts. They examine minutely everything about our economic life from our labor unions to our patent laws. They study our schools, our churches, our farm organizations, our women's clubs. They know who runs what and how. A hundred years ago Karl Marx made a careful study of our war between the states. Today, many thousands of trained Communist intelligence officers are making a careful study of everything we do. The Communists are engaged in a secret war. They do not tell us who are their captains or their generals. They will not tell us who replace the men who fall. No one has defected from recent Communist membership who can or will tell us, but the high command is hard at work.

The Communists are too smart to deny that real Communists were uncovered in our congressional investigations. They say, "Yes, you did have a few Communists in government, in labor, in the press and other spots, but they have all been rooted out. You cleverly outwitted the traitors. All is well." That's what they say. Their line would not be of the slightest danger to us if Communists were the spokesmen who spread it abroad. But the Communists do not work that way. They whisper in the ear of some innocent person, who in turn repeats the tale, until it

spreads out like the ripples from a stone in the pond. Soon, people hear the argument only from the most unimpeachable sources. The Communists have carried on a bitter campaign against congressional committees which investigated subversion. They have broadcast and re-broadcast the sayings of commentators who tried to mislead us. They have worked unceasingly to discredit the ex-Communists who told the full story of the conspiracy, especially the men whose testimony helped convict the party leaders who have been sent to jail.

Let us not be childish. The Communists have no intention of ending their attempts to subvert us. They well know they must destroy us if they hope to keep the world in bondage. Communist attempts to subvert us will continue as long as a Communist government exists on earth. Let us get that perfectly clear. Subversion is constantly at work on American soil directed by the best brains the Communists can assign to the task.

What then do we do? We have no need to get panicky or distrustful. Americans need never fear the worst the Communists can do. We can do two things to protect ourselves. We must abandon the foolish idea that the Communists keep on operating today where they worked yesterday. That is never done in war. If like Lot's wife we turn our heads over our shoulders to look for Communists where they worked ten years ago, we shall never outwit the Communist leaders by peaceful, political means. We must look ahead to see where the old methods are being carried on in new ways. We must especially watch our armed forces on one hand and the influence of shaping public opinion on the other. We know control of those two forces, the military power and the means for propaganda, are their unchanging aims. Second, we must study America and everything American as thoroughly as the Communists study it. We must know our earliest history, our deepest traditions and the most complex and illusive developments of the present moment.

To love America is not enough. But those who truly love America and who will work unceasingly to know and understand her can face without fear all the evil designs the Communists turn against us.

Do you attend meetings of any sort? Why not take group votes on the Facts Forum poll questions to stimulate interest in self-government? Let us know how many voters are represented and the total number of "yes" and "no" votes on each question.

See this month's poll on page 65.

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

The description below the photograph of the so-called Soviet "Peace Monument" in Budapest [on page 8 of the August issue of FFN] is erroneous. This statue—also known as the "Tobacco Auctioneer"—is not dedicated to those who defended Budapest. The Auctioneer is dedicated to Red Marshal Malinowski's Mongols who conquered Budapest and brought the Iron Curtain into the heart of Europe. I just felt that one single word applied the wrong way has perverted your entire caption.

LEWIS M. BUSH

former Displaced Person from Hungary
now of 3229 Gifford Lane
Coconut Grove, Miami, Florida

Editor's Note: We thank Mr. Bush for calling this error to our attention.

We are in receipt of the notice of a gift subscription to our library, which we appreciate very much. It will be a worthwhile addition to our periodical collection. We feel that it becomes more and more necessary that our patrons be kept informed, and *Facts Forum News* does just that.

DULA H. REID, Librarian

Faulkner-Van Buren Regional Library
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With every best wish and success to *Facts Forum News*, which I find tops as an educational, all-American publication.

ALFRED NEVAREZ

Box 808

Las Cruces, New Mexico

I have enjoyed on many occasions your worthwhile and informative [Facts Forum Panel] program.

A. E. BUTER

50 Church Street, Room 2063
New York 7, New York

I am a junior student at Texarkana Senior High School. My father buys a copy of every issue of *Facts Forum News* and I read it avidly. For sheer wholesomeness and stark realism I think it has no equal. I have been leaving it in the school library and suggesting to other students that they read it.

DIANA DEE GREEN (age 15)

P. O. Box 183

2101 Pine Street
Texarkana, Texas

I'm very interested in your magazine, *Facts Forum News* and read it from cover to cover every month. These "Facts" have been badly needed . . .

MRS. C. M. RAY

1027 McGee Street
Springfield, Missouri

I am very much interested in the information we are getting in *Facts Forum News*. I knew of the Hinton's ["Mysterious Case of Joan Hinton," March, 1955, FFN]. Having lived in China about twenty-five of the last thirty-one years I am very much interested in what is happening there . . . returned to the States two years ago.

THOMAS I. LEE

3350 Clinton Ave., South
Minneapolis 8, Minnesota

The Basic Law of Life

—LOADSTONE of SUCCESS—

By B. CARROLL REECE, U. S. Congressman from Tennessee

This address was delivered at commencement exercises, Elizabethton High School, Elizabethton, Tennessee. In the author's words it is concerned with "a basic fact of life that during the last few decades has almost been kept a secret from America's young people—the principle of behavior that insures a happy and prosperous life."

HERE is the basic law of life I want to tell you about: *happiness and success come from conscientious discharge of duty.*

I cannot tell you precisely why this is true regarding happiness because the reason lies locked up in the mysteries of human nature.

But I think I can partially prove it to you from your own experience: Is it not true that the *most happy* memories you have are recollections of *unpleasant and difficult situations* which you were, through your own power, able to overcome?

Can you remember with any pleasure the unpleasant situations where all you did was sidestep your responsibility?

Doing one's duty is almost never easy.

In fact, in the beginning, it is almost always difficult.

The capacity to discharge duty must be made into a habit, and as you know, all human habits—good or bad—are acquired by simply repeating the same actions until they become second nature.

This automatic response to duty is not an easy habit to acquire because each of us is two different persons—the first being the person who wants to take the easy way out, and the second being the person who knows instinctively that, in the long run, there is no easy way.

You have to learn to conquer that first person, and every time you whip him, the next time becomes easier.

REWARDS OF DEVOTION TO DUTY

If this sounds bleak and forbidding, let me tell you a few of the rewards that come from devotion to duty.

Your first reward is your good opinion of yourself: you will feel better, think better, and act with confidence and courage while other men are hesitant and afraid.

The evasion of duty will make a coward of any man because without realizing it he destroys his most precious asset—his respect for himself.

Your second reward for devotion to duty is the good opinion of other people—at least the people whose opinion counts.

Your third reward is the friendship of the people you admire—and, as you will find out (if you have not already done so), friends are the most precious possessions of life.

Your fourth reward is economic security.

I do not know a single healthy person devoted to the conscientious discharge of duty that is not successful in his economic life.

Brilliance and talent do not have as much to do with business success as devotion to duty.

In most walks of life, *dependability of performance*, is more highly rewarded than *erratic brilliancy of performance*, for the simple reason that dependability is *harder to find*.

It is true that a person's mental abilities may put a ceiling on his economic rewards, but if he is dependable that ceiling is not going to be very low and the man is not going to be unsuccessful.

BASIC DUTIES DEFINED

What kind of duties are there?

First, there are the duties we owe to ourselves—to maintain clean and healthy minds and bodies; to safeguard our personal reputations through proper conduct; to develop our minds to the best of our ability, along the lines to which they are best suited.

These things we must do for our own self-interest.

Second, there are the duties we owe to those who love us and depend upon us—our mothers, fathers, husbands, wives, children, and close friends.

This is of tremendous importance for one simple reason—it is only by giving of ourselves that we receive the same considerations from others.

Third, there are the duties we owe to the people we work for and with.

Any business or professional enterprise is fundamentally a partnership proposition—we succeed not at the ex-

pense of other people but with other people.

It is every person's duty to give his organization an honest day's work; to give his co-workers complete cooperation; to give the people who may work under him, a full measure of help and encouragement.

There is one thing you must never fear—the results of helping everyone around you; in the long run, you will be repaid many times over.

This brings me to another type of duty—the type that I should know thoroughly because most of my life has been spent in public service.

This is the duty each of us owes to his country.

This duty consists of much more than mere devotion to the flag and the willingness to bear arms in its defense.

It involves an understanding of what America is, how it got that way, and how it can stay that way.

I realize that this kind of talk may be considered old-fashioned sentimentalism because the fundamental idea of Americans defending the American way of life has, during the last twenty years, been placed under a cloud of suspicion.

It has been smeared with the dirt of such phrases as super-patriotism, isolationism, nationalism, and even Fascism.

It has been portrayed as an expression of selfishness that endangers the future of the free world and even the future of America.

All this is bald-faced nonsense.

In fact, the truth lies in the opposite direction: the hope of a better world lies in an America whose traditions, institutions, and ways of life are loved and defended by its people.

Let's see why this is true.

We all know that people improve primarily by observing and copying the behavior of people who are more successful and happy.

They see a good example and follow it.

America stands alone as an example of the high level of human happiness, prosperity, and mutual security that can be achieved by free men working in their own interests within the framework of a system of privately-owned tools of production used competitively, without monopoly, without special favor, and without special privilege, other than that earned by personal achievement.

Our institutions, based upon our constitution, are the foundation of this freedom.

Our individual prosperity and our magnificently developed economy reflect freedom's magical effects upon human nature.

Our way of life is rooted in the Divine intention that every man is meant

to be born free—free to grow and prosper according to his God-given capabilities exercised within the dictates of God's laws.

America is the first place in the world where this happened.

The people who came to the American wilderness from the tired and cynical lands of Europe were not supermen.

Indeed, many of them were not even considered the best of their breed.

But in the stimulating climate of freedom they became supermen because there was released within them a burst of energy, a multiplication of thought, effort, and work, the like of which the world had never seen before.

Within an amazingly short period of history, they transformed their wilderness into the world's leading nation.

INDIVIDUALISM IS NOT SELFISHNESS

Is it true that our forefathers' ideal of life was a selfish one?

In a way, it could be so described: at least every man was working for himself—working to create something that he could have and hold for himself and his loved ones.

This so-called selfishness or individualism our forefathers considered a duty.

But human nature works in strange ways: in creating unequalled prosperity for themselves individually, the American people created a surplus of the good things of life that makes us the most generous and charitable people on the face of the earth.

America is one of the few places in the world where there is enough food for all and where the blight of poverty is coming closer and closer to extinction.

If this is the result of selfishness, then *this particular kind of selfishness* would be a wonderful thing for the rest of the world to discover and to adopt.

But as a matter of fact, American individualism is not selfishness.

It is *intelligent, constructive self-interest* that benefits all Americans and in no way does it endanger either America or the free world.

As suggested earlier, there are only two ways in which America can be of real value to the free world; first, to stand as an example for other peoples to copy; and second, to aid the free nations to defend themselves from Communist aggression.

The fulfillment of both of these objectives requires a strong and prosperous America, which in turn calls for a nation of people who hold fast to their faith in the freedom from which America draws its strength and prosperity.

I do not consider it an exaggeration to say that the future of the free world depends upon the American people dis-

charging their patriotic duty to their Constitution and to the practices that have sprung from it.

There are today in America many forces working against the intelligent discharge of patriotic duty.

The most generally recognized of these forces is the never-ending effort of enemy agents to generate class and race friction within our population—efforts to convince minority groups that, after all, they have little or no stake in this wonderful system of ours and that only socialism can be their savior.

These efforts are known to almost all of us and can be guarded against.

But some of the other attacks upon our institutions are much more attractive and far less obvious.

To understand these we must bear in mind the kind of a system that was set up by the Founding Fathers.

From a legal standpoint, this is a complicated system, but from a more important standpoint—the standpoint of the relations between the citizen and his government—it is very simple.

The people who wrote the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were working toward an ideal—government that would be strong enough to protect the people but not strong enough to coerce them.

The thing that made this type of government practical was the willingness and determination of every man to stand on his own feet and resort to government assistance only in times of personal or general disaster.

This policy of limited government gave the American people more rights and more freedom than any other people on earth.

The system *worked*, partly because the great majority of the people gladly assumed the duties and responsibilities that went with their rights, and partly because government was so limited in its taxing and borrowing power that it did not have the funds with which to take over the people's duties and responsibilities.

This was particularly true of the federal government.

GOVERNMENT MUST BE LIMITED

Today, however, the taxing and borrowing power of the federal government has been increased to a point where it has the funds to perform almost any service for the people that the people are willing to have it perform.

Herein lies grave danger to our traditional institutions, and it is the patriotic duty of every citizen to resist the subtle and attractive proposals through which the so-called liberal politicians offer to lift from the people's shoulders the burdens of individual responsibility.

This resistance is not easy because the duties that are imposed on free men are not easy.

The idea of letting the government do our thinking and planning—and taking responsibility for the results—is highly attractive, particularly to the first man we mentioned before—that part of our split personality that is looking for the easy way out.

But this resistance becomes easier when we realize that every time government relieves us of personal responsibility it also takes away part of our personal freedom.

Resistance to government encroachments on individual freedom also becomes easier when we understand the basis of government help.

Here is the key: *everything that government gives the people must first be taken from the people.*

Government produces nothing.

Everything is produced by the people.

Federal aid, when in the form of money, is money that was collected from localities, sent to Washington, and returned to localities minus the part that is needed for government overhead expense.

This process enables the federal government to purchase the people's support—virtually buy their votes—with the people's own money.

And through controlling the votes, the federal government has the power to persuade the people to vote away their liberty.

I am not one of those who view with great alarm the future of America.

Some damage has already been done to our institutions, but the process responsible for this damage seems to have been at least halted, and there is real hope that it can be reversed if the people are alert to the discharge of their patriotic duty.

I would like to touch on some of the harmful things that have happened to America which I believe endanger the future of the nation.

The first of these is a rather general idea that has, during the last twenty years been quite widely accepted, namely, that man on earth *can* achieve a perfect world; that if we experiment long enough we can find a form of government that can completely eliminate the personal tragedies and injustices that are the results of the imperfect nature of human beings.

This heaven-on-earth idea comes directly from socialism, and once it is officially accepted, it becomes very easy to concentrate our national policies upon this shining goal and ignore the tragedies and injustices that must be perpetrated in order to pursue it.

If we allow ourselves to be hypnotized by the mirage of a completely perfect

society, we begin to strip every individual of his liberty and make him a faceless, soulless part of a master plan.

A good example of how brutal and unfeeling this pursuit of perfection can become is the deliberate starvation of millions of Ukrainian peasants who refused to cooperate with the Communist Russian government.

Their death, according to the worshippers of communism, was just a small incident on the road to "heaven on earth."

EFFECTS OF INCOME AND INHERITANCE TAXES

Another dangerous situation is represented by our federal tax laws affecting personal income and inheritance of property.

Strangely enough, these laws, which were passed by good American Congresses, were taken right out of the Socialist platform.

The federal personal income tax was written as an emergency measure which, incidentally, is the way many mistakes are made.

The law, which follows the principle of progressive rates, was based on the completely un-American idea that the so-called rich people should be taxed a larger *proportion* of their income than the less fortunate people.

In other words, a man who earns *ten times* as much money should *not pay* ten times as much tax but *thirty or forty* times as much tax.

The evolution of this tax law is a good example of how a small mistake can turn into a big one.

At the time the federal personal tax became law, someone suggested that the law (which started with a top of 1 per cent) should include a limitation on how high it could become on the largest of incomes.

President Wilson vetoed this limitation on the grounds that if it were written into the law, somebody would always be wanting to raise it to that limit.

Incidentally, the proposed limit, I believe, was 3 per cent.

At its present levels, running as high as 91 per cent, the federal personal income tax is causing fundamental and undesirable changes in the economy.

It is no longer possible for any man to build up an estate for himself out of his salary or current income.

This may be all right as far as it concerns people who do not believe that anyone should be permitted to build up an estate, but most of us still believe that people of extraordinary talent, who are willing to work extraordinarily hard, should be permitted to become wealthy.

This suggestion has not existed long enough for its effects to be fully known, but it is my opinion that if it continues, the nation is going to lose much of the talent that is needed to operate our vast, complex industrial system.

And if this occurs, part of the tragedy will lie in the fact that the amount of money taken away from the people in the very high income tax brackets is of very little importance from the standpoint of tax revenue.

Another unfortunate feature of this tax law is that it is impossible to administer with the thoroughness with which tax laws should be administered and, knowing this, the American people have, without any feeling of wrongdoing, become a nation of liars and law-breakers.

Although this will be an extremely difficult law to change, if I were a young American today, I would make it one of my objectives as a good citizen.

Closely akin to the progressive personal income tax is the federal inheritance tax.

The idea behind this tax is to break up concentrations of economic power, on the theory that if successive generations control large estates, there might develop in America a moneyed aristocracy with a dangerous amount of power.

But, like most punitive laws, this one misses the goose and hits the gander because there are many legal ways in which the large estates can avoid the full impact of the law.

It is the medium-sized and small estates that are put through the wringer; in many cases stripped of all liquid assets; and in some cases forced into sacrifice sale in order to raise the money needed to satisfy the taxes.

This to my mind is, in itself, enough reason for a drastic overhaul of the inheritance tax laws.

But to it must be added another reason, namely, that more and more property is being taken from the hands of the people and put into the hands of government.

The next law about which I have serious doubts is the one which took away from the people the right to own gold.

The reason for this having been done is a rather complicated one, but its basic purpose can be very simply stated: when the people can demand gold in exchange for their paper money, they can control and reduce the borrowing power of the federal government (that is, the power to inflate the currency and cheapen the dollar) through the simple process of demanding gold.

When this power was taken from the people in 1933, an enormous power was transferred to the federal government—a power which, if improperly employed, could be used to coerce the people to the will of the federal government.

In my opinion, this power has al-

ready been misused for excessive borrowing and inflation, but that which has happened in the past is only indicative of what could happen in the future.

TARIFF PROTECTION NEEDED

Another trend of great importance to the American people is the rising popularity of the idea that free trade is a moral obligation of the United States and the answer to world peace.

Free trade is not now a part of our national policy, but if it were, it would mean that low-priced, foreign-made goods could come into the American market without any protection to the American worker.

Even under our present tariff laws we have already had small samples of what could happen on a large scale.

The American textile industry, the American mining industry, the American watchmaking industry, the American bicycle industry, the American optical industry, the American pottery industry, have all suffered serious setbacks from foreign competition.

On most goods imported into the United States we have no tariffs nor do we need any.

But in certain mass production goods, tariff protection from foreign competition is of great importance to our domestic employment.

This was not always so because America's tools of production used to be, in most cases, vastly superior to the tools used by foreign competition.

This superiority in tools made it possible to pay American workers wages three or four times as high as foreign wages and still produce at competitive costs.

But today every country in the world that is able to do so is improving its tools and bringing them up to American standards, without raising their wages to anything approaching the American level.

This puts American workers at a hopeless disadvantage.

The American textile worker, for example, receiving \$1.30 an hour would under free trade have to compete with foreign workers earning as little as 25 cents an hour but turning out just as many bolts of cloth of similar quality.

Under free trade, America would soon have no textile industry.

The policy to which America has been largely adhering is a fair one; it consists of placing enough tariff on imported goods to counteract the advantage gained by low wages abroad.

This has been called the "peril point" principle.

This policy, however, is not uniform nor is it by any means securely anchored in our laws.

Tariff protection for American jobs is very definitely one of the potential weak spots in the security and prosperity of our nation.

PATRIOTIC DUTY REQUIRES STAYING INFORMED

The discharge of your patriotic duty as citizens presents a problem that is different from the discharge of your personal duties because it requires that you maintain an alert, intelligent interest in public affairs.

Specifically, this means reading and, in some cases, studying the issues that will come before you as voters.

This includes, of course, local and state issues as well as national and international issues.

Here again duty should be made into a habit—and in this case, the habit consists of reading regularly one or more good news magazines which report the important events and supply simple explanations of their significance.

Radio and television are helpful in keeping up with the news, but they cannot take the place of the printed page.

In the beginning, like anything else, you may find the conscientious reading of a good news magazine, week in and week out, somewhat of a chore, but if you stick with it, you will find yourself enjoying it.

You will also find that you become more important persons in the eyes of your friends and associates because you will be asked to give the final word in many discussions where the subject is better known to you than to the others, and it will broaden your horizon and increase your pleasure in life in many ways that you never expected.

A PERSONAL OBLIGATION

I would like to point out the origin of our personal duties.

In a spiritual sense, they can be traced back to the Ten Commandments and to

our recognition of the Supreme Being.

In a human sense, they become a moral obligation for us to leave the world a little better place than it was when we came into it.

We assume this obligation out of respect and affection for those who lived before us and in the interests of those who will live after us.

Although making the world a better place is a very difficult achievement, the means by which it is accomplished is a very simple one: all it requires is that people become better people.

All human affairs, even those that appear hopelessly complicated, revolve around individual people.

America will become a better nation only as its 160 million people become better people.

There is no large scale magical method of making people better: each person must do it for himself—each of you must do it for yourself.



Consult your bookstore for books reviewed here—or write to publishers listed.

The People's Pottage

By Garet Garrett, The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1953, 174 pp., \$3.00.

"There are those who still think they are holding the pass against a revolution that may be coming up the road. But they are gazing in the wrong direction. The revolution is behind them. It went by in the Night of Depression, singing songs to freedom."

These were the opening words of *The Revolution Was*, written in 1938 and the first of three penetrating monographs by Garet Garrett.

Next came *Ex America*, written in 1951. Then Mr. Garrett wrote:

"About 1900 began the flowering of that alien graft upon our tree of sapience called the intellectual. He was the precious product of our free, academic world—a social theorist who knew more than anybody else about everything and all about nothing, especially how to subvert the traditions and invert the laws. He was neither creative nor inventive; therefore there was no profit for him in the capitalistic scheme, and his revenge was to embrace Old World socialism. As a teacher, writer of textbooks, master of the popular diatribe of discontent, he was primarily a sower of contrarious ideas. Living comfortably on the fringe of capitalistic opulence, he compared his income with that of a bond salesman or a self-made executive and was moved to scorn the profit

motive and trample upon private wealth.

"In the academic world this disaffected intellectual multiplied by fission. One made two, two made four, and so on. Their superior manners and university passports caused them to be received in the houses of the rich, where they dined on fine plate and denounced success. Standing on the eastern seaboard they gazed dotingly on Europe, which, they said, was twenty years ahead of America in social consciousness. . . .

"And so it was that after 1900 we began to import political ideas from Europe. This was reversal. Until then for more than one hundred years Europe had been taking ideas from us—ideas of liberty from the Declaration of Independence, ideas of limited government from our Constitution, and then, though very dimly, the idea that wages were paid not out of profits but out of production, which meant that profits and wages could rise together, provided only you went on expanding production.

"But now, from the intellectual's transmission belt, we began to take ideas from Europe—ideas of social security from Germany, ideas of slow socialization from the British Fabians, and from Great Britain also the idea of political laborism, in contradiction of the American idea as expounded by Samuel Gompers that the ground of organized labor's struggle was economic, not political. Gompers had once said that he would

sooner be shot than become a number on a social security card."

Then, in 1952, came *Rise of Empire*, one of the most powerful and lucid analyses of America's position today.

"We have crossed the boundary that lies between Republic and Empire. If you ask when, the answer is that you cannot make a single stroke between day and night; the precise moment does not matter. There was no painted sign to say: 'You now are entering Imperium.' Yet it was a very old road and the voice of history was saying: 'Whether you know it or not, the act of crossing may be irreversible.' And now, not far ahead, is a sign that reads: 'No U-turns.'"

"If you say there were no frightening omens, that is true. The political foundations did not quake, the graves of the fathers did not fly open, the Constitution did not tear itself up. If you say people did not will it, that also is true. But if you say therefore it has not happened, then you have been so long bemused by words that your mind does not believe what the eye can see, even as in the jungle the terrified primitive, on meeting the lion, importunes magic by saying to himself, 'He is not there.'"

"That a republic may vanish is an elementary school book fact.

"The Roman Republic passed into the Roman Empire, and yet never could a Roman citizen have said, 'That was yesterday.' Nor is the historian, with all the advantages of perspective, able to place that momentous event at an exact point on the dial of time. The Republic had a long, unhappy twilight."

Combined in one volume, *The People's Pottage*, Garet Garrett's three mag-

nificent monographs constitute the greatest political message of this generation, very likely of this half-century.

In *The Revolution Was* Mr. Garrett lists in order nine problems, viewed as steps of scientific revolutionary technic. He then proceeds to examine how these problems have been attacked, and solved, by the collectivist revolutionaries who have guided our ship of state for more than two decades. The problems:

- (1) "Capture the seat of government."
- (2) "Seize economic power."
- (3) "Mobilize by propaganda the forces of hatred."
- (4) "Reconcile and then attach to the revolution the two great classes whose adherence is indispensable but whose interests are economically antagonistic, namely, the industrial wage earners and the farmers, called in Europe workers and peasants."
- (5) "What to do with business — whether to liquidate or shackle it."

These Mr. Garrett calls "the program of conquest." They are history. The remaining four—the "program of consolidation"—are in the late evening hours and are the ones with which we are most concerned today.

- (6) "The domestication of the individual — by any means that would make the individual more dependent upon government."
- (7) "The systematic reduction of all forms of rival authority."
- (8) "To sustain popular faith in an unlimited public debt."
- (9) "To make the government itself the great capitalist and enterpriser, so that the ultimate power in initiative would pass from the hands of private enterprise to the all-powerful state."

The last is the end-point of the process, the totalitarian collectivist state—Communist, Socialist, Fascist—call it what you will.

Number seven is of great contemporary interest, for it is at this movement that the Bricker Amendment strikes. Mr. Garrett lists the principal forms of rival authority which must be reduced. They are: the Congress, the Supreme Court, sovereign States, and local self-government. The night is already near spent in the subordination of these to the will of the Executive. The leadership principle is exalted. The rise of empire heralds ultimate executive rule.

The power of the purse has passed from the Congress to the Executive. The exclusive power to declare war, vested by the Constitution in the Congress, was taken deceptively by President Roose-

velt, openly by President Truman. The purse and the sword, reserved most jealously in the Constitution to the elected representatives of the people, are in the same hand.

This is revolution, revolution within the form, even as Aristotle wrote:

"People do not easily change, but love their own ancient customs; and it is by small degrees only that one thing takes the place of another; so that the ancient laws will remain, while the power will be in the hands of those who have brought about a revolution in the state."

How is this? In his incomparable prose Garett Garrett tells us:

"Formerly the people supported government and set limits to it and minded their own lives.

"Now they pay for unlimited government, whether they want it or not, and the government minds their lives—looking to how they are fed and clothed and housed; how they provide for their old age; how the national income, which is the product of their own labor, shall be divided among them; how they shall buy and sell; how long and how hard and under what conditions they shall work, and how equity shall be maintained between the buyers of food who dwell in the cities and the producers of food who live on the soil. For the last named purpose it resorts to a system of subsidies, penalties and compulsions, and assumes with medieval wisdom to fix the just price.

"This is the Welfare State. It rose suddenly within the form. It is legal because the Supreme Court says it is. The Supreme Court once said no and then changed its mind and said yes, because meanwhile the President who was the architect of the Welfare State had appointed to the Supreme Court bench men who believed in it."

The threshold of Empire is somewhere behind. But, what is empire? Mr. Garrett identifies it in terms of the things that belong only to empire. He writes:

"War, conquest, colonization, expansion—these are political exertions that occur in the history of any kind of state that was ever known, tyrannies, oligarchies, republics or democracies. But let us regard the things that belong *only* to empire, and set them down. Then we shall see."

"The first requisite of Empire is: *The executive power of government shall be dominant.*"

"A second mark by which you may unmistakably distinguish Empire is: *Domestic policy becomes subordinate to foreign policy.*"

"Another brand mark of Empire is: *Ascendancy of the military mind, to such a point at last that the civilian mind is intimidated.*"

"Another historic feature of Empire, and this a structural feature, is: *A*

system of satellite nations." ("No Empire is secure in itself; its security is in the hands of its allies.")

"A curious and characteristic emotional weakness of Empire is: *A complex of vaunting and fear.*" ("Let us resolve to do what is necessary. Necessity will create the means. Conversely, the fear. Fear of the barbarian. Fear of standing alone. Fear of world opinion, since we must have it on our side.")

"A time comes when Empire finds itself—*A prisoner of history.*" ("It is our turn.")

"Empire of the Bottomless Purse," Garett Garrett calls it.

In his final chapter, entitled "The Lost Terrain," the author tells us what we must do if we are to recover constitutional government and retain any real degree of freedom for ourselves and our children.

"Between government in the republican meaning, that is, *Constitutional, representative, limited* government, on the one hand, and Empire on the other hand, there is mortal enmity. Either one must forbid the other or one will destroy the other. That we know. Yet never has the choice been put to a vote of the people.

"The country has been committed to the course of Empire by Executive Government, one step at a time, with slogans, concealments, equivocations, a propaganda of fear, and in every crisis an appeal for unity, lest we present to the world the aspect of a divided nation, until at last it may be proclaimed that events have made the decision and it is irrevocable. Thus, now to alter the course is impossible. If that were true, then a piece of writing like this would be an exercise in pessimistic vanity.

"Who says it is impossible? The President says it; the State Department says it; all globalists and one-worlders are saying it.

"Do not ask whether or not it is possible. Ask yourself this: If it were possible, what would it take? How could the people restore the Republic if they would? or, before that, how could they recover their Constitutional sovereign right to choose for themselves?

"When you have put it that way you are bound to turn and look at the lost terrain. What are the positions, forgotten or surrendered, that would have to be recaptured?"

The author then discusses the heights which must be regained. His identification of the first height presents one of the best available analyses of the greatest obstacle to the preservation and restoration of a free America.

"The height in the foreground is a state of mind. To recover the habit of decision the people must learn again to think for themselves; and this would require a kind of self-awakening, as from a wee small alarm in the depths. This is so because thinking has been

laid under a spell. The hypnotic powers are entrenched, combative and dangerous. But once the self-liberated mind had regained that first height it would see not only that there is an alternative course but that above the noxious emanations of fear and the fog of propaganda the view of it is fairly clear."

There are other heights. "The second height to be regained is that where, of old, foreign policy was submitted to public debate." (How long it has been since we have had any choice in an election, save between tweedledum and tweedledee!) "On the next height lies control of the public purse. Until the people have recovered that they cannot tame Executive Government. . . ."

"There is no valley to cross to the next height. It is right there. On top of it is the nesting place of the Fallacious Serpent. The spirit of insatiable evil inhabits the serpent; the evil is inflation. Its weapon of defense is an invisible vapor, the effect of which is to cause people to become economic alcoholics, afflicted with the delusion that they can get rich by destroying the value of money. . . ."

"... but there is still one more, the last and highest of all, and as you approach it you may understand the serpents' sardonic grin. The slopes are steep and barren. No enemy is visible. The enemy is in yourself. For this may be named the Peak of Fortitude."

"What you have to face is that the cost of saving the Republic may be extremely high. It could be relatively as high as the cost of setting it up in the first place, one hundred and seventy-five years ago, when love of political liberty was a mighty passion, and people were willing to die for it. . . ."

In this vein the author closes his remarkable message.

"No doubt the people know they can have their Republic back if they want it enough to fight for it and to pay the price. The only point is that no leader has yet appeared with the courage to make them choose."

Mr. Garrett's hope does not have great historical backing. When other civilizations have fallen into the evil days when the clever lie substitutes for the truth, the subtle suggestion for candid counsel, and the pragmatism of expediency abandons the old moral foundations—at times such as this the leaders have not arisen. Only prophets, men of eloquence and wisdom who were slightly heeded. The people's ears were filled with the platitudinous babblings of those whose semantic opiates were sweeter to the taste. No, the leader will not arise among us unless we regain the first height. This is the individual Declaration of Independence and it is the first step. Only then may this nation be rededicated to its independence and freedom of man. Then will clear-sighted

representatives of our true heritage be raised up.

Garet Garrett has written with the wisdom and with an eloquence which can spring only from devotion to the sure moral foundation. Will he be heard, or will empty babblings seem sweeter?

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

Popular Diplomacy and War

By Sisley Huddleston, Richard R. Smith, Publisher, Inc., West Rindge, New Hampshire, 1954, 285 pp., \$3.50.

"It seems to me, then, that only a change of heart in individual men and women in all countries can bring us peace. Neither Leagues nor Foreign Secretaries, nor armies nor navies, nor aeroplanes, nor alliances, nor communism, nor fascism, nor anything else will serve, except a growing force of men and women who realize what peace is, and who cannot be stamped into malicious or angry sentiments. . . . How is the changed outlook to be brought about? By all of us who believe that love, not hate, is the force which moves the world, holding tight to our belief, and demonstrating it in our daily lives to others. For if the mortal error of hate, which has produced such violent upheavals in men's minds and in the great globe, continues to control us, then Leagues and the rest can accomplish only harm. In the individual soul is where the resolve against hate, and therefore against war, must first be taken."

So wrote Sisley Huddleston in *In My Time*, his professional autobiography published in 1938. Mr. Huddleston opposed the interventionism and belligerent attitudes which were then leading the world to the brink of World War II. He foresaw that war could not be the harbinger of "peace"—and that it was not the instrument by which the world could be made "safe" for anything.

Mr. Huddleston's new and last book represents a valuable and perceptive study of the world conditions which have prevailed for several decades. This is no "hindsight," nor was he alone in holding the unpopular viewpoint. Notable among those of similar convictions were such political figures as Herbert Hoover and Senator Taft, such prominent writers as John T. Flynn and William Henry Chamberlin, and historians of the caliber of Charles A. Beard and Harry Elmer Barnes who encouraged Mr. Huddleston to write *Popular Diplomacy and War* and who contributed the excellent foreword. The Socialist leader, Norman Thomas, was another who foresaw the utter idiocy of our entry into a war on the side of the Soviet Union.

We had many accurate warnings that American entry into World War II would but serve to establish Communist domination of the Eurasian continent. During the Hitler-Stalin Pact, American non-interventionists were many. But, immediately following Hitler's breach of

the Pact, those who remained consistent were smeared and vilified. Britain was safe, but now the Soviet Union had been attacked. The clamor began for American entry into the war—not to save Britain, but to save the Soviet Union. Today we are faced with the fruits. And the crusaders of yesterday are the peaceful coexisters of today, executing the third leg of the "triple switch."

During the period between World Wars I and II Sisley Huddleston was one of the most outstanding and respected diplomatic correspondents. He wrote for some of the leading publications in Britain, France and the United States. For twenty years he served as a correspondent for *The Christian Science Monitor*. For many years widely acknowledged as being highly informed in his field, he nevertheless faded from the journalistic picture as he found himself increasingly out-of-step with popularized attitudes. The patent fact that World War II did not bring peace and freedom to a troubled world—rather, quite the opposite—provides a compelling argument that those who so warned should be given a reasoned, however belated, hearing.

In *Popular Diplomacy and War*, Mr. Huddleston has some pertinent observations concerning the present world situation. But it is to be slightly expected that those who were demonstrably wrong before will be inclined to concede any great measure of validity to these later observations. This book will receive the "silent treatment" in many such quarters.

The author holds that we are continuing the same fallacious policies that have led to two-and-a-half wars. But, in so holding, he does not uphold the Communist "peaceful coexistence" line as it is today being promoted and accepted. Many readers, equally opposed to the "preventative war" straw man and to a fraudulent "peaceful coexistence" on Communist terms, will value Mr. Huddleston's analysis of basic errors in policy and practice.

A fundamental point of this new book is the conclusion that mass psychology, manipulated and appealed to, lies at the root of the perpetual warlike attitudes with which the world finds itself confronted. The issues which Mr. Huddleston discusses fall within the framework of mental subtlety—mass hypnotism and crowd contagion. His book should be particularly useful to those interested in detecting the warped mental conditions which always underlie outward manifestations of hatred and destruction. The author writes of and for an age in which great improvement in communication facilities has been accompanied by an increased awareness of the so-called "mass mind," resulting in new techniques of manipulation by unscrupulous or unwitting operators. He offers some

corrective recommendations, applied to diplomacy, which are worth study.

Mr. Huddleston feels that there has been too much scurrying around on the part of chiefs-of-state and foreign ministers, too much discussion of delicate negotiations while still in process, too many highly publicized "conferences," too much appeal and response to popular, ill-informed emotion. He feels that the use of the UN as a platform for invective is a constant threat to peace.

While urging a return to diplomacy, quietly and expertly conducted, the author realizes the difficulties attending such a change, for he accompanies this recommendation with the observation that this would require a large-scale change of personnel. Indeed, few would be in favor of a policy of secret diplomacy in the hands of the foreign policy hierarchy whose crumbling architecture is today such a blot on the global landscape. And they would insist, also, that the people be given some semblance of a choice of national policy in elections.

Delightful is the manner in which Mr. Huddleston answers the apologists for the foreign policies which have brought us where we are—those apologists who say criticism must be "constructive," that if we say these policies are wrong we must have something to put in their place.

"Since it is expected that criticism be 'constructive,' I will offer some suggestions along this line of thought. First, however, let me deny the assumption that one cannot render needed and constructive service by merely exposing fatal errors and abuses. That, quite conceivably, may be the most important service of all, even though, by a curious quirk, it has now become the fashion to protest whenever the evils of any system are pointed out. But, what have you to put in its place? is always asked. It may not be necessary to put anything in the place of bad practices. It may be sufficient to abandon them. If a dipsomaniac is urged to stop drinking to save his life or preserve his sanity, it is rather fatuous to tell him to try taking narcotics, chewing gum, or eating candies. He can, if he pleases, take drugs, chew gum or eat candies; it is possible that this substitution of one habit for another will help; but it is no part of the business of the person who warns him of the consequences of his dangerous addiction to teach him how to contract other habits. He must stop drinking—that is the first step.

"... So with the system of popular diplomacy, whose ravages I have described briefly in these pages. If we are, as nations, to recover from the serious public illness into which we have fallen, the first and last recipe is to stop further indulgence in at least the grosser and more fatal phases of popular diplomacy. Cut out the much advertised con-

ferences, the top-level meetings, the bitter public discussions, the perpetual agitation, the interminable speeches about foreign affairs, the inflammatory newspaper comments, the incessant comings-and-goings of politicians, the working up of crises. More discretion, decent silence, these are 'negative' remedies; but the result will be a 'positive' gain in diplomatic health."

Of particular interest is Mr. Huddleston's discussion of the position of commanding influence that Maxim Litvinov achieved in the League of Nations. Litvinov sold Western diplomats two pernicious doctrines which today represent foundation stones of the United Nations and of our own foreign policy.

"All the pacifists of the League were bound to applaud when Litvinov called for 'collective security,' which meant that all countries (with a mental restriction in favor of Russia) should jump with both feet into any local war and destroy each other. He coined another clever and seductive phrase, 'indivisible peace,' which signified much the same thing. For my part, I held that 'collective security' was really 'collective suicide,' and that 'indivisible peace' amounted to 'indivisible war'—war on a bigger and bigger scale, world war whenever two or more tiny states started a dogfight. But the most responsible ministers from the great powers piously repeated the words after Litvinov, and the most earnest peace-workers in Geneva thrilled at the prospect of an all-nations war.

"'Russian communism emerged from the First World War; world communism will emerge from a Second World War,' said a cynical Russian observer. The unexpressed condition was that Russia should keep out of the Second World War after having provoked it."

True enough, the Soviet Union entered a non-aggression pact with Nazi Germany, participated in the enslavement of the Polish people, and then sat complacently on the sidelines while the Western powers went to war with Germany. Stalin overlooked one point: the madness of Hitler.

For those who look to the United Nations for the establishment of peace, Mr. Huddleston has this to say: "... most of the evils of the League of Nations persist in this international organization which grew out of the Second World War—in some respects they have been aggravated. ... Though the UN was established to preserve peace, it was soon admitted by both sides that peace was most likely to be maintained by wars against aggressors and by gigantic military preparations. The Orwellian slogan that 'War is Peace' was, consciously or unconsciously, from the beginning adopted by both conflicting groups within the UN."

UN adherents have claimed that the

Korean War proved the usefulness of that organization in deterring aggression. Sisley Huddleston offers an explanation for the Soviet delegate's strange absence from the Security Council—the absence which permitted the conversion of President Truman's "police action" into a UN war:

"Only the unexplained absence of the Russian delegate from the Security Council in June, 1950, made possible the UN intervention in the Korean War. Probably the absence was due to the shrewd perception that such action would greatly drain and weaken the United States, would train the new Chinese military machine, and would solidify Chinese public opinion behind the Communist regime, while imposing no serious burdens on Soviet Russia."

It is inconceivable that the Kremlin rulers were ignorant of the impending Communist attack in Korea. They either miscalculated very badly or else knew, also, that the United States would not be permitted to achieve victory.

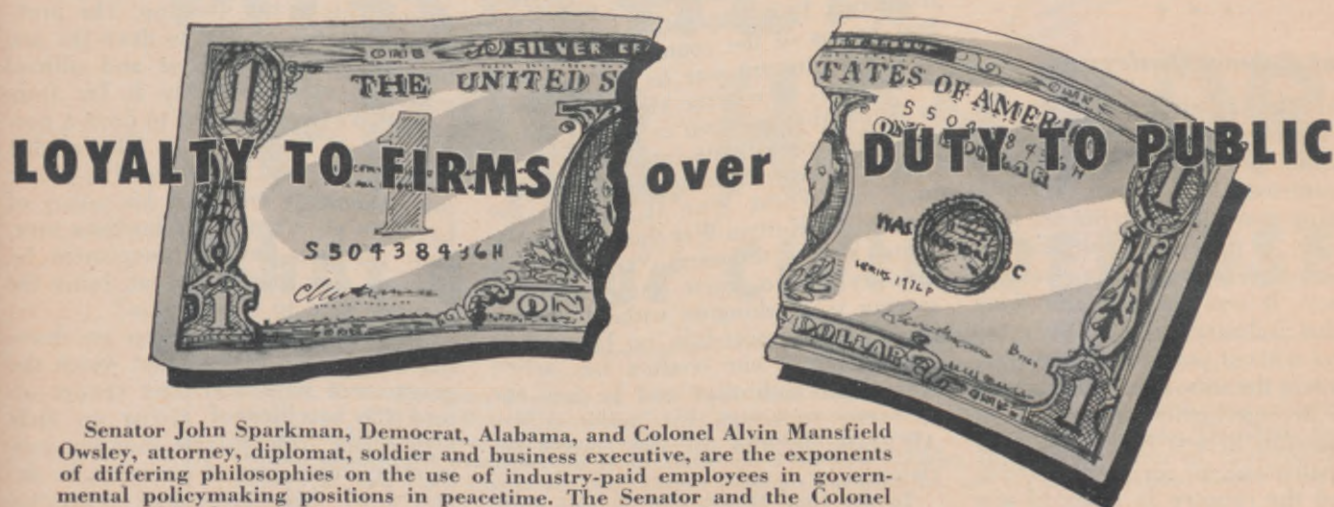
Popular Diplomacy and War is a most helpful book which provides perceptive commentary on many facets of the present world situation. But there is one major point to which the author could have given more attention. It is a point now brought to the fore by the successful carrying-out of the Kremlin's "peaceful coexistence" line. Yet, in his opposition to theatrical conferences and meetings of chiefs-of-state, Mr. Huddleston is very much on the right track.

It is simply this. The Communist tyrants in Moscow and Peiping rule a vast slave empire. The people of dozens of originally independent countries are suffering under the most extensive and most brutal slave system the world has ever known. Not only the people of Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Hungary, Bulgaria, the Baltic countries, and others desire release from foreign conquest and tyranny. The people of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia — and China — must have some yearning for freedom, for some release from the terror of the total Communist police state. These people must look for hope to the free peoples of the world. But if the elected representatives of the free peoples constantly honor and dignify murderous tyrants at conferences and international cocktail parties, they offer scant hope to the wretchedly enslaved.

There will be few supporters for the thesis of a war of liberation, and such a thesis has not been seriously advanced. Evil is not destroyed by attempting to annihilate its victims—by saturation bombings of non-combatant civilian populations and other acts which fulfill only evil's intent. If we learned nothing else from World War II, we should have learned that. But rejection of initiation

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Does \$1⁰⁰ a year allow...



Senator John Sparkman, Democrat, Alabama, and Colonel Alvin Mansfield Owsley, attorney, diplomat, soldier and business executive, are the exponents of differing philosophies on the use of industry-paid employees in governmental policymaking positions in peacetime. The Senator and the Colonel present thought-provoking arguments on both sides of this controversial subject on a Facts Forum radio program.

Views of Senator Sparkman:

Should the government use industry-paid employees in policymaking positions in peace time? My answer is no. The government, which is the agent and representative of all of the people of the United States, is entitled to the undivided loyalty of each of its employees. No government employee should be in a position where his private interests make it difficult for him to act solely on the basis of public interest. No business would retain an employee whose interests were different from those of his firm. No person would retain a lawyer who represented the other side of a case.

Why should the government, unless it be in time of a national emergency, if ever, violate this sound principle? This rule has for years been set forth in the criminal laws of the country and a number of statutes called the conflict of interest laws. Among these is one which prohibits a government employee from acting for the government in transacting business with a firm in which he is interested. Another prohibits a government employee from receiving a salary from any private person or firm for his work for the government.

I've heard of no suggestion that these statutes should be repealed. On the contrary, the general view in the past few years has been that these conflict of interest laws should be strengthened. So it came as rather a surprise that the administration urged a further extension of an exemption from these conflict of interest laws which was made at the time of the Korean war solely for emergency purposes. Only one Re-

publican senator voted to discontinue this questionable practice.

The exemption was originally granted only because of the overriding importance of national security. In time of war or full mobilization the entire civilian economy is placed under rigid controls in order to support the military. Rationing, price and wage controls, allocations of materials and equipment, all foreign to our normal way of life, are necessary and have to be carried out.

To mobilize the civilian economy and administer all these many controls, thousands of government employees are needed and they must have a thorough knowledge of industrial and commercial practices and problems. Thus, it seems reasonable in a national emergency to call on industry to help supply capable, experienced men. Also, in time of war the influence of patriotic motives, a desire to preserve the nation from armed attack, reduces to the minimum the influence of the man's conflicting private interests. When the period of full mobilization is over, when the influence of patriotic factors lessens, we should return to the regular rules of peacetime.

In order to give you an idea of the kind of situation that can come before these industry-paid employees where their loyalties to their firms may conflict with their duty to the government and the public, let me give you an example in the aluminum and magnesium division of the Department of Commerce.

Last summer, 1954, the government was trying to decide whether to undertake an expansion in the aluminum industry. The question was whether the

production of the industry would be enough to take care of military requirements, stockpile requirements and the needs of business, including small independent fabricators. The head of the aluminum and magnesium division in the Commerce Department was a paid representative of, and expected to return to, one of the large aluminum companies. Under his leadership, the aluminum and magnesium division recommended against the expansion of the aluminum industry. Because of this recommendation the expansion program did not go through.

By January, 1955, small business was finding it difficult to get aluminum and by the third quarter of 1955 it was necessary to suspend deliveries to the stockpile in order to leave enough aluminum for business. It may be necessary to suspend them again for the fourth quarter.

It may be that a full-time salaried employee would have reached the same conclusions as the aluminum company representative. But suspicion is bound to arise that this man opposed the expansion and brought about the rejection because his company and his industry opposed an expansion, preferring instead increased profits on the same volume of business instead of increased production. I do not say this happened, but room is there for the suspicion always in a case such as this.

In peacetime we should use full-time salaried government employees whose sole loyalty is to the public and to the public interest, who have no problem of distinguishing between their private interest and their public duty. Industry can still supply advisors and advisory

committees. The information and experience which industry has to offer can still be obtained in this way. The country will not suffer from it, but we shall remove from each and every one this suspicion that otherwise is likely to attach.

* * *

Views of Colonel Owsley:

Should the administration employ "dollar a year men" in policymaking positions in peacetime has become a highly controversial question. The policy of using men whose salaries are paid by industry in positions of decision in the government arose as a wartime emergency. It was the patriotic thing to do, for industry to loan their top executives without pay from the government, to win the war. Government business has become highly technical.

The question arises: If it is the summit of patriotism to serve the government and the country in times of war without pay, how much more important is it that those "indispensable men of industry" who have the know-how shall serve the public interest in time of peace to prevent war? The nation's safety and defense is at stake. The yearning of every American is for peace with honor. We can only have peace if we are strong and powerful, so strong that no enemy dare attack us. The man on the street knows that the only reason we have not been attacked by our enemies, the Communists, is our possession of the

atomic bomb and the H-bomb, with the overwhelming power and force that goes with it for total destruction.

These developments did not come altogether from government employees. They came largely from the men from the research laboratories of our great industries. It is imperative to have the best brains of the country serving the nation to prevent war or, in the event of hostility, to win the victory. I refuse to define this question as one of public service versus private interest.

Now there were many "dollar a year men" in World War II, and at the close of the Korean War there was something like a thousand "key men of industry," who knew their business, serving in Washington without government pay. No scandals, no betrayal of interest. Only one conflict has arisen from high authority, and he had the character to resign his public office. All praise to him for this correct decision.

In the final summation of this question, it is true we are searching for men of character, honesty, patriotism who cannot be swerved out of the line of duty. It is common knowledge that senators and members of the House, and high government officials maintain private connections from which they draw incomes, such as radio and television lecture contracts, the direction of their home newspapers, connection with their law firms and many other businesses, too numerous to mention. Yet who is there in America to say that the ranking mem-

bers of Congress or high government officials should be compelled to impoverish themselves because "some people" fear they would favor special groups in Washington. The country's thinking has risen above that level.

Business or no business in government? This is the question. The problem, of course, of how to draw the line between personal interest and official government responsibility is far from solved. We are supposed to have a government of business men. That's what the President said he wanted. The people overwhelmingly endorsed his policy of having a government by business men. How can you have a government by business men unless you can bring the business men to Washington?

The majority of these men are drawing salaries far beyond that which the government pays and they cannot afford the sacrifice of giving up their high salary from private industry and, in many cases, loss of seniority, be deprived of their retirement programs, stock purchasing rights or profit sharing bonuses which have now become the rule with large industry. We must not exact too high a price, too great a sacrifice of the best brains of the country or else we cannot expect them to serve.

There are restrictions—laws prohibiting men owning and retaining interests when drafted by government service. The nation is entitled to the faithful services of the best men and women available, regardless of who pays the salaries.



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of war as the means to combat cruel slavery by no means connotes continuation of a foreign policy designed to perpetuate in power a brutal Communist dictatorship. And we should most carefully refrain from letting ourselves be propagandized and manipulated into lending assistance to the Kremlin rulers every time the excesses, brutality and utter failure of their Communist system get them into hot water. There is a very considerable probability that the form of insanity known as communism could not for long hold sway over its oppressed millions without the lavish help it has so frequently obtained from the West.

Here Mr. Huddleston's observations on "constructive" criticism are particularly apropos. We don't have to do any-

thing. We just have to stop doing the wrong thing. We can turn deaf ears to those who have consistently, year after year, urged upon us policies which have aided the Kremlin rulers—and have then justified their false counsel on the ground that the evil and tragic results were inevitable. It is not even necessary for us to ask why these counselors have been so persistently and disastrously wrong, provided their counsel is ignored. But politicians listen to the loudest clamor in the so-called "media of information," and this is "Popular Diplomacy" in action.

Does anyone seriously believe that strict abstinence from any support of the Communist regime would provoke war? And is it not more logical to suppose that the Communist empire, shut off from outside help and confirmation, would face the dissolution inevitably resultant from an abandonment of all moral values of decency and common humanity? Faced with the internal fruits of the Communist system, the Kremlin rulers would be in a poor position to consider external war. Military defeat of Soviet Russia would not

destroy the false premises of communism. It must destroy itself, but for this to happen we must let it fail. Not until then will we be able to carry on any meaningful international relations with the elected representatives of almost a billion people who have had no representation at Geneva, at the UN, or anywhere else in the world.

It is not our business to "liberate" these people. But any amoral policy which frustrates for one day their self-liberation can buy us nothing but the reward of an accomplice.

Popular Diplomacy and War offers helpful insight on how we can follow a path which will avoid another destructive war. Many of Mr. Huddleston's proposals would help us avoid supporting an evil form of physical and mental slavery. Much more needs to be written to combat the present tendency toward this second form of erroneous national conduct. It is the issue now coming in for increasing discussion. There is no more to be gained from moral self-destruction than from physical self-destruction.

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In Case of

ANOTHER PEARL HARBOR

What of our CIVIL DEFENSES?



General C. R. Huebner, Director of New York State Civil Defense, who commanded our forces in Europe at the end of World War II, lends authority to a discussion of whether our civil defenses are adequate on the Facts Forum Panel's regular radio and television program. Commentator George Hamilton Combs, former Democratic congressman from Missouri; Professor Charles Hodges, professor of international history at New York University, and author William Buckley, Jr., are regular panelists. Hardy Burt moderates.

BURT: General Huebner, do you think that the American people are aware of the dangers of atomic attack on our cities and industrial areas?

HUEBNER: My answer to that would be yes for the great majority of the people, because much has been written in the news media and broadcast on the air to the people. However, I can't say that they have accepted the implications that are brought about in this atomic age.

BURT: Well, do you think there is any actual fear or concern or worry on the part of the people in New York, from your position as head of the New York State civil defense—that conceivably an H-bomb could be dropped on them one night in a Pearl Harbor type of surprise attack and they could all be wiped out?

HUEBNER: Well, I'm sure that that is the basis of this so-called apathy. It is more a matter of fear and the operation of the subconscious mind rather than of reason. And it can only be handled through proper education.

BURT: Mr. Buckley, you travel a great deal around the country and see a lot of the people. Do you think the American people are aware of the dangers of atomic attack on them?

BUCKLEY: Nothing I've run across would contradict General Huebner's conclusions on that question. But I do think that the American people are less interested in just exactly what the atom bomb will do, than whether it's going to fall. On this point they are wholly confused for a number of reasons, one of them being that we have no consistent foreign policy. And the other one, of course, being that all this talk of coexistence is at variance with the kind of preparation that General Huebner, for example, is urging them to make.

I would say that they are roughly

aware of what an atom bomb, for example, falling in the heart of New York or in the heart of Cleveland would do, but haven't got any sophisticated or fully developed notions as to whether it's going to fall.

COMBS: Well, I doubt that the tortuosities of our foreign policy are responsible for the lethargy of our people. But I would agree that we certainly as a people have not reached any coherent idea about the imminence or the probability of such an attack, and that we have adopted an attitude, as someone described it, of almost Arab fatalism about it. I thought that General Huebner's comment was very perceptive, that in part our apathy is fear, an unwillingness to grapple with the reality, the horrible actuality of a bomb that is so destructive. But it seems to me there are other reasons: one, a somewhat naive belief in the invincibility of American defense, that ours is an inviolable continent, that it will never in any way be molested or raided. And, secondly, it seems to me that our people have lacked direction from the federal government which would cause the program to be presented with the real urgency which the danger seems to require. It's a many-faceted thing.

BURT: Mr. Combs, not to deviate from the subject, but as a former Democratic congressman, are you defending the foreign policy of the Republican administration against Mr. Buckley?

COMBS: To the extent that the . . .

BUCKLEY: That it duplicates the Democratic policy . . .

COMBS: . . . the Republican policy has paralleled that laid down by the Democrats, it has been coherent and realistic . . .

BUCKLEY: And fatal.

COMBS: . . . when it—deviates from the Truman-Acheson policy it always gets into trouble.

HODGES: Well!

BUCKLEY: Mr. Combs' description for a successful foreign policy is one in which we consistently retreat. Is that right, Mr. Combs?

COMBS: As a matter of fact, Mr. Truman did no retreating. It was Mr. Truman who blazed the whole trail of defense against communism.

BURT: If we had the time it would be a fascinating thing to discuss American foreign policy but we do have an even more urgent topic, if that's conceivable. We need Professor Hodges' opinion as to whether or not he believes the American people are aware of the dangers of atomic attack. What do you think, Professor?

HODGES: Well, I would like to emphasize two things. The first is that this problem of coexistence and at the same time keeping our defenses up is confusing, I think, to the American people, because we have this instinctive, you might say, desire to live in peace. When the war is over it's like a football game. Everybody goes home. And if they don't go home Congress hears about it from the "moms" of America and that is one of the reasons we're in this very bad fix, it seems to me.

BURT: Are the American people aware of the dangers, though, of an atomic attack being launched upon them?

HODGES: I don't think they can be fully aware of the dangers because they're confused by the trend toward coexistence which is being adequately developed, certainly, in Washington . . .

BUCKLEY: Hear, hear!

HODGES: And, on the other hand, the fact that we've got to keep up our guard.

It's contradictory to the American—I think, the man in the street. The second thing I'd like to point out, Mr. Moderator, is the fact that we deal more and more with an unstable population where the neurotic reaction . . .

BUCKLEY: Don't look at me.

HODGES: . . . the fear—(that's all right, Bill, I had no implication whatsoever in my look. I was appealing to you for support)—where the neurotic reaction is a real problem. And I think that's going to lead—and I'll look at the General, if I may—to the problem of panic and what are we going to do with a population which is half-informed and half-stricken by fear?

HUEBNER: I would like to say that civil defense is the fourth arm of national defense and that it takes a long time to build the military and to develop it and to keep abreast of the modern age. And here we suddenly find ourselves with the civilian in the Defense Department. It is going to take time, education, clear thinking, and a lot of training to fit him in his modern role.

BURT: To make him aware of the potentialities of the danger and peril of this atomic attack. Let's go on to our second question and, General Huebner, perhaps you would do us the honor of answering this first, also. Is the danger of atomic war minimized by the current Soviet peace offensive in your opinion, sir?

HUEBNER: I would think not, because war in itself is a long range problem. And the Soviets have always held their objective high. They may deviate along the way. They may go this way, they may go that way. But the ultimate objective of communism is to dominate the world . . .

BURT: Conquest of capitalism.

HUEBNER: That's right. Now maybe they think time is working for them and certainly I think we need some time, too.

COMBS: I think the danger of atomic war may be deferred by the current Soviet peace offensive but certainly not minimized. If we are talking in terms of perhaps the next year or two it would seem that the period of negotiations will probably delay any sharpening of the crisis . . .

BUCKLEY: Like Pearl Harbor?

COMBS: I would not suggest that the present negotiations would be a prelude to a Pearl Harbor. I rather doubt it because I don't believe that Russia is any better prepared in civil defense than we are. It would seem to me, however, that this whole question does in a very real way impede the American effort to prepare or organize civil defense, because we are a little sanguine that maybe some magic formula will be evolved from all of these things which will banish or dispel the danger of atomic war, and therefore we lag in our civilian defense preparations. It would occur to me that we would be much stronger in military and diplomatic posture if now

we could confront Russia with a really well-organized, well-mobilized civil defense program which would indicate our inviolability from any attack that they might launch against us.

BURT: Well, in brief, you don't believe that the Soviet Communist empire has deflected from its 37-year-old aim of conquering the world?

COMBS: No, I don't, not for one moment. They might reach a temporary accommodation, a *modus vivendi* of some sort. But it certainly doesn't reach the root of the problem.

HODGES: I think the Soviet peace offensive is a real political danger in the sense that it throws us off guard. I think the American people with their honest desire for peace, are going to be caught. The Soviet game is undoubtedly to squeeze us against the sentiment of our allies so that we'll be forced into, I



Gen. C. R. Huebner

would repeat, lowering our guard. I think that's the real danger of this thing. There's another aspect of it, too. If this whole problem of civil defense is effectively answered so that the cost of an atomic war becomes higher and higher we may get this uneasy coexistence, but it will never come through the diplomats and talky-talk and that sort of thing. It will come because we're too tough to crack both on the military and the civilian fronts. I think that's the basis of it.

BUCKLEY: I think that it's nonsense to talk about reaching inviolability, as George Combs has been referring to it. I think inviolability is inherently impossible.

HUEBNER: I agree with that.

BUCKLEY: Surely what we're talking about here is how to minimize what will just the same be catastrophic damage inflicted on us if we engage in a nuclear war, which is not to say that the peace offensive minimizes this possibility. And my feeling is that it definitely maximizes it because the Soviet Union will pre-

dictively move into a situation that has been softened. And the whole purpose of the peace offensive is to soften it. It was Lenin himself who defined peace as that situation which exists when the enemy has been conquered. And we are the enemy. We'll continue to be the enemy just so long as we oppose the imperialism of the Soviet Union.

BURT: Mr. Buckley, let me ask you one question. In your opinion do you believe that the current peace offensive is going to make it very much more difficult to get the American people to do something about their own civil defenses?

BUCKLEY: Well, yes, because after all, the American people have got to hang onto every crumb of information that is passed down to them from the bureaucracy. And these crumbs of information say such things as that we are emerging into a long period of peaceful coexistence. Harry Truman says that the cold war is about over and so on, with the result that they probably look at people like General Huebner and think that he's a real paranoiac urging them to take all kinds of precautions . . .

HODGES: That's a nasty name for a nice man, isn't it?

BURT: Well, there's one question which does arise here and I'd like to pose it for General Huebner. It seems an awfully difficult thing to get the people—any people—to be on the alert, say, for a period of four or five, six, seven, eight or nine or ten years for a blow that might come but never does. How can you keep them psychologically alert, General Huebner?

HUEBNER: I think that can be handled in this way—you know every child under fifteen years old has lived its entire life of reason in the atomic age. It's a new period that we're going into. And in order to have proper civil defense we have to organize on a grass roots level because therein lies the operation of civil defense—what they do in the cities and in the country, the little people. Now if appointed and elected officials take their part and assume the leadership that they should assume in civil defense, then you get this basic organization and once you have that, then whatever your mood or whatever the action you have to take you have a foundation from which you can move, and will probably do a very good job. American ingenuity is still here.

HODGES: I'd like to throw in this one observation. I think that what General Huebner is urging is civil responsibility right down to each one of us. But on the other hand, in order to exercise this responsibility we have to put up the money. That's a real problem in terms of civil defense.

BURT: Well, doesn't this fit into the question I'd like also to pose for General Huebner: I noticed recently when it was announced in the press that fifteen thousand people—key government officials—would be evacuated from Washington in a civil defense test, including the White House staff and the President of the United States, that the newspapers literally, for the size and for the importance of that story, paid very little

attention to it. Now, is it that civil defense is not dramatic in the minds of the newspaper reporters, or of the people, or what is it? And do you think it has to be dramatized more than it has been to date?

HUEBNER: No. I think again you run into a problem which deals with all Americans and I think the news media are just as guilty of so-called apathy as anyone else. The great majority of the news media have not had time or have not taken time to become educated in the elements of this new age. Therefore, they do not write from a comprehensive background. And those who have written know that a story that is not written from a comprehensive background generally does not carry much with it and that certainly it doesn't seek its place in the limelight where it really belongs.

BURT: Well, now, General Huebner, let me ask you the sixty-four billion dollar question, and I hope that our panel members will all join in on this discussion because it is the nub actually of what we are talking about. If a surprise attack should be launched by the Communists would our civil defenses be adequate?

HUEBNER: Absolutely not. We in New York State have a good basic organization. Every city and every county in the state does have a civil defense director and does have its staff. Most of them have some of the services already organized and operating. There's nearly enough of them to do the job. However, I can say this: that if we were attacked now we would be much better able to proceed and do some of the things that we should have done than we would have been two years ago.

COMBS: It occurs to me that until Washington decides that this question of civil defense spreads across state lines, that it is not a matter to be handled as Mrs. Hobby handled polio on the theory that the polio virus wouldn't cross state lines, that we are licked altogether in this entire problem. This is a national problem, one of national scope, and cannot be successfully handled by state or local administrations no matter how competent they may be.

Look at New York for example. Our water supply in large part comes from a confluence of rivers in another state. How are we going to safeguard New York water against contamination on a purely local basis? All of these problems have national and geographical implications which go beyond the archaic political subdivisions of the forty-eight states. And until we recognize the urgency of a federated and a controlled, and may I say, a centralized civil defense, we're just acting as if we had forty-eight different state militias. We wouldn't fight war with forty-eight state militias. We can't fight civil defense with forty-eight state . . .

BUCKLEY: I think General Huebner's remark that we need to rely a bit more on American ingenuity is a highly apposite one. For example, I remember that Michael DiSalle, when he was



—Wide World Photo

President Eisenhower walks beside Arthur Fleming, Defense Mobilization Director, as he leaves a cabinet meeting at a secret retreat during "Operation Alert," a simulated atomic attack on the U.S. A secret service man and an unidentified aide follow the chief executive as he walks past a tent at the site.

mayor of Cleveland, suggested to the Chamber of Commerce, that he could solve Cleveland's problem with ten thousand dollars. All he had to do was erect tremendous neon arrows, one pointing at Chicago and one pointing at Detroit. This kind of ingenuity which springs from allowing local people to handle the local problem is the anti-statist response to questions like this. Incidentally, in this connection, talking about federalizing everything, I would submit that Washington, after all, is in very little danger since it would be inconceivable that the Soviet Union would elect to erase Washington from any possible future use and lose the State Department.

HODGES: Nothing is inconceivable.

COMBS: Congress apparently couldn't even respond to the last civil defense test.

HODGES: I want to suggest how important civil defense is in this particular state. And particularly for those of you who are thinking in parochial state lines, I have read with great interest the contacts that are being made with Canada, Mr. Moderator, through General Huebner's foresight. I think it's a most important document. And I regret it hasn't gotten wider distribution.

BURT: You're disagreeing with Mr. Combs, then, in saying this civil defense administration handled on a local and state level is doing a good job and it isn't necessary to have it truly operated by the federal government?

HODGES: Well, I think that you've got to tie the whole thing from community right up to Washington together. We have to work as a team and I think we have to bring in our northern neighbor, Canada, very decidedly, as General

Huebner's organization has done according to the record.

HUEBNER: I would like to say that each echelon of American government has its responsibility in civil defense. Actually the work will be done where the disaster occurs. Then you come to the state, and the state through its own cabinet is responsible to the people of the state for the coordination of civil defense. And finally you get up to the federal government who retains unto itself most of the taxing powers. It too is responsible for coordinating the efforts of the states and where it's beyond the capacity of the states, either through interstate lines or inability to raise the money, then it becomes the responsibility of the Congress and of the executive department of the government. Now, I don't go at all for this business of having the federal government appoint a state administrator. I would rather serve under my own governor and his cabinet than I would to have a political appointee come in here and tell us all what our jobs are.

BURT: General Huebner, we have very little time left, and I want to ask you a question that I certainly have in mind since I do live in New York and many of our viewers would have that in mind. Manhattan is a tightly-packed little island of millions of people. What would happen, how could it be evacuated, in case of atomic attack?

HUEBNER: In my opinion, in case of an atomic attack, if you think in terms of an hour or two, it is an impossible task. But when the diplomatic situation gets to the point where war is possible, and we have a big intelligence group whose sole job is just that, then the powers that be must bring about a strategical evacuation. People who are

(Continued on Page 64)

Facts Forum Radio-TV

ALABAMA

Albertville	WAVU*	630	Sun	4:00 p
Alexander City	WVRS*	1050	Sun	12:15 p
Andalusia	WCTA*	920	Mon	7:15 p
Anniston	WSPC*	1390	Wed	7:30 a
Atmore	WATM*	1580	Tues	9:15 a
Auburn	WATM*	1580	Sun	12:30 p
Birmingham	WAUD*	1230		
	WBRC*	960	Tues	6:30 p
	WBRC-TV**	6		
Brewton	WEBJ†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Carrollton	WEBJ†	1240		
Clanton	WRAG*	590		
Cullman	WKLF*	980	Sun	12:15 p
Decatur	WFMH*	1300	Thurs	7:15 a
	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	Sun	2:15 p
Dothan	WOOF*	560	Sun	5:00 p
	WOOF*	560	Sun	12:15 p
Enterprise	WIRB*	1230	Sun	12:15 p
	WIRB*	1230		
Eufaula	WULA*	1240	To be announced	
Fayette	WWWF*	990	Sun	1:00 p
	WWWF*	990	Sun	12:30 p
Florence	WOWI*	1240		
	WJOI*	1340		
Ft. Payne	WZOB*	1250	Sun	12:30 p
Gadsden	WGAD*	1350	Sun	12:45 p
	WGWD*	570		
	WGWD*	570		
	WGEA*	1150	Sun	12:45 p
Geneva	WGEA*	1150		
Greenville	WGYV*	1400	Thurs	9:15 p
Guntersville	WGSV*	1270	Sun	12:45 p
Hamilton	WERH*	970	Fri	7:30 a
Huntsville	WBHS*	1550	Mon	7:00 p
	WBHP†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
	WPBB*	1290	Mon	4:30 p
Jackson	WWWB*	1360		
Jasper	WWWB*	1360		
Marion	WJAM*	1310	Thurs	7:30 a
Mobile	WABB*	1480	Wed	7:00 p
Monroeville	WMFC*	1220	Sun	5:30 p
	WMFC*	1220	Sat	10:30 p
Montgomery	WAPX*	1600		
	WSFA-TV**	12	Sat	2:30 p
	WJJJ†	1170	Mon	8:30 p
	WCOV-TV**	20	Wed	6:00 p
Muscle Shoals	WLAY*	1450		
Oneonta	WCRL*	1570		
	WCRL*	1570		
Opp	WAMI*	860	Sun	1:00 p
Ozark	WPNK*	900	Sun	5:00 p
Phenix City	WPNK*	1460	Sun	7:15 p
	WPNX*	1460	To be announced	
Piedmont	WPID*	1280	Sun	5:00 p
Roanoke	WELR*	1360	Sun	12:15 p
	WELR*	1360		
Russellville	WWWR*	920	Sun	12:45 p
	WWWR*	920	Sun	3:30 p
Selma	WHBB*	1490		
	WHBB*	1490		
Sylacauga	WMLS*	1290	Sun	12:15 p
Talladega	WHTB*	1230		
Troy	WTFB*	1490	Sun	6:45 p
	WTFB*	1490		
Tuscaloosa	WJRD*	1150	Thurs	9:45 p
	WJRD*	1150		
	WTBC*	1230		

ALASKA

Anchorage	KFIA-TV**	2	Thurs	6:30 p
Fairbanks	KTVF-TV**	11	Thurs	7:30 p

ARIZONA

Bisbee	KSUN**	1230	To be announced	
Flagstaff	KGPH*	690		
Phoenix	KOOL-TV**	10	Sun	1:00 p
Winslow	KVNC*	1010	Sun	7:30 p

ARKANSAS

Arkadelphia	KVRC†	1240	Mon	10:30 p
Benton	KBBA*	690	To be announced	
Camden	KAMD†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Fayetteville	KGRH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Forrest City	KXJK*	960	To be announced	
Fort Smith	KWHN†	1320	Mon	8:30 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
	KWHN*	1320	Sat	6:15 p
	KFSA-TV**	22	Sun	1:00 p
Hope	KKAR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Hot Springs	KWPC*	1340	Sat	10:15 p
Little Rock	KARK*	920	Fri	9:15 p
	KXLR†	1150	Mon	8:30 p
	KARK-TV**	4	Sun	1:30 p
	KSSC*	550	To be announced	
Magnolia	KVMA*	630	Sun	3:30 p
Mena	KENA†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Mountain Home	KTLO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Paragould	KDRS*	1490		
Pine Bluff	KOTN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Pocahontas	KPOC*	1420	Sun	9:15 a
Russellville	KXJR†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Stuttgart	KWAK†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KCMC-TV**	6	Sat	8:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

Your [radio and TV] programs are valuable to enlighten the people and are listened to by millions.

J. E. Ross
West Alabama Coal Co., Inc.
Jasper, Alabama

I hope you continue this priceless exchange of ideas so openly and interestingly expressed [Facts Forum Panel]. It is not whether one agrees or not, but the right and freedom of suggestion and expression that is our heritage.

H. J. SHIELD, Publisher
Citizen Review
121 South 10th Street
Santa Paula, California

The writer recently received the first copy of your great book, *Facts Forum News*. After reading three copies, I've decided to enter six subscriptions to others . . . If everyone would do the same, we would soon get the right news in the hands of our American friends.

CHARLES L. REYNOLDS
Georgetown, Delaware

Your magazine is doing a job that has been all but forgotten. Reading it monthly is like a regular reaffirmation of my birthrights. It makes me feel like holding my head a little higher and throwing my chest out a little further and thanking God once again for being born in America.

It shows in the most vivid manner that patriotism and capitalism are interrelated. That in order to enjoy capitalism we must never lose sight of patriotism. That we may reap our rewards of labor just so long as we do not forget what principles maintain this fertile harvest.

WILLIAM G. SLADE, YN/2 USN
Director of Training Office
U. S. Naval Gun Factory
Washington 23, D. C.

Let me express appreciation of the *Facts Forum News*. I find myself almost uniformly in complete sympathy with its articles, and assure you of my utmost good wishes for continued success.

EDITH SHAFFER STEARNS
3555 Poinciana Avenue
Coconut Grove, Florida

We certainly do enjoy your magazine and the broadcasts.

MRS. MARION C. REED
821 Clement Drive, N.E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

May I also take this opportunity to again express my appreciation for your publication. It makes it possible for all of us to participate in the important issues of the day and at the same time consider both sides.

GERALD K. MATHIS
Box No. 136
Percy, Illinois

CALIFORNIA

Coalinga	KBMX**	1470	Sun	1:00 p
Fort Bragg	KDAC*	1230	Sun	6:00 p
	KDAC*	1230	Mon	9:00 p
Hollywood	KCOP-TV**	13	Sun	11:00 p
Los Angeles	KHJ†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Needles	KSFE*	1340	Sun	7:30 p
	KSFE*	1340	Sun	6:15 p
Ontario	KOCS*	1510	Sun	
Oroville	KMOR*	1340	Sun	5:00 p
Petaluma	KAFF*	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Sacramento	KBET-TV**	10		
San Diego	KFMB-TV**	8	Sat	1:00 p
San Francisco	KGO*	810	Sat	10:30 a
	KGO-TV**	7	Sat	9:30 a
San Luis Obispo	KVEC-TV**	6	Thurs	8:30 p
Santa Cruz	KSCC*	1080	Thurs	7:30 p
Susanville	KSUE*	1240	Wed	6:45 p
	KSUE*	1240	Mon	7:00 p
Turlock	KTUR*	1390	To be announced	

COLORADO

Alamosa	KGIW†	1450	Mon	7:30 p
Cortez	KVFC*	740	Sun	12:00 n
Delta	KDFA*	1400	To be announced	
Denver	KOA*	850	Wed	8:15 p
Grand Junction	KFXJ†	920	Mon	7:30 p
	KFXJ-TV**	5	Sun	10:00 p
La Junta	KBNZ†	1400	Mon	7:30 p
Sterling	KGEK*	1400	Sun	5:30 p

CONNECTICUT

Putnam	WPCT*	1350	To be announced	
Waterbury	WATR-TV**	53	Fri	6:30 p

DELAWARE

Dover	WDOV**	1410	Sun	4:00 p
Wilmington	WPFH-TV**	12	Fri	9:00 p

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington	WEAM*	1390	Tues	10:00 p
	WTTG-TV**	5	Sun	5:30 p
	WINX*	1600		
	WOOK*	1340		

FLORIDA

Cocoa	WKKO*	860	Sun	3:00 p
Daytona Beach	WMFJ*	1450	Sun	8:15 p
Fort Myers	WINK-TV**	11	Sun	9:30 p
Gainesville	WRUF†	850	Mon	9:30 p
Key West	WKWF†	1600	Mon	9:30 p
Kissimmee	WRWB*	1220	Sun	3:00 p
Lakeland	WLAK*	1430	Sun	4:45 p
Live Oak	WNER*	1450	Wed	6:30 p
	WNER*	1450	Fri	7:30 p
Marianna	WTSY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Miami	WGBS-TV**	23	Wed	9:30 p
	WKAT†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
	WITV-TV**	17	Fri	7:30 p
Naples	WNOG*	1270	Fri	5:45 p
Palm Beach	WJNO-TV**	5	Mon	10:00 p
Panama City	WPCF*	1400	Sat	5:45 p
	WPCF†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
	WDLF*	590	Sun	2:00 p
Pensacola	WPFA-TV**	15	Sat	4:30 p
			Sun	6:00 p
St. Augustine	WSTN*	1420	Sat	5:00 p
Sanford	WTRR*	1400		
West Palm Beach	WIRK-TV**	21	Sun	7:00 p

GEORGIA

Atlanta	WSB*	750	Thurs	6:45 p
Columbus	WDAK-TV**	28	Sat	7:30 p
Cordele	WMJM†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Covington	WGFS*	1430	Sun	1:15 p
	WGFS*	1430	To be announced	
Dalton	WBLJ*	1230	Sat	6:45 p
Dublin	WMLT†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Gainesville	WGGT†	550	Mon	9:30 p
Griffin	WKEU†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Jesup	WGBR*	1370	Sun	1:00 p
La Grande	WLAG†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Macon	WIBB*	1280		
Milledgeville	WMVG†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Monroe	WMRE*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
Statesboro	WVNS†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Spartanburg	WJAT*	800	Sun	5:15 p
Tooele	WLET†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
Valdosta	WGOV†	950	Mon	9:30 p
Waycross	WAYX†	1230	Mon	9:30 p

HAWAII

Hilo	KILA*	850	Sun	8:45 p
Wailuku	KMVI*			

IDAHO

Blackfoot	KBLI*	1490	Sun	9:00 a
Boise	KIDO-TV**	7	Sun	11:00 p
Moscow	KRPL*	1400	To be announced	
Twin Falls	KLIX-TV**	11		
Weiser	KWEI*	1240	Sun	5:30 p

ILLINOIS

Canton	WBYS*	1560	Sun	
Cairo	WKRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Chicago	WGN†	720	Mon	8:30 p
Cicero	WHFC*	1450		
Dixon	WSDR*	1240		
Du Quoin	WDQN*	1580		
Evanston	WNMP*	1590		
	WEAW*	1330		
Harrisburg	WEBQ**	1240	Wed	2:00 p
	WEBQ**	99.9	Wed	8:00 p
Kankakee	WKAN*			
Kewanee	WKEI*	1450	Sun	12:15 p
	WKEI*	1450	Sun	1:00 p

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

ILLINOIS (Continued)

Lincoln	WPRC*	1370	Sun	3:00 p
Litchfield	WPRC**	1370	Sun	3:30 p
Mt. Carmel	WSMI*	1540	Sun	
Mt. Vernon	WVMC*	1360		
Ottawa	WMIX*	940	Sun	1:00 p
Rock Island	WCMY*	1430		
	WHBF*	1270	Mon	9:15 p
	WHBF-TV**	1270	Tues	9:30 p
	WHBF-TV**	4	Sun	3:00 p
Rockford	WREX-TV**	13	Sun	2:30 p
Sparta	WHCO*			

INDIANA

Anderson	WCBC*	1470		
	WCBC**	1470		
Bedford	WBIW*	1340	Sun	9:15 p
	WBIW**	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Bloomington	WTTV-TV**	4		
	WTTT*	1370		
	WTTT**	1370		
Columbus	WCSI*	1010		
	WCSI**	1010		
Connersville	WCNB*	1580		
	WCNB**	1580		
Elkhart	WSJV-TV**	52		
Evansville	WEHT-TV**	50		
	WEOA*	1400		
	WEOA**	1400		
Ft. Wayne	WANE*	1450		
	WOWO*	1190		
	WOWO**	1190		
	WKJG†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Frankfort	WILQ*	1570		
Gary	WGRY*	1370		
	WGRY**	1370		
Goshen	WKAM*	1460		
	WKAM**	1460		
Indianapolis	WISH-TV**	8		
	WIBC*	1070		
	WIBC**	1070	Sun	8:45 p
Jasper	WITZ*	990		
	WITZ**	990	Sun	1:00 p
Kokomo	WIOU*	1350		
Lafayette	WASK†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WFAM-TV**	59	Mon	9:00 p
La Porte	WLOI*	1540		
	WLOI**	1540		
Linton	WBTO*	1600		
	WBTO**	1600		
Logansport	WSAL*	1230	Thurs	9:30 p
	WSAL**	1230	Sun	12:15 p
Marion	WMRI*	860		
Madison	WORX*	1440		
	WORX**	1440		
Michigan City	WIMS*	1420		
	WIMS**	1420		
Mt. Vernon	WPCO*	1590		
	WPCO**	1590		
Muncie	WMUN*	104.1		
	WMUN**	104.1		
	WLBC-TV**	49		
	WLBC*	1340	Fri	10:15 p
New Castle	WCTW*	102.5		
	WCTW**	102.5		
North Vernon	WOCH*	1460		
	WOCH**	1460		
Peru	WARU*	1600		
	WARU**	1600		
Portland	WPGW*	1440		
	WPGW**	1440		
Salem	WSLM*	1220		
Seymour	WJCD*	1390	Sun	12:45 p
	WJCD**	1390	Sun.	5:00 p
South Bend	WSBT*	960		
	WSBT**	960		
	WSBT-TV**	34		
Terre Haute	WBOW*	1230		
	WBOW**	1230	Mon	4:00 p
Vincennes	WAOV*	1450		
	WAOV**	1450		
Washington	WAMW*	1580	Sun	6:15 p
	WAMW**	1580	Sun	11:30 a

IOWA

Cedar Rapids	KCRG†	1600	Mon	8:30 p
	KCRG**	9	Thurs	9:30 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	9:15 p
Fort Dodge	KQTV-TV**	21	Tues	9:30 p
	KVFD*	1400	Thurs	8:00 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	7:30 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
Hutchinson	KWHK†	1260	Sun	
Independence	KIND†	1010	Mon	8:30 p
Lawrence	KLWN*	1320	Sun	6:00 p
McPherson	KNEX*	1540	To be announced	
Pittsburgh	KSEK*	1340	Sat	6:00 p
	KSEK**	1340	Sun	9:00 p
Pratt	KWSK*	1570		
Salina	KSAL†	1150	Mon	8:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

First I wish to express my appreciation of the wonderful service rendered by FACTS FORUM. Your work contributes much toward the education of the American public on important current issues.

SISTER M. FRIDIAN PETERS
Saint Francis College
Fort Wayne, Indiana

. . . let me say that I have enjoyed reading your fine magazine. I am glad that such a worthwhile cause is enjoying such fine success.

EDWARD L. RILEY
15 Howe Street
Dorchester 25, Massachusetts

By chance, I tuned in to your program [Facts Forum Panel] today for the first time, and I was impressed greatly by the caliber of the discussion. The effective informal manner in which the subject was covered inspired me to write.

FRANK PALMER
732 Brady Street
Davenport, Iowa

Amid the great volume of reading that a legislator must do, I manage to find time to scan the *Facts Forum News*. I wish more Americans could read it in these confused times, when our people seem puzzled by the complexities that have come upon us in the last quarter century.

J. B. MOORE
House of Representatives
Sixty-seventh General Assembly
Jefferson City, Missouri

Facts Forum News is one magazine that should be in every home in the U.S.A. It's good for the home, farmer, business, government, and all.

SALTY HOLMES
Box 115
Mannsville, Kentucky

Keep up your poll. It does a valuable job.

RALPH W. WIDENER, JR.
Byrd High School
Shreveport, Louisiana

I know that you are doing a vitally necessary job and hope that the American people will wake up and start using their heads, particularly some of our representatives in Congress.

LEE J. PARISOR
1960 Tonst Street
Butte, Montana

The Orrington Development Committee would appreciate it if your office would place this committee on your mailing lists. The excellent work of your program is to be commended to all Americans.

DANIEL E. LAMBERT, Secretary
Orrington Development Committee
R. R. No. 3
South Brewer, Maine

I enjoy your television programs very much. My sincere appreciation for the voluminous research reflected in each well covered topic.

J. M. SMITH
4119 Denfeld Avenue
Kensington, Maryland

KENTUCKY

Benton	WCBL**	1290	Sun	6:00 p
	WCBL*	1290	Sun	9:30 p
Campbellsville	WTCO*	1150	To be announced	
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	WGRG†	790	Mon	8:30 p
Madisonville	WFMW**	730	Sun	1:30 p
	WFMW*	730		
Mayfield	WKTU*			
	WKTU**			
Monticello	WFLW*	1570	Sun	2:00 p
Murray	WNBS*	1340		
	WNBS**	1340		
Owensboro	WVJS*	1420		
Pikeville	WPKE†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Prestonsburg	WPRT*	960	To be announced	
Vancelev	WMTG*	730		
Winchester	WWKY*	1380		

LOUISIANA

Crowley	KSIG*	1450	To be announced	
	KSIG**	1450	Sun	4:00 p
Lake Charles	KTAG-TV**	25	Thurs	7:30 p
Mansfield	KDBC*	1360	Sun	4:30 p
Minden	KAPK*	1240	Sun	1:30 p
Monroe	KMLB*	1440	Sat	6:05 p
	KNOE-TV**	8	Sun	12:00 n
Natchitoches	KWCJ*	1450		
New Orleans	WJMR-TV**	20	Sun	4:00 p
	WJMR*		Retelecast	Tues 7:00 p
Opelousas	KSLO*	1230	Sun	8:15 p
	KSLO**	1230	Tues	8:00 p
Ruston	KRUS*	1490	Sun	6:15 p
Shreveport	KTBS*	710	Wed	9:45 p
Tallulah	KTLN*	1360	Sun	9:30 a

MAINE

Bangor	W-TWO-TV**	2		
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MARYLAND

Annapolis	WASL*	810		
Cambridge	WCEN**	1240	Sun	7:00 p
Salisbury	WBOC*	960	Mon	9:40 p

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston	WNAC†	680	Mon	9:30 p
	WTAO-TV**	56	Thurs	9:30 p
New Bedford	WBSM*			
Pittsfield	WMGT-TV**	74	Fri	7:30 p
West Yarmouth	WOCB*	1240	Fri	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	WBEK†	930	Mon	9:30 p
Cadillac	WATT†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
	WTVW-TV**	13	Thurs	7:30 p
Cheboygan	WCBY*	1240		
Coldwater	WTVB*	1590		
Detroit	WJBK*	1490	Sun	7:30 p
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		
Iron River	WIKB†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Ironwood	WJMS†	630	Mon	8:30 p
Lansing	WILS-TV**	54	Mon	8:30 p
Midland	WMDN*	1490		
Mt. Pleasant	WCEN*	1150		
Petoskey	WMEN†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Saginaw	WKNN-TV*	57	Mon	3:00 p
			Retelecast	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
Bemidji	KBUN†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KBMW*	1450	To be announced	
Grand Rapids	KBZY†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Minneapolis	KSTP*	1500	Sun	10:15 p
Red Wing	KAAA*	1250		

MISSISSIPPI

Aberdeen	WMPA*	1240	Sun	5:30 p
	WMPA**	1240	To be announced	
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
Clarksdale	WROX*	1450		
	WROX**	1450		
Columbus	WCBI*	1050		
	WCBI**	1050		
Corinth	WACR*	1050	Mon	10:30 p
Greenville	WGVN*	1260	Sun	6:30 p
	WGVN**	1260		
Greenwood	WGRM*	1240		
	WGRM**	1240		
Hattiesburg	WFOR*	1400	Tues	7:15 p
Indianola	WMLA*	1400		
	WMLA**	1400		

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

PENNSYLVANIA (Continued)

Carbondale	WCDL*	1230	Thurs	6:30 p
Carlisle	WHYL*	960	Sat	8:15 a
Coudersport	WFRM*	600	Sat	5:30 p
	WFRM*	600	Sun	1:30 p
Easton	WGLV-TV**	57	Sun	9:00 p
	WEST*	1400	Tues	10:15 p
Gettysburg	WGET*	1450	Sun	7:30 p
Johnstown	WARD-TV**	56	Tues	10:30 p
Lock Haven	WBPZ†	1230	Mon	9:30 p
Nanticoke	WHWL*	730		
New Castle	WKST†	1280	Mon	9:30 p
	WKST-TV**	45	Wed	8:30 p
Oil City	WKRZ†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Philadelphia	KYW*	1060	Sun	6:15 p
Pittsburgh	KDKA*	1020	Sun	10:15 p
Pittston	WPTS*	1540		
Pottsville	WPAM†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
	WPAM*	1450		
Scranton	WARM-TV**	16	Thurs	10:00 p
Shamokin	WISL†	1480	Mon	9:30 p
State College	WMAJ†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
St. Marys	WKBI†	1400	Sun	1:00 p
	WKBI†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Wellsboro	WNBT*	1570	To be announced	
Williamsport	WLYC*	1050	Sun	1:00 p
	WLYC*	1050	Sun	5:00 p
York	WNOW*	1250	Sun	5:30 p
	WNOW*	1250	Sun	3:30 p
	WNOW-TV*	49	Sun	8:00 p
	WSBA*	910		

PHILIPPINES

Manila	DZAQ-TV**	3	Mon	9:00 p
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PUERTO RICO

Mayaguez	WTIL**	1300		
San Juan	WHOA**	1400	Tues	8:00 p

SOUTH CAROLINA

Barnwell	WBAW**	740	Sat	6:00 p
Beaufort	WBEU*	960	Sun	
Bishopville	WAGS*	1380		
Camden	WACA*	1590	Sun	2:00 p
Charleston	WHAN*	1340		
Cheraw	WCRE*	1420	Sat	12:30 p
	WCRE*	1420		
Chester	WGCD*	1490		
	WGCD*	1490	Sun	6:30 p
Columbia	WCOS-TV**	25	Sun	2:30 p
	WIS*	560	Sun	1:15 p
Conway	WLAT†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Florence	WJMX**	970	Thurs	8:30 p
	WJMX*	1230	Sun	9:15 p
Georgetown	WGTN†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Greenville	WFBC*	1330	Wed	10:15 p
Greenwood	WGSW†	1350	Mon	9:30 p
Mullins	WJAY*	1280		
	WJAY*	1280		
Orangeburg	WTND*	920	Sun	7:00 p
Rock Hill	WTYC*	1150	Sat	6:00 p
Seneca	WSNW*	1150	Sun	5:15 p
Spartanburg	WSPA*	950	Sun	2:00 p
Sumter	WFIG†	1340	Mon	9:30 p

SOUTH DAKOTA

Brookings	KBRK*	1430		
Mitchell	KORN†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Rapid City	KRSD†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
	KRSD*	1340	Sun	2:00 p
Watertown	KWAT†	950	Mon	8:30 p

TENNESSEE

Athens	WLAR**	1450		
Chattanooga	WAGC†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	WMFS*	1260		
Clarksville	WDXN*	540		
Cleveland	WBAC†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Cookeville	WHUB**	1400	Thurs	9:00 p
Dyersburg	WDSG*	1450	Thurs	6:45 p
	WDSG†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Harriman	WDEH*	800		
	WDEH**	800		
	WHBT*	1230		
	WHBT*	1230		
Jackson	WTJS*	1390	Tues	9:45 p
	WTJS*	1390	Thurs	
	WDXI†	1310	Mon	8:30 p
Johnson City	WJHL-TV**	11	Tues	6:00 p
Knoxville	WKXV*	900		
	WKXV*	900		
	WTSK-TV*	26	Thurs	8:00 p
Lawrenceburg	WDXE*	1370	Sun	12:30 p
Lebanon	WCOR*	900		
	WCOR*	900		
Lexington	WDXL*	1490	Sun	8:30 p
Maryville	WGAP*	1400		
Memphis	WHBQ*	560	Sat	6:30 p
Morristown	WCRK†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Murfreesboro	WGSN*	1450	Sun	2:30 p
Nashville	WSM*	650	Fri	10:15 p
Newport	WLK*	1270		
	WLK*	1270		
Paris	WTPR*	710	Sun	12:30 p
	WTPR†	710	Mon	8:30 p
Pulaski	WKR*	1420	Mon	7:15 p
Sevierville	WSEV*	950		
South Pittsburgh	WEP*	910	To be announced	
	WEP*	910	To be announced	
Sparta	WSMT*	1050	Sun	1:15 p
Springfield	WDBL*	1430	Sun	2:15 p
Union City	WENK*	1240	Tues	7:15 p
Winchester	WCDT†	1340	Mon	8:30 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

I am so proud of what you are doing and striving to do to save our country and its freedoms; and it thrills me to the very marrow to feel that, in an infinitesimal way, I can be a part of the struggle. It is a very happy experience to feel I can do my little share for better information and for an awakened citizenship.

MISS DAISY MCCUTCHEON
400 14th Avenue
Dillon, South Carolina

Your program, FACTS FORUM, is doing a great job in the field of information. The people of the United States and the world need the facts so they can understand the many problems of our time.

RALPH H. LEER
Vermillion, South Dakota

Since receiving the first copy of your fine magazine, *Facts Forum News*, no opportunity to say a good word for your organization is overlooked. In fact, sometimes an opportunity is purposely created, for I consider FACTS FORUM one of the finest organizations in America—patriotic, informative and extremely stimulating.

MRS. M. K. ALSTON, SR.
112 Hathaway
Houston, Texas

Our students are commenting on the constructive job you are accomplishing of keeping the public informed.

ALFRIEDA GREEN
Meharry Medical College
Nashville 8, Tennessee

God bless your grand work for America. I'm with you all the way.

MERLE JACKSON, JR.
Bennett Court
Bellows Falls, Vermont

We, here at the hospital and in Staunton, too, love the *Facts Forum News* and we are very dependent on it. It is most informative and educational, and we consider it the very best magazine published.

MRS. A. G. VAUGHAN
Drawer 1080, W.S. H.
Staunton, Virginia

Your programs are a welcome contrast to much that comes over the air and through the press.

OTTIS F. KELLY
703 A So. 4th Ave.
Yakima, Washington

I listen to and watch your [Facts Forum Panel] program over WSAL-TV. I think it is very educational.

MRS. JOE BLACKWELL
Box 7
Corrine, West Virginia

If more people would read a magazine like *Facts Forum News* the world would be very different. Half the people don't know what really is going on in the world and in government today.

MRS. MARIE REICHARD
644-12 St.
Oshkosh, Wisconsin

TEXAS

Ablene	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
	KFDM*	560	Mon	9:15 p
Beeville	KIBL*	1490	Sun	8:15 p
	KIBL*	1490	Mon	7:00 p
Big Spring	KTXC†	1400	Mon	8:30 p
Bonham	KFYN*	1420	Sun	12:15 p
	KFYN*	1420	Sat	9:00 a
Borger	KHUZ†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Breckenridge	KSTB*	1430	Sun	12:45 p
Brownsville	KBOR*	1600	Sat	7:00 p
Brownwood	KBWD†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
Bryan	KORA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Clarksville	KCAR*	1350	Sun	4:30 p
Cleburne	KCLE*	1120	Sun	1:15 p
College Station	WTAW*	1150	Fri	8:45 a
Colorado City	KVME*	1320	Sun	12:30 p
Corpus Christi	KRIS*	1360	Wed	9:45 p
	KVDO-TV**	22	Sat	1:30 p
Crockett	KIVY*	1290	Thurs	1:00 p
	KIVY*	1290	Tues	1:00 p
Dallas	KRLD-TV**	4	Sat	2:45 p*

(*following Major League Baseball and Sportscast)

	WFAA*	820	Wed	9:45 p
	WFAA**	570	Mon	10:30 p
Eastland	KERC*	1590	Sun	4:00 p
El Paso	KEPO*	690	Sun	8:15 p
	KEPO**	690		
Freeport	KBRZ**	1460	Sun	1:00 p
Fredericksburg	KNAF†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Gainsville	KGAF*	1580	Sun	12:45 p
Greenville	KGVL*	1400	Sun	1:15 p
Houston	KPRC*	950	Wed	9:45 p
Huntsville	KSAM†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Jacksonville	KEBE*	1400		
Kermit	KERB*	600	Sun	1:00 p
Kilgore	KOCA*	1240		
Kingsville	KINE*	1330	Sun	6:00 p
Lamesa	KPET*	690	Sun	7:15 p
Levelland	KLVTV*	1230	Sun	1:00 p
Littlefield	KVOW*	1490	Sun	1:15 p
Longview	KLTI**	1280	Sun	3:00 p
	KLTI*	1280	Sun	12:30 p
Lubbock	KTVE-TV*	32	Sun	6:30 p
Lufkin	KDUB-TV*	13	Sun	12:00 n
	KTRE*	1420	Sat	6:15 p
	KTRE†	1420	Mon	8:30 p
	KTRE-TV**	9	Fri	10:30 p
Marlin	KMLW*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
Midland	KCRS*	550	Fri	7:00 p
	KJBC*	1150	Sun	12:00 n
Monahans	KVKM†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Mt. Pleasant	KIMP*	960		
Nacogdoches	KSFA*	860	Sun	2:30 p
Pampa	KPAT*	1230		
Pecos	KIUN*	1400	Tues	7:30 p
Port Arthur	KPAC*	1250	Mon	9:30 p
Post	KRW*	1370		
San Angelo	KTXL-TV**	8	Sun	6:30 p
San Antonio	WOAT*	1200	Wed	9:45 p
	WOAT-TV**	4	Sun	1:00 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	12:45 p
Sulphur Springs	KSS†	1230	Sun	6:45 p
Sweetwater	KXOX†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Texarkana	KTFS*	1400	To be announced	
Tyler	KLTV-TV**	7	Wed	10:00 p
Vernon	KVWC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
Victoria	KVIC†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Waco	KANG-TV**	34	Sat	3:30 p
	KRGV*	1290	Wed	9:45 p
Weslaco	KRGV-TV**	5	Fri	8:30 p
Wichita Falls	KWFT-TV**	6	Tues	9:30 p

UTAH

Logan	KVNU†	610	Mon	7:30 p
Price	KOAL†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Salt Lake City	KSL*	1160	Sun	2:15 p
	KWHO*	1340	Mon	6:00 p
Vernal	KJAM*	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,	WIVI*	1230	To be announced	
St. Croix	WSTA**	1340	To be announced	
St. Thomas				

VIRGINIA

Arlington	WEAM**	1390	Tues	10:00 p
Bedford	WBTL†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Charlottesville	WCHV*	1240	Mon	7:30 p
	WCHV**	1240	Thurs	9:00 p
Crewe	WVS*	800		
Galax	WBOB†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Hopewell	WHAP*	1340	To be announced	
	WHAP*	1340	To be announced	
Lexington	WREL*	1450	Sat	7:15 p
	WREL*	1450	Sun	6:30 p
Norfolk-Hampton	WVEC-TV*	15	Sat	5:00 p

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

MISSISSIPPI (Continued)

Jackson	WRBC†	1300	Mon	8:30 p
	WJTV-TV**	12	Tues	6:00 p
	WLBT-TV**	3		
McComb	WAPF*	1010	Sun	2:00 p
	WAPF**	1010	To be announced	
Philadelphia	WHOC**	1490	Sun	6:45 p
Starkville	WSSO*	1230	Tues	6:15 p
	WSSO**	1230	Fri	6:30 p
Tupelo	WELO*	1490		
	WELO**	1490		
West Point	WROB*	1450	Tues	7:00 p
	WROB**	1450	Thurs	7:00 p
Yazoo City	WAZF†	1230	Mon	8:30 p

MISSOURI

Cape Girardeau	KFVS†	960	Mon	8:30 p
Charleston	KCHR*	1350	To be announced	
Clinton	KDKD**	1280	Sun	12:00 p
Hannibal	KHMO†	1070	Mon	8:30 p
Jefferson City	KLK†	950	Sun	1:45 p
	KWOS†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
	KFSB*	1310	Sun	3:30 p
Joplin	WMBH†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSWM-TV**	12	Tues	
Lebanon	KLWT†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Maryville	KNIM*	1580	Sun	2:45 p
	KNIM**	1580	Fri	3:45 p
Moberly	KNCM*	1230	Sun	1:30 p
Nevada	KNEB*	1240	Sun	1:05 p
Poplar Bluff	KWOC*	930	Sun	6:30 p
St. Joseph	KFEQ-TV*	2	Sun	1:00 p
St. Louis	KWK†	1380	Mon	8:30 p
	KFUO*	850	Thurs	3:45 p
Ste. Genevieve	KSGM*	980	Wed	7:45 p
	KSGM**	980		
Sedalia	KDRO†	1490	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIS*	1050	To be announced	
Springfield	KICK†	1340	Mon	8:30 p
Trenton	KTTN**	1600	Sun	5:30 p

MONTANA

Anaconda	KANA*	1230	To be announced	
Billings	KGHL*	790	Thurs	7:30 p
Bozeman	KXLQ*	1230	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLQ**	1230	Sat	
Butte	KXL†	1370	Sat	9:00 p
	KXL**	1370	To be announced	
	KXL-TV**	6	Sun	9:45 p
Glasgow	KLTV*	1240	Tues	7:30 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
Helena	KXLJ*	1240	Sat	9:00 p
	KCAP†	1340	Mon	7:30 p
	KXLJ**	1240	To be announced	
Lewiston	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		
Missoula	KXLL*	1450	Sat	9:00 p
	KXLL**	1450	To be announced	
	KGVO-TV**	13	Fri	9:30 p
Shelby	KIY†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
Sidney	KGX†	1480	Mon	7:30 p

NEBRASKA

Chadron	KCSR**	1450	To be announced	
	KCSR*	1450		
Columbus	KJSK*	900		
Hastings	KHAS†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
McCook	KBRL†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Norfolk	WJAG**	780	Sat	10:15 a
Scottsbluff	KNEB*	960	Mon	7:30 p
York	KAWL*	1370		

NEVADA

Ely	KELY*	1230		
Reno	KZTV-TV**	8	Sun	3:00 p

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Manchester	WMUR-TV**	9	To be announced	
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NEW JERSEY

Atlantic City	WLDB**	1490		
	WLDB*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Millville	WMLV**	1440	Sun	
Pleasantville	WOND*	1400		
	WOND**	1400		
South Orange	WSOU*			
	WSOU**			

NEW MEXICO

Clayton	KLMX*	1450	Tues	6:30 p
Hobbs	KWEW†	1490	Mon	7:30 p
Las Vegas	KFUN†	1230	Mon	7:30 p
	KFUN*	1230	Fri	9:15 p
Portales	KENM*	1450	Wed	7:15 p
	KENM**	1450	Fri	6:30 p
Roswell	KSWB-TV**	8	Sun	2:30 p
Tucumcari	KTNM*	1400		

NEW YORK

Albany	WPTR†	1540	Sun	9:30 p
Amsterdam	WCSS*	1490		
Auburn	WMBO†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Binghamton	WKOP†	1360	Mon	9:30 p
Bronx	WFUV-FM*	90.7	Fri	7:45 p
Buffalo	WXRA*	1080	Sun	9:30 a
Dunkirk	WFCB*	1410		
Elmira	WTVE-TV**	24	Sun	6:30 p
Hornell	WVHG*	1320		
Hudson	WHUC*	1230	Wed	7:30 p
Kingston	WKNY-TV**	66	Fri	10:00 p
Little Falls	WLFH*	1230		
Malone	WICY†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
	WICY*	1490	Mon	7:15 p
	WICY*	1490	Tues	7:15 p

What they're saying . . .



about FACTS FORUM

We listen to your program on WLW-R and find it very stimulating and informative, and wish there were more such programs. Thank you again for your pro-America magazine . . .

MRS. L. PEARL FROHLIGER
1558 Brandon Ave., Mt. Washington
Cincinnati 30, Ohio

Facts Forum News is an outstanding factual publication. Be proud of your patriotism. We need more of your kind. When you read something in *Facts Forum News*, you need never wonder if it is true—you know it.

KAREN FADELEY
196 Omar Avenue
Struthers, Ohio

We are enjoying each copy of *Facts Forum News* as it arrives. It gives so much information, unbiased, truthful, and provokes serious thought.

MRS. ERNEST S. BROWN
624 Manor Drive
Reno, Nevada

I enjoy reading *Facts Forum News* very much and feel it is sincerely a dedication of truth and freedom.

BESS GEBHART
1920 North Maplewood
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Please accept my profound appreciation for the invaluable service you are rendering our nation.

JOHN P. McHALE
89 North Munn Avenue
East Orange, New Jersey

Never in all my listening have I heard such a persuasive talk as that given by Mr. Fred Schwarz. No punches called, no time wasted in padded sentences. It was a book in fifteen minutes.

MRS. THOMAS D. MACKEY, SR.
1 Bronxville Road
Bronxville 8, New York

Assuring you of my admiration for all at FACTS FORUM and the splendid work you all are doing to encourage patriotism and outwit communism.

MRS. C. JOSEPH NOWAK
15 St. Pauls Road, South
Hempstead, New York

You publish an excellent magazine and your polls will do much to stir up public opinion in favor of good old fashioned Americanism.

STEPHEN F. SMETANA
505 Ninth Avenue
Munhall, Pennsylvania

I enjoy *Facts Forum News*. It keeps one alert on national issues and is a "must" on my reading list. As your letterhead states, it "dispels apathy" and this the public needs.

MISS SUSIE A. BESSOR
420 South Second Street
Chambersburg, Pennsylvania

NEW YORK (Continued)

New York	WOR*	710	Sat	6:15 p
	WOR†	710	Mon	9:30 p
	WPIX-TV**		Sun	12:00 n
N'th Albany	WROW-TV**	41	Fri	9:00 p
Plattsburg	WIRY†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Port Jervis	WDLG**	1490	Wed	7:00 p
Ticonderoga	WIPS*			
Watertown	WATN†	1240	Mon	9:30 p

NORTH CAROLINA

Asheboro	WGWR*	1260	Tues	6:45 p
Asheville	WWNC*	570	Sat	6:30 p
	WLOS-TV**	13	Sun	3:30 p
Belmont	WCGC*	1270		
Brevard	WPNF*	1240		
	WPNF**	1240		
Burlington	WBBS*	920	Sun	1:00 p
Charlotte	WBT*	1110	Sun	5:30 p
Concord	WEGO*	1410		
	WEGO**	1410	Wed	10:00 a
Elizabeth City	WCNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Forrest City	WBBO*	780	Mon	7:15 p
	WBBO**	780	Sun	5:30 p
Greensboro	WBIG*	1470	Sun	12:30 p
Henderson	WHNC†	890	Mon	9:30 p
Hickory	WIRC*	630		
High Point	WNOS*	1590	Sun	3:00 p
	WNOS**	1590	Sun	
Jacksonville	WJNC†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Kings Mountain	WKMT*	1220		
	WKMT**	1220		
Leaksville	WLOE†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Lenoir	WJRI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Lexington	WBUR**	1450	Thurs	7:30 p
	WBUR*	1450		
Mt. Airy	WPAQ*	740	Sun	1:15 p
New Bern	WHIT†	1450	Mon	9:30 p
Raleigh	WNAO-TV**	28	Mon	9:30 p
	WPTF*	680	Sun	1:15 p
	WRAL†	1240	Mon	9:30 p
Roxboro	WRXO*	1490		
Salisbury	WSAT*	1280	Wed	8:00 p
	WSTP†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Statesville	WSTC†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Tyrone	WTYN*	1580		
Wallace	WLSE†	1400	Mon	9:30 p
Washington	WHED*	1340	Wed	9:30 p
	WHED**	1340		
Wilmington	WGNI†	1340	Mon	9:30 p
Winston-Salem	WMFD-TV**	6	Tues	10:30 p
	WTOB-TV**	26	Sun	5:30 p

NORTH DAKOTA

Devils Lake	KDLR†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Dickinson	KDIX*	1230		
	KDIX*	1230		
Fargo	WDAY-TV**	6	Sun	4:00 p
			alternating Sun	4:30 p
Hettinger	KNDC*	1490	Sun	4:30 p
Valley City	KOVC†	1490	Mon	8:30 p

OHIO

Ashtabula	WICA**	970	Sat	8:00 p
	WICA-TV**	15	Wed	8:00 p
Canton	WCMW*	1060	Sun	12:15 p
Cincinnati	WLW*	700	Sun	12:30 p
Cleveland	WHK†	1420	Mon	9:30 p
	WDOK*	1260		
Coshocton	WTNS*	1560		
Elyria	WEOL*	930	Sun	9:45 a
	WEOL**	930	Wed	7:30 p
Gallipolis	WJEH*	990		
Lima	WIMA-TV*	73	Sun	1:30 p
Hamilton	WMOH**	1450	Sun	12:30 p
Marietta	WMOA†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Middletown	WPFB*	910	Mon	7:45 p
Newark	WCLT**	1430	Sun	6:30 p
Portsmouth	WNXT*	1260	Mon	8:15 p
Toledo	WSPD*	1370	Mon	8:15 p
Warren				
Youngstown	WHHH†	1440	Mon	9:30 p
Youngstown	WFMJ*	1390	Sat	6:45 p
Zanesville	WHIZ-TV**	18	Sun	3:30 p

OKLAHOMA

Altus	KWHW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Blackwell	KBWL**	1580	Wed	10:30 a
Cushing	KWHP*	1600	Sun	12:45 p
Duncan	KRHD†	1350	Mon	8:30 p
Elk City	KASA†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Enid	KCRC*	1390	Sun	10:15 p
Miami	KGLC*	910		
Oklahoma City	KOMA*	1520	Sat	5:45 p
	KTVQ-TV**	25	Sun	9:30 p
Okmulgee	KHBG†	1240	Mon	8:30 p
Ponca City	WBBZ†	1230	Mon	8:30 p
Poteau	KLCO*	1280		
	KLCO**	1280		
Shawnee	KGFF†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
Tulsa	KTUL*	1430	Tues	9:45 p
	KVOO*	1170	Thurs	9:30 p
Woodward	KSIW†	1450	Mon	8:30 p
	KSIW*	1450		

OREGON

Hillsboro	KRTV**	1360	Sun	1:00 p
McMinnville	KMCM*	1260	Sun	7:45 p
	KMCM**	1260	Wed	8:45 p

PENNSYLVANIA

Barnesboro	WNCC*	950		
Bradford	WESB†	1490	Mon	9:30 p
Butler	WBUT*	1050	Sun	12:45 p
	WBUT**	97.7	Sun	12:45 p
	WBUT*	1050	Sun	4:30 p

(Continued on Page 64)

*Facts Forum; **Facts Forum Panel; †Reporters Roundup

CONTEST RULES

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS:

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 75 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS for persons specified by winner; second award, \$10 cash plus 50 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; third award, 30 six-month subscriptions to FF NEWS; with a token award of five six-month subscriptions for all other letters which Facts Forum publishes.

SECOND HALF OF 1955 CONTEST:

The letters submitted by you for the monthly contest will be held in competition for the half-year contest ending December 31, 1955. A judging committee different from the monthly contest and not used heretofore will be selected for this contest. First award, \$200; second, \$100; third, \$50.

SLOGAN:

An award of \$10 will be given for the best slogan adopted for use the following month. Closing date is four days prior to the closing of the Facts Forum Poll each month. 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 \$10.00 for each question selected by our judges for such use. Questions for the contest must not contain more than 72 characters, including spaces, so as not to exceed one line on the Poll. **EACH PERSON MAY ENTER ONLY THREE QUESTIONS IN THE 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.

SUBJECT FOR PROGRAM:

Send questions to be discussed on the **FACTS FORUM PANEL** programs to Facts Forum, Dallas, Texas. Those who send questions which become the subject of a broadcast will receive a U.S. savings bond.

QUESTIONS FOR REPORTERS' ROUNDUP:

Send questions for this program to **REPORTERS' ROUNDUP**, Mutual Broadcasting System, Washington, D. C. The best three questions submitted will receive Cyma dual-purpose clocks.

PROVOCATIVE PROSE:

Send quotations worth reading and remembering. Be sure to list authors and sources. Persons sending in excerpts printed 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 of entries, the one with the earliest postmark will be used.



Award Winners



LETTERS to the EDITORS

1st Award

THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY

To the *New York Herald Tribune*:

In your editorial entitled "Khrushchev Explains," you state: "If Russia wants to end the cold war, it can be done on honorable terms." This would indeed be quite an achievement, considering that the enemy does not know the meaning of "honor."

Would not our wisest course be to capitalize on the weaknesses that have lately appeared within the Soviet slave state—and how better accomplish this than by constantly exploiting the issue of the enslaved satellites?

Above all, let us not be beguiled by the spectacle of Khrushchev and Co. sipping Scotch in the garden of the American Embassy. We are still dealing with unconscionable cutthroats, no matter how broadly they grin or how many backs they slap.

John C. Schaefer, Jr.

555 Broadway

Hastings-on-Hudson, New York

* * *

2nd Award

REFUGEES

To the *Baltimore News-Post*:

Hearings before a subcommittee of the Judiciary to amend the 1953 Refugee Relief Law have been held and it is disturbing to learn of the President's determination to weaken our basic immigration plan. In 1950 it was estimated that from 2 to 5 million aliens were illegally in the United States.

I wish there was a similar zeal on the part of the Administration and Congress to recover our own flesh and blood—the hundreds of American citizens still imprisoned by the Reds.

Do you suppose that in our time national leaders will think first of what's good for our country? The British leaders do!

Mrs. A. F. Jenkins

4000 North Charles St.

Baltimore 18, Maryland

* * *

3rd Award

CONFERENCES WITH REDS

To the *Sacramento Bee*:

Four of our presidents refused to recognize Russia but F.D.R. did. He recognized and supported the Russians. They have been making suckers out of us ever since.

We have conferences with the Russians. We negotiate. We get a piece of paper, the Russians get a piece of land.

Every time we have any dealings with them they win, we lose. We had better

break off diplomatic relations with them and get them out of the UN or else get out ourselves before we become completely brainwashed.

Mrs. B. Leonhardt

819 Sixth Street

Modesto, California

* * *

4th Award

NO ASSURANCE

To the *Boston Post*:

Your editorial "UNdermining Independence" is strikingly conspicuous among hazy, misleading or actually false press releases customarily offered to the public, for its keen perception and clear understanding of the Bricker Amendment issue.

Our tendency for wishful thinking and resultant failure to foresee the inevitable ruinous consequences of our political dullness or apathy, from distressing events of the past, is leading us rapidly toward destruction of our representative republic.

The UN has already deprived the United States of sovereignty in several instances and the status of our commitment as a signer of the UN Charter is of such uncertain nature that we have at the present time no assurance whatever that the laws of any state will be held valid, if tested in connection with our commitment as a signer of that treaty.

Mrs. Beatrice J. Brown

230 Main Street, Brattleboro, Vermont

* * *

5th Award

THE MAN ON FORMOSA

To *Time Magazine*:

This is a bit late, but I must thank you for the great service you did with your story on Chiang Kai-shek and Formosa (April 18). My family has lived all over China for the past 80 years and for three generations. Chiang has done more for the freedom of his people, for advancement of progress, and for an open door to the rest of the world than any Chinese leader before him or since.

It is a horrifying thing that a man and country can be pushed to ruin by a Communist smear campaign, which was carefully nurtured and spread by foolish and ignorant Communist admirers. Your story gave, all in all, an excellent picture of Chiang, his virtues, faults and tremendous problems. I sincerely hope it brings a bright clear light to so many people who have been very foggy on this issue.

Edith Fitch Troychak

Ossining, New York

6th Award ON FEDERAL AID TO COMMUNITIES

To the *Houston Chronicle*:

Many areas of the country (including Houston) apparently are unable to provide adequate police protection for their citizens. Since equal protection is guaranteed to all citizens, I propose that federal funds be made available to these areas so that local police forces can be implemented.

Of course, this would mean some federal interference in local law enforcement and the concentration of a great deal of power in the hands of the person who administers these funds. However, since all politicians who wind up in Washington are automatically men of unquestioned integrity and honesty, one should have little fear that this power would be abused.

Certainly America is incapable of producing a Himmler or Gestapo. We have no more to fear from federal aid to local police forces than we have from federal aid to education, social welfare, or any other function that is the prime responsibility of the immediate community.

Patrick Black

5405 Ashby St., Houston, Texas

7th Award RED THREAT

To the *Los Angeles Times*:

Twenty-four years ago, Russia's Dmitry Z. Manuilski, who was later to chair the United Nations Security Council in 1949, said:

"War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 years or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. We shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down we shall smash them with our clenched fist."

Is the present softening of Soviet aggression the beginning of the fulfillment of Manuilski's promise to the Communists 24 years ago?

David L. Roscoe, Col., U. S. Army, Ret.
Riviera Country Club
Pacific Palisades, California

8th Award UNION LABOR

To the *San Antonio Light*:

As a lifelong friend of labor, I fear that the sort of automation union labor must guard against is where the union laborer obeys the boss as the automatic machine obeys the touch of its operator

or as labor obeys in Russia and Red China.

The men responsible for GAW pretend that they want to create a favored caste at the expense of the general public which in itself is disgusting to American labor which wants a fair break and does not want to conspire against the people of the nation.

However, when Socialist labor dictators and Socialist industrial tycoons get together it does not make for a favored caste but instead Russian-type socialism.

The grin on the faces of these conspirators does not indicate pious joy over a victory for "the downtrodden masses." It does register unholy glee over a personal triumph.

John W. Bashaw

P. O. Box 727
Carrizo Springs, Texas

9th Award MORE WASTED MONEY

To the *Boston Post*:

The question has been asked: What has become of the American tradition of courage? What has become of the spirit of our forefathers, the spirit that brought these men across the ocean to carve their homes out of the wilderness?

It is not in the traditional spirit that one blast from Communist propagandists should cause our national leaders to slink with fear and beg for money to offset this barrage of words flooding our country.

The money just voted by Congress for our propaganda will be more to be thrown away by the United States Information Agency and Voice of America.

The two agencies have never pictured America and her people except as fools and braggarts. Never once do they give a true picture of the hard-working, God-fearing, generous people of America who have given so much of their "blood, sweat and tears," that the rest of the world may be free.

Mrs. Eleanor G. Price

Route 2, Dover, New Hampshire

10th Award "STASSENISM"

To the *New York Journal*:

With plenty of American families not being able to make ends meet, we have Harold E. Stassen pleading for \$40,000,000 for Tito and \$70,000,000 for India. Remember when Japan hit us with our own steel? Well, some day Tito and Nehru will hit us with this "Stassen steel."

A. F. Sheekey

1710 West St.
Union City, New Jersey

11th Award OPPOSES FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOLS

To the *Dallas News*:

If Southern states expect to continue

in control of their school systems, they will stay clear of federal grants. Any federal grant will have strings tied to it that will take all rights away from the State Legislature, thus compelling the citizens of each state not only to teach what is prescribed by the government, but it would give the government power to seat any race, color or creed as it sees fit.

This federal grant is another means of tenure over the American people. The billion-dollar federal grant as proposed is merely a drop in the bucket when scattered over the whole U. S. and its possessions compared to the value of our money today.

It is a known fact that many of our states maintain educational facilities that are far superior to what the District of Columbia has, and it is under the control of the federal government.

William E. Wells

Box 537, Crowell, Texas

12th Award CALLS IMMIGRATION A THREAT

To the *Louisville Courier-Journal*:

The immigrant has brought greatness and everything else to our land. Let us stop and think what else; enough is enough. The time has come to call a halt.

We have all we can do to care for our own people. Let Europe care for her surplus people, using up the vast wealth stored over there.

Soon we will be overpopulated, our ideals trodden underfoot. Charity begins at home. We owe our children a chance.

Our ancestors came to a wild, new land and made it what it is. It is ours and we want it. Many of those who immigrate here will be used by political machines and be voted in blocs to rob us of our dearly-bought liberties. I protest a soft immigration policy as a threat to our freedom and our national welfare.

Lillian Pearl Liter

Route 1, Bedford, Kentucky

13th Award HOOVER'S CONTRIBUTION

To the *Washington Post*:

One would expect public clamor for action on the Hoover Commission's recommendations for vital economics and efficient practices in government. But powerful vested interests have contrived a climate of stony silence. Evidently, most of us who were wringing our hands about "the mess in Washington" are sitting on them now instead of urging the White House and Congress to act on the report. Surely, here is the blueprint we voted for to make Washington unsafe for bureaucracy.

Herbert Hoover, in referring to his whipping boy status, once wryly observed: "They even named a depression after me." Certainly his monumental effort to get the monkey off the backs of American taxpayers should coin the

term, "Hooverize," as a symbol of efficient government practices.

Patricia McDonough
25 Monroe Place, Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

14th Award **CHURCH COUNCIL** **ATTACKS KNOWLAND** To the *Los Angeles Times*:

I was shocked and grieved that the president of the National Council of Churches should launch an intemperate, bitter and unfounded attack on Senator William Knowland.

California church people agree Dr. Eugene Carson Blake is entitled to say anything he wishes but we question the propriety of anyone holding the position of president of National Council of Churches coming here to preach a "sermon" of slander against a man elected

to the Senate.

Dr. Blake is quoted as assailing the "isolationism" and "go-it-alone-ism" of Senator Knowland. Everyone in California, including the Communists, knows the Senator is no isolationist.

Dr. Blake argued "for extension of the reciprocal trade treaties because it is the right and the Christian thing to do." He should know that good Christians in California, as elsewhere, are divided on this issue. There is no "Christian issue" involved.

Mrs. Dan Gilbert
4530 Live Oak Drive
Claremont, California

15th Award **ENFORCING COURT'S WILL** To the *Dallas News*:

Personally, I cannot think of anything

more asinine than the spectacle of an individual or a group in authority issuing an order they cannot enforce. It is a position, for example, which I avoid assiduously in dealing with my children.

Such is the position in which the packed, considerably less-than-august body of our Supreme Court has placed itself. I suggest that the American people, who do not want their social, economic, scholastic, or religious lives dictated by the NAACP, or any other minority pressure group, take no action whatever—and simply let the U. S. Supreme Court enforce its ruling on "desegregation" by whatever means it can.

Mrs. Leonard Rachal
3109 McKinney Avenue
Dallas, Texas

BOOK REVIEWS

(Continued from Page 54)

There should now be sufficient evidence that humanity has some steps to retrace, some fallacies to reject, some hatred and willful purposes to relinquish. The conditions of peace are simple and fundamentally moral; hence, they do not lend themselves to programs which involve the controlling of others, for they are well within the reach and choice of every individual. International armies—"police forces"—are instruments of war, not peace. Coercion and regimentation introduced into human relations is the elemental act of war; it is the fundamental essence of aggression. Coercion, and the control of one human intellect by another—ingredients present in so much proposed human organization for peace—procure conflict, not peace. Whenever there is coercion in place of persuasion, despotic physical or mental control in place of self-determination, collectivism in place of individual freedom, there is the seed of war. The cure is not more of the same, on a global scale.

Sisley Huddleston has shown the mental despotism of the techniques of promoting crowd contagion through propaganda, misinformation and false counsel—of exercising power through suggestion and popular pressure. It is a safe bet that *Popular Diplomacy and War* will be vigorously opposed or discreetly ignored by avid adherents of popular diplomacy with its dramatism and sensationalism, its sense of personal power in the manipulation of popular prejudice and emotion. The book will antagonize many of those who are "crusaders" for personally favored "plans" for peace, as well as some who are belligerently nationalistic. But for the great portion of people who are seriously interested in a step-by-step working out of the difficulties in foreign relations,

this book holds much of value. It leads the reader to a re-evaluation of his own views concerning the problems facing the world. For this reason there is a moderating message for those of all viewpoints. It is to be hoped that this book will contribute to a growing awareness that the road to "peace" is peace itself—not war, intervention, coercion or any other manner of open or covert despotism.

—G. W. DEARMOND, JR.

CIVIL DEFENSES

(Continued from Page 57)

not needed in New York should not be here. The city can be destroyed and if the people are still here they'll be destroyed with it. I also believe that people have to die. And those that are essential to New York City, so that we have a city to come back to if the Russians don't destroy it, must stay here and then if it falls to their lot to be in the area of destruction so they'd be killed, well, God bless them!

BURT: General, are you saying—just one little more point, there—are you saying that it's a very remote possibility that the Russians could launch a Pearl Harbor type of surprise attack?

HUEBNER: Well, it's never beyond possibility. However, there would be an awful lot of failures on the part of government if we allowed this to happen to us.

BURT: In other words, General, it would be just a tremendous—one of the worst catastrophes, probably, in the history of man if they did launch a surprise attack and it were successful, on the island of Manhattan?

HUEBNER: That's right. However, I would like to say this: that our civil defense is geared to just that very problem—for those who are still alive and are in need of assistance, the rest of the country must come to their assistance and it's only through organized effort that this can be brought about.

RADIO and TV **SCHEDULES**

(Continued from Page 61)

VIRGINIA (Continued)

Newport News	WACH-AM**	1270	To be announced
	WACH-TV**	33	To be announced
Orange	WJMA**	1340	Sun 9:30 p
Richmond	WMBG*	1380	
Roanoke	WSLS-TV**	10	Sun 3:00 p
Staunton	WAFC*	900	Sun 12:00 n
Suffolk	WLPM*	1450	
	WLPM**	1450	
Waynesboro	WAYB*	1490	To be announced
Winchester	WINC-WRFL*	1400	Tues 5:45 p

WASHINGTON

Colfax	KCLX*	1450	
Grand Coulee	KFDR**	1400	Sun 3:30 p
Moses Lake	KSEM*	1450	Wed 6:30 p
	KSEM**	1450	Sat 8:30 p
Pullman	KOFE*	1150	Sun 10:45 a
	KOFE**	1150	Sun 2:00 p
Seattle	KOMO*	1000	Mon 6:30 p
Spokane	KHQ-TV**	6	Sun 4:30 p
Tacoma	KTAC*	850	Wed 9:15 p
Yakima	KYAK*	1390	

WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield	WKQY†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
Elkins	WDNE†	1240	Mon 9:30 p
Huntington	WPLH†	1450	Mon 9:30 p
Morgantown	WAJR†	1230	Mon 9:30 p
New Martinsville	WETZ*	1330	Fri 10:00 a
Oak Hill	WOAY-TV**	4	Sun 5:00 p
Ronceverte	WRON*	1400	
	WRON**	1400	
Wheeling	WKWK*	1400	Sun 10:15 p
Williamson	WBTH†	1400	Mon 9:30 p

WISCONSIN

Appleton	WHBY†	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	WLCX†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
Madison	WMFM*	104.1	Sun 8:00 p
Manitowoc	WWOC*	980	To be announced
Medford	WIGM†	1490	Mon 8:30 p
Reedsburg	WRDB*	1400	Sun 6:30 p
Richland Center	WRCO*	1450	To be announced
Two Rivers	WTRW*	1590	To be announced
	WTRW**	1590	To be announced

WYOMING

Casper	KVOC*	1230	Sun 7:15 p
Cody	KODI*	1400	Tues 6:30 p
Lander	KOVE†	1230	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

Attention Facts Forum Poll Voters

Please note that in the future poll cards will not be mailed separately from *Facts Forum News*.

Voters should use the coupon at the right of this page, either detaching and sending this coupon to us, or recording your votes on a separate sheet as shown in the instructions which follow the poll questions.

October Poll Question Winners

An award of \$10.00 each has been made to the following persons who submitted questions used in this month's poll:

- 1st: **WILLIAM BOULDIN**
304 Lathrop Avenue
Birmingham 9, Alabama
- 2nd: **M. DAVID**
Moham Nagar
Nagpur, M. P., India
- 3rd: **MARY SMITH**
Decatur, Illinois
- 4th: **KEITH KIIHNE**
Route 1
Hooper, Nebraska
- 5th: **MRS. ELLA MAGGIO**
233 Sands St., Apt. 7-H
Brooklyn 1, New York
- 6th: **JUAN M. RAMOS**
Calle Ochoa 482, Ote.,
Cd. Juarez, Chih., Mexico
- 7th: **V. J. GURLEY**
440 South Wilton Place
Los Angeles 5, California
- 8th: **JUDY McKOWEN**
2815 Washington Ave. No.
Minneapolis 11, Minnesota
- 9th: **MRS. FRED E. EPTON**
4812 N.E. Glisan Street
Portland 13, Oregon
- 10th: **EDWARD N. DUNPHY**
126 Woodland Avenue
Rutherford, New Jersey
- 11th: **JOSEPH PUSATERI**
238 Bond Street, Apt. 12D
Brooklyn 2, New York
- 12th: **DONALD M. VANCE**
8569 Ridgpoint Drive
Houston 24, Texas
- 13th: **MRS. H. A. GNADE**
Ackley, Iowa
- 14th: **MRS. DOCK HUBER**
c/o Mrs. Lucile Ehrhart Swick, Box 44
Kenmore, Washington

FACTS FORUM POLL QUESTIONS

Closes October 5

Yes No

- ☐ ☐ Do you feel anything was gained by Big Four Conference at Geneva?
- ☐ ☐ Can dollar doles buy global goodwill?
- ☐ ☐ Does CIO-AFL merger mean more labor influence in our government?
- ☐ ☐ Is the Voice of America achieving its objectives?
- ☐ ☐ Is the Republican Party anti-labor?
- ☐ ☐ Should a person who expresses his views on any subject be persecuted?
- ☐ ☐ Do you believe the Status of Forces Treaty fair to our GI's abroad?
- ☐ ☐ Do you believe there are Communists in our national government?
- ☐ ☐ Should the minutes of the current Geneva Conference be published?
- ☐ ☐ Was release of four airmen Red bait to induce further concessions?
- ☐ ☐ Has the leadership in Washington been loyal to Republican Party?
- ☐ ☐ Is inflation hurting retired people?
- ☐ ☐ Is U. S. Foreign Aid Policy only a tool of Communist expansion?
- ☐ ☐ Can free nations get confused by peace conferences until Russia strikes?

Remarks _____

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)	NO. AND ST.	CITY AND STATE
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• PLEASE NOTE: We are discontinuing the mailing of poll cards, and voters are requested to write in your votes by listing your answers on a separate sheet of paper, simply omitting the questions on which you have no opinion (for example, 1. Yes, 2. No, 4. Yes, etc.) and mailing to Facts Forum, Dallas 1, Texas (no other address necessary). Your votes shown in this manner, or indicated on the above form, represent your ballot in the Facts Forum Poll.

☐ I enclose \$2.00 for 1 yr. subscription to *Facts Forum News*.

LAST MONTH'S POLL RESULTS

% Yes

- 34 Could the Bill of Rights pass now?
- 22 Should a President choose his running mate?
- 94 Is Russia's "new soft line" lulling us into false security?
- 99 Should the Morgenthau diary be released in its entirety?
- 96 Is teaching U.S. history being gradually left out of our schools?
- 90 Should the Status of Forces Treaty be revoked?
- 95 Are our churches misled in believing UN to be dedicated to world peace?
- 96 Should Mr. Hoover's recommendations on government spending be adopted?
- 6 Is Nehru acting sincerely in the interest of peace?
- 85 Should we blame the home more and society less for juvenile delinquency?
- 36 Can the Constitution be amended by an act of Congress?
- 79 Should Standard Time be restored throughout the nation?
- 17 Should Communist or subversive books be permitted in our libraries?
- 92 Should merchants add Patriotism to ads?

This Month's Slogan:

Keep "I CAN" in AMER-I-CAN!

Submitted by
LESLIE E. DUNKIN
P. O. Box 117, South Bend 24, Indiana



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